Scotland, Britain, Empire

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INTRODUCTION


3. David Daiches describes this as a “disassociation of sensibility” manifested in Scottish literature and the product of long habits of “thinking in one language” (Scots) and “writing in another” (English) (*The Paradox of Scottish Culture: the Eighteenth-Century Experience* [London: Oxford University Press, 1964], 21). Hugh MacDiarmid writes that a dictionary of Scottish biography would reveal “extraordinary contradictions of character, most dangerous antimonies and antithetical impulses, in the make-up of almost every distinguished Scot” (*Scottish Eccentrics*, 1936 [New York: Johnson Reprint, 1972], 284). MacDiarmid terms this condition the “Caledonian Antisyzygy,” adopting a phrase from Gregory Smith’s work *Scottish Literature and Influence*. (Smith borrowed the phrase from Sir Thomas Urquhart.) Tom Nairn warns of the dangers in the land of the Caledonian Antisyzygy: “[T]hat is the realm of an anguished examination of conscience and consciousness, a troubled subjective posturing, to which . . . Scots intellectuals have been prone” (*The Break-up of Britain* [London: NLB, 1977], 150). Kenneth Simpson has described the “split voice” of eighteenth-century Scottish literature as indicative of a pervasive identity crisis. The conflicting imperatives of the literary marketplace and national allegiance gave rise to “Protean Scots,” who were forced to adopt a multiplicity of voices (*The Protean Scot, the Crisis of Identity in Eighteenth Century Scottish Literature* [Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1988]).


5. Improvement became the central focus of the Highland Society of Edinburgh, which early on became more interested in farm management than in poetry.


8. For Bhabha, the ambivalence at the heart of colonial discourse threatens its stability. “The authority of colonial discourse that I have called mimicry,” he writes, “is therefore stricken by an indeterminacy: mimicry emerges as the difference that is itself the process of disavowal.” Given the anomalous condition of Scotland in relation to British imperialism, it is perhaps not coincidental that the colonial texts that Bhabha cites as examples (Charles Grant’s “Observations on the State of Society among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain”; Mills’s *History of India*; and Macaulay’s “Minute on Indian Education”) were written by Scots (“Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse,” *October* 28 [1984]: 235).


13. Baucom, for example, in *Out of Place* traces the subtle shifts in the idea of Britishness through a reading of changing parliamentary definitions of “British” subjectivity. Yet he makes little mention of nationalist pressures in Scotland, Ireland, and Wales that might have contributed to these shifts and continue to play role in legalistic definitions of Britishness.


15. Devine notes that Scots had a dominant interest in the West Indies sugar trade, and by the 1790s, “the dozen or so most powerful houses in Bengal and Bombay were dominated by Scots merchants. In America, the Scottish tobacco importers ruled the trade; by 1765 Glasgow ‘Tobacco Lords’ alone accounted for 40% of the British imports total” (The Scottish Nation, 1700–2000 [New York: Penguin, 1999], 121).

16. The Reverend Sydney Smith, for example, wrote that “as long as [Dundas] is in office the Scotch may beget younger sons with impunity. He sends them by the loads to the East Indies and all over the world” (quoted in Michael Fry, The Dundas Despotism [Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1992], 111).

17. Letters of Sir Walter Scott, ed. H. J. C. Grierson (London: Constable, 1932–37), 6:489. Scott’s phrase is often quoted in histories of Scottish contributions to empire, yet his metaphor betrays deep-seated paternal anxieties about the imperial project. When Scott learns that officer misconduct in the 18th Hussars, his son Walter’s regiment, might lead to its removal from Ireland to India, Scott writes that he would rather his son leave the service altogether than go with the regiment to India. Withholding his consent from his son’s request to be posted with his regiment, Scott wrote him in May 1821:

[You will get] neither experience in your profession, nor credit nor wealth nor anything but an obscure death in storming the hill fort of some Rajah with an unpronounceable name . . . or if you live it is but to come back 20 years hence a lieutenant or captain with a yellow face a diseased liver and not a rupee in your pocket to comfort you for broken health. (Letters 6:435)

For Scott, posting in India was tantamount to “banishment.”

18. In the Highlands, Meek writes, the society eventually had to resign itself to the use of Gaelic, “which gradually began to be employed in SSPCK schools. . . . [A] similar toleration of the use of Indian languages is apparent in its North American activities, especially in the third phase of its activities, after 1760” and a “learning of Indian languages was encouraged among potential missionaries.” Donald Meek, “Scottish Highlanders, North American Indians, and the SSPCK: Some Cultural Perspectives,” Scottish Church History Society 23 (1989): 391.
then by modernization, infusing it with historical memory. A figure both of the traditional and aristocratic culture that preceded English occupation, the bard symbolizes the central role of literature in defining national identity. (Bardic Nationalism, xii)

23. For example, in his detailed account of Scott’s gaudy, theatrical use of Highland costume and “traditions” during George IV’s 1822 Edinburgh visit, Prebble begins each new chapter with an epigraph taken from the testimonies of poor tenant Highlanders recalling the trauma of eviction (The King’s Jaunt).
24. This line of thought often produces a double irony, when it describes the victimization of colonial natives by Highland settlers. For example, Eric Richards sums the role of émigré Highlanders in North America: “The Highland Scots forced off their ancestral lands in Scotland, were now robbing the American Indians of their own ancestral lands. The ironies of the story multiplied throughout the age of clearances, which mainly began after 1780” (Highland Clearances 64).
25. For example, Robert Clyde, in his detailed study of the eighteenth-century “rehabilitation” of the Highlander—who went from rebellious “threat” to heroic “pet”—summarizes the process as a remarkable “replacement of myth with myth”; From Rebel to Hero: The Image of the Highlander, 1745–1830 (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1995). Charles Withers, in his essay “The Historical Creation of the Scottish Highlands,” though refusing to “separate out the historiographical chaff from the factual grain of Highland history,” nevertheless identifies the creation of the Highlands as a “set of myths,” which has become “part of the very ‘facts of history itself’”; Ian Donnachie and Christopher Whatley, eds., The Manufacture of Scottish History (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1992), 143. In Imagining Scotland (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1995) John R. and Margaret M. Gold survey Sir Walter Scott’s seminal role in propagating the “Highland Myth,” which determined the motive and frame of reference for travel to the Highlands in the nineteenth century.
26. Myth analyses also cannot account for the ways in which the discourse it identifies as “romance” can be used in resistance to the destruction of traditional social and economic practice in the Highlands. An example is David Stewart’s Sketches of the Character, Manners, and Present State of the Highlanders of Scotland (which I examine more closely in chapter 3). Though Womack dismisses Stewart as a purveyor of Highland “sentimentality” in the nineteenth century, both Donald Macleod and Alexander Mackenzie cite his work as pioneering their own journalistic critiques of clearance. Calling attention to Stewart’s work in his own “Gloomy Memories of the Highlands,” Macleod writes “[Stewart] has completely vindicated the character of the Highland tenantry, and has shown the impolicy, as well as cruelty, of the means used for their ejection.” Alexander Mackenzie, The History of the Highland Clearances, Containing a Reprint of Donald Macleod’s “Gloomy Memories of the Highlands” (1883; Edinburgh: Meercat Press, 1991), 23.
27. Fiona J. Stafford, The Sublime Savage: A Study of James Macpherson and the Poems of Ossian (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1988), 42. Faring even better within imperial circles was Sir John Macpherson, friend of James and the son of Dr. John Macpherson of Sleat, a recognized authority on Gaelic antiquity and early and ardent advocate of Ossian’s
authenticity. The son quickly rose in the Indian administration, becoming governor-general of British India in 1784, and G. J. Bryant has described him as “perhaps the most successful Scot to go to India in the eighteenth century,” whose efforts to promote the interests of other Macphersons (like James) reflected his “strong sense of clan.” Bryant also writes, “Highlanders appear to have predominated among the Scottish gentry in India.” “Scots in India in the Eighteenth Century,” Scottish Historical Review 64.1, no. 177 (April 1985): 27.

28. A particular example of a Highlander who moved equally well in English- and Gaelic-speaking cultures was John Campbell of Armaddie, who became Principal Cashier and chief executive of the Royal Bank of Scotland in 1745. Known as Caimbeul a’ Banca “Campbell of the Bank,” he was a subject of a tribute by the Gaelic poet Duncan Ban MacIntyre. (R. N. Forbes, “John Campbell of the Bank,” The Three Banks Review 99 [September 1973]: 49–57). William Mosman’s 1749 painting of Campbell shows him with the money purse and banknotes symbolic of his profession; behind the sitter, however, is a window that reveals his clan territory and the cave in which his Jacobite ancestor had hidden in 1715. Campbell also “chose to have himself painted in full Highland dress of tartan belted plaid shortly after its proscription by an act of parliament.” Hugh Cheape, Tartan: The Highland Habit (Edinburgh: National Museums of Scotland, 1991), 23.

