Introduction
2. There is a continuum between the language of England and the language of Lowland Scotland (Scots). Scots is customarily seen as either a regional variety or a closely related sister tongue of English. Scots and (English) English have evolved in parallel from a common root, that is, the language spoken by post-Roman/early medieval Anglo-Saxon incomers who settled in Britain. Anglo-Saxon dialects existed in southern Scotland since the beginning of this settlement. By late medieval times, Scots and English seemed on the way to becoming two separate national languages, though closely related, like Dutch and German or Swedish and Norwegian. That divergence was curtailed after the Unions of 1603 and 1707: Hegemonic (Standard) English gradually replaced Scots as a high-register language for official and intellectual purposes. Remaining usages and forms of Scots were also affected by anglicizing influences, for example, in grammar and vocabulary. Thus, modern Scots today seems more like a regional variety on an international English dialect continuum than a fully separate language. Nonetheless, some nationalists have claimed separate linguistic status for Scots, and partly attempted to (re-)increase its distance from Standard English through language planning and language development. For further information, see the first chapters of J. Derrick McClure, *Scots and Its Literature* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1995) or Michael Gardiner, *Modern Scottish Culture* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005), 121–28, 130. The present study uses the term “anglophone” for both Scots and (Standard) English, often in contradistinction to “Gaelic,” the other indigenous language still spoken in Scotland, which is not part of the Scots-English continuum as it belongs to a different Indo-European language family, that is, the “Celtic” languages, whereas Scots and English are “Germanic” tongues.
5. See the texts discussed in Robert Young’s critical study *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race* (New York: Routledge, 1995).
6. Examples of texts which essentialize “East” and “West” as two distinct clashing civilizations can not only be found in colonial discourse as discussed by


8. For foundational works that focus on colonial contexts, see the earlier studies by H. Bhabha and R. J. C. Young quoted above. For a more recent example of postcolonial scholarship on hybridity which focuses on primary texts from the post-colonial period, see Jahan Ramazani, The Hybrid Muse: Postcolonial Poetry in English (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001).


10. See, for example, Kirsten Holst Petersen and Anna Rutherford, eds., A Double Colonization: Colonial and Post-colonial Women’s Writing (Mundelstrup, Denmark: Dangaroo, 1986).

11. See, for example, Michelle Keown, David Murphy, and James Procter, eds., Comparing Postcolonial Diasporas (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009); and Cristina Şandru, Sarah Lawson Welsh, and Janet Wilson, eds., Rerouting the Postcolonial: New Directions for the New Millennium (New York: Routledge, 2010), for example, the editors’ “General Introduction,” 2–3.


15. The postcolonial road map given here places special emphasis on classical concepts and thinkers of the field since this might be the best starting point for exploring fundamental interfaces with Scottish studies. Moreover, even recent postcolonialists habitually refer back to principal concepts developed by earlier scholars, even where they do so critically. Focusing on those foundations keeps references in this introductory survey to a manageable size while pointing to issues that remain central to many contemporary discussions. However, I have tried to give at least a few pointers to more recent innovations as well, such as postcolonial ecocriticism or trauma studies. More thorough introductions to postcolonial studies can, for instance, be found in John McLeod, Beginning Postcolonialism, 2nd ed. (2000; New York: Manchester University Press, 2010); Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin, The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-Colonial Literatures, 2nd ed. (1989; New York: Routledge, 2002); and Laura Chrisman and Patrick Williams, eds., Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: A Reader (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994).

16. While the term “settler colonies” has been retained here for pragmatic reasons, as an established shorthand to describe colonies with a large proportion of British immigrants, it should be noted that the term is problematic because it can be misunderstood to imply that the colonies were not settled (properly inhabited and owned) before the arrival of the Europeans, although in reality the land was, of course, already settled previously, by Native Americans, Maori, Aboriginal Australians, and so on.


18. For instance, The Arnold Anthology of Post-Colonial Literatures in English, ed. John Thieme (New York: Arnold, 1996), has regional sections on Africa, Australia, Canada, the Caribbean, South Asia, Southeast Asia, and New Zealand and the South Pacific. The latter also features texts like Katherine Mansfield’s “The Garden Party” or Frank Sargeson’s “I’ve Lost My Pal” which do not deal with specifically colonial or postcolonial themes and whose only connection to the postcolonial seems to be that they are from a former colony, that is, New Zealand. A regional rather than thematic understanding of postcolonialism is also evident when Thieme’s “Introduction” states that the anthology aims to give a “cross-section of . . . the ‘new’ anglophone literatures” from “countries other than Britain and the United States” (1). This is at odds with the fact that he elsewhere does suggest a focus on specific themes like migration, hybridity, and cultural change (e.g., 3). On the regional versus thematic understandings of postcolonial studies, also see Frank Schulze-Engler, “Exceptionalist Temptations—Disciplinary Constraints: Postcolonial Theory and Criticism,” in “Current Critical Theories in Europe,” ed. Catherine Bernard, Claire Connolly, and Ansgar Nünning, special issue, European Journal of English Studies 6, no. 3 (2002): 290–92.

20. For example, Sylvia Tomasch, “Postcolonial Chaucer and the Virtual Jew,” in *The Postcolonial Middle Ages*, ed. Jeffrey Jerome Cohen (New York: St. Martin’s, 2000); Jamie S. Scott, “Postcolonial Cultures and the Jewish Imaginary” (paper presented at the conference “Transcultural English Studies” hosted by the Association for the Study of the New Literatures in English (ASNEL), Frankfurt a.M., May 20, 2004), and the debate about disciplinary extension which ensued at the same conference during a plenary discussion on “Transculturality and the Future of Postcolonial Studies” (May 23).


22. Today, the term “Western Isles” is often understood to mean only the Outer Hebrides. Historically, however, it has also been used (for instance by Donald Monro and Martin Martin) in a more inclusive sense that also extended to other islands off Scotland’s west coast, such as the Inner Hebrides and the Clyde Islands. The present study follows this historical, more inclusive usage—not only in order to mirror some of its key sources, but also in order to reflect the fact that all those islands were historically a part of the Gaelic cultural sphere, so that an umbrella category seems useful. Another term which is here used in an inclusive sense is “Highlander.” In Scottish identity constructions, the geographical margins represented by the Highlands and the Western Isles have often been collapsed into one; moreover, they have also been conflated with a linguistic and sociocultural margin (Gaelic speakers with their distinct forms of social organization and cultural life). Thus, in the present study the term “Highlander” also often includes people from those islands, and is also often used synonymously with “Gael.” This is, however, merely a pragmatic decision dictated by the source material. As a diplomatic alternative to these two English terms, I also use the Gaelic loanword “Gaidhealtachd” to express both—similar to Malcolm Chapman’s usage in *The Gaelic Vision in Scottish Culture* (Montreal: McGill–Queen’s University Press, 1978), 233.


25. The terms “Celticism” and “Highlandism” are, for instance, used in Charles Withers, “The Historical Creation of the Scottish Highlands,” in *The

26. The direct quotations are from Newton, Warriors of the Word, 64. When I speak of English, or more generally anglophone, British culture as a center which supposedly represented civilized sophistication, this refers mainly to the status of this culture within the British Isles, in relation to internal margins like the Gaelic world. Second, I sometimes refer to the ambition to give anglophone culture international eminence, for instance through the emerging overseas empire. However, as Alok Yadav has shown, international ambitions were not immediately achieved. In the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, British writers, even from the intra-British metropolis of London, still felt marginalized by more prestigious European cultures, like ancient Greece and Rome or modern France, so that Anglo-British cultural self-assertions must be read against a background of “provincial anxieties.” Even in the late eighteenth century, there was anxiety, for instance about whether the empire was already declining (Before the Empire of English: Literature, Provinciality, and Nationalism in Eighteenth-Century Britain [New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004], 1, also see, for example, 2–5, 10–12, 16–21). But in intra-British cultural relations, the focus of the present study, anglophone and especially English culture had already achieved a firm sense of hegemony and metropolitan centrality. In English struggles for international respectability among Europe’s metropoles, English denigrations of (Lowland and Highland) Scottish culture fulfilled similar functions to Scottish Lowland denigrations of Highland culture: distancing from an intra-national “uncouth” provincial culture aided self-alignment with the “higher” cultural level of an external center. Hence, complete elimination of provincial otherness was not always desired; instead, some wanted to retain vestiges of rusticity on the margins, so that anglophone elite culture would shine more brightly by comparison (Yadav, Before the Empire of English, 45–47).

27. A different postcolonially inflected application of subaltern studies to Scottish contexts can be found in Stefanie Lehner, Subaltern Ethics in Contemporary Scottish and Irish Literature: Tracing Counter-Histories (Basingstoke, Eng.: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011). Rather than linking subaltern studies to the Gaelic ethnic minority, as I do here, Lehner links them to anglophone victims of intra-Scottish class and gender oppression.


29. For instance, I have repeatedly encountered such positions during discussions at academic conferences. Also see Thieme’s aforementioned Anthology of
Post-Colonial Literatures, which has numerous regional sections on areas which were once formally colonized, but none on Scotland.


32. An attempt to lay some systematic groundwork, but mainly with regard to Gaelic-language literature, is made in Silke Stroh, Uneasy Subjects: Postcolonialism and Scottish Gaelic Poetry (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2011), but there is still need for postcolonial introductions to anglophone Scottish writing, and for studies addressing a wider range of genres, both fictional and nonfictional.

33. These two collections were published by Edinburgh University Press (Edinburgh) and Cambridge Scholars (Newcastle, Eng.,) respectively.

