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‘A ROOM OF THEIR OWN’:
HERITAGE TOURISM AND THE CHALLENGING OF HETEROPATRIARCHAL
MASCULINITY IN SCOTTISH NATIONAL NARRATIVES

by

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B.A. Furman University, 2015

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts
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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the visibility of women in traditionally masculine Scottish national narratives as evidenced by their physical representation, or lack thereof, in the cultural heritage landscape. Beginning with the 1707 Act of Union between Scotland and England, a moment cemented in history, literature, and popular memory as the beginning of a Scottish rebirth, this thesis traces the evolution of Scottish national identity and the tropes employed for its assertion to paint a clearer picture of the power of strategic selectivity and the effects of sacrifice in the process of community definition. Following the transformation of the rugged Celtic Highlander from his pre-Union relegation as an outer barbarian to his post-Union embrace as the epitome of distinction and the embodiment of anti-English, anti-aristocratic sentiment so crucial to the negotiation of a Scottish place in union and empire, this thesis hones in on notions of gender and performative identity to form the basis for an analysis of twentieth and twenty-first century national heritage dynamics. An innovative spatial study of monuments and memorials in the Scottish capital city of Edinburgh highlights the gendered inequity of memorialization efforts and the impact of limited female visibility on the storytelling potential of the cityscape. Such a perspective not only adds a distinct visual component but also brings my study full circle by exemplifying contemporary discussions on the role of gender in narrative-setting, the sociocultural relevance of monuments and memorials, and the nature of representation in public spaces.

“And one day she discovered that she was fierce, and strong, and full of fire, and that not even she could hold herself back because her passion burned brighter than her fears.”

– Mark Anthony

To Sue, Michelle, and Erica, the strongest women I know,
and to all the heroines of our clan who have instilled in me the desire to expand my own
horizons, test limits, push boundaries, and make the world better for it.
Thanks for never doubting me.

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IMPORTANT ABBREVIATIONS

APRS – Association for the Protection of Rural Scotland

CEC – City of Edinburgh Council

CS – Creative Scotland

EBHP – Edinburgh Built Heritage Project

EWAT – Edinburgh Women’s Achievement Trail

EWB – Edinburgh World Heritage

HES – Historic Environment Scotland

HLFS – Heritage Lottery Fund in Scotland

HS – Historic Scotland

MMWS – Mapping Memorials to Women in Scotland

MPs – Members of Parliament

NHLF – National Heritage Lottery Fund

NMS – National Museums Scotland

NTS – National Trust for Scotland

PMSA – Public Monuments and Sculpture Association

RCAHMS – Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland

SAHS – Scottish Architectural Heritage Society

SHS – Scottish Household Survey

SNH – Scottish National Heritage

TPSR – Tourism Performance Summary Report

UNESCO – United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization

WHS – Women’s History Scotland

“Women have served all these centuries as looking glasses possessing the magic and delicious power of reflecting the figure of man at twice its natural size.”
— Virginia Woolf, *A Room of One’s Own*, 1929

INTRODUCTION

One of the most common stories told about the Union of 1707 centers on the idea of a symbolic wedding between England and Scotland. According to the legend, on January 16, 1707, the bells atop St Giles' Cathedral filled the streets of Edinburgh's Old Town with the mournful sounds of "Why should I be so sad on my wedding day?"¹ The carilloner broadcast the nuptials not of a parishioner, but rather those of England and Scotland, newly married under the Acts of Union of 1707. Known as the Union of Parliaments, the Acts declared Scotland and England "United into One Kingdom by the Name of Great Britain" and brought not only the city of Edinburgh but also the thousands upon thousands of Scots from the Borders to the northernmost isles into a permanent union with England.² This story of ecclesiastical ambivalence paints a broader picture of the political tone of 1707 and makes clear that the union was a distinctly heterosexual arrangement with only one husband and one wife.³ The dynamic that informed interaction and the hierarchy of power and control was inherently gendered, predicated on a relationship of dominance and submission, of authority and deferment, and, in keeping with social custom, of male and female. With England being one of the strongest countries on the international stage at the time of union, the dynamic quickly favored a southern husband and left Scotland the northern wife.

The notion of gendered alliances and of masculine and feminine nations is not new; what makes the Scottish example unique, however, is the way Scotland ultimately harnessed gender as

¹ John Purser, *Scotland's Music: A History of the Traditional and Classical Music of Scotland from the Earliest Times to the Present Day* (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing, 1992), 155.

² Article I of the Treaty of Union, 1707, <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/aosp/1707/7/contents>.

³ Although the song itself has no lyrics with which to describe the marriage being rung in, it was a common melody for bells in the early eighteenth century, when the only legal form of marriage was between one man and one woman. As historian William Andrews explained of the period, "In no part of Christendom have the ecclesiastical laws relating to the relations of the sexes been more strict, or more strictly enforced, than in Scotland." William Andrews, *Bygone Church Life in Scotland* (London: William Andrews & Co., 1899), 210.

a reactionary medium to assert dominance in the face of incorporation and significance in the face of relegation rather than succumb to a lesser status through the acceptance of outside impositions of character and identity. As such, this thesis focuses on the unique ways in which Scotland capitalized upon the anxieties of union to inform and encourage the emergence of a national narrative capable not only of maintaining a sense of authority and individuality within the marriage but also of asserting the relevance and suitability of a nation newly integrated within a burgeoning world empire.⁴ I argue that the narrative that emerged post-1707 not only allowed Scotsmen to compensate for their political feminization by crafting a new hypermasculine origin story able to permeate the minds of those anxious over the implications for the new union, but also, and perhaps more significantly, discursively homogenized a historically fragmented people through the appropriation of a Highland culture defined by heroism, fraternity, and the virility of tartan-clad warriors. Such a narrative produced a lasting framework for identity and belonging in popular consciousness and in national heritage, playing up notions of masculine power and control to carve out a new niche for Scots and assert national relevance in the face of incorporation.⁵