29. The role of Highlanders in the outposts in shaping interest in the Highlands is suggested by the correspondence of the Highland Society of London, much of which is occupied with requests to establish chapters of the society overseas. These include several chapters in Canada, Cadiz, Calcutta, Bombay, and Cape Town. A lieutenant colonel writes of establishing a Highland Society of about thirty members “who, tho’ at a distance from their country, prove neither to have forgotten its language nor sentiments” (NLS Dep. 268 Box 1). The society’s list of accounts and receipts shows society funds were disbursed to indigent members of Highland regiments stationed overseas to pay for passage back to Scotland.


32. Davis, Acts of Union.

33. The term is Niall Ferguson’s (Empire).

CHAPTER ONE

1. See Colley, Britons 117–32.

2. Hugh Blair, the influential professor of rhetoric at Edinburgh University and the author of Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres (1784), for example, devotes a large section of his Critical Dissertation on the Poems of Ossian, bound together with later editions of the poetry, to establishing the epic quality of Ossian. Although he argues that it is impossible to compare two epics separated by culture and a time span of a thousand years, he nevertheless points out what he considers to be the obvious similarities between the poetry of Ossian and of Homer. The Poems of Ossian and Other Works, ed. Howard Gaskill (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996), 354–99.

4. Peter Womack, **Improvement and Romance: Constructing the Myth of the Highlands** (London: Macmillan, 1989), 145. Susan Manning summarizes the shift: “As the ‘assimilationist’ ideology of the eighteenth century gave way to the cultural nationalism of the nineteenth, Ossian achieved symbolic value as yet another index of Scottishness, a key to the country’s cultural independence and unique traditions following the loss of its political independence”; “Ossian, Scott, and Nineteenth-Century Scottish Literary Nationalism” 44–45.


6. For an overview of ideas of “race” and “culture” in European thought, see Robert J. C. Young, **Colonial Desire** (London: Routledge, 1995). Young argues that the terms are historically mutually constitutive: “Culture has always marked cultural difference by producing the other; it has always been comparative, and racism has always been an integral part of it: the two are inextricably clustered together, feeding off and generating each other” (54). For a discussion of scientific racism and its development in the nineteenth century, see Nancy Stepan, **The Idea of Race in Science: Great Britain, 1800–1960** (London: Macmillan, 1982). Neither the racist ideas of Macpherson nor of John Pinkerton, MacPherson’s antiquarian nemesis, implied rigid biological divisions based primarily on skin color. Both Pinkerton’s and Macpherson’s theories, however, are attempts to hierarchize racial characteristics. In his **Dissertation on the Origin and Progress of the Scythians or Goths** (London: John Nicols, 1787), Pinkerton, while emphasizing that differences among humans are obvious, points to the need for a more “scientific” approach to race classification:

> It is a self-evident proposition, that the author of nature, as he formed great varieties in the same species of plants, and of animals, so he also gave various races of men as inhabitants of several countries. A Tartar, a Negro, an American, &c. &c. differ as much from a German, as a bulldog, or lapdog, or shepherd’s cur from a pointer. The differences are radical; and such as no climate or chance could produce: and it may be expected that as science advances, able writers will give us a complete system of the many different races of men. (33–34)

For a discussion of one example of the erasure of “Celt” as a marker for “race,” as skin color became the determining criteria for racial difference in the nineteenth century, see Noel Ignatiev, **How the Irish Became White** (New York: Routledge, 1995).

7. Womack, **Improvement and Romance** chap. 2.

8. As Tejaswini Niranjana emphasizes: “The idea of translation . . . is a metonymy for the desire to achieve transparent knowledge and provide for a Western audience immediacy of access to ‘primitive thought.’ The desire to translate is a desire to *construct* the primitive world, to *represent* it and to *speak on its behalf*.” **Siting Translation: History, Post-Structuralism, and the Colonial Context** (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press,
9. In her examination of U.S. representations of the Native American, Carr argues that the discourse on primitivism is itself inherently unstable and varying and occupied a multiplicity of cultural sites. The task of the critic, therefore, is to recognize this multiplicity, to “map” primitivism onto a particular place and cultural context and to chart its changing imperatives, as “colonialist images and language meet particular historical needs and change with them.” *Inventing the American Primitive: Politics, Gender, and the Representation of Native American Literary Traditions, 1789–1936* (New York: New York University Press, 1996), 11.


15. The polarity of the antiquarian debate on Scotland’s ethnic origins is reflected in the personal attacks on the respective writers, a situation that is often replicated by modern-day critics. For example, Trevor-Roper, in “The Highland Tradition of Scotland,” calls Macpherson “an insolent pretender,” while commending Pinkerton for being the “implacable enemy of the historical and literary falsifications of . . . Macpherson” (27). Trevor-Roper, who reiterates much of Pinkerton’s ideas, calls him “the greatest Scottish antiquary since Thomas Innes” (27). Weinbrot is sympathetic to Pinkerton’s pro-Goth assertions in the face of what he calls the “ugliness” of James Macpherson’s work, which was “a popular but intellectually dishonest, occasionally plagiarized, and morally corrupt version of British and European history.” Howard Weinbrot, “Celts, Greeks, and Germans: Macpherson’s Ossian and the Celtic Epic,” in *1650–1850: Ideas, Aesthetics, and Inquiries in the Early Modern Era*, ed. Kevin L. Cope (New York: AMS Press, 1994), 1:11. On the other hand, Colin Kidd declares an end to the “legend” that Macpherson was “a complete charlatan,” while describing Pinkerton as “more outrageous in his racial prejudices” than any other of the anti-Celt antiquarians of the time (*Subverting Scotland’s Past* 252).

16. Pittock finds the roots of Macpherson’s “sentimentalism” in the “post-Culloden experience of Jacobite culture, while his use of landscape derived from the fertility images (and their opposite) associated with the fate of the Stuart kings.” Sublime Ossianic landscape, Pittock argues, not only looked forward to an emerging Romantic aesthetic but also looked backward to the ideology of Jacobitism (*The Invention of Scotland* 78). On the other hand, Colin Kidd sees in Macpherson’s historiography a “Celtic whiggism,” “British in scope,” which emphasized the progressive development of legal and governmental institutions throughout the ancient societies of Britain (*Subverting Scotland’s Past* 224, 223).

17. Though the standard spelling of the name given to these people was in Pinkerton’s time and is in the present “Picts,” Pinkerton uses “Piks” to denote what he describes as the “indigenal” name of the people. “Piks,” he argues, is the proper Gothic term, whereas “Picts” is merely the “Latin epithet, from their painting themselves” (*Enquiry* 1:xli–xlii).
18. In his “Advertisement” to the *Enquiry*, Pinkerton even apologizes for the repetitiveness of his anti-Celticism, if not its intensity:

[M]any late authors, by applauding their [the Celts’s] savage life, and contempt of every civilized art, seemed to allow the dreams of Rousseau, which would restore mankind to a state of nature, that is, to lawless rapine and slaughter.

The author regrets not that the Celtic prejudices were attacked, but that the attack was too often unnecessarily repeated; and no argument, or fact, has hitherto arisen, which in the least affects the documents, and deductions, displayed in this Enquiry, or in the dissertations annexed. (*Enquiry* 1:10)

19. *Enquiry* 1:268. In keeping with the structure of their debate, Macpherson argues exactly the opposite. The ancient Celtic people, Macpherson argues in his *Introduction*, were marked by the special political power that women had in their society:

[T]he high spirit of the Celtic women gave them more influence over our ancestors than our modern beauties derive from all their elegant timidity and delicacy of manners. The most unpolished Germans, according to Tacitus, thought that something divine dwelt in female minds: Women were admitted to their public deliberations, and they did not despise the opinions or neglect to follow their advice. To such a pitch had some branches of the Celtae carried their veneration for the fair sex, that, even in their life-time, a kind of divine honours was paid to women. The ancient Britons were particularly fond of the government of women. Succession, where it was established at all, went in the female as well as in the male line. . . . (207–208)

20. For example, Europeans embraced wholeheartedly the idea that Scotland was the land of Celtic Ossianic heroes. A Macpherson biographer describes the excitement of Herder as he anticipated a planned trip to Britain:

When I still cherished in my mind the thought of a journey to England, you little know how I counted on these Scots! One glance, I thought, at the public life, the stage, the whole lively spectacle of the English people. . . . Then the great change of scene,—to the Scots!—to Macpherson! There I would fain hear the living songs of a living nation, witness all their influence, see the places that the poems tell of, study in their customs the relics of this ancient world, become for a time an ancient Caledonian. (quoted in J. S. Smart, *James Macpherson: An Episode in Literature* [London: David Nutt, 1905], 7–8)

On the other hand, Thomas Babington Macaulay, whose father was himself born in the Highlands, as late as the 1850s provided a vision of the Gael in his *History of England* (ed. Hugh Trevor-Roper [Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1968]), that seems a direct descendent of Pinkerton’s. Describing a hypothetical seventeenth-century “dinner party” in the Highlands from the perspective of a “civilized” outside observer, Macaulay writes:

At supper grain fit only for horses would have been set before him, accompanied by a cake of blood drawn from living cows. Some of the company with which he would have feasted would have been covered with cutaneous
eruptions, and others would have been smeared with tar like sheep. His couch would have been the bare earth, dry or wet as the weather might be; and from that couch he would have risen half poisoned with stench, half blind with the reek of turf, and half mad with the itch. (363)

21. Hudson writes that by the late eighteenth century even Homer, whose work had long been considered the greatest example of epic writing, had been claimed by “oralists.” In 1769 Robert Wood published An Essay on the Original Genius and Writings of Homer, which claimed that not only was Homer illiterate, but that he “had even derived some advantage from being part of a pre-literate world.” “‘Oral Tradition’: The Evolution of an Eighteenth-Century Concept,” in Tradition in Transition: Women Writers, Marginal Texts, and the Eighteenth-Century Canon, ed. Alvaro Ribeiro and James G. Basker (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 174; emphasis in original.

