

## Introduction



# The Mighty Scot

## Nation, Gender, and the Nineteenth-Century Mystique of Scottish Masculinity

### What Is Scotland?

Opening the first session of the devolved Scottish Parliament on May 12, 1999, Winnie Ewing proclaimed, “the Scottish Parliament, which adjourned on 25 March 1707, is hereby reconvened.”<sup>1</sup> Ewing’s assertion of continuity between the new national assembly and the old met with widespread approval in Scotland. Under a headline that quoted Ewing’s words, Glasgow’s *Daily Record* averred that Ewing “was speaking for all of Scotland” (1), and the *Aberdeen Press and Journal* declared in a leader that “the ghosts of three centuries of Scots of every political hue can’t have failed to have been watching, and smiling approval and encouragement” (18). In England too, the press generally concurred with Ewing’s framing of the new parliament in terms of the old. The *Times* reported on the “historic reopening of Scotland’s Parliament” (“Back to Future” 23), and the *Independent*, under a headline that declared “Scots End 292-year Adjournment,” remarked that the “air was thick with history” (1).

Notwithstanding the multiplicity of significant differences between the old and new parliaments, Ewing’s rhetoric of continuity articulates the feeling (in England as well as Scotland) that Scottish identity had been submerged, but not obliterated, in the British state.<sup>2</sup> Devolution and its discourse have put a spotlight not only on Scotland, but also on Great Britain, highlighting

the need to reexamine old assumptions among scholars about the essentially unitary character of British identity. Despite the attention literary critics have given to Britain's imperial role, the foundational texts of postcolonial discourse have little to say about the divided character of Britain itself. In Edward Said's *Culture and Imperialism*, for example, Britain is a homogeneous entity indistinguishable from England. Scotland disappears. But as old colonial structures disintegrate and the globalization of capital puts the nation-state itself under increasing pressure, many small nations and nationalities long submerged in larger state structures have resurfaced and started to command attention—among scholars of literature and culture as well as on the world stage. Scotland is part of this process.

I wrote this book not only as a contribution to the emerging critical conversation on Scotland and its configuration within Great Britain, but also as part of an ongoing discourse on gender, specifically the study of masculinity, a study made possible by feminism, which by challenging the old assumption that male experience was the human norm, made masculinity visible as a constructed gender. Many of the most popular nineteenth-century cultural representations of Scotland suggest that it has a savage essence, but a savagery that, unlike that of the overseas colonial other, is rarely feminized. Literature and art suggest rather that a heart of dark masculinity animates Scotland's landscape and wildlife, its history and culture, its men and even, occasionally, its women—an undying heart that, because Scotland is part of Britain, can beat for Britain as a whole. This is not the masculinity of civilization and restraint, but a more primal kind of masculinity, identified with fierce passions and dangerous force.<sup>3</sup> Despite the intellectual and economic achievements of the cultivated Lowlands and although Scotland's national institutions historically had been centered there, Scotland was most often defined by its supposedly wild, hypermasculine Highlands. And this lasted throughout the nineteenth century. Critical attention to literary and artistic representations of Scotland has concentrated on the early part of the century, but Scotland's role as a standard-bearer for wild, rugged masculinity long outlasted the heyday of Romanticism, maintaining and increasing its sway during the Victorian era.

Scotland's incorporation into an England-dominated Great Britain—in effect, a Great England—gave middle-class Englishmen access to an imagined Scottish wellspring of masculinity, generating conflicting (and mutually reinforcing) urges both to affirm intimate and permanent union with Scotland and to assert irreconcilable difference from it. This masculinizing of Scotland both contributed to and complicated Scots' own attempts to construct a national identity and secure sense of manhood. Central to such attempts was the question of how Scotland's story should be told. Narrative is important in the imagining of any nation, but in the absence of an independent state that can help define the nation through its actions, narrative becomes especially vital.

As this study of nineteenth-century cultural representations of Scotland shows, stories and counterstories about Scottish masculinity, told through novels, memoirs, paintings, and more, became key determinants of the meaning of Scotland in Britain.