Building on the work of Natalie Zemon Davis, Joan Scott, and others, I examine how gender became a primary way of signifying relationships of power, both between England and Scotland and among Scots. What emerged in the years following 1707 was a new narrative centered on hypermasculinity as the ideal of Scottish society, so much so that it relegated non-

⁴ I use the term *nation* here to denote the perceived community of “Scotsmen” within the Scottish state, from the Highlands and Islands to the Lowlands and Borders, asserted in contrast to England and largely in spite of regional differences. By 1707 the Scottish boundary, both in terms of territory and population, was largely stable and thus serves to ground notions of both state and nation in this thesis. The *kingdom* of Scotland as a political entity was subsumed into Great Britain with the 1707 Act of Union and therefore any reference to kingdoms will be prefaced with a specific Scottish, English, or British designation.

⁵ My use of the term *nationalism* is used to denote the origin story, sociocultural qualities, and criteria for community definition that set a group apart, often in contrast to, and in exclusion of, another. Scottish nationalism in particular predicates itself on distinction from the English other and in more recent discourse has rallied around the restoration of complete political independence.

normative insiders, namely women, as outsiders within their own narrative.⁶ As Scott wrote, “Gender is a constitutive element of social relationships [and] a primary way of signifying relationships of power...Attention to gender is a crucial part of the organization of equality or inequality.”⁷ Through the lens of heritage tourism, perhaps the most distinct manifestation of post-union nationalism, this thesis works to pull back the curtain on notions of inclusivity and belonging and highlight the egregious inconsistencies between a highly mythological, heavily romanticized national narrative and the dynamic Scottish population it claims to represent.⁸

With an intersecting focus on nationalism, heritage, tourism, and gender, this thesis offers new perspectives on the relationship between masculinity and national identity in Scotland. Investigations into Scottish nationalism and the power dynamics of Great Britain have begun to emerge over the last few decades, as a result of both the cultural turn in history in the 1980s and the growing call for Scottish independence in recent years, but little has been done to put these studies in the context of a fully-functioning society. Discussions of masculinity, nationalism, and heritage are often positioned independently of one another and without concern for the

⁶ Although the term *hypermasculinity* has its roots in psychology, I am applying it to the historical example to highlight not only the exaggeration of socially prescribed traits like emotional restraint, physical toughness, an affinity for violence and danger, and sexual aggression in western concepts of masculinity, but also the preoccupation with refining and elevating these qualities in Britain during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. My usage is rooted in the works of scholars like Michèle Cohen, who posited that the English concept of manliness during this period was forged through othering, and Raewyn (R.W) Connell, who used her concept of hegemonic masculinity to explain the social positioning of masculine men above women and other non-normative groups. To the English and the Lowland Scots, who were facing a crisis of masculinity in this period, the adoption of a safely appropriated form of Highland Scottish masculinity represented a redemptive cure for the social and cultural ills of industrialization and a way to bolster and re-legitimate frameworks of power and dominance. The concept of the English gentleman and its creation as a juxtaposition of French femininity is one explored at length by Cohen in her 1996 book *Fashioning Masculinity: National Identity and Language in the Eighteenth Century*. (London; New York: Routledge, 1996). See also R. W. Connell, *Gender and Power: Society, the Person and Sexual Politics* (Australia: Allen & Unwin, 1987).

⁷ Joan Scott, “Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis,” *The American Historical Review* Vol. 91, No. 5 (December 1986), 1067-1070.

⁸ I use the term *heritage tourism* to denote the specific practice of traveling to experience and interact with the people, places, artifacts, and activities that represent, or are believed to represent, the past. As Dean MacCannell stresses in his concept of staged authenticity, these experiences must be perceived as “authentic” to evoke satisfaction and meet visitor expectations, but as a result are often inherently inauthentic. Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2013).

intrinsic ties between them, much less the impact of such relationships on contemporary Scots. My work unites Benedict Anderson's discussions of imagined communities as tools of empowerment; Ernst Renan's theories of collective memory and strategic amnesia in national consciousness; David Lowenthal's ideas of heritage as a fundamentally fabricated vestige of the past shaped by the present; and Eric Hobsbawm and Terrence Ranger's concept of tradition as a repetitive, symbolic ritual – also keenly invented – to explore more generally the relationship between nationalism, heritage, and the past. I layer in Hugh Trevor-Roper's work on the invented Highland traditions of Scotland; Lynn Abrams' and Maureen Martin's investigations into Scottish manhood; Catriona Macdonald's explorations of gender and nationhood in Scotland; Esther Breitenbach, Alice Brown, and Fiona Myers' discussions of women in Scottish history; and David McCrone's investigations into the making of Scottish heritage to position Scotland as a keen example of the interconnectivity of these unique theories. In such a light, not only are the merits of these individual works exemplified, but in crossing disciplinary boundaries and positioning these fundamental elements as codependent pieces of a much broader picture, my research also reveals the remarkably complex nature of Scottish national identity and of the heritage industry that performs it for millions of visitors each year. We are also afforded a glimpse into the evolution of such processes and the impact they continue to have on community definition in contemporary Scotland, particularly for women. My incorporation of digital geospatial mapping, an innovative methodology relatively new to historical investigations, underscores such tension and translates it into tangible, approachable visualizations, reinforcing for academic and non-academic audiences alike the notion that Scottish heritage is anything but silent on issues of inclusivity. With a framework that unites an incredibly diverse source base across themes, methodologies, and chronologies, I very clearly demonstrate that the reverence

for a highly internalized, deeply mythologized national narrative based on the victories of *Scotsmen* encourages the regressive practices that perpetuate a hegemonic, exclusionary approach to the past at the expense of *Scotswomen*.⁹

