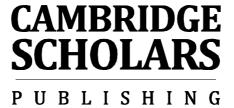# Within and Without Empire

Within and Without Empire:
Scotland Across the (Post)colonial Borderline

Edited by

Carla Sassi and Theo van Heijnsbergen

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P U B L I S H I N G

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INTRODUCTION

CARLA SASSI AND THEO VAN HEIJNSBERGEN

The year 2011 was marked by the publication of the first three full-length, comprehensive investigations of the relations and intersections between Scottish literature and postcolonialism: a collection of essays, *Scottish Literature and Postcolonial Literature: Comparative Texts and Critical Perspectives*, edited by Michael Gardiner, Graeme Macdonald and Niall O'Gallagher, and two monographs, respectively by Stefanie Lehner – *Subaltern Ethics in Contemporary Scottish and Irish Literature: Tracing Counter-Histories* – and by Silke Stroh – *Uneasy Subjects: Postcolonialism and Scottish Gaelic Poetry*. The three volumes focus on three distinct and equally central strands of research in what is a relatively young field of academic inquiry – a comparative approach that identifies theoretical and empirical assonances between Scottish and postcolonial texts (Gardiner, Macdonald and O'Gallagher 2011), an identification of lines of (trans)national subalternity across Scotland and Ireland as a postcolonial marker (Lehner 2011), and a re-reading of the history of Scottish Gaelic poetry through a postcolonial lens as well as a honing of postcolonial theoretical tools in the light of the specificity of the Scottish Gaelic predicament (Stroh 2011b). Not only do these works mark an important turning point in scholarship, they also constitute – along with previous work in the field – the kind of critical mass of scholarly endeavour needed to make an impact within and across disciplinary borders.

The relation between Scotland and postcoloniality has in fact been debated over a long period of time – unevenly, in relative isolation from mainstream postcolonialism, and marginalised within Scottish studies itself – along two discreetly interrelated lines of inquiry: an 'imaginative' one, that is, through recurring figurations in modern and contemporary Scottish literary texts, and an academic theoretical one, often articulated as a response to the former by (mainly Scottish) scholars who have engaged either explicitly or obliquely with postcolonial theories as an appropriate or partly appropriate framework for a paradigmatic redefinition of Scottish studies.

   With regard to the first line of inquiry, literary figurations of Scotland
as a 'colony' or a 'postcolony' – a stateless nation, culturally and/or
politically marginalised within an anglocentric United Kingdom, or indeed
a colonised nation, especially in reference to the history of the
Gaidhealtachd (Gaeldom) – are relatively common in modern and
contemporary Scottish literature. It is arguably fair to identify the writers
of the twentieth-century 'Scottish Renaissance,' and Hugh MacDiarmid in
particular, as the establishers or at least the initiators of such a national
master narrative, focused on a re-evaluation of the local, the peripheral and
the vernacular as a line of resistance against the metropolitan (and
anglocentric) language and culture of Empire – a 'writing-back-to-the-
centre' *avant la lettre*. The minoritarian and anti-imperialist discourse
developed by some of Scotland's most influential writers in the course of
the twentieth century bears affinities with expressions of (post)colonial
resistance across the world. MacDiarmid and Lewis Grassic Gibbon both
theorised and practised a radical reappropriation of Scots as a literary
language;[1] Sorley MacLean's and Iain Crichton Smith's literary
representations of the Highland Clearances as the perpetration of a
historical wrong[2] filled a historiographical gap and established themselves
as counter-historical narratives; Catherine Carswell and Nan Shepherd
articulated postnational and gender-inflected redefinitions of Scottish
identity.[3] Such efforts at (re)claiming and (re)defining lost territories of
cultural identity are continued between the 1980s and the early 1990s by
Tom Leonard's militant resistance to standard English and Alasdair Gray's
and Edwin Morgan's passionate advocacy of political and cultural

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[1] MacDiarmid's poem, *A Drunk Man Looks at the Thistle* (Edinburgh: W.
Blackwood, 1926), and Gibbon's trilogy, *A Scots Quair* (London: Hutchinson,
1946; the three novels had been published separately between 1932 and 1934),
may be identified as the two modernist texts that most contributed towards a post-
imperial re-invention of Scots as a 'synthetic' literary language.
[2] MacLean's poem, "Hallaig" (first published in *Gairm* in 1954), originally written
in Gaelic, and Smith's novel, *Consider the Lilies* (London: Gollancz, 1968), are
possibly the most iconic and poignant literary representations of the impact of the
Clearances on the people and the landscape of the Highlands. Both MacLean and
Smith denounced the history of repression and marginalisation of Gaelic culture
within the UK in their prose work. See, among others, MacGill-Eain 1985; Smith
1986.
[3] Carswell's controversial *The Life of Robert Burns* (London: Chatto and Windus,
1930) provided a de-mythicised portrait of Scotland's national bard, while
Shepherd's novels, especially her memoir, *The Living Mountain* (Aberdeen:
Aberdeen University Press, 1977), foregrounded bioregionalism as a form of
national identity.

independence.[4] Fuelled by the forthcoming referendum on Scottish independence, to be held in 2014, such controversial representation of Scotland by some among Scotland's leading authors as a 'colony' of England has featured strongly in public debate in the course of 2012.[5]

While never defining themselves openly as 'postcolonial,' modern and contemporary Scottish writers who have articulated their dissatisfaction with the state of the Union have often pursued agendas which bear evident similarities with postcolonial ones. They have questioned hegemonic relations between 'centre' and 'periphery' (defined along 'national' or 'class' lines), engaged with issues of cultural representation and with cultural politics, investigated strategies of re-appropriation of native cultural expressions, and re-evaluated hybridity as a tool for re-positioning Scottish culture. In this way, they have produced a nationalist discourse largely based upon a concept of 'resistance' to the imperial centre (identified either as 'England' or the British state) that indeed partakes in

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[4] Leonard has consistently deployed a postcolonial vocabulary to frame the predicament of the Scottish writer (see, for example, Stephen 1998); Gray's possibly most articulate and 'visionary' call for an independent Scotland is represented by his novel *1982, Janine* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1984), while a more explicit advocacy of independence can be found in his pamphlet on *Why Scots Should Rule Scotland* (Edinburgh: Canongate, 1992); Morgan contributed widely to the debate on independence, as witnessed by his poem "For the Opening of the Scottish Parliament, 9 October 2004," http://www.scottishpoetrylibrary.org.uk/poetry/poems/opening-scottish-parliament-9-october-2004 (accessed March 22, 2013), as well as by his bequest, on his death, to the Scottish National Party of almost £1m, to be used for the party's independence referendum campaign.