34. For notable exceptions, see C. L. Innes, The Devil’s Own Mirror: The Irish and the African in Modern Literature (Washington, D.C.: Three Continents Press, 1990), and “Postcolonial Studies and Ireland,” in Comparing Postcolonial

35. Indispensable foundations for any future investigation of these issues were laid by Davis, Acts of Union.


38. While subaltern studies is clearly relevant to the postcolonial study of Scottish Gaeldom in general, it is less of a focus in the present book because the latter concentrates on anglophone texts, whereas subaltern studies concentrate on the subaltern’s own perspective, so that any reading of Gaeldom in subaltern terms should focus on Gaelic-language texts. Where this book considers anglophone texts by authors from Gaelic backgrounds (such as Martin Martin or, more briefly, James Macpherson), these authors have already transcended the status of the subaltern to a considerable degree, not only through a high level of formal education which gave them access to the English language and privileged metropolitan channels of written expression, but also through their class position. Both writers came from the Gaelic middle class and, because of their education, mode of writing, lifestyle, and professional achievement, gained admission to the anglophone middle class as well. To the extent that the term “subaltern” connotes an even greater degree of “muting” and exclusion than the terms “internally, doubly, or multiply colonized,” the latter occupy a more prominent position in this volume.


Chapter 1

1. Also see, for example, Withers, “Historical Creation,” 144–45; Jane Dawson, “The Gaidhealtachd and the Emergence of the Scottish Highlands,” in British

2. Sorensen, Grammar of Empire, 34.


5. A. I. Macinnes, “Crown, Clans and Fine,” 31. It is, however, important to note that the extent of feuding varied between different Highland regions and over time; for instance, Allan Kennedy stresses that it was exceptional in the northern Highlands during the mid-seventeenth century (“‘A Heavy Yock Uppon Their Necks’: Covenanting Government in the Northern Highlands, 1638–1651,” Journal of Scottish Historical Studies 30, no. 2 [2010]: 99–100). Moreover, he stresses that feuding not only used direct violence, but also employed juridical and arbitration strategies which respected the structures of central state authority (Governing Gaeldom: The Scottish Highlands and the Restoration State, 1660–1688 [Boston: Brill, 2014], 105–8).


10. Womack, Improvement and Romance, 12, also see 6. W. H. Murray presents blackmail somewhat differently, as “irregular in law rather than illegal, for it was sanctioned by government” (Rob Roy MacGregor: His Life and Times [1982; repr. Edinburgh: Canongate, 1995], 60).


18. English, Scottish, and Welsh public opinion, London government policies, and Irish self-images tended to treat Ireland as fundamentally different from Britain, often with a “colonial” sense of hierarchy and rigor. Ireland frequently appeared more colonial than Scotland—the latter was, after all, part of the “main” (and Protestant) British island, and often complicit in the colonization of Ireland (also see Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation*, 1707–1837 [1992; repr. London: Pimlico, 1994], 8; Davis, *Acts of Union*, 17).


20. Also see Newton, *Warriors of the Word*, 75.


23. In other cases, elites raised rents to compensate for their loss of income, leading to the first evictions of tenants unable to pay. On these various developments, see, for example, A. I. Macinnes, “Crown, Clans and Fine,” 33–35, 40–41; Dawson, “Gaidhealtachd,” 266.


28. Signed “A Citizen of Edinburgh,” cited from 2nd ed. (London: W. Nicoll, 1765), 14. Nonetheless, the pamphlet’s ultimate plea is not for independence, but for an improved Union which is more amicable and equitable (20–21).


30. In addition to ventures initiated by Scottish state authorities or Scottish companies, many Scots embarked on careers in the service of foreign colonial projects, such as English and Dutch ones. On these issues, see, for example, Lynch; Scotland: A New History, 307–8; Michael Fry, The Scottish Empire (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2001), xxi, 19–40, 84; Devine, Scotland’s Empire, 1–7, 26–48, 227.


32. For example, see Murray G. H. Pittock, Poetry and Jacobite Politics in Eighteenth-Century Britain and Ireland (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 3, 133–86; Newton, Warriors of the Word, 34.

33. For instance, Sir John MacLean of Duart (1670–1716), wanting to regain ancestral lands which had fallen to the Campbells, supported the Stuarts in the hope that, after a Jacobite victory, the Hanoverian Campbells would be punished


35. For example, see Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation*, 5–8; Devine, *Scottish Nation*, 47, 58, and *Scotland’s Empire*, 74.


37. Ironically, many Gaels likewise seem to have felt concentric loyalties to clan, Gaidhealtachd, Scotland, and Britain, but did not always regard the Hanoverian monarchy as the right guardian of Scottish or British national interests (see Stroh, *Uneasy Subjects*, 85–93). Anglophone anti-Gaelic discourse interpreted this not as alternative Scottish/British patriotism, but as a sign that Gaels were totally unpatriotic.


40. Similar things happened in Ulster, but not in southern Ireland.

41. James Hunter, *The Making of the Crofting Community* (1976; rev. ed. Edinburgh: John Donald, 2000), 44. Usually, the term “neocolonial” is used for “Third World” countries which were once formally colonial, then gained independence, but remain under more informal imperialist influence (e.g., via the International Monetary Fund) of foreign imperialist powers—sometimes their former colonizers like the United Kingdom or France, sometimes more recent world powers like the United States or China. In this strict sense, the label “neocolonial” is
inapplicable in Scotland because a post-British independence phase has not been reached. Hunter evidently applies the term in a looser sense in order to imply that the Highlands were not officially a colony but nominally an equal, fully integrated part of Britain, that is, “neocolonial” here means “nominal parity with the imperialists, but de-facto inferiorization nonetheless.” While I would not personally endorse this loose usage of the term “neocolonial,” Hunter’s implication of inferiorization despite nominal parity is correct. Moreover, his use of the term is worth citing because it is an example of how modern Scottish historians with an interest in national or regional emancipation use several kinds of colonial labels to draw analogies with overseas experiences.


47. J. Derrick McClure, “Lowland Scots: An Ambivalent National Tongue” (1984), rev. and repr. in McClure, Scots and Its Literature, 9–11; Hewitt,


50. For example, this seems to be implied by Devine, Scottish Nation, 29–30.

51. See, for example, Samuel Johnson, A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland (1775), repr. together with James Boswell’s The Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson (1785), ed. Peter Levi (Harmondsworth, Eng.: Penguin, 1984), 51; Andrew Sanders, The Short Oxford History of English Literature, rev. 2nd ed. (1994; Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), 256–57, 276; Mack, Scottish Fiction, 95–97; Newton, Warriors of the Word, 48–49. However, classicism was not only a vehicle for the British mainstream’s internal or external imperialism—it could also express Jacobite or peripheral/regional-nationalist dissent (Pittock, Poetry and Jacobite Politics, for example, 7, 81–82, 149–62).


55. Chapman, Celts, for example, 201–5; Ferguson, Identity of the Scottish Nation, 202–6; James, Atlantic Celts, 44–47, 51–53; Collis, Celts, 36–52, 71–73.

56. Edward J. Cowan suggests that this three-way connection already existed in the sixteenth century (“The Discovery of the Gàidhealtachd in Sixteenth

57. On universalist concepts of progress—and the perception of cultural and spatial difference as temporal difference—in Renaissance texts, also see Walter Mignolo’s discussion of Europe’s Central and South American Others in The Darker Side of the Renaissance: Literacy, Territoriality, and Colonization, 2nd ed. (1995; Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003), for example, 256–57, 327–30, 454. The connection to ancient Greece and Rome is also noted by E. J. Cowan, “Discovery of the Gàidhealtachd,” 278, and studied at length in Ronald L. Meek’s Social Science and the Ignoble Savage (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976). Although Meek focuses on Enlightenment Scotland and France, both of which possessed “Celtic fringes,” neither ancient nor modern “Celtic” barbarians play a prominent role in his study, despite a few passing references. His prime examples of “ignoble savagery” are ancient Germans and modern Native Americans. However, the comparative perspective can be extended to “Celtic” contexts—also see the example cited in Newton, Warriors of the Word, 49.


59. The romantic age later used the same binarism, only with reversed evaluations: the center’s traits now appeared as (over-)formality, slavish adherence to inhibiting conventions, sterility, emotionless calculation or materialism, and would seem boring and artificial. The noble and exotic savages/barbarians/Others would be considered as refreshingly and endearingly informal, unconventional, creative, free, fertile, spontaneous, imaginative, modest, passionate, interesting, and natural. These alleged character traits and their binary structures are also noted by Womack, Improvement and Romance, 168–69; Chapman, Celts, 129; Withers, “Historical Creation,” 148; and Newton, Warriors of the Word, 49. For nineteenth- and twentieth-century examples of the binarism, see Patrick Sims-Williams, “The Visionary Celt: The Construction of an Ethnic Preconception,” Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies 11 (1986).


64. However, the disdain of Enlightened intellectuals for Scottish history little diminished the glory of national heroes like Wallace, Bruce, or the Covenanters in popular opinion.


72. The colonial implications of Enlightened universalism and monogenism, as well as the gradual transition to the more static notions of polygenism and racism which became prevalent in the nineteenth century, are lucidly mapped by R. J. C. Young, *Colonial Desire*, for example, 6–13, 31–49, 65–67.


74. Errors he sees in previous and contemporary imperial policies include mercantilism, harsh treatment of colonized populations, and the hypocrisy of hiding economic exploitation behind a rhetoric of sacred Christianizing missions. He even wonders whether decolonization, followed by free alliances and exchange, might not be the best solution, though he thinks it unlikely that the colonizers (misled by national pride) would voluntarily accept this. Hence, a reform rather than the abolition of empire is deemed a more likely—and still very promising—solution. Necessary reforms include free trade, representative government, and accelerated “improvement” (Smith, *Wealth of Nations*, for example, 561–69, 581–635, 944–47).