Methodology and Research Considerations

This thesis is designed to be a historiographically rooted fusion of dynamic studies on nationalism, heritage, tourism, and gender interwoven with discourse and language analysis. My goal is to confront the established, deeply entrenched national narrative and the exclusivity of its construction, largely influenced by the fundamental need for othering and self distinction following the Union of 1707, in order to challenge notions of mainstream national identity and shape a broader understanding of the diverse workings of Scottish society. My title itself is a reference to prominent feminist writer Virginia Woolf's 1929 *A Room of One's Own* in which she calls for a greater presence of women writers in literary realms traditionally dominated by men.¹⁰ This metaphor works on several levels in a study of heritage tourism; beyond feeling represented in the national narrative, this thesis explores the rooms in travel guides, in government and organizational regulation, in tour companies, and in individual sites, competing voices in a much broader heritage discourse that stand to not only perpetuate the status quo but also further distance the very populations these authorities claim to represent. The metaphor helps to frame several overarching questions. First, in what ways did the anxieties of union and a power dynamic centered to the south influence, if not encourage, the creation of a highly

⁹ My use of the term *hegemony* comes from Antonio Gramsci's conceptualization of the term as one describing not only the relationship between a dominant class but also the imposition of their intellectual and moral norms onto the masses as a form of social control.⁹ Gramsci's emphasis on a strong political and ideological framework is one that I explore in my investigation of Anglo-Scottish, Highland-Lowland, and male-female relationships.

¹⁰ Virginia Woolf, *A Room of One's Own* (New York: Harcourt Brace & Co., 1929).

romanticized, deeply mythological Scottish national narrative? Who were the primary sculptors of this narrative and what were their relationships to the nation? Next, how is heritage tourism in Scotland an expression of nationalism? How do heritage sites, tourist destinations, and the bodies that govern them exemplify and reinforce carefully constructed narratives of dominance, power, inclusion, and exclusion? Third, do women have space in the Scottish national narrative, and how is such inclusivity or exclusivity reinforced in physical manifestations like monuments and memorials? And finally, to what extent has the Scottish heritage industry favored mainstream hypermasculine narratives? How do heritage organizations balance the needs of their subjects and their visitors to create an authentic yet enticing interpretation fit for public consumption?

In order to answer these central questions, I build upon an expansive secondary literature and apply key theory to the Scottish case, positioning scholarship on nationalism, tourism, heritage, history, gender, and power from the 1970s to the present alongside primary sources including eighteenth- and nineteenth-century literature and academic histories, site management plans, travel guides and websites, visitor data, and census statistics to form the foundation for a dynamic investigation into the nature of Scottish national identity and its performance. The incorporation of Women's History Scotland's "Mapping Memorials to Women in Scotland" (MMWS) project and my own "Edinburgh Built Heritage Project" (EBHP), which draws heavily on a data corpora gathered from Historic Environment Scotland's Canmore Database, the City of Edinburgh Council's Monuments in Parks and Green Spaces database, Scottish listings within the Imperial War Museum's War Memorials Register, and a host of listings of public art, including that of the Public Monuments and Sculpture Association (PMSA), form the foundation for my geospatial investigation of gendered representation in the Scottish heritage landscape.

It is necessary to note that the perspectives highlighted in this thesis are not immune to the impact of cultural hegemony in explorations of Britishness, Englishness, Scottishness, and otherness. While I have done my best to contextualize developments and highlight Scottish voices alongside their English counterparts, there are implicit limitations to my source base and to the resources available when evaluating participation, attitudes, and responses in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Britain. In collectivizing experiences and distilling meanings, values, and outlooks, the tendency is for English perspectives to dominate within larger understandings of Britain and for Edinburgh and Lowland perspectives to dominate in larger understandings of Scotland. It is my goal to break these identities down further and introduce more variant perspectives on my central themes, including the small-scale public history keepers whose stories are not traditionally privileged in the more mainstream works I have consulted, which may even stand to shift the narrative entirely, but for now this preface is necessary to highlight the inherent limitations of scope, focus, perspective, and resources in the most current iteration of this work.

Organization

This thesis is broken down into three distinct chapters. Chapter one provides a tangible starting point for the exploration of a prevailing national narrative in Scotland and key background for the ways in which hypermasculinity became central to eighteenth- and nineteenth-century conceptualizations of Scottish memory and identity. With a strong focus on historiography, the chapter traces the creation of a distinct national narrative post-1707 via the contributions of literature, popular discourse, and the British monarchy to evolving

understandings of Scottishness and forms a baseline against which to position deeper analyses of gender, identity, and belonging.

Chapter two explores heritage as a function of nationalism, examining the ways in which a distinctive national narrative manifests itself in the built heritage environment and engages with a global audience. In order to investigate the ethos and ideology that Scottish heritage presents based on its interpretation of the past, I examine different types of heritage markers, from the built environment to guide books, both bound and digital, to examine how the historical narrative has been shaped, presented, and sold to the general public. An exploration of heritage gatekeepers and the sites they promote reinforces notions of heritage as both a legitimizer of nationalism and prescriber of social values within imagined communities like Scotland.

With a focus on geospatial research and digital tools, chapter three exemplifies the fundamentally exclusionary nature of Scottish heritage and the invisibility of women in the built heritage landscape as a result. I present the Edinburgh Built Heritage Project, my own case study, to contextualize the need for the reevaluation of existing nationalist tropes through a gendered approach to power, visibility, and sociocultural significance in the capital city of Edinburgh. Such an inclusion, along with the discussion of several other key initiatives that have also sought to challenge the status quo in the last two decades, provides perspective on the awareness surrounding this phenomenon and helps evaluate the future of representation in Scotland.