[5] Gray has divided English men and women who come to live and work in Scotland, particularly to take up leading positions in cultural institutions, into "colonists" and "settlers" (Gray 2012), depending on their commitment to engage with, and contribute to, Scottish life and culture. James Kelman has noted about such 'colonists' that "they just assume – they make the ordinary, imperialist assumption – that the country doesn't exist until they've come in and given it their own culture. Because anything that goes on in the colonised country can only be parochial" (cit. in Johnson, 2012; see also Kelman 2012). Regarding the historically very small number of Scottish authors on the annual shortlists for the Booker prize, well behind that of English authors and those of former colonies, Irvine Welsh – whose bestselling *Trainspotting* was not shortlisted for the Booker prize, reputedly after two jury members threatened to resign if it was – tweeted: "Maybe they only take FORMER colonies seriously. India, Ireland, Australia, & Canada have decent [*sic*] record. A lesson for us all?" (cit. in Williamson 2012). Alan Bissett has added: "It should come as no surprise that the Man Booker prize for Commonwealth literature mimics the empire itself" (Bissett 2012).

issues and experiences resonating across postcolonial literatures, and yet in many ways resists direct engagement with them.

As for the second (strictly academic) line of inquiry, it ought to be pointed out that, unlike Ireland, which, following Declan Kiberd's critical intervention (1995), has obtained a wide and almost unchallenged status as a postcolonial country, Scotland has been prevented from attempting to make the same paradigmatic shift by its more extensive and more visible imperial entanglements. Scotland's partnership in the building of the British Empire was implemented both at a practical level, with Scots either taking part in the elite of the British imperial apparatus or settling in the colonies as migrants, ranging from professionals and bureaucrats to manual labourers and even indentured labourers, and ideologically, with intellectuals of the calibre of Robert Knox or Thomas Carlyle writing in support of, or providing a rationale for, imperialist practices, not to mention earlier contributions by Scottish Enlightenment thinkers to the conceptualisations of civilisation and race.[6] Not only were the profits engendered by the Empire's economic success shared by Scots, both abroad and at home, as historians have widely documented, but Scots also availed themselves of ample opportunities within the Empire to act as a distinct, self-protecting national group – pursuing national interests and even promoting a national cultural agenda across the globe. In light of the scale and of this specifically national dimension of Scotland's involvement, collective responsibility for imperial crimes – first and foremost the involvement in the Atlantic Slave Trade – is undeniable,[7]

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[6] It is worthwhile to remember here David Hume's notorious claim that he suspected "the negroes, and in general all the other species of men, to be naturally inferior to […] the most rude and barbarous of the whites," dismissing "talk of one negroe as a man of parts and learning" as most likely a comment on someone who "is admired for very slender accomplishments, like a parrot, who speaks a few words plainly." This comment was first added as a footnote to the 1753 edition of Hume's essay "Of National Characters" (originally 1748), but he kept tinkering with the exact wording, adding nuance only in order to entrench the core sentiment more irrevocably; the text here quoted is from the version included in Hume's *Essays and Treatises on Several Subjects* (1758, 125). For a discussion of constructions of race in Scotland, see, among others, Young (1995, 62-87).

[7] The concept of 'national responsibility' for past historical wrongs is by no means a straightforward one, especially in the case of a stateless nation. Many theorists, however, would today agree in claiming that judgements of national responsibility are more appropriate than judgements of state responsibility as "we may want to hold nations responsible for actions performed by states that no longer exist" (Miller 2007, 111). Unlike state responsibility, national responsibility is a form of collective responsibility and therefore "the people who make up a nation may

aggravated, if possible, by a long and deep silence from within Scotland regarding the role of (and Scots' agency within) the British Empire, the latter only too often (especially outside Britain) inappropriately identified as a specifically 'English' enterprise.

Yet, arguably, there were regions, ethnic groups and/or social classes within Scotland that not only could not be held actively responsible for the imperial enterprise, but that to some degree can be seen as its victims. British working classes and peasants were more on the giving than the receiving end of the Empire's economic system: in Scotland, there were miners treated as serfs as late as 1799 (see, among others, Duckham 1969, 196), while ethnic and social inequalities often overlapped throughout the Victorian Age, as industries "recruited their labour […] from the unorganised and helpless, and especially from Irish and Highland immigrants" (Hobsbawm 1999, 291). Along similar lines, the process of brutal 'modernisation'[8] undergone by the Celtophone Highlands in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, and implemented through forms of cultural repression and/or denigration, was closely related, both in ideological content and in political practice, to what was happening at the same time in other parts of the British Empire, if only because produced within the same discourse and implemented by the same governing establishment. Irish and Highland migrants became indeed part of a multi-ethnic "Atlantic working-class" – the transnational and trans-racial "many-headed hydra" described by Linebaugh and Rediker (2000) – and yet their lives were being shaped by specific national and local histories as much as by global capital flows. National responsibility for imperial crimes cannot be shirked, nor in any way diminished, in light of the identification of such 'lines of subalternity,' and yet, a representation of Scotland's predicament vis-à-vis the postcolonial one that identifies its complexities and specificities is not only ethically necessary, but also essential to honing methodological tools in what are two closely related fields.

Like Ireland's, Scotland's academic dialogue with postcolonialism developed in the 1990s, moving, however, from the very beginning, in a very different direction. By the 1990s, in fact – when postcolonial studies

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sometimes properly be held liable for what their nation has done" (Miller 2007, 113). Within this perspective, each individual of that collective becomes "remedially responsible for restoring the damage they have caused" (Miller 2007, 116).