That Scotland could be narrated as Britain's masculine heartland depended on the contradictions of its relationship with England, which has been influentially described by Michael Hechter as one of "internal colonialism."<sup>4</sup> In the nineteenth century, many Scots enthusiastically participated in the British Empire and identified with it. Although English economic interests generally took precedence over Scottish, Scotland had a strong industrial base and benefited from the wealth acquired from the Empire's superexploitation of overseas colonies. However, imperialism is not just economic; as Said explains, it involves an entire ideology of cultural and ethnic superiority and the deep-rooted assumption that the imperial power has an inherent right to rule and impose its cultural values on the nations it dominates. Scotland, in that sense, was part of a colonial periphery as well as part of the imperial center. "Internal colonialism," in its evocation of an imperialist relationship, succinctly captures both England's economic, political, and cultural domination of the British Isles and its ability to incorporate Scotland into an enlarged sense of its own identity—an incorporation that, I suggest, includes Scotland's supposed wealth of primal masculinity.

Despite the usefulness of Hechter's term, his *Internal Colonialism: The Celtic Fringe in British National Development* suffers from reliance on the idea of "fringe" nations, an Anglocentric concept that defines Scotland, Ireland, and Wales primarily in terms of their divergence from an English norm. The "Celtic fringe" approach, which is popular in postcolonialist discourse on Britain, leaves little space to examine the individual histories, cultures, and problems of each country and the distinctiveness of England's relationship with each. What's more, the racializing of political division reduces the non-Celtic Scottish Lowlands to an outpost of Saxon England, thus obscuring historic Scotland.

The specifics of Scottish history and Scottish/English relations must be taken into account. In *The Break-Up of Britain*, Tom Nairn gives close attention to the case of Scotland, investigating why Scotland did not develop a European-style nationalist movement in the nineteenth century, but experienced an upsurge of nationalism in the latter part of the twentieth century. Scots had kept their own legal, educational, and ecclesiastical institutions and a sense of their own national history, but in the age of empire they did not experience lack of statehood as a straitjacket to Scotland's economic development. Able to hitch their wagon to the expanding economy of the world's foremost power, argues Nairn, they had no need to demand independence in the nineteenth century. However, Britain's world preeminence and the influx of wealth from its empire meant that it was able to avoid revolutionary modernization at home, making

England a far less attractive partner for Scotland in the twentieth century. As the Empire declined, union with a stagnant economy and outmoded polity began to seem a liability to many Scots, a feeling fueled by the 1969 discovery of oil off the coast of Scotland; hence the accelerating “Break-Up of Britain” along persisting national fault lines.

Scotland was generally accorded more respect than the other internal colonies. Due to its history of wars with England, the voluntary nature of the Union, and the retention of Scottish institutions, it had a standing with England not shared by other nations England dominated. Ireland was viewed in less intimate terms than Scotland; its geographical separation, Catholicism, and centuries of subjection to England made it seem unworthy of respect and far more alien. And like the more distant colonies, it was usually feminized. In *Past and Present*, Thomas Carlyle promotes Scotland over Ireland as a worthy partner for England on the basis of the independence wars with England that, he argues, allowed Scotland eventually to join England as an equal, rather than as a slave like Ireland. Wales, another case again, had been closely assimilated into England for more than 500 years, its legends appropriated as part of England’s prehistory.

The contradictions of England’s internal colonialist relationship with Scotland were essential components of English identity in the nineteenth century. When Benedict Anderson traces the ways in which people imagine themselves as a nation, he is interested more in how people come to see themselves as one than in how this oneness paradoxically might depend for its very sense of completeness on an awareness of underlying disunity. But cultural representations of Scotland suggest that the incorporation of Scotland into a sense of English identity was so ideologically useful precisely because it remained incomplete. As an internal colony, Scotland (identified with the Highlands) remained a primitive other that helped define English civilization, but at the same time was embraced as an intrinsic part of Englishness. Scotland’s history as an independent nation was crucial to the masculine dignity that the nation was accorded in nineteenth-century culture; indeed Scotland was so closely associated with its past that it seems trapped there. But that history had to be remembered in certain ways. A nation makes sense of itself, argues Anderson, by thinking of the past as always working toward the nation as now constituted and forgetting or misremembering anything that does not fit that preestablished trajectory. Arguing in 1882 that nationhood is based on the perception of a shared past, Ernest Renan maintained nonetheless that “forgetting, I would even go so far as to say historical error, is a crucial factor in the creation of a nation” (11). Anderson builds on the paradox that Renan’s “nation” requires a continuing memory of the traumas that have supposedly been forgotten in the interests of the nation. Imagining nationhood, he argues, thus demands a historical