22. Penny Fielding, Writing and Orality: Nationality, Culture, and Nineteenth-Century Scottish Fiction (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 9. Macpherson, though he generally defended oral culture in his public writings, seemed at times unsure of the reliability of his oral sources. He is often critical of the influence of later generations of bards, because they seemed to him to have corrupted the tales with the introduction of giants and fairies and supernatural phenomenon, all reflecting the character of what Macpherson saw as a superstitious, post-Ossianic Gaelic culture. The limitations of the oral tradition, as Macpherson describes them, determined his task as translator in his own mind. If the poetry of Ossian had been corrupted through the ages, in both their textual and oral forms, then it was Macpherson’s task to “purify” them by restoring the original intent of its author. Thus, what his detractors of the time saw as outright forgery—and what modern critics may judge as creative adaptation—Macpherson saw as simple restoration, a restoration born of his primitivist ideas concerning the character of Highland society.


24. Michel de Certeau, The Writing of History, trans. Tom Conley (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988). De Certeau describes the writings of a sixteenth-century missionary, Jean De Lery, who traveled to the coast of Brazil to record the oral culture of the Tupinambous. Lery returned to France to write a narrative of his experience among the natives, to transform their spoken words into a text in French. By converting the orality of the native into textuality, Lery’s “ethno-graphy” transforms them: “Ecclesial election is turned into a Western privilege; originary revelation into scientific concern for upholding the truth of things; evangelization into an enterprise of expansion and return to one’s self” (219).

25. Quoted in Stafford, The Sublime Savage, 80. Such well-meaning efforts to preserve indigenous oral traditions in print such as Macpherson’s often met with failure. For example, John Reid’s Bibliotheca Scoto-Celtica (1832; Naarden: Anton W. Van Bekhoven, 1968) lists a “copy of the Gaelic contained in Sir John Sinclair’s splendid edition of Ossian” that was printed at the expense of Sir J. Macgregor Murray and other gentlemen, for the purpose of being distributed among the Highlanders to preserve as much as possible their ancient chivalric spirit, by giving them an opportunity of reading the valorous exploits of their ancestors, as the reciting of them had then nearly ceased. Accordingly there was a copy sent for the use of every parish school in
the Highlands. These copies were addressed to the care of the parish ministers.
. . . (99; emphasis in original)

However, local residents in the Highlands, it seemed, proved resistant to the reworking of their traditions:

[W]hether from a curiosity to have a copy of Ossian themselves in the original, or from a supposition that the book would be useless to most of the raw disciples of a rustic school, many of these copies were never given up to their destined purpose, and we yet occasionally meet with the identical copies thus meant for general use, and for promoting a laudable object, lying dormant on the dusty shelves of a manse library, with the donatory ticket still fresh upon some, and taken off others! (99)


[W]e believe no well-informed person will now pretend that Ossian is to be quoted as historical authority, or that a collection of Gaelic poems does any where exist, of which Macpherson’s version can be regarded as faithful, or even a loose translation. (429)

Kidd suggests that Scott was in large part critical of Ossian and Macpherson’s historiographical project. Scott, Kidd writes, “ridiculed those Highlanders who ‘adopted the poems of Ossian as an article of national faith.’ Old and new forms of national mythology were in varying degrees absurd and obnoxious” (Subverting Scotland’s Past 257–58). However, Kidd admits that “Scott was an admirer of Macpherson as a poet . . . and that strong Ossianic influences are apparent in Scott’s own poetry, notably The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border . . . and The Lay of the Last Minstrel ” (258 n.). Indeed, in his review of the Report, Scott seems to acknowledge the intense cultural need of many Scots to believe in the authenticity of Ossian’s poetry while at the same time knowing that the poems could not be authentic:

[W]e are compelled to renounce the pleasing idea, that Fingal lived, and that Ossian sung, [but] our nationally vanity may yet be flattered by the fact, that a remote, and almost a barbarous corner of Scotland, produced, in the 18th century, a bard capable not only of making an enthusiastic impression on every mind susceptible of poetical beauty, but of giving a new tone to poetry throughout all Europe. (462)

Scott establishes the grounds for the later critical assessments of Macpherson’s work, shifting them from questions of authenticity, and praising instead the aesthetic achievements of Macpherson.

29. Tacksmen, or *fir-tacsa*, were a class of lower gentry in traditional Highland society. In practice they acted as middlemen between tenants and landowners: They owned leases on land that they managed and supervised, collecting rents from tenants who worked for them. However, by the mid-eighteenth century the economic transformation of the Highlands was gradually eliminating this class, and, as Devine writes in *Clanship to Crofters’ War*, “the deliberate destruction of subtenure became a central theme of landlord policy from the 1770s” (34). Because of this, tacksmen and other lower gentry represented the majority of Highland emigrants to North America in the mid-1770s.


31. Stafford emphasizes the role of cross-cultural tensions in Macpherson’s work, seeing them largely in spatial terms. She writes, “Macpherson’s own life shows a constant struggle to reconcile the conflicting loyalties to North and South” (*The Sublime Savage* 7).

CHAPTER TWO

1. The term “Celtification” to describe Scott’s national agenda was first coined by his son-in-law, John Gibson Lockhart, in his biography of Scott (*Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott, Bart.*, 7 vols. [Edinburgh: Robert Cadell, 1837–38]).

2. Nairn sees in Scott’s romanticized Celtification the roots of the “Tartan Monster.” This apparition, along with “kailyardism,” is the prime bearer of Scottish “subnationalism,” which he describes in psychological terms as infantile and grotesque, composed of sentimental “kitsch images” and a “deforming nostalgia” by which Scots forever look backward to premodern Scotland, as they are incapable of looking to the future (*The Breakup of Britain* [London: NLB, 1977], 116, 114). David McCrone, in his study of the critique of “Scotch myths” of Tartanry/kailyard and the search for an “authentic” Scottish national feeling, sees in this search a dominant, but ultimately misguided, discourse in Scottish culture. This discourse premises an overly internalist account of Scotland, which ignores the inherent fragmentation of modern national culture (“Representing Scotland: Culture and Nationalism,” *The Making of Scotland: Nation, Culture, and Social Change*, ed. David McCrone, Stephen Kendrick, and Pat Straw [Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1989]). In a similar vein, Cairns Craig takes up Scott’s use of Highland “iconography.” Instead of the manifestation of deformed or inauthentic national culture symptomatic of shortcomings in the Scottish national psyche, Craig sees their use as the expression of the “dialectic of Scotland’s relation with England,” a manifestation of Scotland’s peripheralization in relation to an English “core.” In the weird logic of peripheralization, the most “marginal” space of Scotland became central to its identity (*Out of History* 116).

3. Some critics acutely have described the unfolding variances in Scott’s image of the Highlands, tracing a continuously evolving and shifting picture from the one that *Waverley* offered. Christopher Harvie and Caroline McCracken-Flesher, for example, cite the two
stories in volume 1 of the *Chronicles of the Canongate* as representing Scott’s strongest reworking of his Highland material. Harvie sees in the pessimism of “The Two Drovers” and “The Highland Widow” a metaphor for the predicament of Scotland as a whole, as they depict “a collapsing Scottish culture . . . being replaced by an even more imperilled industrial civilization” (“Scott and the Image of Scotland,” *Sir Walter Scott: The Long Forgotten Melody*, ed. Allan Bold [London: Vision Press, 1983], 38). More recently, McCracken-Flesher sees a marked change from Scott’s earlier facilitation “of his nation’s economic and political advancement within union.” By the mid-1820s, after the collapse of his finances, Scott was beginning to draw “the political and the personal into a depressing picture of Scotland’s socio-economic subjection” and so paints a bleak picture in “The Highland Widow” of the Scottish male who seeks advancement under the matrix of English power only to find “they stand to be permanently exiled from their Scottish identity” (“Pro Matria Mori: Gendered Nationalism and Cultural Death in Scott’s ‘The Highland Widow,’” *Scottish Literary Journal* 21, no. 2 [November 1994]: 71, 76).

4. For a recent study of Scott’s involvement in the theater, which, the study argues, forces us to rethink Benedict Anderson’s definition of the nation as the “imagined community,” see Cairns Craig, “Scott’s Staging of the Nation,” *Studies in Romanticism* 40, no. 1 (Spring 2001): 13–28.