[8] The need for modernisation always implies a hegemonic relation between an 'advanced' society and a 'backward' or 'traditional' one. Significantly this term, in (post)colonial contexts, has often worked as a benevolent (in form, if not in substance) reconceptualisation of colonialism. See Slater (2004, 62-63).

was establishing itself as a mainstream academic discipline following the publication in 1989 of *The Empire Writes Back* by Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin – Scotland's role within the Empire had already been widely investigated and exposed by historians.[9] The same decade also saw Scottish literature recognised internationally as a distinct academic subject for the first time.[10] Scotland's dialogue with postcolonialism, then, was very much shaped by the interactions between these three fields in the early phases of their respective disciplinary histories, intersecting but also setting boundaries against each other. While in Scotland a traditionally historiographical and nation-centric approach sidelined, instead of integrating (at least for another decade), a theoretically grounded investigation of imperial history as a complex system of cultural interrelations,[11] the authors of *The Empire Writes Back* famously observed that while Ireland, Scotland and Wales arguably "were the first victims of English expansion, their subsequent complicity in the British imperial enterprise makes it difficult for colonized peoples outside Britain to accept their identity as post-colonial" (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin 1989, 33). In this way they (un)wittingly encouraged an identification of postcolonialism with a strictly historically defined postcolonial identity. The same paragraph, in fact, also contains a call for "an interpretation of British literary history as a process of hierarchical interchange and external group relationships" based on Max Dorsinville's dominated-dominating model and focusing on "linguistic and cultural imposition" (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin 1989, 33). The latter interpretation has since gained increasing credit among postcolonialists, who have applied it to countless historical, national, geographical, linguistic and disciplinary contexts, thus moving the postcolonial "from being a historical marker to a more globally inflected term applicable to a variety of regions" (Wilson, Sandru and Welsh 2010, 2). Scottish studies

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[9] T.M. Devine's first major publication in this field dates back to 1975 (*The Tobacco Lords: A Study of the Tobacco Merchants of Glasgow and Their Trading Activities, c.1740-90*). By the time Michael Fry's *The Scottish Empire* (2001) and Devine's *Scotland's Empire, 1600-1815* (2003) were published, the study of Scottish colonial history was already a solidly established field of study.

[10] As witnessed by the inclusion of Scottish studies among the area subjects of the European Society for the Study of English, founded in 1990 and endowed with a Constitution in 1995, and by the establishment, in 1999, of Scottish Literature as a Modern Language Association of America discussion group.

[11] Such a notion is today very much at the heart of postcolonial studies. The notion of 'relation' as an anti-imperialist project was developed by Édouard Glissant in his *Poetics of Relation* (1997).

is only now beginning to engage openly and systematically with such theoretical developments, as we shall see, within a wider attempt to reframe or indeed overcome the national paradigm.

It is indeed in the partly conflicting agendas of the 1990s that we can trace the origins of the long-standing reluctance of both Scottish and postcolonial studies to engage in an interdisciplinary dialogue with each other and to identify the common theoretical and empirical threads running through them. Arguably, such reluctance has also engendered an awkward rift between the two lines of Scotland's dialogue with postcolonialism, and contributed to the sidelining, rather than the interrogation, of its literary imagination of (post)colonial affinities and relations.

An exhaustive charting of pre-2011 Scottish studies specialists' engagement with postcolonialism is certainly beyond the scope of the present introduction. What follows is rather an essential timeline aimed at showcasing some of the shared or divergent features of scholarly contributions in this field. The vast majority of these are in the form of essays and articles, published across the last couple of decades, that rarely cross-reference each other even though often moving conceptually in very similar ways; they thus function mostly as an important but heterogeneous and largely discontinuous corpus of thought. Scholars have either partly embraced or openly taken the opportunity to re-read the status of Scotland's culture within the United Kingdom through a postcolonial theoretical lens. Among these, to mention but a few, Wilson Harris and Alan Riach (1992) explore assonances between Caribbean and Scottish literary strategies; Angus Calder, in "Poetry, Language and Empire" (1996) and in "Imperialism and Scottish Culture" (1999), both included in *Scotlands of the Mind* (2002, 169-83 and 184-98), fathoms the complexity of the Scottish predicament and maps its conflicting histories, as both imperial power and 'colonised' territory; Chris Gittings (1995) investigates Canadian and Scottish writers' representation of "the empty space of history" (138); Fiona Oliver (1996) discusses "outward anger, private guilt and self-loathing" (114) in contemporary Scottish fiction within postcolonial parameters; Roderick Watson (1998) deploys postcolonial categories, such as hybridity and polyphony, to frame specificity in Scottish literature; Berthold Schoene (1995 and 1998) provides what is the first theoretically sustained overview of Scottish literature and postcolonialism; Marco Fazzini (2000) applies postcolonial concepts to discuss the work of contemporary Scottish poets; Michael Gardiner (2001) inquires into constructions of Scottishness and Britishness, engaging, among others, with Franz Fanon's theories; Ellen-Raïssa Jackson and Willy Maley (2002) map out relations between Irish

and Scottish modernism as having important implications for postcolonial theory; Carla Sassi (2002; 2005, 83-102) defines Scotland's predicament as an ambiguous and complex case study in relation to postcoloniality; Liam Connell (2004b) questions the application of a postcolonial paradigm to Scottish literature and pinpoints the frictions between the discourse of the Scottish nation and postcolonialism; Grant Farred (2004) identifies the debunking of the Scottish myths of romantic nationalism in Irvine Welsh's *Trainspotting* as a ground for a possible rejection of the postcolonial as applied to a Scottish context; Cairns Craig (2004) appropriates the notion of hybridity to illustrate aspects of Scotland's national culture and identity; Paul T. Riggs (2005) investigates the autonomy of Scots law and Scotland's legal nationalism as a powerful line of anti-colonial resistance; Graeme Macdonald (2006) discusses how "historicizing the contribution of Scots to empire […] becomes part of a postcolonial process of resistance to the *current* British imperium" (119); and finally, Niall O'Gallagher (2007) identifies in Alasdair Gray's novel *Lanark* a series of narrative strategies that mark a transition from a strictly nationalist to a postcolonial narrative practice.

Alongside these, a possibly greater number of publications have used what could be described as a more loosely defined postcolonial perspective, structured around a 'naturalised' conflation of nationalist or minoritarian discourse with postcolonialism – examples of these might be Cairns Craig's seminal essays from the 1980s, now collected in his *Out of History* (1992)*,* that deploy quintessentially postcolonial concepts like 'periphery' and 'in-betweenness'; Craig Beveridge and Ronald Turnbull's *The Eclipse of Scottish Culture* (1989), published in the same year as *The Empire Writes Back* and articulating what seems indeed a Fanonian vocabulary of anti-colonial resistance; or Robert Crawford's theorisation of the devolution of 'English' literature and questioning of hegemonic constructions of the canon (1992).