78. For example, see Osterhammel, *Entzauberung*, 400.

79. Later this piece of news turned out to be false: their attempt to kill him had been unsuccessful.

80. In *Scottish Elegiac Verses. M.DC.XXIX–M.DCC.XXIX*, ed. James Maidment (Edinburgh: Thomas G. Stevenson, 1842), xxxix–xlix. The editor does not give a precise date, but a statement that it was written during Rob Roy’s old age (p. xl) points to the 1720s or 1730s.

Kildans as “savages” appear in the same letter, 100–101, 103, 106. An earlier letter to the same addressee (dated “August 1799,” day unspecified, publ. ibid., 92–99) describes the Hebrides in general as “remote and barbarous” (97).

82. Brougham, same letter, 107–8. Despite these denigrations, there are also elements of noble savagery: he calls the Hebrideans “a very simple and worthy set of men” (letter to Lord Robertson, August 1799, 98).

83. Hunter, Last of the Free, 197–98.

84. Similarly, Womack notes desires of conquest underlying the first climbs of Highland summits by non-Highland geographers, botanists, and geologists in the eighteenth century (Improvement and Romance, 71–72).

85. On modern European forms of geographical knowledge, their links to overseas colonial expansion, and their roots in Roman imperial traditions, also see Mignolo, Darker Side, for example, 243, 281, 283.

86. A. Kennedy, “Heavy Yock”; and Kennedy, Governing Gaeldom, 6–9, 29–31, 64, 251–55.

87. A. Kennedy, Governing Gaeldom, 9, 251–52.

88. To some extent, this is also noted by Allan Kennedy, who acknowledges discursive othering (e.g., “Reducing That Barbarous Country: Center, Periphery, and Highland Policy in Restoration Britain,” Journal of British Studies 52, no. 3 [2013]; and Kennedy, Governing Gaeldom, 17–29, 64, 252–55). But even here he downplays comparability to colonial contexts, at least for the Restoration period. That Highlanders were regarded as “barbarous” is, in his view, not enough to make them a colonial-style Other because the label could sometimes “merely” mean “lawless” or “disorderly” and was even applied to censure such behavior among people who were unambiguously seen as members of the mainstream’s Self (Governing Gaeldom, 29–31). I would argue, however, that the latter does not necessarily invalidate the association with colonial discourse—arguably, the very force of “barbarian” as a term of censure for misbehaving mainstreamers comes from such colonial associations: one implies that such behavior might have a place among “savage” societies somewhere else, but surely not in “a civilised society such as ours.” Non-Europeans who have regarded the label “barbarian” as a colonial insult to their cultures surely have not considered the label any less colonial just because their European colonizers also used it within their own in-groups to insult each other.

89. Pittock, Celtic Identity, 29.

90. James VI, Basilicon Doron, 1:71.


93. Lynch, Scotland: A New History, 242. This does not mean that their relations with the government were entirely free from tension: for example, the government attempted to curb “overmighty,” all-too-independent powers, interests, and


100. For example, Clyde, *From Rebel to Hero*, 3–5, 181.


114. Ibid., 31.

116. *OED*.


120. *Highlands of Scotland*, 160.

121. Grant, “Highland History,” 462.


129. SSPCK minutes of Directors of the Society, March 20, 1755, Scottish Record Office (SRO), Edinburgh, GD.95/2/7; quoted from Clyde, *From Rebel to Hero*, 58.

130. Walker, Report to the General Assembly on the state of the Highlands and Islands, SRO, CH.1/1/55, 596; quoted from Clyde, *From Rebel to Hero*, 61.


132. For examples from the South Pacific, see Thomas, *Colonialism’s Culture*.

133. MS CH1/24/1 pt.1 fo.7, Papers and Letters of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 1703–1727, SRO; quoted from Durkacz, *Decline of the Celtic Languages*, 49. “Interest” and “danger” probably refer to Jacobitism.

134. MS CH1/24/1 pt.1 fo.7, Papers and Letters of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 1703–1727, SRO; quoted from Durkacz, *Decline of the Celtic Languages*, 49.

136. An exception to the Church of Scotland’s generally weak support for Gaelic literacy were the considerable efforts undertaken in this direction by the synod of Argyll in the seventeenth century (Durkacz, *Decline of the Celtic Languages*, 15–17, 22).


138. Sorensen, *Grammar of Empire*, 224, also see 4, 37, 39.


140. MS, CH 8/212/1, Miscellaneous Papers Relating to Church Matters, 89 ff, SRO. Quoted from Durkacz, *Decline of the Celtic Languages*, 70, italics mine.


142. Hunter, *Making of the Crofting Community*, 142, also see 143.


144. Clyde, *From Rebel to Hero*, 49, 80–81, 90.


146. Durkacz, *Decline of the Celtic Languages*, 23.


148. Grant, “Highland History,” 462. Exceptions to the ban on Highland dress were the army, the stage, and posing for paintings—for example, see Ian Brown, “Introduction: Tartan, Tartanry and Hybridity,” in *From Tartan to Tartanry: Scottish Culture, History and Myth*, ed. Brown (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010), 5; Michael Newton, “Paying for the Plaid: Scottish Gaelic Identity Politics in Nineteenth-Century North America,” in *From Tartan to Tartanry*, 63.

149. See, for example, Devine, *Scottish Nation*, 233. For strategies to resist and evade the Disclothing Act, see Black, *Lasair*, 456.


158. Kelp is a certain type of seaweed. It is also the name for an alkaline substance which is produced by the burning of such seaweed. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries it was used in several industries such as soap- or glassmaking.

159. Board of Trustees for Manufactures and Fisheries, report to the Lord’s Commissioners of the Treasury, January 21, 1763; MS, SRO, NG.1/1/17/76; quoted from Clyde, *From Rebel to Hero*, 24.


162. There was also Highland migration to the towns. Until the late nineteenth century, Highlanders’ migrations within Scotland were mostly seasonal. But more permanent urban migration also took place from at least the seventeenth century onwards. Hence, after the mid-eighteenth century, substantial Gaelic communities existed in many Scottish towns.


166. James MacDonald, *General View of the Agriculture of the Hebrides, or Western Isles of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1811), 5, also see 119–20.

167. Such a transformation from colonized to colonizer could also lead to an embrace of colonial ideologies about the supposed inferiority of other marginalized peoples, such as indigenous populations overseas. However, there are also cases where diasporic Gaels have developed transperipheral solidarities with overseas colonized populations, despite their ambiguous role as co-colonizer. For instance, see some of the case studies in Michael Newton’s works on North American Gaels, such as “‘Did You Hear about the Gaelic-Speaking African?: Scottish Gaelic Folklore about Identity in North America,” in “The Celtic Nations and the African Americans,” special issue, *Comparative American Studies* 8, no. 2 (2010), and “Cò a dhìthich clann Ghàidheal? Cnuaachd air impireachd, fèin-aithne is ceartas sòisealta ann am fuadach nan Gàidheal / Bury My Heart at Culloden: Reflections on Empire, Identity and Social Justice in the Gaelic Diaspora,” in


Chapter 2

1. I have used the following modern editions: Martin Martin, “A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland” by Martin Martin, Including “A Voyage to St. Kilda” by the Same Author and “A Description of the Western Isles of Scotland” by Sir Donald Mono, ed. Donald J. MacLeod (1934; repr. Edinburgh: Birlinn, 1994); Martin, “A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland” ca 1695 and “A Late Voyage to St Kilda” [by] Martin Martin with “A Description of the Occidental i.e. Western Islands of Scotland” [by] Donald Mono, with new introductions by Charles J. Withers and R. W. Munro (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 1999); and Martin, Curiosities of Art and Nature: The New Annotated and Illustrated Edition of Martin Martin’s Classic “A Description of the Western Isles of Scotland,” ed. Michael Robson (Port of Ness, Scot.: Islands Book Trust, 2003). Since the Birlinn editions are more widely available than Robson’s, my page references refer to the 1994 Birlinn edition, unless otherwise stated. Readers might also find the Birlinn editions more user-friendly. Wherever possible, subsequent references to the 1994 edition appear in parentheses in the main text, Description of the Western Islands being abbreviated as “WI” and Voyage to Saint Kilda as “SK.” Occasionally, the 1999 and 2003 editions are cited as supplementary references, mainly for their valuable introductions and annotations. In those cases, references are in endnotes, marked with the abbreviation “WI (1999)” or “WI (2003).”

2. On European geography, see Charles W. J. Withers, Geography, Science and National Identity: Scotland since 1520 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), for example, 243. For Mignolo, see Darker Side, 194–99, 283–84, 291.


5. The ambivalence of Martin’s speaking position and his role as a cultural mediator are also discussed in Withers, “Introduction” to Martin’s works (1999), 2–3, 7–8, 11; and the “Introduction” (presumably by the editor Michael Robson) to WI (2003), xxv–xxvi.


7. The biographical summary given here is based on D. J. MacLeod, “Editorial Note,” WI 10–13; Thomson’s entry on Martin in his Companion, 197;


13. WI 61. Similarly, the first chapter of SK (403) complains that all previous descriptions of St. Kilda had been secondhand.

14. The “Preface” to SK (398–99), by contrast, highlights Martin’s hybridity. The author is presented as uniting the best of both worlds: a native Hebridean informant’s authenticity, inside knowledge, and local acquaintances to give him privileged access to information, combined with a university education, foreign travel, and contact with the Royal Society, to whose president SK is dedicated. As a Hebridean, Martin is supposed to have access to interesting special experiences, while his learning enables him to make sense of these experiences and present them in good mainstream form. This hybridity allegedly enables him to describe the Western Isles “more exactly than any other.”