narrative that fashions history “up time,” “remembering/forgetting” the past in specific ways from the standpoint of “an originary present” (205–6), so that, for example, wars between sovereign states that become one can be “remembered” as family conflicts. However, the gender insecurity of the “originary present” in the nineteenth century was crucial to how Englishmen remembered/forgot centuries of hostility with Scotland, requiring continual reminders of Scottish difference, even within the “memory” of one British nation. Indeed, the “imagined community” of Great Britain, envisioned as a Great England, cannot be adequately understood without consideration of the extent to which it both motivated and was motivated by the discovery of Scotland as a fountainhead of primal masculinity imagined to virilize England and Englishmen, a discovery that some of the literary and visual texts studied in this book helped effect.

### Male Troubles

The receptivity of the English middle-class public to literary and artistic associations of Scotland with displays of primal masculinity—for example, in depictions of the Jacobite rebellion and Highland landscape—points to a perceived lack of primal masculinity in modern Britain and the discovery of its locus in Scotland. As the work of James Eli Adams and other critics of masculinity has demonstrated, we cannot assume that the might of the British Empire necessarily established the nineteenth-century Englishman’s (or Scotsman’s) sense of himself or his country as unproblematically masculine. Only if we recognize the troubled character of British masculinities can we start to appreciate the function of images of Scottish masculinity in the English imagination and how such images complicated Scottish attempts to construct a secure masculine identity. Ironically, this gender insecurity largely originated in the same material factors that made Britain so powerful. Britain was increasingly driven by commerce, but commercial activity had long been derided by the land-owning ruling classes as an essentially effeminate activity. Throughout the century, the physical and social disruptions of burgeoning industrial development were revolutionizing the face of the land, while expanding imperial boundaries and colonial settlement demanded a new conception of England itself—a conception that both accommodated a far-flung imperial “family” and reaffirmed an essential and exclusive Englishness centered securely in England itself. At the same time, the older system of rank based on heredity and land ownership was starting to give way, in England and Scotland, to a more fluid system with unprecedented opportunities for the expanding middle class, a system in which individual achievement could dramatically affect one’s position in the world. But this fluidity produced anxieties. A middle-class man had to create a never-entirely-secure toehold for

himself in a patriarchal order in which relative positions were always subject to challenge and change; one could rise, but one could also sink. And pressure on the already-beset masculinity of the middle classes was further intensified by increasing polarity between masculine and feminine ideals during the Victorian period and by growing concern about sexual normativity.

While gender constructions were not static in earlier periods, concerns about masculinity became especially prominent in the nineteenth century, as the shift of the middle class to the political and economic forefront gave national import to its masculinity troubles. The rising middle classes needed new models for manhood that could accommodate the commercial interests that increasingly drove the nation. Hard work, discipline, and the ability to postpone gratification were central to the kind of masculinity that the new society demanded, with self-restraint the defining virtue of Victorian man. This new kind of masculinity, Adams argues, while it rejected the self-display of the Regency dandy as effeminate, was paradoxically involved in its own kind of display, a theatricality of asceticism and restraint in which masculine authority was grounded on the male body as heroic spectacle. Although Adams does not address the mystique of Scottish masculinity, his insights shed light of some of its manifestations. As the following chapters demonstrate, Victorian masculinity frequently became spectacle or performance as Englishmen and Scotsmen, in different ways, anxiously tried to claim the mantle of the mighty masculine Scot.

Economic man was a “feminized, even an effeminate being” in the eighteenth century, says J. G. A. Pocock, but a “masculine conquering hero” in the nineteenth (114). That shift, however, was more halting and incomplete that Pocock suggests. Thomas Carlyle’s championing of the “captain of industry,” for example, was an attempt to change established attitudes toward industrial activity and offer a new way to think about heroic manliness. But modern masculinity could not be created out of whole cloth; to feel authentic, it had to incorporate older measures of masculinity too. Few men living in commercial Britain had direct access to warrior skills or experience, yet the traditional martial values of hardihood, fearlessness, and fighting ardor lingered and demanded integration into the new manhood.