These chapters build on one another to answer my central research questions and paint a broader picture of the nature of national identity formation and preservation in Scotland. My exploration of national myths in chapter one and investigation of heritage tourism places in chapter two come together to contextualize the gendered spaces I visualize in chapter three and ground my overall thesis: As a result of the hypermasculine Scottish national narrative invented

in the years following the Union of 1707 and the wholehearted embrace of a rugged, virile Scotland in British memory and heritage over the last three centuries, Scotswomen as non-normative insiders have been relegated to the position of outsiders within their own narrative and left with very little space in the landscapes that have grounded, and continue to ground, notions of collective relevance, value, and belonging for a dynamic contemporary nation.¹¹

¹¹ My use of the term *non-normative* is indicative of individuals or groups who do not conform to or fit in with dominant prescriptions for sociocultural participation. While these individuals may in fact be normative within population demographics and more inclusive representations of society, especially contemporarily, their position in the national narrative, as prescribed by the dominant discourse, is not. In the context of this thesis, non-normative typically refers to Scots within larger discussions of Britain and women and Highlanders within larger discussions of Scotland.

CHAPTER ONE

THE HUNTING OF A SCOTTISH SNARK: INVENTING A NEW NORMAL IN EIGHTEENTH- AND NINETEENTH-CENTURY SCOTLAND

“Rebels, like witches, having sign’d the rolls/Must serve their masters, tho’ they damned their souls.” - The Barons and Barrows Address, 1706

The Scottish national narrative is a beloved tale of heroism and fraternity set against the backdrop of the rugged wilderness of its Highlands. Its popular appeal imagines the story as timeless, limitless, and infinitely negotiable. From the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century nationalist literature of Robert Burns and Sir Walter Scott to more recent incarnations like Mel Gibson’s 1995 *Braveheart* and Diana Gabaldon’s 2014 *Outlander* series, the highly mythologized canon of Scottish history has blossomed from a fraught attempt at self preservation in the wake of the Union of 1707 to a highly stylized heritage solidified as the so-called “authentic” Scotland.¹² As with the construction of other national myths, writers and historians alike have contributed to the shaping of a hagiographic interpretation of the Scottish past in the years since the union, cementing complimentary tropes and encouraging their continued dominance in rhetoric and public memory. But rather than embrace the political and sociocultural evolution that often accompanied revolution, independence, or union and incorporate the new status it afforded into interpretations of national character, Scotland came to be defined by its reactionary responses to change and its resolute pushback against prevailing interpretations of power and identity, particularly the feminine characteristics common in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century western constructions of nationhood. Unlike personifications of Maryanne (France), Italia Turrita (Italy), Polonia (Poland), Germania (Germany), Hibernia

¹² *Braveheart*, directed by Mel Gibson (Hollywood: Paramount Pictures, 1995); *Outlander*, seasons 1-4, written by Diana Gabaldon, Ronald D. Moore, et. al. (California: Sony Pictures Television for Starz, 2014-2020).

(Ireland), Helvetia (Switzerland), Hispania (Spain), Lady Liberty (United States), a host of “mothers” in nations like Norway, Sweden, Serbia, and Russia, or even Britannia in the new Great Britain, Scotland endeavored to construct, and continues to defend, a story absent of any perceived femininity as a defining element of its national character, even in allegory. Tracing the historiographical evolution of the hypermasculine, heteropatriarchal Scottish national narrative from its rudimentary beginnings to an international embrace provides the critical framework against which to position subsequent analyses of identity, inclusivity, belonging, and arguably the staying power of the narrative itself in an increasingly dynamic Scotland.¹³ As we will see with more recent scholarly attempts like those of Eric Hobsbawm, Hugh Trevor-Roper, and Benedict Anderson to pull back the curtain both on process and product, the mythologies that make Scotland “Scotland” remain firmly grounded in this eighteenth- and nineteenth-century narrative.

1.1 Historical Background: The Union Legend

The framework for an Anglo-Scottish marriage was laid in 1603 when King James VI of Scotland and I of England (r. 1567-1625) not only united the crowns with his inheritance of the Scottish throne from his mother, Mary Queen of Scots (r. 1542-1567), and the English throne from his cousin, Elizabeth I (r. 1558-1603), but in 1604 proclaimed that the newly unified states should adopt the name Great Britain, a perfect incorporation of ancient kingdoms under one imperial crown. In his address to the House of Commons in March, the king declared, “I am the husband and all the whole Isle is my lawfull wife,” a necessarily singular wife, as, “I hope no

¹³ My use of the term *heteropatriarchal* refers to the dominant western idea of cisgender, heterosexual men exercising unquestioned authority over cisgender females and individuals of other sexual orientations and gender identities. This idea is closely allied with concepts of hegemonic masculinity and androcentrism. Although this thesis focuses primarily on male/female relationships both in terms of social organization and relationships of power, there is certainly room in the conversation for the inclusion of non-normative relationships as well.

Man will be so unreasonable, as to think that I, that am a Christian King under the Gospel, should be a Polygamist.”¹⁴ Scottish faith in their king suffered greatly with his acquisition of the English crown. Not only did James relocate his seat of power to London, he almost shut down the Scottish government entirely with the number of councilors that followed. Edward Bruce, for example, relinquished his position on the Court of Session to become Master of the Rolls, the second most senior judge in England, an English citizen, a member of the king’s Privy Council, and the lord of Whorlton Castle.¹⁵ Scots that remained felt their king to be abandoning his country, but took solace in the fact that Scotland still had a separate parliament with the power to advocate for its citizens.¹⁶

Further attempts at political union were made in 1606, 1667, and 1689, but it was not until 1705 that negotiations were successfully entertained. Ministers from Scotland and England formed a committee of sixty-two to navigate a potential settlement and push their two nations closer to the true unification James VI/I had envisioned. Only one member of the English cohort was a Tory not in favor of union, and the majority of Scottish representatives both in the committee and later in the broader parliamentary vote were aristocrats with a vested interest in the compensation proffered by the English treasury following the failure of the Darien Scheme, a Scottish attempt to rival the English East India Company with colonization in Panama in 1698.¹⁷

¹⁴ “House of Commons Journal Volume 1: 22 March 1604,” in *Journal of the House of Commons: Volume 1, 1547-1629*, (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1802), 142. *British History Online*, accessed July 5, 2018, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/commons-jrnl/vol1/pp142-149>.