Finally, a separate but no doubt importantly related area that should be mentioned here is that of archipelagic revisions of the 'English' literary canon and of Scottish-Irish comparative studies, developed by the AHRC Centre for Irish and Scottish Studies of the University of Aberdeen (founded in 2001) and through a series of separate studies (Stafford 2000; Norquay and Smyth 2002; Maley 2003).

Any scholar approaching this field today for the first time through the works listed above – even though they do pinpoint and sound an extremely important and rich series of issues and theoretical aspects – would probably be disoriented, not so much on account of their differing and at times conflicting perspectives and interpretations (which, after all, would

characterise any scholarly field), but because of what may be described as the apparent absence of a structured debate and programmatic intentions. Furthermore, one would also be struck by the fact that most of these contributions seem more preoccupied with establishing an up-to-date framework for Scottish studies than with a genuine desire to contribute to the wider postcolonial debate. Such a prevailing 'centripetal' perspective, largely articulated as an 'intra-British' discourse questioning post-Union Anglo-Scottish relations, is no doubt among the reasons why Scottish studies has not been on the whole much noticed by mainstream postcolonialists so far, even though a number of the above contributions have indeed appeared in leading postcolonial journals. Signals of a changing attitude may, however, be traceable in Ania Loomba's evaluation of James Kelman's 'anti-colonial' stance as well as of Robert Crawford's investigation of the marginalisation of Scottish culture and language within the Union (Loomba 1998, 76-77), and, more recently, in Robert Young's thoughtful *Scotsman* article on the alignments between Scotland and the postcolonial world (Young 2010), as well as in John Mackenzie's collaboration with Scottish historian T.M. Devine (Mackenzie and Devine 2011).

Starting from 2006, and heralded by Douglas S. Mack's study on *Scottish Fiction and the British Empire* (2006) – the first full-length 'devolved' overview of Scotland's imperial literature, further developed by Nigel Leask (2007) and Angela Smith (2011) – a more structured postcolonial and interdisciplinary approach has gradually prevailed, with greater attention being given, for example, to the Gaelic question (see, among others, McNeil 2007; Stroh 2011b); to comparative issues (see Covi, Anim-Addo, Pollard and Sassi 2007; Hart 2010); to further investigations of the intersections with the Irish predicament and archipelagic perspectives (see the *Journal of Irish and Scottish Studies*, launched in 2007 under the aegis of the Research Institute of Irish and Scottish Studies of the University of Aberdeen; Kerrigan 2008; Lehner 2011). There are reasons to believe that further, meaningful developments are on their way: both Scottish and postcolonial studies have been deeply affected by important ideological shifts since the 1990s (post-nationalist in the former case, and 'post-global' – that is, more attentive to local practices and expressions – in the latter), and dialogue is not only possible but has also become potentially fruitful for both interlocutors. In different ways, in fact, Scottish and postcolonial studies are both going through a moment of crisis and transformation – if "the potential exhaustion of postcolonialism as a paradigm" has revealed "the importance of international, interdisciplinary conversations in considering histories of

colonization and decolonization" (Yaeger 2007, 633), the decline of the conventional national paradigm has similarly affected post-devolutionary Scottish studies and thus opened up the path to comparative and interdisciplinary perspectives (see Hames 2006; Schoene 2007).

Having clarified the empirical and theoretical background of the present volume, we now wish to position it in relation to its fields of application and to account for its underlying agenda and motivations. A central aim of our project – originating in the successful experience of a double seminar we convened for the European Society for the Study of English (Turin, 2010)[12] – is indeed to articulate a "conversation," as envisaged by Yaeger (2007), across disciplinary borders and to engage productively with the complexities of both fields, by revealing intersections and synergies that may open pathways to future research. According to this perspective, the 'Scotland' of the present volume's title is suggestive of a critical standpoint from which and within which we can productively question disciplinary borders and epistemological fences. The volume, in fact, goes a long way to question Scotland's imagined borders – cultural borders, by investigating Scotland's complex relations with its colonial Others; ideological boundaries, by shedding light simultaneously on its imperial as well as on its 'subaltern' implications; and disciplinary faultlines, by addressing Scottish studies specialists' as much as postcolonialists' concerns.

The image of the border evoked by our title provides, then, a central interpretative key at more than one level, as it is suggestive both of Scotland as a 'theoretical borderland' in relation to Empire and postcoloniality, and of the rationale of our critical project, aimed at bringing into dialogue scholars from different disciplinary backgrounds (including Scottish, Celtic and postcolonial studies) and adopting different methodologies and empirical foci. Furthermore, while we wanted essays to address consistently a common core of empirical and theoretical concerns and to showcase representative topics and trends in the field, we have also aimed to articulate effectively and fairly the different ideological emphases and nuances that characterise the field, so as to reconfigure them into a structured debate. In short, we have privileged a 'polyphonic' over a 'monologic' approach as a fruitful structuring principle. Finally, we have

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[12] The 10th Conference of the European Society for the Study of English, Seminar 31: "Dis/placing the British Empire: theoretical and critical views from Scottish studies," University of Turin, 24-28 August 2010.

also aimed to provide a balance between empirical and theoretical approaches, as indeed

> the task facing postcolonial studies today is not, of course, to abandon the theoretical sophistication that has marked its engagement with Orientalist discourse, Eurocentrism, and the exegetics of representation, but to link such meta-critical speculations with studies of actually existing political, economic, and cultural conditions, past and present. (Parry 2004, 80)

The volume, organised into three sections that pinpoint the three main research areas of the field, pertinently opens with David Richards' keynote essay, "'Injured by Time and Defeated by Violence': Prospects of Loch Tay," offering both an overview of the territory charted by our volume and a sounding of its theoretical implications by investigating the work of one of Scotland's most epicentric writers in relation to Empire and constructions of Britishness and Scottishness. Sir Walter Scott is in fact also the object of an equally thought-provoking investigation in the second section.