The construction of Scotland as a source of rugged primal masculinity helped respond to this demand. A defining element of Victorian masculinity, according to both Adams and Herbert Sussman was the idea of control of a violent inner core. For example, the foremost proponent of “muscular Christianity,” Charles Kingsley, used the Platonic concept of “thumos” to describe the masculine force that, he believed, expressed itself through male sexuality, fighting, and moral vigor. Perhaps then, to an English civilization that sometimes seemed too civilized, the desire to internalize Scottish wildness was an attempt to ensure that, beneath the manly self-control, that crucial volcanic core of masculinity still burned.

For an Englishman to be able to appropriate Scottishness thus imagined as part of his own core, yet not identical with his self, Scotland must be perceived not only as part of England, but also as separate from England. In a self-reinforcing operation, the individual and the national construct each other. Both Joseph Bristow and Graham Dawson have studied the close links between Victorian masculinity and conceptions of nation, but apparently subscribing to a unitary view of British nationhood, neither makes more than passing reference to the powerful masculine appeal of Scotland. However, the ability to locate the source of primal masculinity inside Britain but outside England is crucial to understanding nineteenth-century English masculinity.

Much discourse on concepts of Scottish nationality has revolved round the influence of Walter Scott. Some Scott critics take up gender issues, but rarely in connection with national identity. Ina Ferris is concerned with the gendering of the novel rather than the gendering of Scotland; and Judith Wilt suggests that Scott's characters cross genders to find a gender identity appropriate to the new age, but with little attention to the implications of this for national identities. Janet Sorensen, who looks at gender and nationality together, is interested in the feminization of the Scottish oral tradition and of the Scots and Gaelic languages, rather than in the masculine construction of Scots and Scotland. However, as both Scotland and masculinity draw more critical attention, a discourse is starting to develop around their connection. Recent books by Kenneth McNeil and Katherine Haldane Grenier include useful chapters that address the casting of the Highlands and Highlanders as inherently masculine and discuss some of the implications of such gendering for British national identities.<sup>5</sup> McNeil looks at contradictions in the popular construction of the Highland regimental soldier. On the one hand, the kilted soldier epitomizes British fighting prowess; on the other hand, he fails as an exemplar of British masculinity, as his martial virtues are understood as inherent qualities of a racial other. To that I would add that the contradictory British/not-British quality of the soldier is vital to his appeal to Englishmen, as it allows the soldier to embody the relation of Scotland (not just the Highland region) to England.

Time and again in nineteenth-century literature, Scottish identity and Scottish/English relations are presented in terms of relations between men, and here Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick's groundbreaking work on male/male relationships, *Between Men*, has been particularly useful. She posits a continuum of "male homosocial desire," with no clearly defined border between the homosexual and the heterosexual. Sedgwick (who does not deal with Scottish issues) addresses personal relations, but her insights can be usefully extended to national relations imagined in personal terms and personal relations imagined in national terms. Literature that addresses military conflict between Scotland and England frequently casts a warm homosocial glow over it. Like

the scraps that often precede male bonding in schoolboy stories, warfare can be imagined as having set the stage for an intimate union with a distinctly masculine tenor—"We are better friends, I fancy, for that old fighting," says one of the Englishmen in Arthur Hugh Clough's 1848 poem, "The Bothie of Tober-na-vuolich" (line 153). But that poem's interest in the kilt-clad body of the Scottish clansman (like the many paintings of Scottish regiments fighting the Empire's battles) draws on the traditional erotic frisson of the "Highland Laddie" even while it sets it in an explicitly nonsexual frame.<sup>6</sup> As Sedgwick remarks, "to be a man's man is separated only by an invisible, carefully blurred, always-already-crossed line from being 'interested in men'" (89). The visibility and pathologization of homosexuality in the latter part of the century increasingly shadowed loving male friendship and may have contributed to the frequent undercurrent of homoerotic desire and homophobia in literary representations of mythic Highland masculinity. Sedgwick's insights on ways in which male/male desire is often triangulated through a heterosexual object or erupts as homophobic paranoia help shed light on the Gothic atmosphere and erotic undercurrent in the struggles for masculine ascendancy that often haunt narratives of Scottish nationality.