7. Sutherland observes “at Edinburgh University in 1789–90, Scott attended the classes held by Dugald Stewart, Professor of Moral Philosophy and Smith’s chief contemporary commentator and popularizer.” In the introductory epistle of *The Fortunes of Nigel* Scott takes issue with Smith’s distinction of unproductive and productive labor. (Belles lettres falls into the latter category, as its value is fixed in no permanent commodity.) Instead, Sutherland writes, Scott imagines the writer as both an investor of capital and as a worker “whose creative effort is one stage in the book’s manufacture.” “Fictional Economies: Adam Smith, Sir Walter Scott and the Nineteenth-Century Novel,” *ELH* 54, no. 1 (1987): 101.

8. Duncan, introduction to *Rob Roy* xviii. The economic mode of thought in the novel is often seen to reinforce the dialectic of Scott’s thinking, as it represents the rational in opposition to the romantic. Bruce Beiderwell, for example, locates the tension between commercial values and the brutal code of Highland honor in the conflicted position of the novel’s protagonist, Frank Osbaldistone, who both benefits and recoils from the horrible vengeance code of the Highlands. *Power and Punishment in Scott’s Novels* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1992), 45–61.

9. Though Lockhart would later dismiss the seriousness of Scott’s national grievances, characterizing the letters as an “escape valve” for Scott to let off a little steam, McCracken-Flesher has seen in the letters Scott’s attempt to speak the colonized Scottish subject, to give
voice to the nation made voiceless by English cultural and economic domination (“Speaking the Colonized Subject in Walter Scott’s Malachi Malagrowther Letters”). Acknowledging his nation’s own deformity, Scott embodies it by speaking through the grotesque form of one Malachi Malagrowther, the lineal descendent of the disfigured Sir Mungo Malagrowther, who appears as James VI’s whipping boy in *The Fortunes of Nigel* (1822).


11. In his study of Highland-Lowland migration, Charles W. J. Withers writes:

   temporary movement was an important means of monetary income and familiarised many with social customs beyond their native parishes. . . . The picture we must hold of rural Europe in this period is, then, one both of considerable rural movement rather than that enduring but now discredited image of a ‘static’ countryside, and of regional economies connected one to another through such population movement. (*Urban Highlanders: Highland-Lowland Migration and Urban Gaelic Culture, 1700–1900* [East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1998], 8)

12. Devine, *Clanship to Crofters’ War*, 242. Further, Devine states that “Highlanders comprised an estimated 6 percent of the population of Greenock in the early eighteenth century but around 30 percent by the 1790s, and the number of Gaelic-speakers in the town had risen from less than 500 in the middle decades of the century to over 5,000 by its end” (242).

13. Indeed, Devine reports that Highland migration patterns were regionally defined and that “it was the urban areas of the Western Lowlands which attracted most Highlanders and the Gaelic communities in Glasgow, Greenock and Paisley were much greater than those of the eastern towns.” Moreover, “the majority of migrants came from parishes and districts on the Highlands frontier and only a relatively small fraction, until the later decades of the century, from the more distant areas of the far north and west” (*Clanship to Crofters’ War* 242).

14. Peter D. Garside discounts Ferguson’s influence, suggesting that Scott would have found Ferguson’s work “too dry and abstract” (“Scott and the Philosophical Historians” 499). As a young man, however, Scott knew Ferguson and in later life would become close friends with Ferguson’s son, who, at Scott’s instigation, was made Keeper of the Scottish Regalia during the king’s visit.

15. For a discussion of the importance of the debate surrounding the foundation of a national militia on Scottish Enlightenment thinkers, particularly Ferguson, see Robertson, *The Scottish Enlightenment and the Militia Issue*, 200–209 and passim.


17. John Galt’s “The Gathering of the West” attempts to recuperate the Radical reputation of the Glasgow working class by bringing them into the fold of the loyal populace. The section titled “Paisley Bodies” depicts the deliberations of a group of weavers with radical sympathies (a group of weavers had been the main instigators of riots in the city at the height of the radical agitation) deciding whether to go to Edinburgh to see the king. One of them suggests that a “revision” of radical principles seems necessary as times have changed
and that the way to encourage reform in parliament is to allow the king to come before the Scottish people (Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine 12 [July–December 1822]: 311).

18. The phrase is taken from a 1587 Act of Parliament, which acknowledged the ambiguity of kinship ties in relation to clan allegiances in Highland society. R. A. Dodgshon writes that the act recognized clans as integrated by “both pretense of blude” and “place of thair duelling [dwelling]” In other words, “though there is an element of ambiguity about precisely what is meant by these phrases . . . they leave no doubt over the essentially synthetic character of clans as kinship groups.” “‘Pretense of Blude’ and ‘Place of Thair Duelling’: The Nature of Highland Clans, 1500–1745,” in Scottish Society, 1500–1800, ed. R. A. Houston and I. D. Whyte (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 169.

19. The king’s London tailor provided a detailed description of his costume:

[The king wore a] fine gold chased head ornament for Bonnet, consisting of Royal Scots Crown in miniature, set with Diamonds, Pearls, and Rubies and emeralds, supported on a wreath of chased gold Thistles surrounding a sea-green emerald, large sized. His Goatskin Highland Purse had a massive gold top and nine rich gold bullion tassels, whilst his powder horn was gold-mounted and attached to a massive gold chain. His dirk was inlaid with gold and encased in a crimson velvet scabbard richly ornamented with chased gold mountings with the Royal Arms of St. Andrew, Thistle, etc. He had a fine basket-hilted sword and a pair of Highland pistols. His costume included 61 yards of Royal Sattin Plaid, 31 yards of Royal Plaid Velvet, and 17 1/2 of Royal Plaid Casemere. (quoted in John Telfer Dunbar, The Costume of Scotland [London: B. T. Batsford, 1984], 79)

20. Lockhart’s own disdain for Highland culture is reflected in his Peter’s Letters to His Kinsfolk. Full of character descriptions of Scots literati of the time (including Scott) the work makes almost no mention of Highlanders, save of Scott’s piper and of an anonymous Edinburgh caddie, one “D—d M’N—,” whose only function in the city is to “perform all little offices [a stranger] may require during the continuance of his visit.” A common figure among Edinburgh streets in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the Highland caddie is an insignificant comical figure in Lockhart’s account, a lowlife immigrant who counts for nothing in the cultural doings of the nation’s capital city. Lockhart’s mocking description pokes fun at the commonness of Highland names. The concealment of the caddie’s true name is not a concealment at all, since “Donald McDonald” was thought stereotypically to be a name so common in the Highlands that it could be used to connote all Highlanders. In Peter’s Letters to His Kinsfolk, 2 vols. (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1819), 2:241.

21. By 1822 Wilson’s had made a considerable fortune satisfying the ever-increasing public demand for new and different tartan setts. Only around 1819, however, did the firm begin to standardize its product, though even then, tartan design still was determined largely by commercial expediency, not historical memory as demand necessitated a proliferation of differing “clan” patterns. See Cheape, Tartan.

22. Chatterjee cites a standard Bengali dictionary to list the different senses of jāti in India. In addition to its rough rendering into English as “caste,” the term also can be used to signify birth origin (“such as musalmān by birth, Vaisnav by birth, a beggar by birth [jāṭīte musalmān, jāṭīte vāsnav, jāṭīte bhikharī], classes of living species (“such as human jāṭī, animal jāṭī, bird jāṭī, etc.”), lineage or clan (“such as Arya jāṭī, Semitic jāṭī”), or human collectivities “bound by
loyalty to a state or organized around the natural and cultural characteristics of a country or province . . . such as English, French, Bengali, Punjabi, Japanese, Gujarati, etc.” The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), 221.

CHAPTER THREE


3. For a summary of the transformative effects of war with France, see Colley’s introduction in Britons.


5. Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire and the Imagining of Masculinities (London: Routledge, 1994).


7. Though the elite commanders of the Napoleonic Wars—men like the Duke of Wellington, for example—were adulated upon their return from the war, the returning common British soldier often was considered a dangerous destabilizing force let loose upon the countryside. Amid fears that soldiers used to quell unrest back home would more likely join the “radical mob” rather than defeat it, Wellington characterized the average army recruit as “‘the scum of the earth. . . . the ‘most drunken’ and ‘worst’ specimens of humanity.’ Only during the Victorian era, Edward M. Spiers suggests, would a “transformation occur[r] in attitudes towards the army.” After the Crimean War, he writes, “[t]he valour and heroism of the troops had been widely admired. It became a commonplace to assert that the nation should, in the post-war years, recognize its responsibilities towards the rank and file” (The
8. Cynthia Enloe argues that Scottish Highland soldiers—along with Gurkha, Sikh, and Punjabi soldiers incorporated into the British Indian army after the Indian Mutiny—are an example of “ethnic soldiers.” The historical uses of such soldiers by the modern nation-state, Enloe argues, “reveal how central state regimes have used, and continue to use, ethnicity to maintain political order and their own authority through particular manpower conceptualizations and manipulations” (Ethnic Soldiers: State Security in Divided Societies [Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1980], ix). Ethnic groups dependent on soldiery as a profession are thus placed firmly within the state’s sphere of control. For more discussion of representations of Highland and “native” soldiers after the Indian Mutiny, see chapter 5.