¹⁵ Maurice Lee, Jr., “James VI’s Government of Scotland After 1603,” *The Scottish Historical Review* Vol. 55, No. 159, Part 1 (April, 1976), 42.

¹⁶ James promised to return to Scotland every three years, but ultimately did so only once – from 13 May to 4 August 1617 – in the remaining twenty-two years of his reign. Scots were left to cover the £40 million tab for the king’s visit, achieved largely through increased taxation in Edinburgh. This, coupled with the king’s near constant portrayals of the Highlands as a people “void of the knowledge and feir of God” who were prone to “all kynd of barbarous and bestile cruelties” left a strong distaste in the minds of Scots. James Hunter, *Last of the Free: A History of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 2000), 175.

¹⁷ Christopher Whatley explains that English Tories were “by no means keen on a union with the Scots, whose poverty they viewed with both disdain and alarm” (*The Scots and the Union: Then and Now* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014), 261; House of Lords, “Ratification: October 1706-March 1707,” UK Parliament,

Scottish Lord Hamilton went as far as to demand assurance of his own settlement, threatening to flip sides and support independence without guarantee of financial compensation for a pro-union vote.¹⁸ James Douglas, Duke of Queensbury and Lord High Commissioner of Scotland at the time of union, singlehandedly received almost half of English treasury payments.¹⁹ From the Scottish perspective, the driving force behind the Union of 1707 was not the creation of a powerful island confederation as James VI/I had envisioned but rather a means of control and dominance for England. It was commonly believed that in leveraging the anxieties of Scottish merchants and their financiers following the Darien disaster, the English dangled the carrot of new economic and imperial opportunities as an incentive to lure Scots into union and end both the Scottish alliance with France and the Catholic threat to the British throne.²⁰

This initial affront, coupled with a lingering distaste for the 1603 Union of Crowns and a thorough knowledge of the 1535 parliamentary union of England and Wales, during which time England had stripped Wales of much of its cultural significance, led to riot and unrest throughout Scotland. Edinburghers in particular expressed deep fears of Anglicization and increased taxation should political control shift to London. The Convention of Royal Burghs formally petitioned Queen Anne during negotiations in 1706, expressing that, “It is our indispensable duty to signify

2007. Accessed 12 July 2018, https://web.archive.org/web/20090619224031/http://www.parliament.uk/actofunion/05_ratification.html. Approximately sixty percent of the £400,000 (about £81 million/\$103 million) sum known as the Equivalent paid to Scotland by the English treasury to offset the English national debt was used to compensate Darien creditors alone. Douglas Watt, *The Price of Scotland: Darien, Union and the Wealth of Nations* (Edinburgh: Luath Press, 2007), 219-230.

¹⁸ P. W. J. Riley, *The Union of England and Scotland: A Study in Anglo-Scottish Politics of the Eighteenth Century* (Lanham, MD: Rowan & Littlefield, 1978), 269-70.

¹⁹ Collins McKay, *The Duke of Queensberry and the Union of Scotland and England: James Douglas and the Act of Union of 1707* (New York: Cambria Press, 2008): 145. Ironically, Queensbury House, Douglas’ Edinburgh residence, is now part of the new Scottish Parliament buildings.

²⁰ Michael Lynch, *Scotland: A New History*, 2nd ed. (London: Pimlico, 1992), 307-309. The Auld Alliance forged the relationship between Scotland and France in 1295 and lasted legally until James VI/I’s signing of the Treaty of Edinburgh in 1560, an Anglo-Scottish accord. British historian Siobhan Talbott argues that the Auld Alliance was never actually broken, continuing on long after James VI/I’s reign and the Union of 1707. Siobhan Talbott, “Beyond “The Antiseptic Realm of Theoretical Economic Models”: New Perspectives on Franco-Scottish Commerce and the Auld Alliance in the Long Seventeenth Century,” *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies* Vol. 31, No. 2 (2011): 149-168.

to your grace that, as we are not against an honourable and safe union with England far less can we expect to have the condition of the people of Scotland, with relation to these great concerns, made better and improved without a Scots Parliament.”²¹ A more extensive petition “sign’d by the greater majority of the barons, freeholders, heretors, farmers and others” of counties from Edinburgh, Glasgow, Stirling, Aberdeen, and Fife expressed similar concerns, ending with a poignant couplet of poetry: “Rebels, like witches, having sign’d the rolls/Must serve their masters, tho’ they damned their souls.”²² The majority of these petitions, however revealing, went largely ignored by their intended readership, for, as George Lockhart explains, “the Parliament had no more regard to these addresses which contained the inclinations and earnest supplications of the people, than if they had indeed served for no other use than to make kites, which was the use my Lord Duke of Argyle was pleased to assign them publicly in Parliament.”²³ Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, a Scottish pro-union negotiator, observed that the treaty was “contrary to the inclinations of at least three-fourths of the Kingdom.”²⁴

²¹ “The Humble Address of the Commissioners to the General Convention of the Royal Burrows of this Ancient Kingdom Convened on the Twenty-Ninth of October 1706, at Edinburgh,” in *The Lockhart Papers: Containing Memoirs and Commentaries upon the Affairs of Scotland from 1702 to 1715*, Volume I, edited by George Lockhart (London: Richard and Arthur Taylor, 1817), 171.

²² “The Barons and Barrows Address,” in *The Lockhart Papers: Containing Memoirs and Commentaries upon the Affairs of Scotland from 1702 to 1715*, Volume I, edited by George Lockhart (London: Richard and Arthur Taylor, 1817), 169. The equation of rebels with witches, most often women, in this context is indicative of the power dynamic of union, between England and Scotland and between Scots and their leadership.