### Highlands, Lowlands, Scotland

The cultural association of Scotland with the figure of the brawny kilted Highlander necessarily obscured those elements of Scottish history or culture that it could not accommodate. The Jacobite rebellion, the mountains, the warrior-clansman fit the bill (albeit in a distorted form); the Enlightenment and the Clearances, the densely packed cities and the industrial working class, the Edinburgh intellectual and the Glasgow capitalist did not. And as more and more of the Highlands were turned over to sheep or deer, the Scottish population became increasingly concentrated in Lowland towns and cities. However, although nineteenth-century Scots neither had nor wanted a state of their own, they sought to retain a Scottish identity within Britain.<sup>7</sup> Their country's Highland identification did offer Scots an element of national distinctiveness while allowing them to reap the economic benefits of union, but it ignored Scotland's present and much of its past, materials crucial to building a more credible sense of Scottish identity. And it created as many problems as it solved for Scottish masculinity. The new centrality of commerce and industry problematized concepts of masculinity just as much in Scotland as in England, for despite Scotland's popular romantic image as a land that time had forgotten, it was energetically involved in industry and commerce. In addition, Scotland's permanent subaltern status within Britain was a constant humiliation that put Lowland masculinity under considerable strain. Although the idea of Scots as mighty



tartan-clad warriors might be flattering, few men of the Lowlands could readily recognize themselves or their culture in such an image, so that it complicated attempts to develop a sense of Scottish manhood. It left even less space to imagine Scottish womanhood.

In current discourse on Scottish identity, critics invariably agree that the Highland myth, despite its lingering popularity among whisky exporters and the tourist industry, has little basis in the reality of Scots' lives past or present, but we find less agreement about whether it has ever had any value for Scots in terms of forging a meaningful sense of national identity. Hugh Trevor-Roper dismisses "the whole concept of a distinct Highland culture and tradition [as] a retrospective invention" (15), while Murray Pittock argues that the Jacobite tradition, tartan kitsch notwithstanding, eventually became the vehicle for "a positive, unified, and patriotic view of Scotland" (*Invention* 98). A narrow emphasis on the inauthenticity of the Highland myth can indeed lead critics to underestimate its ideological value to (mostly Lowland) Scots trying to define themselves in a British context. Nonetheless, Pittock's upbeat assessment of the contribution of the Highland myth to Scottish identity tends to underestimate the problems it produced for Lowlanders. The primary problem, however, was not the artificiality of such a Highland-based identity (what national identity is truly authentic?), but its emphatic masculine gendering. Gender has to be part of the critical discussion. We must consider the issue of masculinity in order to appreciate both the allure and the danger that the Highland myth held for Scots trying to imagine Scottishness in the nineteenth century.

The identification of true Scottishness with Highland culture mystifies and displaces historic Scottish nationhood, shifting it from history and politics to the safer realm of myth and romance. Yet, as chapter 1 argues, the nineteenth-century creation of Scotland as a Highland heartland of masculine difference was a translation into gender of Scotland's long history of independent statehood—a history that was primarily centered in the Lowlands. The ideological impact of the kilt-clad warrior as a symbol of Scotland rested not simply on Highland tradition but also on Scotland's Lowland-centered history as a nation. However, the insistent association of Scottish difference with the figure of the romantic kilted Highlander seems to have made it difficult for some twentieth-century scholars to recognize Scotland in any other dress. And since the Highland tradition thus constructed is fake, so too must be the notion of "Scotland." All nations are, of course, "imagined communities." Some however have been deemed more imaginary than others, and "Scotland" has sometimes been singled out as a particularly meaningless term—a result perhaps of inattention to the obscured significance of the Lowlands in the construction of Scotland. Critics who tend to treat Scotland as an extension of England (even those who complicate English identity) are far

less skeptical about the existence of a cultural entity that can usefully be called “England.”<sup>8</sup> Indeed, English is the default nationality. This selective skepticism is not value-free; as Murray Pittock has argued, the debunking of the Highland myth by Trevor-Roper and others is often “a manifestation of the values of a centring ‘British’ history” (*Myth* 118).