9. Diana Henderson reports that the majority of officers in Highland kilted battalions before the mid-nineteenth century were Scots. Gaelic speakers are entirely another matter. Though “it could well be the case that [officers from the Highlands] were amongst the native speakers . . . [t]here is little evidence . . . that any officers in the Highland battalions used Gaelic in ordinary conversation or communication” (Highland Soldier, a Social Study of the Highland Regiments, 119–20). David Stewart is a notable exception.

10. Lockhart records that James Skene of Rubislaw credited the creation in 1797 of an Edinburgh force of mounted volunteers to “Scott’s ardour” (Memoirs, 1:258). Scott was not alone in his enthusiasm, as Scotland’s professional classes volunteered disproportionately to the ranks of volunteer militias. Devine reports that “by the end of 1803 more than 52,000 Scots had enrolled in 51 regiments out of the 103 established for the whole of the United Kingdom” (The Scottish Nation 215). Even so, some of Scott’s young lawyer friends found his military zeal rather ridiculous. Lockhart records that one wrote to another: “Not an idea crosses [Scott’s] mind, or a word his lips, that has not an allusion to some d——d instrument or evolution of the cavalry. . . . After all, he knows little more about wheels and charges than I do about the wheels of Ezekiel” (Memoirs 1:263).


12. Buzard has described Waverley itself as a paradigmatic example of Scott’s enactment of a fictional “autoethnography”; “Scotland’ representing itself” to an audience of English-speaking Britons (“Translation and Tourism”). While I take Buzard’s point that Waverley is an important site of a distinct Scottish identity that signifies only in terms of an imperial “Britishness,” I take issue with labeling the work an autoethnography; at least in the sense in which Pratt coined the term and which I discuss in the context of Stewart’s work later in this chapter. As Scott himself was careful to state several times, his knowledge of Highlands was
limited to summer visits as a boy and occasional travel. Scott’s knowledge and use of Gaelic was quite limited. For a discussion of Scott’s imperfect and stereotypical presentation of Gaelic, see Graham Tulloch, *The Language of Sir Walter Scott* (London: A. Deutsch, 1980).

13. Elizabeth Watterson, “Beginning a ‘Life’: Opening Movement in Scott’s *Napoleon and Galt’s Byron,*” *Scottish Literary Journal* 7 (May 1980): 42. In its detailed accounts of the military achievements, defeats, and strategies of France, its allies, and its enemies—from the conditions leading to the fall of the ancien régime to Napoleon’s exile and death on Elba—*The Life of Napoleon* (Edinburgh: Cadell, 1827) investigates the ways in which cultural and social environments shape, and are shaped by, masculine behavior in war. For example, Scott’s discussion on the reasons the levee en masse managed to produce a large-scale but effective fighting force is prefaced with a summary of the conditions of French boyhood. The French boy, Scott writes, “adopted the habits most necessary for a soldier with singular facility and readiness” and “[military duty] is as natural to him as to his father or grandfather before him” (2:382).


15. In 1725, four independent Highland companies were established. More companies were added a few years later and were collectively known as “the Watch, the Highland Watch, or *am Freiceadan Dubh* [the Black Watch].” The Black Watch would be incorporated into the British army in 1739 as the 43rd (Highland) Regiment of Foot. In 1739, the regiment became the 42nd, with which Stewart marched in Edinburgh after Waterloo in 1816. The Black Watch survives today as the 1st Battalion of the Black Watch (Royal Highland Regiment) and presided over the handover ceremonies in Hong Kong in 1997.


17. For a discussion of the idea of *duthchas* in traditional Scottish Gaelic society, see Dodgson, “‘Pretense of Blude,’” and Macinnes, “Scottish Gaeldom: The First Phase of Clearance.”

18. The sympathetic cultural relativism of the judges’ pronouncement is echoed in Scott’s writing elsewhere. The judge who condemns the Highlander Oig MacCombich to the gallows makes much the same pronouncement. Scott reiterates the case for Highland exculpation in his own history of the rebellion in *Tales of a Grandfather*, third series.

19. Gordon points out that Scott contrasts the character of primitive warriors with those of the middle and upper classes. Summarizing Scott’s view of the Spanish ruling class, for example, Gordon writes: “[T]he nobles are decadent because of inbreeding, the clergy is bigoted and superstitious, the middle class—especially its professionals and intellectuals—respond to clerical obscurantism by flying off into skepticism. Only the peasantry remain as possible saviours of the kingdom” (“Scott among the Partisans” 117). For Scott, it is the
peasant fighter, able to “part with the advantages of civilized society upon . . . easy terms,” who is the true embodiment of the fighting will of the nation (117).

20. Robert Clyde calls the Sketches the “first history of the Highland regiments” (From Rebel to Hero 151). Prebble writes that interest in Highland society after the king’s visit prompted several newspapers in England to publish serial accounts of The Highland Clans and Their History, much of which was lifted directly from the Sketches (The King’s Jaunt 360). Two of the most popular and influential works on the Highland clans (with extensive discussion of the Highland regiments) in the nineteenth century, James Browne’s A History of the Highlands and of the Highland Clans, 4 vols. (Glasgow: A. Fullarton, 1838), and John S. Keltie’s A History of the Scottish Highlands, 2 vols. (Edinburgh: A. Fullarton, 1875), acknowledge Stewart’s groundbreaking work and borrow from the Sketches.

21. Women make only the briefest of appearances in the Sketches. In a section on chastity, for example, one of the few where Stewart singles out Highland women, he merely reports that “if a young woman lost her virtue and character, then she was obliged to wear a cap, and never afterwards appear with her hair uncovered, in the dress of virgin innocence” (1:89).

22. All references are to the first edition, 2 vols. (Edinburgh: Archibald Constable, 1822) unless otherwise noted. This quotation appears in vol. 1, p. 7.


24. Mackenzie, in his 1883 History of the Highland Clearances, includes a section of the Sketches in his list of “eminent authors . . . born and bred in the country” who comment on the Highland Clearances. Macleod is heavily indebted to Stewart’s description of tenant evictions on the Sutherland estate and, in particular, the hard-heartedness of estate agents Patrick Sellar and James Loch (Sellar actually stood trial for homicide). Calling the Sketches an “excellent work I beg to call [to] the attention of every friend to truth and justice, and especially those who take an interest in the fate of expatriated tenantry,” Macleod writes “[Stewart] has completely vindicated the character of the Highland tenantry, and shown the impolicy, as well as cruelty, of the means used for their ejection” (Mackenzie, History of the Highland Clearances 23).


26. This was incorporated into narrative proper in second edition, 2:420; 2:494 in third edition.

27. This was incorporated into narrative proper in second edition as a footnote, 2:422; footnote to 2:496 in third edition.

28. The necessity of such an attitude serves to rationalize in the Sketches the seemingly unambiguous historical instances of Highland disloyalty, which Stewart details in his regi-mental histories. In his narration of the 1746 mutiny and desertion of several hundred Highland soldiers from his own Black Watch regiment, for example, Stewart places the blame for this widespread act of Highland disobedience squarely on the shoulders of commanding officers, who, Stewart argues, had not yet learned to control their men. As the regiment was stationed in England after Prince Charles’s defeat, Stewart recounts, the men heard rumors that—rather than going back to Scotland as they had been promised—they were bound for the American colonies, the “Botany Bay of that day.” In the absence of an appropriate bond of trust between officer and Highland rank and file, who “believ[ed] themselves deceived and betrayed,” the “unfortunate act” of Highland mutiny was “the result of their simplicity, in allowing themselves to be deceived, rather than of any want of principle, [which] was sufficiently proved by their subsequent conduct” (1:236).

29. Arjun Appadurai uses this term to describe the challenges to notions of territoriality
in a globalized world culture. Migration, Appadurai writes, has created “complex conditions for the production and reproduction of locality, in which ties of marriage, work, business, and leisure weave together various circulating populations with various kinds of ‘locals’ to create localities that belong in one sense to particular nation-states but are, from another point of view, what we might call translocalities.” “Sovereignty without Territoriality: Notes for a Postnational Geography,” in *The Geography of Identity*, ed. Patricia Yaeger (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996), 44.

CHAPTER FOUR


2. As Bernard Cohn writes:

   To the English from 1859 to the early part of the twentieth century, the Mutiny was seen as a heroic myth embodying and expressing their central values which explained their rule in India to themselves—sacrifice, duty, fortitude; above all it symbolized the ultimate triumph over those Indians who had threatened properly constituted authority and order. (“Representing Authority in Victorian India” 179)


4. A notable exception is John William Kaye’s authoritative *A History of the Sepoy War in India*, 3 vols. (London: Longmans, Green, 1865), which, following its title, labels the rebellion the “Sepoy War” throughout.