²³ George Lockhart, *The Lockhart Papers: Containing Memoirs and Commentaries upon the Affairs of Scotland from 1702 to 1715*, Volume I (London: Richard and Arthur Taylor, 1817), 170.

²⁴ BBC Scotland, “The Last Scottish Parliament,” BBC News, 1997, Accessed 17 July 2018, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/special/politics97/devolution/scotland/briefing/1707.shtml>.



Figure 1: The major regions of Scotland, including the Highlands, Lowlands, Islands, and Borders. Pins indicate major cities with a capital at Edinburgh. Image created by author

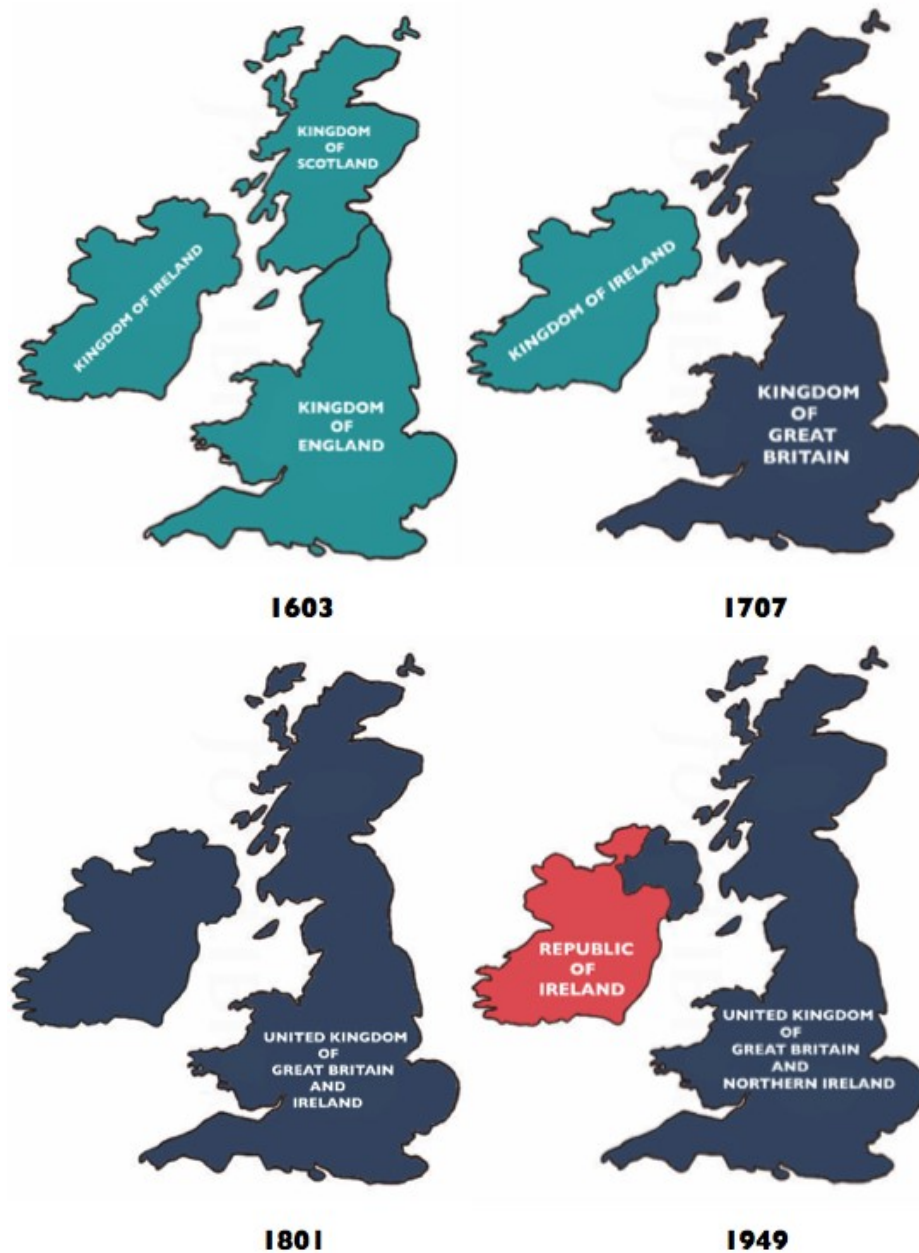


Figure 2: The progression of the Kingdom(s) following major acts of union or disunion. Colors indicate separate rulers. Image created by author

Relegated to a life of perceived subservience and domination by the constraints of union, Scotland spent the next few decades grappling with its new status as a subjugated state, fueling lingering views of backwardness and barbarism in the eyes of the English through failed attempts

at self-promotion. A string of rebellions in the Highlands and a renewed debate over the legitimacy of Queen Anne's chosen successor reemphasized for English political leaders the significance of getting Scotland under control.²⁵ Lingering frustrations among Highlanders, a predominantly Catholic population, over the deposition of Queen Anne's father, James VII/II (r. 1685-1688), on suspicions of Catholicism in 1688 culminated in several bloody attempts to return his son and heir, James Francis Edward (1688-1766), known as "The Old Pretender," to the throne on behalf of the exiled house of Stuart.²⁶ The 1715 uprising was extensive (as shown in Figure 3), with Inverness, Aberdeen, Dundee, and Perth falling to the Jacobite – based on the Latin *Jacobus* for "supporter of James" – Army in a matter of months. A government victory at the Battle of Preston in November quelled the fighting that had begun to spill over the border and pushed Jacobite armies back toward the Highlands. By January 1716, Jacobite forces had pulled out of all major cities and the Old Pretender sailed from Scotland.²⁷ James' son, Charles Edward (1720-1788), "The Young Pretender" or "Bonnie Prince Charlie" as he was more affectionately known, attempted to win the throne for his father again in 1745. With much of the British Army off fighting the War of the Austrian Succession on the continent, the Prince made it as far as Derby largely unopposed, capturing Edinburgh on his way south. With leadership largely divided over the best way to take London and an army pressed for supplies, the Jacobites slowly pulled

²⁵ Benedict Anderson writes that Anne's successor, George I, who couldn't even speak English, "continue[s] to appear unproblematically as a bead in the necklace 'Kings of England.'" Anderson's description of the king as a pearl strung along a thread of narrative reinforces the fundamentally imaginative nature of identity. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, 1983 (Reprint, London; New York: Verso, 2006), 109.