15. For example, WI 125, 265–66, 274, 280, 285, 296–97, 301, 312; SK 447.

16. This can be inferred because he apparently refers primarily to pleasure visits rather than business, military, or exploratory journeys. Moreover, Martin mentions foreign libraries, arts, and fashion, whereas the new colonies hardly offered anything in this vein that, by the norms of his time and class, was worth mentioning.

17. Facsimile of 1703 title page of WI, D. J. MacLeod’s edition, 5.

18. A similar shift between outside and inside perspectives, exoticizing the periphery to pander to metropolitan readers’ views while also claiming superior insider knowledge, has been identified in the francophone writings of the nineteenth-century Breton author Auguste Brizeux (Heather Williams, “Writing to Paris: Poets, Nobles, and Savages in Nineteenth-Century Brittany,” French Studies 57, no. 4 [2003]: 481–83).

19. But elsewhere, when on their own territory, islanders are expressly described as not stupid. Moreover, at times the center’s normative gaze is exposed as limited, and is even returned by the “natives” themselves—see below.

20. Huggan, Postcolonial Exotic; Brouillette, Postcolonial Writers; Ponzanesi, Postcolonial Cultural Industry.

22. It is only in recent years that the Ordnance Survey has fundamentally changed its approach, re-gaelicizing maps and providing background information on Gaelic place-names on its website. See, for example, www.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/about/news/2000/gaelic.html, and www.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/about/news/2004/gaelicplacenames.html; and anon., “Getting the Name Right,” *West Highland Free Press*, October 8, 2004, www.whfp.com.

23. This concerns mostly place-names (*WI* 97, 286, 301, 304–5; *SK* 409), but there are also instances relating to names for agricultural techniques (*WI* 86), alcoholic drinks (*WI* 86–87), food (*WI* 93), earlier human populations (*WI* 99), animals (*WI* 130, 141, 210), surnames (*WI* 138), and measurements (*WI* 163). The use of local names and its connection to respect for local knowledge is also briefly noted in Withers, “Introduction” to Martin’s works, 8.

24. In this passage, “Lewis” and “Long Island” are used as synonyms for the entire island chain of the Outer Hebrides. Elsewhere, Martin uses “Lewis” in the narrower sense (“Lewis, properly and strictly,” *WI* 85, also see 94–95) which would be more familiar today, that is, as the name of the northernmost island in this chain. One hundred miles is roughly the length of all the Outer Hebrides together in old Scottish miles as given on Martin’s own map (the best facsimile is in *WI* [2003], 17). Also see the “Introduction” in *WI* (2003), xiv.


26. This is not exclusive to Martin: other producers and collectors of geographical knowledge at that time affirmed the importance of local knowledges, whether Highland or not (e.g., see Withers, *Geography, Science and National Identity*, 86–87). But in Martin’s work, general respect for the geographical research conventions of his time does not seem to be the only reason for the emphatic vindication of local viewpoints. There is also a significant dimension of writing back to non-geographical discourse which regarded Gaels as disrespectable barbarians. This desire to write back is evident in his explicit critique of the label “barbarous,” quoted above, in his vindication of the second sight (the psychic faculty of having prophetic visions or seeing physically remote people and objects), and in other instances discussed below.

27. For similar phrases, see *WI* 104–5, 111–12, 116, 134–35, 140–42, 156, 196, 204, 209, 216, 287; *SK* 433, 465–66.

28. Also noted by Withers, for example, “Introduction” to Martin’s works (1999), 10–11; and the editor’s “Introduction,” *WI* (2003), xxvi.

29. For instance, Sibbald’s own geographical research seems to have privileged elite informers (Withers, *Geography, Science and National Identity*, 86, 242).

30. *WI* 330–31. The third location is “parts of Holland” (ibid.), but he does not specify which. Thus, it cannot be ascertained whether these are likewise rural backwaters.


32. Other folk traditions, both mythological and historical, appear, for example, on p. 131 of *WI*. Such efforts to seek out local sources are not always free
from skepticism: Martin’s remark that “Macneil, being the thirty-fourth of that name by lineal descent that has possessed this island, if the present genealogers can be credited” (WI 164) might imply caution in assessing indigenous claims.

33. For example, WI 96, 100, 146, 174, 209, 229, 290, 325, 332–33, 337, 340, 343–47.


35. This common feature of culture contact is lucidly discussed by Chapman, Celts, 159–79.

36. Here, “tribe” does not necessarily carry the associations of primitiveness which characterize its use in many other texts, for instance in colonial discourse. Martin might use the term in a non-derogatory sense, as a category for social group identity on a sub-national level, often connected to notions of kinship and common ancestry.


38. Modern scholars tend to assume that, despite such remoteness, early modern Gaels would have understood a Classical Gaelic poem when they heard one.


40. WI 76, 240–41. Also see 81, 309, and SK 438.

41. This resembles the widespread colonial strategy of describing the colonized as contemporary ancestors who represent an earlier stage of development which the metropolis has long left behind. Martin’s use of this strategy was unquestioningly echoed by his 1930s editor (D. J. Macleod, “Introduction,” 20–22).

42. WI 172; also see 171, 174–75, 177.

43. The parallels between Martin’s portrait of St. Kilda and classical concepts of Arcadia and the Golden Age (as well as the works produced by James Macpherson in the second half of the eighteenth century) are also noted by Stafford, Sublime Savage, 9–10.

44. The phrase “this place” at the beginning of this quote apparently refers not only to the fort but to St. Kilda as a whole, as the preceding paragraphs discuss its inaccessibility due to perilous sea and weather.

45. On the islanders’ comeliness, also see WI 80, 93, 146, 260, 272, 275, 280, 303, 308, 314, and SK 436–38. Health and physical fitness also fit this pattern, and form another parallel to Roman praises of noble savages. However, even in St. Kilda some degeneration is observable: “the present generation comes short of the last in strength and longevity” (SK 437)—perhaps due to increased contact with “civilization,” though Martin does not make the reason explicit.

46. Phrases like “the credulous natives” (e.g., WI 290) should be read in the same light: while such formulations seem to imply that all the locals are credulous, they might only mean “the more credulous among the natives.” This accords with Martin’s repeated emphasis on the unevenness with which folk beliefs were preserved. Moreover, his defense of second sight explicitly asserts that local credulity does not reach any exceptional level (WI 328).

47. WI 107. For another instance of anti-Catholic irony, see 108.

48. His concern with improvement is also briefly noted in Withers, “Introduction” to Martin’s works, 8–9.

50. The wide-ranging landscape transformation envisaged here can also be connected to postcolonial ecocritical readings of Scottish “improvement” discourse.

51. Quoted from a discussion with Newton at the first World Congress of Scottish Literatures, University of Glasgow, July 3, 2014.

52. The following passage, by contrast, almost sounds like an imperialist offensive: “The settling a fishery [sic] in those parts would prove of great advantage to the Government, and be an effectual means to advance the revenue, by the customs. . . . It would also be a nursery of stout and able seamen . . . to serve the Government on all occasions” (WI 353). Either Martin’s stance on overseas colonialism is ambivalent, or his reference to seamen only pertains to intra-European trade and power struggles—but even then his attitude can hardly be classed as anti-imperialist.

53. Later, the same argument was echoed in Tobias Smollett’s novel The Expedition of Humphrey Clinker (1771): travelling in Argyllshire, one of the protagonists, Matthew Bramble, argues that “a company of merchants might . . . turn to good account a fishery . . . in this part of Scotland—Our people have a strange itch to colonize America, when the uncultivated parts of our own island might be settled to greater advantage” (repr. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1990, 248). Similarly, in 1785 the economist and agriculturalist James Anderson complained that “the most distant parts of the globe have been attentively explored . . . to discover new sources of trade, and to give encouragement for the manufactures of Britain,” while the Scottish Highlands, “so peculiarly our own, and . . . much better calculated to encourage the trade, to encourage the manufactures, and to augment the revenues of this nation, than any others . . . on the globe, . . . remain . . . unexplored,” “neglected and unknown” (Anderson, An Account of the Present State of the Hebrides and Western Coasts of Scotland [Edinburgh: G. Robinson and C. Elliot, 1785], xii).

54. Dedication, WI, in Mcleod’s ed. p. 59. Martin also argues in terms of government interest when he suggests free-port status for Skye to “add strength and reputation to the Government. Since these isles are capable of . . . improvements . . . it is a great loss to the nation they should be . . . neglected” (WI 358). On “native worth,” also see several quotes given above, as well as WI 146, 311 and SK 444–45. Where serious moral defects are found, they are apparently again blamed on Catholicism: “hospitable, well-meaning people, but the misfortune of their education disposes them to uncharitableness, and rigid thoughts of their Protestant neighbours” (WI 154). Interestingly, Martin does not explicitly record, let alone criticize, any discrimination vice versa, by Protestants against Catholics, though it is likely that misgivings were mutual. Martin’s own anti-Catholic bias makes it appear very probable that some fellow Protestants in the Isles shared his arrogance, and perhaps also translated this self-righteousness into practical discrimination.

55. In the Northern Isles, cultural otherness based on Scandinavian heritage was still an issue in Martin’s own time. For instance, the Norn language highlighted the region’s difference from the Scottish mainstream.
57. However, this may not be his only motivation. His preface also relates his interest in climate, soil, flora, and fauna to a general contemporary interest in natural science as such (61), which accords with the progressive and scientific spirit of the Royal Society.
58. Facsimiles in MacLeod’s ed., 2–3, 396.
59. On the general relationship between geography, national identity, and the early modern state, see Withers, Geography, Science and National Identity, 30–111. On the relationship between the extension of geographical knowledge, literary engagements with this knowledge, and the consolidation—but also problematization—of British national identity at a later stage, in the romantic period, see Penny Fielding, Scotland and the Fictions of Geography (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008). She also strongly engages with the postcolonially pertinent concepts of center and periphery, though explicit references to a Scottish (post)colonized condition are much rarer, and at times skeptical (113, 138, 140, 162, 186).