6. The ratio of native troops to British troops went from its pre-rebellion figure of 8:1 in May 1857 to 2:1 in early 1860. This change in the ratio was in direct response to the rebellion and was maintained until World War I. The rebellion also produced a general increase in the number of British troops stationed in India. Before the rebellion, the Indian army was composed of 40,000 British troops and 300,000 native troops. In 1860, the number of British troops increased to 60,000. By 1908 the total number of British troops had risen to 75,702. This number represents half the total British military force of the time (Spiers, *The Army and Society* 121–38).

7. Martin Green in his study of the imperial adventure novel credits Scott as an important progenitor of the form who introduced new materials “derived from romantic history” into the adventure narrative he inherited from Defoe (*Dreams of Adventure, Deeds of Empire* [New York: Basic Books, 1979], 98). Dawson describes *Waverley* as knitting together psychic split in British masculinity between adventure and domesticity (*Soldier Heroes* 66–76).

8. Grant’s praise of the unique esprit de corps of the Highland fighting men forms the basis for his own nationalist agenda in support of land reform of the Highlands later in the century. In his introduction to *The Duke of Albany’s Own Highlanders* (London: George Routledge, 1881), written in 1880, Grant echoes David Stewart and laments the “de-Highlandization” of Highland regiments, which he links to disruption in the Highland social fabric:

> The modern mode of recruiting in the Lowlands—a necessary consequent to the depopulation of the Highlands (where now more than two millions of acres are deer forest) and the new system of linked battalions—have changed the general tone of the Highland regiments, so clanship is almost forgotten in the ranks, and Gaelic unknown, or nearly so. (n.pag.)

Grant himself became a member of the National Association for the Vindication of Scottish Rights, and his critique can be read in the context of increased agitation for tenant rights in the nineteenth century, appearing in Highland newspapers such as Alexander Mackenzie’s *Celtic Magazine*, the *Inverness Courier*, and the *Oban Times*. Devine reports that J. B. Balfour referred to “‘a considerable body of vague and floating sentiment in favor of ameliorating the crofters condition’ which had influenced several members of the Liberal Party (*Clanship to Crofters’ War* 224). Such sentiment contributed to the passage of the Crofters’ Holdings Act of 1886, which stabilized the pattern of land relations in the Highlands.


10. Grant offers an alternative, more detailed, account of the Highland bare knee, which also provides a more conventional (and more emphatic) phallic substitution in the description of the Stuart family piper:

> The piper, though of low stature, was of powerful, athletic, and sinewy form, and although nearly sixty, was as fresh as when only sixteen . . . his knees, “which had never known covering from the day of his birth,” where exposed by the kilt were hairy and rough as the hide of the roe-buck; his plaid waved
behind, and a richly mounted dirk, eighteen inches long, hanging on his right side, completed his attire. (The Romance of War, 4 vols. [London: H. Colburn, 1847–48], 1:21; emphasis added)

11. During the Napoleonic Wars, the Highland uniform inspired not fear as much as fascination. Dunbar reveals that during the occupation of Paris after Waterloo, “the French were fascinated by the appearance of Highlanders strolling along the boulevards, and soon the print and caricature sellers were doing a tremendous trade in comic and serious illustrations of the kilted troops.” As a Scottish observer of the time wrote of a visit to the Opera:

In one general dance four of the performers were elegantly dressed as Highland soldiers: the latter much excited the Parisians. Their entré was loudly applauded, and the exact imitation of their dress occasioned much mirth. ‘Vive les Écossais!’ was the cry. It is pleasing to see how much these brave men make friends even of their enemies. Tartan dresses and feather bonnets even became the rage of Paris fashion. (The Costume of Scotland 173–74)

12. The belief that the mere sight of the Highland uniform could inspire terror in the enemy formed the basis for arguments against periodic attempts by the army at abolishing the kilt in favor of a more “practical” uniform. As early as 1804, a colonel in the 79th Highlanders argued that, in addition to allowing for the free circulation of air and allowing flexibility during forced marches, the kilt “has, upon many occasions, struck the enemy with terror and confusion” (quoted in Dunbar, History of Highland Dress 162).

13. Quoted in James Cromb, The Highland Brigade: Its Battles and Its Heroes (Stirling: Eneas Mackay, 1891), 146. For a recent history of the Highland bagpipe, see William Donaldson, The Highland Pipe and Scottish Society, 1750–1950 (Edinburgh: Tuckwell Press, 2000). Unfortunately it was sometimes difficult for a piper to continue to find distinguished work after his discharge from the army. A Highland regimental officer during World War I describes a “piper Finlayson,” who was given a Victoria Cross “for his fearless playing of the pipes in open as his regiment stormed their position.” The officer regrets to record that the piper later became “the popular hero for some years of the music halls.” Quoted in Victor Kiernan, “Scottish Soldiers and the Conquest of India,” in The Scottish Soldier Abroad: 1247–1967, ed. Grant Simpson (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1992), 104.

14. R. S. F. In Notes and Queries of May 22, 1858 quotes “The Calcutta correspondent of the Nonconformist,” who sums up the unlikelihood of the story this way:

We have read with some surprise and amusement that wonderful story published in the English papers about Jessie Brown and the slogan of the Highlanders, in Havelock’s relief of Lucknow. I have been assured by one of the garrison that it is pure invention. 1. No letter of the date mentioned could have reached Calcutta when the story is said to have arrived. 2. There was no Jessie Brown in Lucknow. 3. The 78th Highlanders neither played their pipes nor howled out the slogan as they came in; they had something else to do. (quoted in Notes and Queries, May 22, 1858, 425)

15. For evidence as to the veracity of the Jessie Brown story, provided by a sergeant who served in the 93rd Highland regiment and who was in Lucknow during the rebellion, see

16. Jenny Sharpe summarizes the crucial interplay of Victorian gender ideals in making sense of the events of the mutiny:

The representation of the English lady as an institution that had been desecrated plays into a code of chivalry that called on Victorian men to protect the weak and defenseless. Presupposing their women to inhabit a domestic space that was safe from colonial conflict, these men responded as good soldiers, fathers, and husbands. They reasserted claim over what was rightfully theirs by protecting the victims and punishing the offenders. In this manner, the knightly virtues of honor, a veneration of women, and protection of the weak were invoked so that the army as an institution could act as a punishing avenger. (Allegories of Empire 76; emphasis in original)

17. The well at Cawnpore would later become the site of an elaborate memorial to the British men, women, and children who lost their lives in the rebellion. The memorial was just one of many that the British would erect in the wake of the rebellion.

18. ní Fhlathúin writes, “[T]he Anglo-Indian[s] realized that their actions in controlling Indian insurrection were sometimes such that the critical distance between native barbarity and colonizing civilization became unobtainable” (“Anglo-India after the Mutiny” 67).

19. The Scottish artist Sir Joseph Noel Paton’s narrative painting *In Memoriam*, and the controversy that surrounded its first appearance, neatly demonstrates both the special symbolic force and the ambiguity that the figure of the Highland soldier brought to British representations of the rebellion. Paton’s narrative painting, first presented to the Royal Academy in late May 1858, is a triptych of three British women in a cantonment amid the chaotic clutter of strewn gloves, hats and other items of European clothing. Just visible in the upper-left-hand corner of the painting stands the unmistakable figure of the Highland soldier, stepping across the threshold of the open doorway. Even though the Highlander is (fittingly) on the margin of Paton’s work, the figure dramatically sums up the iconography of the Highland soldier: the rough red beard, exposed knee below the belted tartan kilt, the sporran, dirk, and the Glengarry bonnet. Yet it is important to note that Paton’s heroic Highlander did not appear in the version of *In Memoriam* that he had originally submitted, as the original version had sparked such severe controversy that the artist had been forced to withdraw it. At the upper left of the original version of the painting, an open door reveals, in the words of the *Illustrated Times*, the “advancing Sepoy” with his “blood-spotted legs, and his clenched musket . . . ferocity glaring in the eye, and bristling in the beard bursting into the residency compound” (quoted in Hichberger, *Images of the Army* 174). Paton’s solution to the controversy was to revise the work by replacing the image of rapacious natives with the image of Highland regimental soldiers, thereby transforming the painting’s narrative: the moment of British female dishonor and failure becomes instead the moment of victory and deliverance. The painting no longer suggests Cawnpore, but Lucknow, where British military force relieved the beleaguered civilian population and began the long campaign to

20. “Miss Wheeler” was the daughter of the British commander at Cawnpore. After Nana Sahib took the city, Miss Wheeler was said to have been determined to die rather than face sexual dishonor at the hands of Nana Sahib’s forces. In one version of her story, after first shooting down five of her captors with a revolver, she threw herself into the well. Seven years after the rebellion it was proved that Miss Wheeler had not died but, after having married a sowar and converted to Islam, she was still in India living with her husband’s family. For a discussion of the story of Miss Wheeler, see Sharpe, Allegories 70–73.