In the first section – "Gaelic Perspectives" – four essays provide a complex and cross-referenced discussion of the many facets that constitute the problematic and pivotal 'Gaelic question.' Peter Mackay's "Negotiations of Barbarity, Authenticity and Purity in Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Gaelic Literature" brings to the fore the complex connotations and nuances of three keywords of postcolonialism in the Gaelic context, focusing on issues of "anxious" self-representation in the imperial age; Sheila M. Kidd's archival research on "Gaelic Books as Cultural Icons: The Maintenance of Cultural Links between the Highlands and the West Indies" investigates Gaelic patterns of migration and new possibilities of cultural self-definition and self-production within the Empire; Wilson McLeod's "Gaelic Poetry and the British Military Enterprise, 1756-1945" discusses the essentially pro-British and pro-Empire stance articulated steadfastly by Gaelic poets across two centuries of imperial history. Focusing on a modern and contemporary context, Silke Stroh – in "The Gaelic Voice and (Post)colonial Discourse: An Alignment Illustrated by Case Studies of Neil Gunn, William Neill and Tormod Caimbeul" – undertakes a comparative investigation and traces a series of significant convergences between Gaelic literary expression and postcolonialism.

The second section, "Writing Scotland's (Post-)Empire," maps the specificities of a Scottish perspective on Empire as well as Scotland's implications in cultural imperialism and colonial contact zones. Liam Connell's "Kailyard Money: Nation, Empire and Speculation in Walter

Scott's *Letters from Malachi Malagrowther*" firmly questions and deconstructs Scott's *ante-litteram* 'postcolonialism,' pitting it against his explicit and militant support of imperialism and a nation-centric capitalism, while Gail Low's archival research in "An Educational Empire of Print: Thomas Nelson and 'Localisation' in the *West Indian Readers*" positions Scotland's publishing industry at the very heart of the British Empire, in terms of global distribution as much as of ideological content. Along similar lines, Ian Brown, in "Colonialism and Empire as Natural Order in the Early *Dollar Magazine*," reconstructs the crucial role played in the formation of imperial attitudes, references, and experiences by a magazine directed at a specific adolescent community and the diaspora, often imperial, formed by former pupils. Bashabi Fraser's "The Scottish Jutewallahs: A Study of Transnational Positioning in Personal Narratives," bringing micro- and macro-historical perspectives together, explores patterns of migration and re-homing of Scots within one of the most lucrative enterprises of the British Empire. Graeme Macdonald's "The Kilted Dragon: Contemporary Scottish Fiction and the New Imperialism" aptly closes this section by clarifying and illuminating the tensions and conflicts between political practice (Scotland, as part of the United Kingdom, is still an agent of Negri and Hardt's 'Empire') and contemporary literary representations, inherent in the nation's repression and recovery of historical consciousness.

Finally, the third section, "Scotland's Others: Relations and Representations," engages with the colonial contact zone as a site of domination and oppression, but also of communication and native self-expression. This section, in line with the previous two, also opens with a keynote essay, unravelling and pinpointing the crucial issues and problems at stake in this particular area: Joan Anim-Addo's "'I, daughter': Auto/biography, Fractured Histories, and Familial Quest for 'Scotch Blood' in Grenada and the Grenadines" provides a poignant illustration of how imperial history is always 'entangled history',[13] and how, in the case of disempowered and silenced communities, the task of the historian must, by necessity, move beyond traditional research methodology. Marina Dossena's archival research brings to light another important contact zone: in "'John is a Good Indian': Reflections on Native American Culture in Scottish Popular Writing of the Nineteenth Century" she charts strategies of the representation of natives as revealing of racist attitudes but also as

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[13] 'Entangled history' is a term and a concept that was introduced by Sidney W. Mintz (*Sweetness and Power*, 1985). Originally applied to the Caribbean context, it is now used more generally to describe transfer, interconnection, and mutual influences beyond the limits of national history.

engaging with transperipheral comparisons and postcolonial alignments. Jacqueline Ryder's "Speaking as Tribal (M)other: The African Writing of Naomi Mitchison" focuses on a canonical twentieth-century 'Scottish Renaissance' writer's identification with the Other, charting the tensions in her work between a colonial attitude and her role of 'respectful visitor.' The closing essay brings us to the present day: Gioia Angeletti's "'The Plantation Owner is Never Wearing a Kilt': Historical Memory and True Tales in Jackie Kay's *The Lamplighter*" analyses a most powerful and theoretically driven representation of Scotland's involvement in Atlantic slavery. Like Anim-Addo in the opening essay of this section, Kay advocates a 'creative' historiographical approach in the face of (post)colonial erasure and silencing.

Within and Without Empire, by mapping out pathways and patterns of interdisciplinary conversation, intends to further and widen the debate opened in 2010 in Turin at the ESSE "(Dis)placing the British Empire" seminar, and to encourage more theoretical and theoretically driven empirical research across Scottish and postcolonial studies. Furthermore, by moving beyond the theoretical impasse of a 'pure' (post)colonial identity, it also aims, possibly more ambitiously, to foster a re-thinking of discipline-bound 'truths' and a shaping of new paradigms for a deeper understanding of a world in dramatic flux and of ever-growing global interdependence.

"INJURED BY TIME AND DEFEATED BY VIOLENCE": PROSPECTS OF LOCH TAY

DAVID RICHARDS

In *The Chronicles of the Canongate*, Chrystal Croftangry, the last of Scott's narrative personas, questions Mrs Bethune Baliol, the source of his narratives, about the Highlands:

> "The Highlands," I suggested, "should furnish you with ample subjects of recollection. You have witnessed the complete change of that primeval country, and have seen a race not far removed from the earliest period of society, melted down into the great mass of civilization; and that could not happen without incidents striking in themselves, and curious as chapters in the history of the human race." (Scott 1881a, 407-8)

Since the publication of *Waverley*, Scott has been both credited with, and blamed for, creating the fundamental cultural division which has defined Scottish identity: the radical reconfiguration and division of Scottish space between a victorious Lowlands of Enlightenment rationality, military efficiency, mercantile economy, and bureaucratic modernity, and a defeated Highlands of original, charismatic, feudal, and heroic Scots conquered by war and removed by clearances. Scott's historic role has been to narrativise and sweeten with romance the inexorable coming of modernity to Highland Scotland, or, as Michael Gardiner has it, "[i]f the highland clearances allowed for a *tabula rasa* of bleakness famously beloved of Queen Victoria, unionist Scottish writers like Walter Scott were also on hand to people this stage with highly visible caricatures" (Gardiner 2004, 272). Scott's version of Scottish identity resides in a vision of a profound topographical and cultural divide, which also has temporal and even racial connotations; his Highlanders are "other men in another time" (Fabian 1983, 143). Scott's creation of a distinctive difference in time and space is the mark of a process of 'othering,' so the argument goes, characteristic of an essentially colonialist, if not outright imperialist, discourse in which English colonial incursions aided by Lowland 'clients' create a form of indirect rule through puppet

governments and institutions. A prevailing postcolonial reading of *Waverley* seems to follow naturally: a reading that also agrees in all key points with a current nationalist political agenda.