60. In the north, Martin likewise highlights rough climatic and topographic conditions which make people, horses, and sheep sturdy (WI 377, 380–81), comely, healthy (WI 373, 377), and virtuous (WI 374, 385). He recognizes locally specific terms (e.g., WI 376), voices (WI 372–73), laws, and rules (e.g., WI 384), though respect for local discursive authority is tempered by condescension toward folk beliefs related to Catholicism. He relates incidents from local history (e.g., WI 374–75), though most of them (perhaps more so than in the Western Isles) concern the locality’s relations to hegemonic centers (WI 367–70, 377, 381, 388). He notes instances of mismanagement, potential for economic improvement (WI 384, 390), and already extant signs of hybridization such as trilingual Shetlanders speaking English, Norn, and Dutch, the latter for communication with incoming traders (WI 385).

61. Although this is a general remark, it also alludes specifically to the people of the Western Isles, whose medical knowledge is praised in the surrounding sentences and whose illiteracy Martin repeatedly mentions throughout his work. While an interest in local medicine was also shown by other geographers like Sibbald (Withers, Geography, Science and National Identity, 75), Martin’s vindication of Gaelic medicine, and even that of the lower classes of Gaelic society, arguably goes beyond this because he saw Gaelic folk knowledge to be in need of special vindication, in view of the fact that many outsiders denigrated this culture as barbarian (see above).

62. However, another passage uses the same metaphor of soil cultivation in a more typically colonial sense, assigning cultivation to outsiders alone: “the improvement of the isles in general . . . depends upon the Government of Scotland to give encouragement . . . to . . . public-spirited persons or societies . . . to lay out their endeavours that way; and how large a field they have to work upon will appear by taking a survey” (WI 65, italics mine). It is also noteworthy that “public-spirited” implies that investments are acts of unselfish philanthropism rather than a matter of profit, though Martin elsewhere admits profit to be “another” important motivation.

Notes to Pages 109–116

64. Also see Martin’s assurance that there are no cases of madness on Jura (WI 267), and his remarks on sanity in the Isles in general (WI 327).

65. That is, an answer.


Chapter 3


4. For details, see, for example, Womack, Improvement and Romance, 27–39; Hunter, A Dance Called America, 51–72, and Hunter, Last of the Free, 244–46; Clyde, From Rebel to Hero, 150–77; and Devine, Scottish Nation, 239.

5. The connection between a general romantic penchant for the rural and a more specific romanticization of rural Celts, in this case Bretons, is also discussed by H. Williams, “Writing to Paris,” 480.


9. Also see Pittock, Celtic Identity, 36.


15. Sims-Williams, “Invention of Celtic Nature Poetry,” 103, also see 104.


18. William Donaldson, “Bonny Highland Laddie: The Making of a Myth,” *Scottish Literary Journal* 3, no. 2 (1976); Chapman, *Celts*, 142–43, 216–17; Pittock, *Poetry and Jacobite Politics*, 141–42, 164. A further complication of the masculine/feminine dichotomy is that even non-Gaelic British masculinities in the eighteenth century increasingly incorporated qualities which were traditionally rather associated with femininity, such as sentimentalism, sensibility, and empathy. Only the combination of “masculine” strength, assertiveness, and rationality with “feminine” sentiment made a truly rounded modern civilized male, without causing effeminacy or emasculation (see, e.g., Shields, *Sentimental Literature*, 5, 9). The mainstream’s embrace of supposedly Gaelic “primitive” virtues, which likewise combined “feminine” sentiment and “masculine” vigor, could thus be seen as part of a wider quest for a more emotive British modern masculinity. For an account which traces early roots of the romantic and eroticized “Bonnie Highland Laddie” in late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century orature and literature, both anglophone and Gaelic, see Domhnall Uilleam Stiubhart, “Highland Rogues and the Roots of Highland Romanticism,” in *Crossing the Highland Line: Cross-Currents in Eighteenth-Century Scottish Writing. Selected Papers from the 2005 ASLS Annual Conference*, ed. Christopher MacLachlan (Glasgow: ASLS, 2009).


21. W. Donaldson, “Bonny Highland Laddie.” Despite such parallels, it should be borne in mind that ascribing sexual potency and libertinage to Others is not exclusively a colonial trope. Similar stereotypes exist in mutual otherings by members of European mainstream cultures, for instance in English clichés about the French.


24. For a comparative discussion of pan-Celticism and pan-Africanism, see Daniel G. Williams, “Is the ‘Pan’ in Pan-Celticism the ‘Pan’ in Pan-Africanism?

25. For example, Briesemeister, “Keltentum,” 347, 349–54.

26. For example, see Womack, Improvement and Romance, 144–48; Lynch, Scotland: A New History, 344–45; Finlay, “Caledonia,” 148–51.

27. See, for example, Pittock, Poetry and Jacobite Politics, 180; Colin Kidd, “Teutonist Ethnology and Scottish Nationalist Inhibition,” SHR 74 (1995): 45–47; Ferguson, Identity of the Scottish Nation, 181.

28. Devine, Clanship to Crofters’ War, 84–98. Similar appropriations of a Celtic margin as a pan-national marker of distinctness and authenticity have been observed in relation to Brittany and France after 1789 (H. Williams, “Writing to Paris,” 478–79).


32. However, Macpherson also inspired some attempts to preserve gaelophone traditions, such as improved archiving of literary manuscripts or romantic revivals of the office of the clan bard maintained by the chieftain.

33. Thomas, Colonialism’s Culture, 186.

34. Huggan, Postcolonial Exotic, 174–76.


36. Roderick Watson, The Literature of Scotland (Basingstoke, Eng.: Macmillan, 1984), 221; Fiona Stafford, “Primitivism and the ‘Primitive’ Poet: A Cultural Context for MacPherson’s Ossian,” in T. Brown, Celticism, 86–89; Ferguson, Identity of the Scottish Nation, 181; Sorensen, Grammar of Empire, 154–55. However, the Scots vernacular was not always associated with romanticism’s noble savagery—it also featured in literary texts which were more Enlightened in spirit, and could mark an alternative “high culture” (e.g., see Hewitt, “Scoticism”); Pittock, Poetry and Jacobite Politics, 152).


39. See, for example, Womack, Improvement and Romance, 144–48; Craig, Out of History, 116–17.


43. For postcolonially relevant readings of Smollett, see also Davis, Acts of Union, 63–73, 190; R. Crawford, Devolving English Literature, 54–75; Sorensen, Grammar of Empire, 104–37, 254–59. For other pertinent readings, see Gottlieb, Feeling British, especially 63–77, 80–98, and Shields, Sentimental Literature, 59–69, 87–95, 185–91, though these are ambivalent about the applicability of postcolonial approaches to Scotland. Both argue that Smollett’s use of affect and sympathy to bridge cultural differences, transcend Scottish–English animosities, and promote British nation-building is part of a wider trend in Enlightenment and romantic writing, though the limitations of this strategy were also reflected.

44. Smollett, Humphrey Clinker, 233.

45. Womack, Improvement and Romance, 38; Devine, Scotland’s Empire, 312. Juliet Shields argues against distinctions between earlier (political/practical) and later (romantic/sentimental) Jacobitism, pointing out that earlier, political Jacobitism had already invoked sentiment and nostalgia (Sentimental Literature, 4–5). However, I would argue that the distinction is helpful because earlier Jacobitism used sentiment as ideological support for practical political resistance, whereas romantic Jacobitism used sentiment as mere compensation for past defeat and
present political submission. The same applies to sentimental compassion with clearance victims, which is often compensatory rather than a call for practical resistance, as Shields notes herself (138).

46. For example, Chapman, Celts, 106.

47. Ferguson, Identity of the Scottish Nation, 176, 181. Nonetheless, such scholarly interest can also be found among Highland literati, often native Gaelic speakers who had obtained a mainstream education and returned to the Gaidhealtachd as clergymen.


50. Quote from Womack, Improvement and Romance, 117.

51. See, for example, Hunter, Last of the Free, 262; Womack, Improvement and Romance, 115–18, 124. In this context, Womack explicitly refers to Michael Hechter’s concept of internal colonialism, though he stresses that his results are different.

52. Chapman, Celts, 143. A recent reassessment of the complexities of tartan’s role in Scottish culture through the ages, including more subversive functions, can be found in I. Brown, From Tartan to Tartanry.


56. The Scotsman, June 9, 1821; quoted from Laplace, L’Institution,” 142.


58. This refers to key foreign battles of the British army. The connection between military service as atonement for Jacobite transgressions and a way to rehabilitate Gaeldom in the eyes of the British mainstream can be found in Gaelic poetry from the time of the Seven Years War (Michael Newton, “Jacobite Past, Loyalist Present,” e-Keltoi: Journal of Interdisciplinary Celtic Studies 5 [2003], www4.uwm.edu/celtic/ekeltoi/volumes/vol5/5_2/newton_5_2.pdf, pp. 40–42).


60. For example, anon. (“A Londoner, but No Cockney”), “The King’s Visit to Edinburgh,” Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine 12 (September–October 1822): 493. Also see Caroline McCracken-Flesher, Possible Scotlands: Walter Scott and the Story of Tomorrow (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 74, 85, 87.

61. Clyde, From Rebel to Hero, 128. Also see Pittock, Celtic Identity, 39–40.

62. McCracken-Flesher, Possible Scotlands, 73–113.

63. Lynch, Scotland: A New History, 357; Clyde, From Rebel to Hero, 128–29; Devine, Scottish Nation, 235; Laplace, L’Institution,” 143; McCracken-Flesher, Possible Scotlands, 87, 109.