Similarly, the “Celtic fringe” approach, by overlooking the significance of the Lowlands in the meaning of “Scotland,” can lead critics to define as “English” any trait that Scots share with their English counterparts. For example, in *Disorienting Fiction*, James Buzard’s concept of Lowland “self-Englishing” (75) tends to treat capitalist development as an inherently English phenomenon, thus writing Lowland culture and economic traditions out of Scottish history. Buzard does explicitly reject the authenticity of the Highland Scottishness promoted in Scott’s *Waverley*, but the effect of categorizing the Lowlands with England is to identify Scottishness with the undeveloped Highland region.

Walter Scott played a pivotal role in the development of the romantic, Highland-centered conception of Scottish difference, a construction that impacted how true Scottishness came to be understood in Scotland as well as in England.<sup>9</sup> Scott, a committed unionist, sought to preserve Scottish identity by envisioning Scottish history and tradition in a way that would enhance rather than threaten the British union. Scott and other “autoethnographers,” explains Buzard, saw themselves as mediators, situated at the border between center and periphery, and able to look “‘back’ at their own lands through English eyes” (41).

With the re-creation of Jacobitism as heroic romance, the royal genealogy became a convenient vehicle to express the paradox of an ancient martial Scottishness that was both innate to civilized England and also thrillingly alien to it. The Hanoverian succession represented modern England, but the Scottish Stuart thread in the royal line was a reminder of an earlier precommercial order. In his orchestration of the 1822 extravaganza for George IV’s visit to Edinburgh, Scott underscored the romance of Highland culture and identified all of Scotland with it. Although Edinburgh was a city of culture and learning, with traditional Whig sympathies, Edinburgh and its citizens bedecked themselves in Highland tartans and greeted the king with a Jacobite-flavored pageantry of clans and bagpipes. Scott, writes Caroline McCracken-Flesher, thereby inscribed George “at the center of Scottish culture, subjected to it, by the Scots, as Jacobites, claiming to be his subjects” (“Thinking Nationally” 309). Because Scots wanted to be part of England’s economic success yet to maintain Scottish difference, Scott (both at the 1822 extravaganza and in his writings) “reconstructed Scottish Jacobitism as a space within which Scotland and England could coexist” (308). McCracken-Flesher blames Scott and the sentimental Kailyard writers for England’s ability to appropriate signs of

Scottish difference; by delineating Scottish difference, such as Jacobitism and Calvinism, in stable terms unthreatening to England, she argues, they exacerbated Scotland's cultural colonization.<sup>10</sup>

The Jacobite-identified construction of Scotland that Scott was instrumental in creating was rife with contradictions—some of which Scott himself went on to explore. Scotland, imagined in terms of a romantic defeated past, was unable to locate itself in the modern world. Its lingering existence after its “death” by regal union in 1603, parliamentary union in 1707, and military defeat of Jacobitism in 1715 and 1746 takes on an uncanny air, as if Scotland is destined to be killed again and again. Indeed, modern nineteenth-century Scotland seems to be haunted its own predestined but never-completed demise. Like the figure of the hunted stag or the defeated Jacobite, the Scottish literary motif of the undead corpse evokes a nightmarish sense of Scottish identity suspended forever at the moment of its death. In Ian Duncan's reading of James Hogg's *The Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner*, the uncanny corpse represents an anarchic resistance to the appropriation of Scottish tradition into a rational, inherently pro-British modernity. (McCracken-Flesher makes a similar argument with regard to Robert Louis Stevenson's short story, “Thrawn Janet.”) But if the undead corpses that proliferate in Hogg and Stevenson represent resistance to the cooption of Scottish tradition into modernity, they also represent the identity dilemma faced by Scots as they try to locate their past-identified nation in the modern world.