21. Only a little more than one hundred years before the Indian Mutiny the male Highlander was considered a rapacious, though sometimes incompetent, sexual predator. A satirical poem of the early eighteenth century recounts the misdeeds of a Highland host “who came down to destroy the Western Shires in 1678”:

This red-shank [Highlander] from no good pretence,
Pursued the Lass ben to the spence
And aiming at some naughty deed,
Pull’d up his plaid and ran with speed,
She with a fleshcruik in her hand,
Advised him a back to stand,
But he presuming for to strugle
Occasioned a huble buble
The story is something od
She with the Flesh-cruik gript his cod,
So held and rag’d and made him squil
And ay cry out the Deu’ 1 the Deu’1,
But getting of away he flees,
While blood was spreading down his Thighs
For several dayes he keept to his Bed
And when he got up he strid led
From either hands they get small thanks
Who are the authors of such pranks. (quoted in William Donaldson, The Jacobite Song [Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1988], 51)

22. One notable example of a personal account of the common Highland soldier’s experience in the Indian Rebellion is Forbes-Mitchell’s Reminiscences of the Great Mutiny. Forbes-Mitchell provides a straightforward account of both the brutality of the war and the less-than-heroic actions of Highland soldiers, who, while on a drunken rampage, looted the town after they captured it. Neither does Forbes-Mitchell claim any special intrepidity on the part of Highland soldiers. His is an unromantic account of the daily marching, fighting, and burying of the dead.


24. Streets emphasizes the direct influence of prominent military writers in popularizing martial race theory back home. “Late-century popular militarism,” she writes, “reflected the role that self-interested and media-savvy military figures [particularly Lord Roberts] played in helping to shape the values and ideologies of a more aggressively imperial state” (Martial Races 117).

25. Given assumptions as to the special prowess of highland regiments, it is especially ironic that, as the century progressed, fewer and fewer of their new recruits were actually from the Highlands. Clearance, emigration, and the increasing urbanization of British society all took their toll on recruiting in the rural Highlands. For example, as Spiers reports:

Whereas the 42nd Foot (the Black Watch) had found 51 per cent of its recruits in the Highlands in 1798, it secured only 9 per cent from that region in 1830–34, and a bare 5 per cent in 1854. Like other Highland regiments, it had to seek an increasing proportion of its men from the Lothians and Glasgow. (The Army and Society 48)

Yet with few exceptions, the fact that in Highland regiments one was more likely to hear working-class Glasgow slang than Gaelic was generally overlooked in the nineteenth century.

CHAPTER FIVE


2. The former printed for the author by J. Moir, Edinburgh. The work appeared, with some revision, omission, and reordering, in 1808 as The Highlanders and Other Poems (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme). A third edition was published by the same in 1810. Grant in her Memoir would later claim a subscription list of 3,000, but as Pam Perkins reports, the actual number was (a still respectable) 2,251 (“Critical essay on Ann Grant,” Scottish Women Poets of the Romantic Period, November 7 2003, http://www.alexander-street2.com/SWRPLive/bios/S7024-D001.html). Essays on the Superstitions of the Highlanders of Scotland was published in London by Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown.

3. The sixth and last edition of the work appeared after her death and was edited by the only one of her children to outlive her, her son, J. P. (John Peter) Grant. He reordered the letters chronologically and added letters previously appended to the Essays and his own notes (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longman, 1845).


6. Ghose, Women Travellers in India, 15. Ghose gives the example of the mid-century Indian travelogue of Emily Eden, whose “ironic gaze debunks colonial myths (such as the civilizing mission) and operates as a distancing strategy toward the ideological norms of her own society.” Nevertheless, Ghose adds, the “silence on colonial reality in [Eden’s] text works to contain its subversive implications” (Women Travellers in Colonial India 12).


9. For recent discussions on the picturesque which emphasize the extreme range of definitions associated with the term beginning in the late eighteenth century, see the collection of essays in Stephen Copley and Peter Garside, eds., The Politics of the Picturesque (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

10. Though their role in the British West Indies was at first less important than that of the Irish, Devine writes, the Scots soon caught up “and surpassed them in numbers, especially in commercial and plantation ownership.” Scots became particularly influential in Jamaica, “which produced more sugar than all the other British islands combined by the 1770s and where in 1771–5 Scots accounted for 40 per cent of the inventories after death above £1,000” (The Scottish Nation 120).

11. Christian Isobel Johnstone’s mixture of sentimental narrative and running commentary on Highland folkways in Clan-Albin, for example, shows the influence of Grant’s domestic ethnography. Andrew Monnickendam notes that Johnstone “intersperses her fiction with ethnography along the lines of her contemporary Ann [sic] Grant’s Essays on the Superstitions of the Highlanders of Scotland,” the publisher of which also brought out Clan Albin. Introduction to Christian Isobel Johnstone, Clan-Albin: A National Tale, ed. Andrew Monnickendam (Glasgow: Association for Scottish Literary Studies, 2003), vii.

12. In a note to her poem “The Highlanders, or Sketches of Highland Scenery and Manners with Some Reflection on Emigration,” Grant provides a footnote on the particular lament of Highland emigrants, which seems to echo in the Highlands long after they are gone: “The words ‘Ha pill, ha pill, ha pill, mi tuillidh,’ signify, ‘We return, return, return, no more.’ The Author has heard it played to two parties of emigrants marching towards the sea” (The Highlanders and Other Poems 20). Scott adopts the lament (in English and Gaelic) to end his essay on the state of the Highlands in his review of The Culloden Papers (Quarterly Review 14 [January 1816]: 283–333). In Clan-Albin, Johnstone describes the former home of Highlanders forced to emigrate: “this is the glen whose every echo was ringing—’We return, we return, we return no more!’” (adding a footnote providing much the same particulars as does Grant’s).

13. The ambivalence of Grant’s work as a travelogue is layered onto the generic tensions of the work, which presents itself as an unmediated day-to-day account of Grant’s life. On the one hand, as Pam Perkins has described, informality is demanded of a readership whose interest in the work is, in part, a voyeuristic desire to glimpse the private world of a woman. On the other hand, the text also reveals the desire of an author to establish her authority and to consciously craft her narrative (“Anne Grant and the Professionalization of Privacy,” Authorship, Commerce, and the Public: Scenes of Writing, 1750–1850, ed. Caroline Franklin, E. J. Clery, and Peter Garside [New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002]). The constraints of literary production perhaps were felt more acutely by Scottish women in the small but heated culture of letters in Scotland in the Romantic period, and the obstacles met by women
writers in Edinburgh literary culture remarked on by Grant. She ascribes the silence of the *Edinburgh Review* with regard to the *Letters* to the chauvinism of its head, Francis Jeffrey. While praising his “structure of mind and marked acuity as reviewer” and having dined often in his company, she laments that Jeffrey “treats female genius and female productions with unqualified scorn, never mentioning anything of the kind but with a sneer” (*Memoir* 1:81).

14. In a letter to a Glasgow friend, Grant compares her own cultural tolerance with that of “Misses” who express “disgust and wonder” at any “custom or dress they are not used to.” Grant writes smugly “I now think plaids and faltans just as becoming as I once did the furs and wampum of the Mohawks, which I always remember with kindness” (*Letters* 1:73). For Grant, acculturation is a simple act of cultural code switching.


17. In the sixth edition, 2:207. See n.16.

18. In the sixth edition, 2:208. See n.16.

19. The frequent practice of war among primitive societies, Ferguson writes in the *Essay on the History of Civil Society*,

- tends to strengthen the bands of society, and the practice of depredation itself engages men in trials of mutual attachment and courage. What threatened to ruin and overset every good disposition in the human breast . . . tends to unite the species in clans and fraternities; formidable indeed, and hostile to one another, but in the domestic society of each, faithful, disinterested, and generous. (101)

20. Fosterage as an example of the strength of community bonds in the Highlands is adopted by later writers such as Johnstone: Her Moome plays a key role in ensuring the continuance of the clan in *Clan-Albin*, by raising the orphan Norman Mac-Albin and (along with other female characters) aids in restoring his birthright as heir of the clan. For a recent analysis of the importance of the fosterage in creating a sense of community, in both a nationalist and imperialist register, see Trumpener, *Bardic Nationalism*, 217–218. Grant also remarks in the *Essays on the importance of male* fosterage in the Highlands, in the form of *tuit-fhears* or “guardian uncles” (2:110).


22. In an entry toward the end of her narrative dated April 1803, however, Grant disappointingly reports that her efforts to educate her children in Gaelic have not been completely successful. After an illness in the family required a long stay in Bath away from her youngest children, Grant writes, “One misfortune I have to lament; my little boy speaks nothing but English. I am so provoked at his losing the native tongue, though it appears to be the only loss which my family sustained in my absence” (3:177–78).

23. Grant’s *Memoir* reveals an indirect connection between her and Victoria: Grant writes of meeting Victoria’s cousin, Augustus Frederick, the son of the Duke of Sussex, in 1816. After discovering that she is the celebrated Mrs. Grant of Laggan, Augustus “flew across the room,—said I was one of the persons in Scotland he most wished to see, and kissed my hand rapturously—yes, rapturously.” The poetry of *The Highlanders*, he said, had awakened “his feelings and enthusiasm for Scotland at a very early age” (*Memoir* 2:162).