65. For example, see the texts about the South Pacific analyzed in Ritz, _Sehnsucht_.

66. Chapman, _Gaelic Vision_, 19–20; Osterhammel, _Entzauberung_, 37. A similar point about the Gaels’ intermediate position between domestic(ated) Same and exotic Other had already been made by Martin Martin (SK 397). The same notion continues to influence today’s tourism: for British travelers who cannot afford or do not wish to go abroad, Wales or the Scottish Highlands are an attractive alternative. The existence of a different language makes these places feel foreign and interesting. The Highland tourism industry actively promotes Gaelic in this way, for example by putting up _Fàilte_ signs (the Gaelic word for “welcome”) at tourist informations, hotels, and village entrances. But linguistic difference is safely contained so that it cannot cause inconvenience: abroad, foreign languages are used all the time and not everybody speaks English, which might cause communication problems to tourists. In the Gaidhealtachd, everybody can speak English, nobody expects tourists to acquire even a smattering of Gaelic, and neither does this occur to most tourists themselves, whereas in France or Italy they might at least learn the local expressions for “good morning” or “thank you.” While the tourism industry markets Gaelic as an exotic asset, the highly threatened status of the language—and the role which tourism arguably plays in language decline—is discreetly pasted over.

67. Womack, _Improvement and Romance_, 130.

68. Chapman, _Celts_, 142–43.

69. Womack, _Improvement and Romance_, 62–82; Withers, “Historical Creation,” 146–47.


71. Ibid., 227.

72. Ibid., 228.

73. Ibid., 227.

74. Ibid.

75. Ibid.

76. Ibid., 228.

77. Similarly, big cities today are often felt to look similar the world over, for instance concerning prestige architecture like television towers or office skyscrapers; and the most obvious national differences can supposedly be encountered in older cultural expressions and more rural places.


80. Shields, *Sentimental Literature*, 128–29, 135–36. For her, this is not exclusively a sign of disempowerment, but also a potential site of reempowerment by stressing the Highlanders’ importance to the nation (136). However, I would argue that this importance is still couched in terms of disempowerment because it is based on colonial-style external projections of “noble savagery.” Moreover, the governing interests are those of the center which uses Highlanders as exploitable raw materials, rather than the Highland periphery’s own needs, as Shields notes herself (138).

81. Pittock points out that there was also a more radical strand linking Jacobitism with Jacobinism and republicanism or left-wing social criticism, for instance concerning the Clearances. Scottish sympathizers with the French Revolution also sympathized with Irish nationalism, contrary to the anti-Irish and procolonial sentiments which Anglo-Scottish mainstream discourse had displayed for about two centuries. A few Scots even favored the establishment of separate Scottish, Irish, and English republics. The establishment was aware that some strands of Jacobitism retained antiestablishment potential: the last arrest based on suspicions of Jacobitism was made in 1817; and despite the romantic fashion for Jacobite songs, not all of those songs were deemed acceptable (Pittock, *Poetry and Jacobite Politics*, for example, 177, 208–29, 235).


85. Womack, *Improvement and Romance*, 28, also see 27.

86. See, for example, Womack, *Improvement and Romance*, 27–39; Clyde, *From Rebel to Hero*.


88. Robert Chambers’ Jacobite Papers, 1623–1869, National Library of Scotland, MS 1696.f.90; quoted from W. Donaldson, “Bonny Highland Laddie,” 30–31. All brackets except the last were added by Donaldson to indicate editorial uncertainties.
94. Matthew Dziennik, “Whig Tartan: Material Culture and Its Use in the Scottish Highlands, 1746–1815,” *Past and Present* 217 (2012), 122, also see 119, 145. Interestingly, not all this marketing relied on primitivism—Dziennik foregrounds an opposite dimension which posited Highland dress as a symbol of modernity, for instance as part of a general militarization of British eighteenth-century dress codes that signified an individual’s commitment to the modern state. In this context, it is also interesting that the tartans for the first uniforms of the Breadalbane Fencibles were made not in the Highlands (as might have befitted a “primitivist” image), but through mass manufacture in England (120, 124, 135–36).
97. Devine, *Scotland’s Empire*, 294–301, 309–113, 358. However, already in the 1790s many Highland regiments had to enlist significant numbers of Lowlanders and even Englishmen. Despite proportionally huge subscription rates, the Highlands did not have enough population to fill all the regiments, partly also due to previous over-recruitment. The myth of the Highland soldier was so attractive that restocking the regiments with fake Highlanders seemed preferable to discarding the concept of Highland regiments altogether—as long as the fakes did not get too obviously numerous: in 1809, several mixed regiments lost the status and uniforms of Highland troops because the proportion of Lowlanders that was necessary to fill the ranks had become too large to sustain the Highland label (Devine, *Scotland’s Empire*, 298–99, 308; and Devine, “Soldiers of Empire”). In 1881, by contrast, army reforms decreed that even Lowland Scottish regiments should wear tartan, thus ratifying the transformation of Highland dress into a pan-Scottish symbol. For further examples of Highlandism and pan-Scottish identity constructs in a military context, see Cameron Pulsifer, “A Highland Regiment in Halifax: The 78th Highland Regiment of Foot and the Scottish National/Cultural Factor in Nova Scotia’s Capital, 1869–1871,” in Harper and Vance, *Myth, Migration and the Making of Memory*, for example, 144–46.
99. The phrase “the garb of old Gaul” recurred in the next century when the Caledonian Society of London proclaimed the preservation of the “garb of old Gaul” as one of its main objectives and drank to the welfare of the thus-labeled costume (1837; cited from Graeme Morton, “Ethnic Identity in the Civic World...


101. Smollett, *Humphrey Clinker*, 245–47; Smith, *Wealth of Nations*, 415–21, 690–93, 700–706, 786–87. Another familiar feature of Gaelic noble savagery endorsed by Smith is a paternal, convivial chieftain–tenant relationship in peacetime, manifest in large numbers of retainers, munificence, and communal feasting. This seems morally superior to greedy modern landowners who spend all their income on frivolous luxuries for themselves. But again, Smith’s approval of “primitiveness” is limited. He does not want to return to precapitalist patterns. In general, modern capitalism is still deemed the best system: despite individual selfishness, it can—if properly administered—organize selfish individuals in a way which also benefits society as a whole (412–22, 706, 908–9).

102. See, for example, Chapman, *Celts*, 118.


108. Clyde, *From Rebel to Hero*, 177. We might also add Mohawks to this list.

Chapter 4


4. Also see Clyde, *From Rebel to Hero,* 122. For example, the explanation that Dundee is “a seaport on the eastern coast of Angusshire” (71) would hardly be necessary to a Scottish audience; it seems mainly for the benefit of English and overseas readers.

5. Murray Pittock argues that such emphases on Highland-Lowland differences in Scott’s early work are, in his later works from the 1820s and 1830s, often replaced by a tendency to celticize the whole of Scotland (*Celtic Identity,* 37).


7. Chandler contends that this anticipates post-structuralist ideas about the constructedness of history (e.g., *England in 1819,* 34–35, 507, 512). Ian Duncan’s case study of Walter Scott’s *Rob Roy* also stresses the relativity of cultural values, and at times even the victory of “primitive” ones (“Introduction,” xxii–xxiv). Alok Yadav argues that even earlier writers, in a phase usually labeled as “pre-romantic,” “Enlightened,” or “classicist,” already show elements of cultural relativism. Even ideas of a “universal republic of letters” did not always assume universal standards of cultural value. For instance, insistence on a plurality of cultural standards could help to assert the value of one’s own—for example, British—culture, despite its marginalization by other cultures like those of France or Italy. Thus, even this supposed age of universalism had a particularist, cultural-nationalist dimension (Yadav, *Before the Empire of English,* for example, 96–114, 135, 150–56).

8. Skepticism towards absolute hierarchies can be seen as one element where *Waverley* exhibits a self-critical stance towards progressivist Enlightenment
rationality. Such self-criticism is also stressed by Matthew Wickman, *Ruins of Experience* (13); however, my own reading deems the critical dimension to be more limited.


13. The importance of cultural and linguistic boundary-crossing in *Waverley* is also stressed by R. Crawford, *Devolving English Literature*, 123–30; Makdisi, “Colonial Space,” 156–57; and Ferris, “Translation from the Borders.”


15. On Scott’s rootedness in Enlightenment discourse on progress and on the differences between “primitive” and “civilized” societies, also see, for example, Michel Maillard, “Le Traitement littéraire du Jacobitisme dans *Waverley*,” in *Regards sur l’Écosse au XVIIIe siècle*, ed. Michele S. Plaisant (Lille: Université de Lille, 1977), 222–23; and R. Crawford, *Devolving English Literature*, 111–16.

16. However, not all the Lowlands are considered to be in such a bad state—the area between Stirling and Edinburgh is called “cultivated country” (Scott, *Waverley* 291).

17. Also see Kerr, *Fiction against History*, 22–24.


19. This difference is also pointed out by Makdisi, “Colonial Space,” 157–59.


21. Pittock, “Scott as Historiographer,” 147–48, and Pittock, *Poetry and Jacobite Politics*, 233. The novel’s suggestion that Jacobitism was already dated before 1745 and was bound to be superseded is also discussed by Craig, *Out of History*, 222–23.