But the problem with the postcolonial reading of *Waverley* is that the argument contains both a logical flaw and a sleight of hand. As Liam Connell contends, the presumption lying behind the postcolonial turn in the national argument is that of "Lowland Anglo-Scots colonizing the Highlands at England's behest" until the assertion of "English cultural hegemony" emerges as an "uncontested fact" and the representation of "Scotland as an English colony is axiomatic" (Connell 2004b, 253). For Connell, such a reading of the Scottish national imaginary is profoundly problematic since it assumes a "systemic" and incremental strategy of colonisation (indirect and absentee) which is not borne out by the rather more "ad hoc and heterogeneous" history of relations between the Highlands, the Lowlands and England (Connell 2004b, 253). Further, it extrapolates the history of the post-Union nation in its entirety from the suppression of Gaelic culture specifically, and, by an act of wilful amnesia, it thus conflates the experiences of both victims and perpetrators into a single experience of national victimisation. For a postcolonial reading of Scottish history to be possible, on these terms at least, it would require "a generalisation of certain exceptional instances of Highland oppression as the normal experience of Scotland as a whole" and an assertion that "the modernisation of Scotland was the exogamous act of an irreducibly distinct English other" (Connell 2004b, 260). In this configuration, multiple, shifting colonial borderlines are drawn across the map of Scotland: along the Highland line, or across parts of the Lowlands, or finally, at the border of the two nations.

This postcolonial/nationalist construction of the nation also has the makings of a further theoretical distortion, or rather, a distortion in theory, which is familiar to anthropologists as the synecdochic representation or evocation of a social whole through the representation of a part (Webster 1986, 41). In the fixed concentration on the Highlands and the compulsion to equate the suppression of the Gaels with the colonial oppression of Scottish culture in its totality, the Highlands become a synecdoche for a national consciousness which wishes for a unifying alliance of Gaels and other Scots in order to oppose the influence of English colonisation on Scottish life. In this, Scott emerges as having an ambiguous role, as both the celebrated creator of the evocative synecdoche and the cursed apologist for its destruction. In seeing only the Highland synecdoche, Scott becomes, *post hoc*, the nostalgic romancer beloved of Victorians, rather than a novelist of the Scottish Enlightenment deeply engaged in the

complexities and nuances of contemporary debates on state formation and evolution, and national sympathies and identities.

In its identification of a process of 'othering' in *Waverley* as a discourse of colonial difference, and for a concomitant reading of the text as a unionist apologia for colonial hegemony, the postcolonial/nationalist discourse exhibits a strong tendency to polarise antagonists into culturally distinct and internally coherent opponents. Yet, it is axiomatic in postcolonial/nationalist representations of Scottish national identity that Scotland has been riven, divided, and rendered incohesive as a result of English colonisation (see Connell 2004b; Gardiner 2004; Hechter 1975; Makdisi 1998). But, by a perverse logic, it is precisely its divided, colonised character that makes Scotland different from the colonising English; Scotland's indistinct and inchoate state as a nation (the Other to England's distinctive coherence) is taken as evidence of its uniquely different national identity. In a move that seems to define Scotland's identity by its very lack of a national identity, Scott's vision of a tragically fractured nation is thereby turned back on itself and made to prove the opposite: Scotland is a nation unlike its colonial Other in every respect, particularly in its appearance *as a nation*.

Is a different postcolonial reading of the Scottish national imaginary possible? More to the point, is a different postcolonial reading of Scott's foundational text of the Scottish imaginary possible?

Such a reading should begin, perhaps, with Waverley's journey to the Highlands and across the map of Scotland's disputed (post)colonial borderline (Scott 1972, chapters 8-38). From his regimental base in Dundee, Edward passes quickly, in only ten lines of text, north-westwards beyond Perth, towards the "huge gigantic masses" of the Perthshire Highlands where, at the "bottom of this stupendous barrier" lies Baron Bradwardine's ancient house at Tully-Veolan, "still in the Lowland country" but at a location which cannot be determined exactly (Scott 1972, 73). After a stay of six weeks in this liminal space, Edward is guided by Evan Dhu into the Highlands through the pass of Bally-Brough. They cross a dangerous and very Miltonic bog, "Serbonian" in its epic malevolence, to an unknown lake from where they are ferried in a *curragh* to Uaimh an Ri, a cave by a loch to the north and west of Loch Tay, where Edward meets the Highland cateran, Donald Lean Bean. From here, Evan and Waverley walk a further five miles (Waverley thinks it ten) to Fergus MacIvor's clan stronghold of Glennaquoich, where he remains for three weeks. A hunting accident deeper in the Highlands compels him to stay a further six days at Tomanrait before returning to Glennaquoich, where the news he receives forces him to leave the Highlands in the company of

Callum Beg, and to travel back to the Lowlands with the intention of clearing his name from the charge of being a deserter. After barely a month at Glennaquoich, Edward will never return. He must avoid Tully-Veolan where a party of soldiers lies in wait for him and they travel to the Lowlands where they part company and Edward continues his journey with the publican Cruickshanks to the village of Cairnvreckan, where he is arrested and given to the tender mercies of 'Gifted' Gilfillan for transportation under arrest to Stirling Castle. He is again injured in a rescue by Highlanders who, on his recovery, eventually deposit him at Doune Castle, which is held by the Jacobites under the command of Colonel Stuart.