25. The peculiarities of Scottish national costume is the focus of a satirical tract published in New York under the pseudonym Kenward Philip entitled John Brown’s Legs or Leaves from a Journal in the Lowlands (New York: Norman L. Munro, 1884). The work mocks Victoria’s journal style and unwavering concern for Brown’s health: “A dreadful calamity has happened to disturb the serenity of our Life in the Highlands. My servant John Brown, while attending me yesterday in a walk to Kschruballantachtwister, stubbed his toe. Poor dear Brown! How he suffered no pen can describe!” (2). A pamphlet appearing in 1867 entitled John Brown, or the Fortunes of a Gillie shows a confident Brown leaning on the British crown in an imitation of the Tomahawk cartoon, but in the pamphlet, Brown is surrounded by “admiring ladies dressed in rich national costumes” (quoted in Dorothy Thompson, Queen Victoria: Gender and Power [London: Virago, 1990], 82–83). Beneath the illustration is Johnson’s famous quote on expatriate Scots, “The noblest prospect which a Scotsman ever sees is the high road that leads him to England,” suggesting that the residue of eighteenth-century English Scotophobia persisted well into the nineteenth.

26. Margeret Homans writes, “The death of Albert occasioned not only the abrupt end of Victoria’s self-representations in public spaces but also her adoption of various substitute forms of royal representation, notably the publication of books originally produced for private circulation” (Royal Representations 115).

27. By the mid-nineteenth century, ease of transportation and the packaging of mass holiday excursions, particularly those arranged by Thomas Cook, had transformed Highland travel. As Gold and Gold report, Cook’s first Scottish tours commenced in 1846, four years after Victoria’s first trip to the Highlands. During the first twenty years of Cook’s special excursions, begun in 1866, forty thousand people visited Scotland on Cook’s trains, which by the 1850s provided a stop at Balmoral (Imagining Scotland 101–104).

28. Queen Victoria, Leaves from the Journal of Our Life in the Highlands: From 1848–1861, ed. Arthur Helps (London: Smith, Elder, 1868), 50–51. The Leaves had been in private circulation for three years. When the first edition was published, a member of her circle, Sir John
Elphinestone (a Scottish lord-in-waiting) was one of the first to see its potential in remolding the queen’s image among the public and encouraged a cheap edition, the “sooner the better” (quoted in Tom Cullen, *The Empress Brown* [Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1969], 118). A less expensive second edition came out soon after the first. For consistency’s sake, I cite the fancier edition for both works. Unless otherwise noted, all italics are in the original. (Victoria’s style is to italicize all place names.) *More Leaves* was translated into Gaelic: *Tuilleadh Dhuil-leag Bho M’ Leabhar-Latha*, trans. Mairi Nic Ealair (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1886).

29. The utter dependence on Scott for Victoria’s understanding of the Highlands is reflected in the library catalogue at Balmoral. At one point, Elizabeth Longford reports, the library held “32 Ladies of the Lake, 12 Rob Roys, and 26 guidebooks” (and little of anything else) (*Queen Victoria: Born to Succeed* [London: Harper & Row, 1964], 372). In addition, Highland guidebooks of the period often provided their readers with descriptions of sites they were most interested in visiting, many of which could of course be found in Scott’s novels. As Gold and Gold describe, sales of Highland guidebooks and Scott novels fed on one another in the Victorian era (*Imagining Scotland*).

30. Adrienne Munich summarizes the cultural paradox of Victoria’s reign as “the apparent contradiction of a devoted wife, prolific mother, and extravagant widow who is also Queen of an Empire upon which the sun never sets” (“Queen Victoria, Empire, and Excess,” *Tulsa Studies in Women’s Literature* 6, no. 2 [Fall 1987]: 265). For a study that examines the way Victoria’s journal in particular worked to “bolster the monarchy by displaying the intimate circle of the Queen, her husband, her children at ‘home,’ and thus inspiring gratitude and loyal affection,” see Rebecca Steinitz, “Travel, Domesticity and Genre in Victoria’s *Journal of Our Life in the Highlands*,” *Victorians Institute Journal* 29 (2001): 149–68. See also Margaret Homans, “‘To the Queen’s Private Apartments’: Royal Family Portraiture and the Construction of Victoria’s Sovereign Obedience,” *Victorian Studies* 37, no. 1 (1993): 1–41.

31. Takashi Fujitani, *Splendid Monarchy: Power and Pageantry in Modern Japan* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1996), 23. Visuality is the critical component that allows a monarchical pageantry to function in Fujitani’s analysis. “Imperial pageantry,” he writes, “was part of a cultural apparatus that helped fashion Japan’s modern emperor into a transcendental subject, one who could be imagined as casting a single and centralizing gaze across all the nation and into the soul of the people” (24). In addition to describing the “inverted ocular relationship,” Fujitani argues for the historicization of ritual, in contrast to anthropologists like Clifford Geertz, whose work on the subject suggests that rulers use ritual because it places them in a cultural framework that is always extant, already accepted by all the people. Instead Fujitani calls for an understanding of ritual which emphasizes that “elements in the symbolic dimension of politics can be as much invented as inherited” (23).

32. While Balmoral was being renovated, Albert ordered that a prefabricated shed, of a type he had seen at the Great Exhibition, be installed as a temporary ballroom. Manufactured in various styles by Edward T Bellhouse and Company of the Eagle Foundry in Manchester, the shed had been designed to temporarily “house emigrants who were leaving Scotland for Canada or Australia as a result of the Highland clearances” (Delia Millar, *Queen Victoria’s Life in the Scottish Highlands* [London: Philip Wilson, 1985], 59). Homelessness for one group of people in the Highlands thus provides the circumstances for home improvement for another.

33. As Homans points out, this is a misappropriation of the tradition, as cairns are usually associated with death in the Highlands (*Royal Representations* 140). Victoria, however,
suggests a more generalized act of remembering, of memorialization, which is therefore not entirely inappropriate.

34. Arthur Helps, Victoria's editor, suggests the queen's relation with her subjects is a maternal one. Describing Victoria's tendency to avoid digression in her conversations with the public, he writes, "Whenever there is an exception to this rule, it arises from her majesty's anxious desire to make some inquiry about the welfare of her subjects . . . thus showing . . . that she is, indeed, the Mother of her People . . . " (Leaves xiii). Cynthia Huff argues that the Leaves scripts a Victorian imperial "imagined community" by reinforcing the maternal relation between the Queen and her "family." Huff, however, does not address the ways in which Victoria situates this "motherhood" within pre-existing Highland clan relations ("Scripting the Materimperium: The Queen's Highland Journals, Colonial Women's Diaries, and the Victorian Imagined Community," Prose Studies 24, 1 [April 2001]: 41–62). From an alternative perspective, Adrienne Munich, in her discussion on Victoria's increasingly "capacious body," writes, "Nineteenth-century romantic habits of figuring nature as a nurturing mother . . . prepare for Victoria's apotheosis as the very image of British global dominance and the figure of good and plenty—also a symbolic representation of plenty of goods" ("Good and Plenty" 17).

35. Donald Macleod, for example, though he doesn't accuse Victoria of willful ignorance, makes a special plea to the queen to "preserve that noble [Celtic] race from extirpation, and becoming extinct, and to protect them from violence, oppression, and spoliation to which they have been subjected for many years" (Gloomy Memories of the Highlands, in Alexander Mackenzie, The History of the Highland Clearances [1883; Edinburgh: Mercat Press, 1991], 135). Ironically, Macleod's particular target is the estate of the Duke and Duchess of Sutherland, which saw a great number of evictions in the early nineteenth century and which Victoria recounts in her journals visiting several times, making no mention of its troubled history. In More Leaves, Victoria does include an account given by the Duke of Argyle on the "semi-barbarous" system of runrig in which plots of arable land were assigned to tenants by lot each year. Victoria remarks that "only two villages of the kind are in existence in the Highlands," but makes no commentary on the fate of the older system, except to say that the "inhabitants are very exclusive, and hardly ever marry out of their own villages" (303).

36. Victoria contrasted the favorable racial traits of the Highlander with those of the unruly Irish. In her mind the essential "disloyalty" of the Irish was the chief characteristic that set them apart from their fellow "Celts" across the Irish Sea. Constantly fearful of Fenian assassination plots in the 1860s, Victoria exasperatingly remarked that the Irish lower orders "had never become reconciled to English rule, which they hate! So different from the Scotch who are so loyal" (quoted in Longford 360). Victoria's answer to this challenge to racial logic was to listen to Albert, who vaguely attributed Scottish superiority to an admixture of Scandinavian blood. The only solution to the Irish problem, Victoria wrote in a letter to her daughter, was a "new infusion of race" (quoted in Longford 366).

37. Elizabeth Langland, for example, in her otherwise fascinating account of the use of Victoria's image in the "developing narrative of Englishness," poses the question whether a female monarch "can be made to embody an Englishness that is articulated through the
public school ethos.” Langland’s study emphasizes the multiple meanings of Englishness in the Victorian age, but does not account for the ways in which Englishness defined itself in opposition to alternative national identities within Britain (“Nation and Nationality: Queen Victoria in the Developing Narrative of Englishness,” in Remaking Queen Victoria 17).