29. The comparisons to Native Americans are also noted by Palmeri, “Capacity of Narrative,” 40–41; and Liam Connell, “Kailyard Money: Nation, Empire and Speculation in Walter Scott’s *Letters from Malachi Malagrowther*,” in Sassi and van Heijnsbergen, *Within and without Empire*, 101. Scott’s connections between the different “primitives” of the Gaidhealtachd, antiquity, the “Orient,” and the overseas colonies are also briefly noted by Malzahn, “Exorcising the Past,” 5, 7. *Waverley* is not the only work by Scott which uses the term “wigwam” to liken Gaels to Native Americans: the same happens in his “Essay on Imitations of the Ancient Ballad,” included in the 1833 edition of *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* (vol. 4:45). Further comparisons of this kind in Scott’s works are noted by Sassi, *Why Scottish Literature Matters*, 88, 92–93.

30. See Kerr, *Fiction against History*, 11.

31. The repulsion provoked by Donald’s hybridity is also noted by Malzahn, “Exorcising the Past,” 4.


36. Also see Ferns, for example, “Look Who’s Talking,” 57–64; Ferris, “Translation from the Borders,” for example, 208–16; Bellamy, “Regionalism and Nationalism,” 73.

37. See Kerr, *Fiction against History*, 7.

38. See Kerr, *Fiction against History*, 7.


40. This passage is also discussed by Kerr, *Fiction against History*, 29–35; and Lumsden, “Beyond the Dusky Barrier,” 174. Also see W. Scott, *Waverley*, 313.


43. Modern scholars have also debated whether he relied on hacks to compile these Gaelic versions—see Thomson, *Gaelic Sources*, 85–89; Thomson, “Gaelic World,” 13–14; and Gaskill’s annotations to Macpherson’s anglophone Ossianic works, 541.

44. This refers to the Waverleys’ English family seat.


46. Also noted in Andrew Hook’s “Introduction” to the Penguin ed. of *Waverley*, 22–23.


50. This is also noted by Bellamy, “Regionalism and Nationalism,” 68–69.


52. Pittock, *Poetry and Jacobite Politics*, 233, author’s italics, also see 232.


57. For examples from Macpherson, see his *Poems of Ossian*, 91, 128. 130.

58. For examples from Macpherson, see his *Poems of Ossian*, 101, 120, 152, 164–65, 231.


60. “Ah, Beaujeu, my dear friend, how boring my profession as prince errant sometimes is.” (trans. mine)

61. Nonetheless, the respect for women which allegedly marks a higher civilization is not universal among the Lowlanders: later, the Baron displays patriarchal and feudal attitudes to marriage which are very similar to those of Fergus: both
think that a woman’s feelings need not be consulted about a match which her male guardians think suitable (W. Scott, *Waverley*, 460).

62. This nonpolitical, erotic dimension of female Jacobitism in *Waverley* is also noted by Claire Lamont, “Jacobite Songs as Intertexts in *Waverley* and *The Highland Widow*,” in Alexander and Hewitt, *Scott in Carnival*, 113.


65. Kerr, *Fiction against History*, 13, 21; Bellamy, “Regionalism and Nationalism,” 69. However, various critics have argued that Scott’s later works show a more complex, skeptical, or downright pessimistic attitude to historical objectivity, progressivism, integration, assimilation, and/or unionism (Harvie, “Scott and the Image of Scotland”; I. Duncan, “Introduction,” x, xvi–xvii, xxi–xxviii; Sassi, *Why Scottish Literature Matters*, 65–67, 72; Gottlieb, *Feeling British*, 201–9, 212–13; Shields, *Sentimental Literature*, e.g., 143, 149–51, 166–69). For instance, Duncan asserts that Scott—already in an essay from 1816 and in his 1817 novel *Rob Roy*—questions assumptions about neat successions of sociohistorical stages by stressing that “primitiveness” (exemplified by, though not exclusive to, the Highlands) and modern commercial society can coevally coexist and even complement or constitute each other. Moreover, in contrast to the vanquished, vanishing Gaels in *Waverley*, Duncan reads *Rob Roy* as a narrative of Highland resilience, survival, and partly also ongoing Highland resistance to appropriation and containment. Also see Wickman’s reading of *Rob Roy* (*Ruins of Experience*, 47–55).


68. R. Crawford, *Devolving English Literature*, 131.


70. Buzard, “Translation and Tourism,” 44.


74. The double function of the subtitle, conveying both proximity and remoteness, is noted by R. Crawford, *Devolving English Literature*, 117–18.


77. Makdisi, “Colonial Space,” 177, also see 176, 178.


79. This passage is aptly discussed in Lamont, “Waverley and the Battle of Culloden,” 22–23.


82. This is, for example, noted by Watson, *Literature of Scotland*, 257; and Ina Ferris, *The Achievement of Literary Authority: Gender, History, and the Waverley Novels* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1991), 80–86.


85. Ibid., 210.


88. Trumpener, *Bardic Nationalism*, xiii; also see 246–47.


91. On these processes in Cooper’s America, see Stafford, *Last of the Race*, 238–43, 253–56.


93. See the discussions in R. Crawford, *Devolving English Literature*, 187; Stafford, *Last of the Race*, 233; and Ferns, for example, “Look Who’s Talking,” 50–51, 64. Lamont identifies a similar distinction between Gaelic and non-European “barbarians” within Scott’s own work, although here the non-European colonized population is not American but (East) Indian (“Scott and Eighteenth-Century Imperialism,” e.g., 44, 48–49).

94. Examples of such anglophone Highland writers include Martin and Macpherson. On gaelophone examples, see Stroh, *Uneasy Subjects*, 159–88.

Chapter 5

1. For instance, see Maureen Martin’s case studies of how romantic notions of highlandized kilt-wearing Scots as images of hypermasculinity influenced Victorian negotiations of national and gender identities (Maureen Martin, Mighty Scot). She also acknowledges the uses (and limitations) of the “internal colonial” model (3–4, 41, 84, 92, 95, 108). Despite many lucid observations, her study contains some problematic passages where she employs elements of colonial discourse herself: she assumes that Scotland’s real national history and “cultivated” life took place exclusively in the Lowlands, implicitly colluding with colonial discourse which locates the Highlands outside culture, history, and the national community (2–3, 9, 24–25, 81). Other points, like her critique of enforced Highland depopulation, suggest an anticolonial stance, but these seem based on purely humanitarian sympathy with a supposedly benighted, primitive people, unaccompanied by a critique of how their “benightedness” and otherness were socially constructed to obscure the centrality of Gaeldom to medieval Scottish national identity and politics, and the fact that the Highlands have been just as “cultivated” as the Lowlands, though differently cultivated, for example, possessing a long tradition of sophisticated literature and learning, both oral and literate, albeit with conventions that partly diverged from Lowland ones.


3. This difference between eighteenth-century Enlightened and nineteenth-century racist thought is also pointed out by Krisztina Fenyő, Contempt, Sympathy and Romance: Lowland Perceptions of the Highlands and the Clearances during the Famine Years, 1845–1855 (Edinburgh: Tuckwell, 2000), 17–18, 25.


8. Pinkerton, Dissertation, 68.


11. For example, Pinkerton, Dissertation, 222.


13. Fenyő, Contempt, Sympathy and Romance, 30–32. On racist dimensions of Scottish Teutonism, also see Kidd, “Teutonist Ethnology,” 52–64, and Kidd,
14. Fenyö, Contempt, Sympathy and Romance, 31–32.
16. On all these developments, see Hunter, Making of the Crofting Community, 71–135, and Hunter, Last of the Free, 262–90; Womack, Improvement and Romance, 118; Devine, Scottish Nation, 194–95.
20. Sellar, letter to Lord Advocate Colquhoun, May 24, 1815; publ. in Adam, Papers, 1:156, Sellar’s italics.
22. Sellar, note, 175.
26. Fenyö, Contempt, Sympathy and Romance, for example, 1–6, 165–68. My information on the famine and contemporary public opinion is mainly based on Fenyö; Hunter, Making of the Crofting Community, 91–135, 156, and Hunter, Last of the Free, 278–79; and Devine, Scottish Nation, 413–21.
27. “Highland Destitution—Skye,” The Scotsman, July 21, 1847; quoted from Fenyö, Contempt, Sympathy and Romance, 69.
28. This link between class and race discourse is also highlighted by R. J. C. Young, Colonial Desire, 59, and Young, Idea of English Ethnicity, 81; Gustav Jahoda, Images of Savages: Ancient Roots of Modern Prejudice in Western Culture (New York: Routledge, 1999), xv; and Fenyö, Contempt, Sympathy and Romance, 37–38.
29. Fenyö, Contempt, Sympathy and Romance, 58.
30. Quoted from Fenyö, Contempt, Sympathy and Romance, 64, which apparently cites from anon., “Notes of a Winter Tour,” Fifeshire Journal, February 11, 1847.
31. “The Times Commissioner,” “The Condition of the People in the Highlands of Scotland,” The Times, October 1, 1846, 5; and another article publ. under the same pseudonym and title, The Times, October 7, 1846, 4.
32. Article series “Inquiry into the Distress in the Highlands and Islands,” The Scotsman, January 30–March 10, 1847, quoted from Fenyö, Contempt, Sympathy and Romance, 61.
33. Article series “Inquiry into the Distress in the Highlands and Islands,” The Scotsman, January 30–March 10, 1847, quoted from Fenyö, Contempt, Sympathy and Romance, 61.
34. The Scotsman, February 10, 1847; quoted from Fenyö, Contempt, Sympathy and Romance, 62.

36. This contradiction was already noted by Thomas Mulock, “Macleod of Macleod’s Attempted Refutation of Mr Mulock’s Statements,” *Northern Ensign*, January 16, 1851; quoted from Fenyö, *Contempt, Sympathy and Romance*, 141.


38. Fenyö, *Contempt, Sympathy and Romance*, 86.


42. Ferguson, *Identity of the Scottish Nation*, 293–95.


46. Knox, *Races of Men*, v; also see 12, 37.


51. This alludes to a famous song which was originally about a soldier’s fear of not returning home from war, but by at least the 1840s also became associated with emigration. The mentioning of Lochaber, together with the place-names Knox mentions in the rest of this paragraph, suggests that the passage refers particularly to the *Gaelic* Celts.