Postcolonialism's often-evoked metaphor of the map is useful in charting this journey. It is a fundamental tenet of postcolonialism that colonialism and map making (understood promiscuously both in the wider metaphorical sense of imaginative constructions of the space of Others and cartographic visual mapping) are intimately entwined historically. In *Orientalism* and in *Culture and Imperialism*, Edward Said described an "'imaginative geography' or geographies that provide the intellectual schema for commercial and colonial designs on territories and societies," in which "geography was essentially the material underpinning for knowledge about the other" (Said 1978; Said 1993, 216). Subsequently, geographers have elaborated on "the hidden discourse of maps" as being "primarily a form of political discourse concerned with the acquisition and maintenance of power" or which "reoriented social and physical landscapes into more metropolitan friendly places of settlement and sovereignty" (Harley 1988, 57; Howard 2010, 141). It has become routine that, as "a discourse of object-ness that reduces the world to a series of objects in a visual plane," and a technological solution to the "constant colonial struggle to fill voids," cartography was "the graphic arm of colonial enterprise" (Gregory 2004, 54, 118; Piper 2002, 6; Howard 2010, 148). Saree Makdisi, for example, uses the metaphor of the map more than fifty times in his postcolonial reading of Romanticism in *Romantic Imperialism: Universal Empire and the Culture of Modernity,* and specifically in relation to *Waverley*, where he sees Scott's Highlands, with some justification, as being "necessarily anti-modern":

> The novel's imaginary map of the Highlands is not, strictly speaking, a map of the past, but rather a map of a possible past, an imaginary past that is forever spatially (and temporally) different and distinct.
>
> (Makdisi 1998, 171)

In this light, Scott's "imaginary map of the Highlands," as the signifier of otherness, difference, and distinction, would indeed appear to be a profoundly colonial construction, as Makdisi sees it. Edward sets out in mapped (Lowland) space, but the map loses exactitude the deeper into *terra incognita* he goes, until he enters a fantastical Highland space, not on any map, but now brought into "imaginative geography," reduced to "object-ness" and subjected to a colonising sovereignty beyond its borders. But while this reading of *Waverley* has much to recommend itself, there are some significant caveats.

In his *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, Pierre Bourdieu remarks on the significant dangers of describing any culture as a map, both for those practitioners (he is referring here to his fellow anthropologists) who do so and for those who construct readings, critiques, and epistemologies (such as postcolonialism) based on this analogy. According to Bourdieu, cultural mapping and imaginative geographies occur "to an outsider who has to find his way around in a foreign landscape" and has to "compensate for his lack of practical mastery." There is, as a consequence, a "gulf between this potential, abstract space" of the map and the "privileged centre," which is the possession and prerogative of the "native." Whereas maps are "continuous" (by which he means that the geometric space of a map configures cultural topography as a single, logically coherent entity), the native's "practical mastery" of cultural space is profoundly "discontinuous" (by which he means that the lived experience is 'broken' by informal tracks and significant landmarks which are incoherent to and unrepresentable in a cultural map). This gulf between "continuous" cultural mapping and "discontinuous" practical mastery is enlarged upon by Bourdieu as containing a theoretical distortion:

> […] in as much as his situation as an observer, excluded from the real play of social activities by the fact that he has no place (except by choice or by way of a game) in the system observed, inclines him to a hermeneutic representation of practices, leading him to reduce all social relations to communicative relations and, more precisely, to decoding operations.
> (Bourdieu 1977, 1)

In the anthropological domain, the anthropologist's pursuit of "objectivity," which mapping appears to secure, is in fact transmuted into "an epistemological choice," that of "an impartial spectator, as Husserl puts it, condemned to see all practice as spectacle" (Bourdieu 1977, 2). From this, Bourdieu would appear to offer strong support to postcolonialism's reading of Scott's representation of the Highlands and the consequent mapping of the national imaginary that descends from it:

the real play of social activities is passed over and reduced (transmuted) into a hegemonic representation of the spectacle of culture. Clearly, so the argument goes, Scott does not have the "practical mastery" of the environment or a native's inwardness with Highland culture, and so his spectacle of culture is nothing short of a "hermeneutic representation of practices" and therefore a map of difference, distance and distinction. Although a postcolonial reading, on these terms, would seem to have a great deal going for it, I would wish to argue that postcolonialism is itself a "hermeneutic representation of practices" (and often knows itself to be so) and is equally as culpable of reductive cultural mapping and of seeing "all practice as spectacle." The real target of Bourdieu's complex and subtle argument are the "epistemological choices" involved in anthropological representations, which, through the device of cultural maps, give the appearance of neutrality and objectivity, but which are shaped and determined by their own hermeneutical procedures; anything ("the real play of social activities," for example) which lies beyond those same reductive decoding operations is invisible to it. Similarly, postcolonialism's discourse of otherness upon which its imaginative geography is founded will see the spectacle of otherness, and only the spectacle of otherness, no matter where it looks: "forever spatially (and temporally) different and distinct." The postcolonial reading of Scott tends toward the theoretical distortion Bourdieu alludes to in anthropological representation: to see practice as spectacle and to interpret spectacle/representation epistemologically, as fundamentally hegemonic and colonising. Scott's cultural map of Scotland in 1745, for a map it certainly is, is not the rather simple colonial appropriation of space that the available postcolonial readings would tend to suggest. It is not only that the postcolonial map is drawn to the wrong scale, in that it concentrates only on the Highland synecdoche, it is the wrong kind of map entirely.

My point is twofold. Contrary to the assumptions of postcolonial readings of the "imaginary map" in *Waverley*, mapping Highland Scotland, cognitively or cartographically, was by no means a new enterprise signalling the arrival of a post-Culloden, post-Act of Union, Lowland/English modernity in the guise of "the graphic arm of colonial enterprise." Highland topography was already the subject of extensive analysis and detailed representation well before the writing of Scott's *Waverley*.[1] Specifically, Perthshire and the environs of Loch Tay that

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[1] A list and reproductions of maps of the Highlands, in chronological order from 1572 to 1807 can be viewed on the National Library of Scotland website at http://maps.nls.uk/index.html.

Waverley traversed, were very far from being *terra incognita*, but came in for special and extensive attention.[2] From the sixteenth century to the Jacobite Rebellion, the Highlands had been extensively mapped, and with extraordinary frequency: a cartographic endeavour whereby a new map of the Highlands was produced on average every six years, at least. This rate of production was stepped up even further in the second half of the eighteenth century, with a new map published on average every two years between 1745 and the publication of *Waverley*. Undoubtedly this increase in what was already a phenomenal rate of production answered the needs of the military for accurate maps, such as Roy's *Military Survey of Scotland*, but very many served no military purpose at all, such as John McArthur's *Plans of The Farms On The South Side of Loch Tay* (1769), or Whittle and Laurie's *New map of Scotland for ladies needlework* (1797). This space is not the imaginary pre-colonial vacancy: the Highlands are neither Conrad's Congo*,* nor Buchan's South Africa.