²⁶ The signing of the Anglo-French treaty in 1716 exacerbated tensions between an English-dominated Britain and the Jacobites, as it banished Stuart exiles from France, their Catholic sanctuary since 1688. The treaty's abandonment in 1731 allowed Jacobite leaders to regroup after their dispersal throughout Rome.

²⁷ The Indemnity Act of 1717 pardoned all who participated in the Fifteen except for Clan Gregor, which included outlaw and folk hero Rob Roy MacGregor, the inspiration for Sir Walter Scott's *Rob Roy* (1817).

back northward and were soundly defeated at the ill-fated Battle of Culloden in April of 1746.²⁸ Charlie escaped to France while large numbers of his followers were executed or transported.²⁹ The Jacobite cause represented one of the largest and most viable threats to British sovereignty, but the suppression of Stuart heir-apparents reaffirmed Scotland's place in the union and the sanctity of London-based Hanoverian rule.



Figure 3: Key sites in the Jacobite Risings of 1715 & 1746 across Scotland and England. Pins indicate major cities with capitals at Edinburgh and London respectively. Crossed swords indicate battle sites. Image created by author

²⁸ John R. Gold and Margaret M. Gold, “The Graves of the Gallant Highlanders’: Memory, Interpretation and Narratives of Culloden.” *History and Memory* Vol. 19, No. 1 (Spring/Summer 2007), 11–12.

²⁹ Jacqueline Riding, *Jacobites: A New History of the ‘45 Rebellion* (London: Bloomsbury, 2016), 493.



Figure 4: Unknown artist, “James Drummond, Third titular Duke of Perth, 1713-1746. Jacobite” hand-colored lithograph on paper (unknown date but pre-1888), Courtesy of National Galleries Scotland, SP III 67

The control initiatives that came out of the Jacobite risings constituted another reminder of the power dynamic between England and Scotland, relegating the latter to a place of cultural inferiority in order to exact control and ensure compliance through what Daniel Szechi refers to as ‘deterrence’ and ‘exemplary punishment.’ Although typically targeted at Catholic and Highlander minorities as the groups to fear, “Any person who was known to have taken arms for or had supported the Jacobites could face “hanging, drawing, and quartering for themselves

personally, forfeiture of all their property and concomitant destitution for their families.”³⁰

Reminiscent of broader European civilization and integration efforts among “hostile” groups within a larger imperial whole, Scotland was not immune to the effects of English colonial mentalities and objectives. From acquisition and the imposition of control to occupation and exploitation, the pattern was only thinly veiled by the façade of union. In the Highlands in particular, these internal civilizing missions, designed to temper martial capabilities, agrarian lifestyles, and clan loyalties – markers of the savage – and encourage the spread of industry, organized military, and government allegiance – markers of the civilized gentleman – beyond the Lowlands allowed for “a partial rehabilitation of the pre-modern.”³¹

To further this transformation, Parliament implemented the Heritable Jurisdictions Act in 1746, which heavily curbed powers exercised by remaining chiefs over their clansmen, and the Act of Proscription, of which the Dress Act subsection outlawed traditional dress in hopes of breaking up the distinct Highland way of life and integrating the rebels into modern society.³² Characterized most notably by belted plaids (as shown in Figure 4), Highland dress was relegated to the Scottish regiments raised and incorporated within the British Army after 1746. Such an act allowed the English to not only harness the power of such warriors, making them

³⁰ Daniel Szechi, *1715: The Great Jacobite Rebellion* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006): 199.

³¹ Silke Stroh, “The Reemergence of the Primitive Other? Noble Savagery and the Romantic Age,” in *Gaelic Scotland in the Colonial Imagination, Anglophone Writing from 1600 to 1900*, 113-140 (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 2017), 113. In much the same way as archetypes of the “noble savage,” a term coined by English poet John Dryden (1631-1700), permeated discussions of Africans, Native Americans, and Caribbean Islanders in the settlement of the Americas, depictions of Highland Scots as backward, barbaric, and uncivilized fueled eighteenth-century efforts to “tame” and integrate Celtic Scottish populations. Examples of this process can be seen in John Dryden’s treatment of Middle-Eastern Muslims in his play *Conquest of Granada* (1672), depictions of Native Americans in Benjamin Franklin’s pamphlet *Remarks Concerning the Savages of North America* (1784) and François-René de Chateaubriand’s novels *Atala* (1801), *René* (1802), and *Les Natchez* (1826). Charles Dickens wrote in 1853, “If we have anything to learn from the Noble Savage, it is what to avoid. His virtues are a fable; his happiness is a delusion; his nobility, nonsense... The world will be all the better when his place knows him no more.” Dickens, “The Noble Savage,” *Household Words: A Weekly Journal* No. 168 (11 June 1853), 339. More examples of the Scottish treatment will follow.