52. Knox ascribes the smallness of agricultural holdings in the Highlands merely to soil and climate, without acknowledging that it was mainly a result of social factors, that is, Clearances and crofting.
53. Knox seems undecided about whether the complete extermination of certain races is possible or not. Passages where he does seem to think it possible, for instance regarding Native Americans and South African Caffres, include _Races of Men_, 87, 111–13, 138–39, 184–85, 217–18, 229–30, 234–35, 243, 254, 446, 449–51. At least sometimes, he calls extermination desirable, for example concerning the “gypsies” (157, 159). Elsewhere, Knox suggests that total extermination of a race is impossible (e.g., 67, 71–75, 109, 113, 115–17, 125–28, 139–42). He admits his insecurity in this matter, which he attributes to a lack of conclusive information on the laws of racial development (219, also see 218).


55. Knox, _Races of Men_, 3–4. On racial war, also see 7, 213–14, 265–66, 348 (“war of race . . . must continue whilst race exists”).

56. The same strategy of portraying indigenous populations as unable to use their natural resources efficiently, thus justifying colonial takeover on economic or social Darwinist grounds, is identified in an overseas colonial context by Alan Lawson and Chris Tiffin, “The Textuality of Empire,” in _De-Scribing Empire: Post-Colonialism and Textuality_, ed. Lawson and Tiffin (New York: Routledge, 1994), 5.

57. Murray Pittoc points out that the branding of Celts as an unfit race destined to give way before a fitter race of Saxons gained considerable currency in the second half of the nineteenth century as a strategy to justify marginalization. Most of this discourse referred to Ireland, the most troublesome of the “Celtic” regions. He also quotes examples from the works of Thomas Carlyle and D. H. Lawrence which liken Irish people to Africans (Celtic Identity, 70–71).

58. Also see R. J. C. Young, _Idea of English Ethnicity_, 85–86.

59. Usually, Knox applies the term “colony” only to settler colonies.

60. The africanizing elements in this illustration are also discussed in R. J. C. Young, _Idea of English Ethnicity_, 79.

61. However, there are also passages where the Celts are claimed to be superior to nonwhite peoples, for example, Knox, _Races of Men_, 226, 235–36, 281.


64. Knox, _Races of Men_, for example, 11, 49, 113–14, 222, 264, 279–80, 374, 377, 469. Also see R. J. C. Young, _Idea of English Ethnicity_, 86.

65. Knox, _Races of Men_, 379, italics original. Also see R. J. C. Young, _Idea of English Ethnicity_, 86.


68. Kidd notes that a Celtic taint was not ascribed to Lowland Scotland in English racial nationalism (“Race, Empire,” 875). But anxieties about such a taint
may well have been excited by other discourse fields, for instance earlier uses of Gaelic icons as pan-Scottish national symbols, not only by Scottish patriots, but also by English anti-Scottish discourse (for instance in the eighteenth century), as well as in nineteenth-century English and Scottish popular culture.

Chapter 6

1. As, for instance, illustrated by certain strands of famine journalism (see Fenyö, *Contempt, Sympathy and Romance*).


3. However, not all Scottish–Irish relations in the nineteenth century were amicable and based on transperipheral solidarity. There was considerable anti-Irish prejudice and discrimination against Irish immigrants (e.g., see Devine, *Scottish Nation*, 488–89, 491, 502; Fry, *Scottish Empire*, 357, 370). Even Scottish Gaels, both in the United Kingdom and in the North American diaspora, sometimes tried to distinguish themselves from the Irish Gaels in order to claim a greater affinity with the Anglo-Saxon “master race” that dominated Britain’s anglocentric racial hierarchy. Such claims were made to improve the Scottish Gaels’ own position in this hierarchy (e.g., see Michael Newton, “How Scottish Highlanders Became White: The Introduction of Racialism to Gaelic Literature and Culture,” in Newton, * Celts in the Americas*, 286–87, 295, and Newton, “Bury My Heart at Culloden”).


9. For Arnold, see, for example, *Study of Celtic Literature*, 296–97, 346–47, 351, 361, 375, 390.


13. Letter to Father Allan MacDonald; quoted from Cameron, “Embracing the Past,” 208.

14. Fanon, *Wretched of the Earth*, 223.

15. As discussed in Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin, *Empire Writes Back* (1989), for example, 78.


23. For example, Arnold, *Study of Celtic Literature*, 335–36, 347, 374.

24. This is also noted by Roderick Watson, “Visions of Alba: The Constructions of Celtic Roots in Modern Scottish Literature,” in “Actes du Congrès international d’études écossaises, Grenoble, 1991,” special issue, *Études Écossaises* 1 (1992): 254; Sassi, “Imagined Scotlands,” 57; and D. Williams, “Pan-Celticism and the Limits of Post-Colonialism,” 28. However, “Fiona Macleod” was not the only pseudonym used by Sharp: another was the much less Celtic-sounding “Anne Montgomerie.” His further pen names also included male and Continental European ones. See Alaya, *William Sharp*, 103; Lahey-Dolega, “Some Brief Observations,” 21; Terry L. Meyers, *The Sexual Tensions of William Sharp: A Study of the Birth of Fiona Macleod, Incorporating Two Lost Works, “Ariadne in Naxos” and “Beatrice”* (New York: Peter Lang, 1996), 15. An additional complication is that, while common, the association of Celticity with femininity and of Saxondom with masculinity was not ubiquitous. As already noted, various Victorian representations continued romantic associations of Celticity with hypermasculinity; and Maureen Martin demonstrates that the other side of this coin was English and Lowland Teutons’ anxiety that their own masculinity might be comparatively deficient, thus needing constant reassertion (*Mighty Scot*). For readings which explain Sharp’s choice of the pseudonym “Fiona Macleod” through primarily non-Celticist factors, such as a critique of Victorian gender conventions, bisexual leanings, and a heterosexual extramarital romantic attachment, see Meyers, *Sexual Tensions*; and William F. Halloran, “W. B. Yeats, William Sharp, and Fiona Macleod: A Celtic Drama, 1897,” in “Yeats and the Nineties,” ed. Warwick Gould, special issue, *Yeats Annual* 14 (2001).


26. For example, Arnold, *Study of Celtic Literature*, 296–98.

27. For a relevant passage from Arnold, see his *Study of Celtic Literature*, 246, 347, 351, 355.


29. For Arnold, see *Study of Celtic Literature*, 247, 275, 296.

30. The general importance of “racial memory” in Sharp’s work is also noted by Alaya, *William Sharp*, 37–38.


32. William Sharp, “Introduction” to *Lyra Celtica*, li, and (as “Fiona Macleod”), *Pharais* (Derby, Eng.: Harpur and Murray, 1894), ix.


34. Intra-Celtic distinctions had already been made by Arnold, although for him the main intra-Celtic opposite of hyper-barbarian Gaeldom lay not in the
p-Celtic world in general or in Brittany alone, but in the entirety of France, including the latter’s non-Celtic-speaking parts (Study of Celtic Literature, 246, 292–93, 338, 349).

35. For Arnold, see his Study of Celtic Literature, 343.


38. While Green Fire insists on rational explanations for seemingly supernatural events, many of “Fiona Macleod’s” short stories revel in supernatural themes without any apparent urge to provide rationalizations. See, for instance, the collections Wind and Wave and The Sunset of Old Tales (Leipzig: Bernhard Tauchnitz, 1902 and 1905 respectively).


41. Durkacz, Decline of the Celtic Languages, 201–2.

42. In TGSJ 16 (1889–90) and 21 (1896–97) respectively. Subsequent references appear in the text.

43. Which races are meant by “the one” and “the other” becomes clear from pp. 27–29.

44. Another vindication of Gaelic culture by citing more prestigious English analogies can be found in Nicolson’s work: “We have as yet no absolute standard of Gaelic orthography, and it is no disgrace, considering that William Shakespeare spelled his . . . name in several ways, and that even Samuel Johnson’s English spellings are not all followed now” (“Preface,” xix).

45. The long-lasting influence of Victorian race theory is evident from the Lowland poet Maurice Lindsay’s introduction to Modern Scottish Poetry: An Anthology of the Scottish Renaissance (London: Faber and Faber, 1946), where he describes Highland-Lowland relations in terms which strongly resemble Macbean’s description of pan-British Celtic-Teuton relations. Lindsay writes, “Two racial strains have gradually intermingled to form the Scottish character. The
sturdy, tough-headed Lowlander has sprung mainly from Teuton stock, while the
more romantic Western Highlander is Celtic in his origin. . . . Curiously enough,
the gentler strain has predominated, and, for all his wiry practicality, the Low-
land Scot carries the mournful blood of the Celt, which . . . distinguishes him
from his Northern English neighbour” (15).

46. Macbean does not specify his exact source. In his essay the quote is on p. 66.

Conclusion

1. See Fenyö, *Contempt, Sympathy and Romance*.
3. See Maureen Martin’s discussion of these three women’s works in *Mighty Scot*, 129–63. Nonetheless, there are still limitations, for instance elements of racial typology in Oliphant’s work (also noted by Martin).

5. Harvie, “Anglo-Saxons,” 250, also see 249.
8. Cunninghame Graham, “‘Bloody,’” direct quote from 64, also see 61–67.
9. Cunninghame Graham, “‘Bloody,’” 63–64. However, despite its radical anticolonial stance, the essay still seems partly influenced by elements of colonial discourse: it seems to imply that Native Americans are comparable to prehistoric Europeans, thus reiterating the “contemporary ancestor” trope; and there is also a hint of antisemitism (62).