### “An Auld Sang”: Narrating the Nation

The tension between Scots' support for the union and their discomfort with Scotland's subordination within it seems to have put a premium on narratives of Scottish nationality, as Scots struggled to construct a meaning for Scottishness. After the signing of the Articles of Union in 1707, the Earl of Seafield, Scotland's Chancellor, famously remarked, “There's the end of an auld sang.” When the Scottish Parliament voted itself out of existence, it concluded the narrative “song” of the Scottish nation. But by doing so, it ironically left narrative to shoulder much of the burden of Scottish national identity. National narratives are important for the imagining of any national identity, but with no state structure, Scotland was only narrative—a narrative of the past at that. A nation that has a state, such as England/Britain, has a story that is in progress; it has (mythic) beginnings, is engaged in a present, and has a future that can be envisioned. The present of such a nation is narratable in multiple ways as part of the ongoing plot of its national tale. A nation that desires a state also has an ongoing story; looking to their nation's originary myths, nationalists tell the story of its oppressive present and liberated future. Scotland's national narrative,

however, had concluded; its “auld sang” had ended. With no independent state and no desire for an independent state, Scotland existed only as the past, only as narrative. One reason that readers, art lovers, and visitors experienced Scotland as uniquely romantic was because it was, in the most literal sense, a story-book land. The pastness of Scotland presented an identity quandary, for Scots lived in a modern present, yet most continued to see themselves as Scottish (although what that meant was problematic). Scottish novelists, such as those studied here, repeatedly worked to bring Scotland into being through narrative; but with statehood relegated to the past, the nation thus brought into being, like the undead corpses so common in Scottish literature, tended to be a gloomy, nebulous entity defined by what it used to be.

This book looks at how writers and artists, Scottish and English, sought to tell the story of Scotland and Scottishness in accordance with varying ideological interests (the paintings and cartoons that I study, as well as the texts, usually have a narrative quality). When we look at these complementary, competing, and cross-fertilizing narratives together, the issue of genre repeatedly emerges. If nation is indeed narration, is the story of Scotland—or the story of Scotland and England—a marriage plot? Or a hunting yarn? Or a children’s story? Or a Gothic tale? Or a domestic romance? The case of Scotland points to the centrality of narrative in the imagining of nation, but it also suggests that the form of the narrative is as important as the content.

Chapter 1 looks at examples of Scotland’s story being imagined as a kind of marriage plot. Walter Scott’s historical novel *Redgauntlet* (1824) and John Everett Millais’s painting *The Order of Release* (1853) present the defeat of Jacobitism and the submerging of Scottish nationality into a greater England as the inevitable outcome and defining moment of Scottish history—a teleology of union that is, in effect, a marriage plot. Yet the telos imposed on the Scottish past can never quite be reached, so that nineteenth-century literature and art must compulsively relive a climactic moment of incorporation that can never be completed. In *Redgauntlet*, that moment—seen as the crushing of the 1745 Jacobite rebellion, rather than the 1707 Union—is replayed in a fictional insurrection twenty years after Jacobitism’s final defeat at the Battle of Culloden. I use *Redgauntlet*’s thwarted romance and *Order of Release*’s paradoxical gender relationships to probe the homoerotic dynamic of the imagined marriage of England and Scotland, a dynamic that supports yet threatens troubled English masculinity and lies behind both the appeal of the England/Scotland marriage plot and its impossibility.

The second chapter investigates the Victorian deerstalking phenomenon. Queen Victoria embraced Scotland, propagated its masculine image through commissioned paintings and her published journals, and modeled England dominating but drawing strength from masculine Scotland. Legions

of Queen Victoria's subjects followed her lead north, the more privileged creating in Highland estates they visited a sort of virility theme park. Ironically, the emptiness that impressed artists, tourists, and deerstalkers was largely the result of the Highland Clearances—a post-Culloden policy adopted by many Scottish landowners of replacing crofting clansmen with profitable sheep or game. Indeed, as Peter Womack argues, it was this capitalist “improvement” of the Highlands that produced its nostalgic romanticization. But most writers and artists effaced the Clearances—and crofter resistance—by writing and painting the Highlands as primeval wilderness. Highland deerstalking became a male rite, pitting English gentlemen against rough Highland terrain and the animal emblem of the Scottish wild, and thus allowing them to participate personally in the English narrative of conquest and absorption of Scotland: you are what you hunt. The mighty, doomed stag of Edwin Landseer's iconic *Monarch of the Glen* (1851) captures the poignancy of the moment of conquest, while stalking memoirs and manuals, such as William Scrope's *The Art of Deer-Stalking* (1838), helped popularize Highland deerstalking, establish its masculine signification, and teach readers how to think about the sport in national terms. These texts look to Scottish deerstalking to sustain English virility, inviting readers to see the sport's rigorous hardships and peculiar pleasures as the port of entry into a fierce warrior masculinity, both primitive and aristocratic.