Secondly, not all maps are the same in this history of abundant map making. Charles Withers, the historical geographer, makes an important Ptolemaic distinction between different kinds of map making: *geography*, the aim of which is to produce mathematically accurate representations of "the unity and continuity of the known world in its true nature and location"; and *chorography* which is concerned to convey "the quality of places" rather than "their quantity or scale, aware that it should use all means to sketch the true form or likeness of places and not so much their correspondence, measure or disposition amongst themselves or with the heavens or with the whole of the world" (Withers 2001, 140-41):

> Chorography emphasised the local and did so historically and geographically: with reference, for example, to the genealogies of families of note, and to the remarkable features in a place. This attention to place had political significance in that matters of a local nature – notable families, distinctive natural features, historical antiquities and such like – were made to appear part of that place, fixed over time as well as in space. Because of this, chorography – with geography one of […] the "eyes of

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2 Timothy Pont's *Loch Tay* (ca 1583); Blaeu's *Atlas of Scotland* (1654); an anonymous map of central Scotland showing clans that rebelled in 1715; H. Moll's *North Part of Perth Shire containing Athol and Broadalbin*; Willdey's *A Map of the Kings Roads, Made by his Excellency General Wade in the Highlands of Scotland* (1756); Cameron's *An Exact Map of Breadalbane* (1770); Taylor and Skinner's *Survey and Maps of the Roads of North Britain or Scotland (Stirling to Fort Augustus)* (1776); James Stobie's *The Counties of Perth and Clackmannan* (1783). All can be viewed on the National Library of Scotland website at http://maps.nls.uk/index.html.

history" – was closely associated with chronology (the other "eye"), with antiquarianism and with emerging ideas of public utility and of national identity. (Withers 2011)

It is my contention that postcolonial critiques tend to see Scott's cultural mapmaking rather too simplistically as a form of colonially inflected *geography*, whereas his textual representation is much closer to a form of *chorography*. To trace Edward Waverley's fateful journey to and from the Highlands is to traverse an imaginary topography of many conflicted borderlands, fault lines, fractures and discontinuities: zones of complex deformation which mark out the cultural and political spaces of the Scottish nation in 1745 from the perspective of 1814. Scott's prospect of the nation, revealed in Waverley's journey to the Highlands on the eve of the Jacobite rebellion, is much larger than the Highland synecdoche, as it involves disaffected gentry, merchants, militias, antique aristocracies, reclusive gentry, hypocritical Presbyterians, Cameronian fanatics, rebel generals as well as clan chieftains, and is concerned to sketch chorographically "their correspondence, measure or disposition amongst themselves." Nor are the 'colonising' Lowlands one homogenous domain of Enlightenment rationality and bureaucratic modernity to place against an equally homogenous Highlands of Weberian charismatic authority, since they too contain warring 'tribes.' Each location, encountered episodically, has a distinctive landscape presided over by its spirits of place, and Scott's vision of the nation revealed in this journey is expansive, complex and fractured: chorographical, local, fictional 'terrains' and textual contours are laid unevenly next to and around each other like broken moraine.

Bourdieu (and postcolonialism to a degree) can conceive of only one alternative to the "abstract space" of the colonial map of continuous representation: the native's "practical mastery" of "discontinuous" cultural space. Scott's chorographical landscape is an intermediate alternative between the geographic and the native since it lays no claim to practical mastery or colonial calculation, but his rough ground is "discontinuous" in Bourdieu's sense of the word: crossed by informal tracks and significant landmarks, distinctive natural features and antiquarian observations, local histories and factional conflicts. Far from being a fiction of internal colonialism, in which the "unifying of Britain as union has driven a wider colonial standardization of cultural authority" (Hechter 1975, cited in Gardiner 2004, 265), Scott's chorographic narrative emphasises the multiplicity of the Scottish national scene which resists such containment within a single standard vision of the nation. Most importantly, a chorographic view of Edward Waverley's episodic encounters with the

various local spirits of place enables – requires – an intricate reading of "correspondence, measure and disposition" along multiple axes: competing political fanaticisms and religious allegiances; models of femininity and masculinity; the practice of the law and hereditary jurisdiction; contrasting allegorical landscapes. The ancient images of otherness – the body, the law, and the wild – are, of course, all brought into Scott's chorography, but the correspondences construct visualizable representations of cultural phenomena, what Clifford Geertz would describe as "anthropological transparencies" which create a "see-able society" (Geertz 1988, 64-5). This *monde commenté* is not the single Manichean divide of Highlands and Lowlands, but the self-consciously composed, artificial chorography of romance.

Scott's novels repeat familiar images and historical subjects composed within narrative formulae and romance conventions: narrative devices link novels together in chains of increasing complexity predicated upon a view of the nation where recurring fragmentation leads to the fitful birth of the 'modern.' Repeated patterns of history engage with the structures of romance, directing the reader to the apprehension of the historical narrative, while his annotations chorographically frame and expand the fictional dimensions of the text. Collectively, the novels seem to claim that history can be entered through romance, a narrative strategy of penetration of temporal 'surfaces,' and that the reverse is also the case: history can be 'turned' to reveal the moral and aesthetic meanings of romance. Romance and history thus conspire to produce symbolic and emblematic systems and signs which purport to represent the nation. The proper reading of these signs should, therefore, lead to a fuller comprehension of the twists and turn of history by reducing them to formulaic national romance. Yet, having made a kind of 'narrative machine' for the processing of history into narrative, Scott seems unwilling to make actuality fit the aesthetic and moral structures of romance. Instead, the novels collectively depict the multiple births of versions of the modern, in every century from the thirteenth to the eighteenth, out of the catastrophe of the nation. Instead of this desired state of enunciation, and instead of certainty in the emblematic structures of the nation, he describes the collapse of cultures made of emblems and signs. This uneasy relationship between history and romance, as if the narration is struggling with its own narrative, denies full validation to the historical processes it seems to describe.

In *The Fair Maid of Perth*, Scott returns to Loch Tay and the space through which Waverley journeyed in 1745, but here the date is 1396. Whereas in the earlier novel the landscape is largely seen as if with Waverley's eyes, for whom all is new and strange, here the landscape is