In *Kidnapped* (1886) and *The Master of Ballantrae* (1889), which chapters 3 and 4 explore, Robert Louis Stevenson suggests that Lowland masculinity may pay a high cost for Scottish difference defined in terms of romantic notions of the primal masculinity of the Highlands. Building on and rewriting earlier literary treatments of Scottish identity by Scott and Hogg, Stevenson expresses the dilemma of Scottish identity as a dilemma of Lowland masculinity. Feminized by their relation to England, the Lowlands were further feminized by their “coverture” under the Highlands. Stevenson's work probes the dilemma of Lowland manhood, as his Lowland characters try to negotiate their relationship to mythic Highland masculinity in an increasingly dark atmosphere of homoerotic desire and homophobia. Writing Scotland as a boys' adventure novel in *Kidnapped*, Stevenson experiments with a potential appropriation of the Highlands by the Lowlands. The vast objective differences between mighty England and the lowly burghers of the Scottish Lowlands, however, stand in the way of any straightforward replication of the England/Scotland relationship, a dilemma that the protagonist experiences as a problem of genre. In *Master of Ballantrae*, Stevenson turns from juvenile adventure to Gothic tragedy. Drawing on Hogg's theme of brothers embodying classic Scottish differences who are bound together in a fratricidal embrace, he suggests that Lowland Scots could be haunted by the dangerous virility that English needs had inscribed into Scottish identity. In a national tale that itself comments on the national tale, Stevenson puts the

Scottish author at the center of Scotland's interwoven dilemmas of national identity and troubled Lowland masculinity.

The final chapter turns to alternative visions of Scottishness that emerged in the last decades of the nineteenth century. In her 1884 novel, *The Wizard's Son*, Margaret Oliphant challenges the masculine myth and offers an alternative, feminine vision of contemporary Scottish identity. Rewriting Scotland as the heroine of a domestic romance, she suggests that Scotland (and England) must be rescued from the mystique of ancient Scottish masculinity. In a comparable vein, the turn-of-the-century work of the Glasgow Style artist/designers, particularly Charles Rennie Mackintosh and Margaret Macdonald, suggests a feminine Scottishness, locating it primarily in Scotland's booming industrial center. For Oliphant and for Mackintosh and Macdonald, the turn toward the feminine is a turn toward the modern. They draw on elements of Scottish tradition, particularly the Celtic past, but they insistently prioritize the Scottish present, which they imply can be redeemed through the rediscovery and veneration of a mystical national femininity. Paradoxically, by looking to a distant prehistoric past in which historic animosities and alliances are irrelevant, both Oliphant and the Glasgow Style designers find a way to locate Scotland in the present, freed from both the stultifying hand of the past and the tenacious identification with masculinity.

Despite the expanding critical attention to Scotland and despite a growing discourse on masculinity in recent years, critics are only now starting to look at the nineteenth century's emphatic association of Scotland with rugged virility. Yet as the following chapters show, some of the most popular and influential works featuring Scotland share an overriding concern with issues of anxious masculinity. In diverse but interconnected ways, they suggest that the history of relations between England and Scotland, how a man perceived that history, and whether he identified with it as an Englishman or a Scot deeply influenced his sense of what it meant to be a man. Indeed, nineteenth-century masculinity cannot be understood without taking into consideration the gender work done by constructions of Scotland. Neither can nineteenth-century Scotland's ideological role within Great Britain be understood without taking into consideration the mystification of Scottish masculinity. By examining masculinity and nationality together—with a lens focused on the extraordinary masculine glamour attached to Scotland in the nineteenth century—this book will, I hope, take us closer to understanding the conflicting, problematic, changing, multiple meanings of Englishness, Scottishness, and manhood in nineteenth-century Britain.