³² Hugh Trevor-Roper, “The Invention of Tradition: The Highland Tradition of Scotland,” in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 21.

valuable cogs in the imperial war machine, but through stripping the former rebels of their customary dress and collaring them to the British command, exacted control in such a way that emasculated and enfeebled a legitimate, timely threat to English sovereignty. To the English, Highland soldiers embodied the potential for a successful Scottish incorporation, a metamorphosis from wild and unsophisticated to demure and refined, perfectly acceptable for a re-introduction to international society on the arm of a genteel England.³³

1.2 Salvaging Scotland: Early Foundations

The disdain with which English politicians regarded their Scottish counterparts during the union negotiations of 1706 and 1707, as evidenced by the failures of petitions like that of The Barons and Barrows Address, set the tone for the next century of perception, often transcending national boundaries to permeate mindsets both north and south of the border. Commonly discussed in terms of a marriage, the early narrative positioned Scotland as the fledgling bride, tempted by an astute groom and the lure of economic recovery and a shot at future stability in a burgeoning world of expansion and empire. As Maureen Martin notes, “In the documents from 1707 that invoke the marriage trope, English and Scottish writers alike regularly assign Scotland the female role; its comparative weakness made it the obvious female partner in the “marriage.” Scotland is a sexually violated mother, or a wife bringing a small dowry; even the St Giles bell ringer used a song sung by a bride.”³⁴ In consenting to the insertion of England into its sociopolitical affairs, Scotland took on a new role as a partner nation, bound by the confines of marriage and dependent on this new husband for support and guidance. Still wholly convinced of

³³ Caroline Bingham, *Beyond the Highland Line* (London: Constable and Company, 1991), 145.

³⁴ Maureen Martin, *The Mighty Scot: Nation, Gender, and the Nineteenth-Century Mystique of Scottish Masculinity* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2009), 37-38.

the barbarism and backwardness of their northern bride and finding repeated proof in such events as the Jacobite risings, English attitudes toward the Scots revealed little inclination for a truly equal incorporation. As Tom Devine reminds, “Pre-1707 Scottish history...was depicted simply as a tale of feudal faction, political turbulence, religious fanaticism, and economic backwardness, in stark contrast to the constitutional, ‘civilized’, and material progress of England in the medieval and early modern centuries.”³⁵ The intentional suppression of minority culture that came with the control measures of 1746 served to dispel any lingering inclinations for roguish self-determination and reinforce the power dynamics of union firmly in favor of the English. The existence facing Scots in the mid-eighteenth century was one of antagonism and an overwhelming English disdain for the dominant perceptions of Scottish culture and identity, namely the Highland lifestyle, so colorful in recent memory.

English constitutional history represented the standard for progress and advancement in the eighteenth century, relegating Scottish history to continual reinterpretations of backwardness in relation to its southern husband. Even among Scottish historians these perceptions had the tendency to manifest; so powerful were hegemonic English attitudes that many prominent Scots internalized English assumptions about them. David Hume’s *The History of Great Britain*, published in six installments between 1754 and 1761, assumed the title of *The History of England* in its first four volumes, accepting the dominant narrative and setting the standard for Enlightenment progress and civility firmly outside his own nation.³⁶ Despite its focus on Scotland, William Robertson’s 1759 *History of Scotland* reinforced similar tropes with an emphasis on Scotland’s feudal backwardness, a perspective that “would become the defining

³⁵ Tom Devine and Jenny Wormald, “Introduction: The Story of Modern Scottish History” in *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Scottish History* 1-18 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 2.

³⁶ David Hume, *The History of England* Vol. 1-6 (London: A Millar in the Strand, 1754-61).

cliché of Scottish historical writing.”³⁷ In the span of less than fifty years, Scotland had gone from a strong, independent player on the European stage and the main rival for England to a smaller component of a much bigger picture dominated by Anglocentric interpretations of the new Great Britain.³⁸ With Scottish historians succumbing to dominant perceptions of their own backwardness and serving to perpetuate such images of transitional Scotland as the foil for English progress, the task fell to a new generation of writers, the most prominent stewards of culture in Enlightenment Britain, to refocus discourse, question the dominant narrative, and share with the world the merits of Scotland and its potential for national greatness even within the perceived confines of union.

The trends that emerged in Scottish literature in the eighteenth century focused on two distinct objectives: first, a sociocultural rebranding based on comfortably distant ancient lore and legend as a new foundation for the currying of external favor and international recognition, and second, an internal resurgence of nationalist pride in attempts to rally Scots against dominant English perceptions of their inferiority and emphasize distinction in light of incorporation. For many, the Jacobite uprisings highlighted the sociocultural schism within Scotland and the tendency for a good number of Scots, particularly in the Lowlands of Edinburgh, Glasgow, and the Borders, to see themselves as culturally more similar to their English counterparts on ideas of propriety and civility, even pre-1746.³⁹ Many influential Scots, including David Hume, considered themselves “Northern British” rather than Scottish, emphasizing yet again the

³⁷ Colin Kidd, ““The Strange Death of Scottish History” Revisited: Constructions of the Past in Scotland, c. 1790-1914,” *The Scottish Historical Review* Vol. 76, No. 201 (1997), 87.

³⁸ Emily Dunn, “The Problems with Scottish History: Anglo-Centrism and National Identities,” *The York Historian*, 10 August 2016, <https://theyorkhistorian.com/2016/08/10/the-problems-with-scottish-history-anglo-centrism-and-national-identities/>; Kidd, “The Strange Death,” 88.

³⁹ Ian Duncan, “Walter Scott, James Hogg, and Scottish Gothic,” in *A New Companion to the Gothic* edited by David Punter, 123-134 (Oxford: John Wiley & Sons, 2015), 124.

internalization of the dominant narrative and the pressing need amongst those with vested interest in union politics to separate themselves from the turmoil of their homeland.⁴⁰

Even more sought to refine their English language skills, leaving the traditional Scots dialects for the working classes and contributing to the growing schism. As a result, language quickly became a popular form of resistance and symbol of self-preservation for writers. Often drawing on personal experiences growing up in a transitional Scotland and engaging with its educated classes of thinkers and politicians, these minds capitalized upon their own frustrations with the status quo to evoke similar reactions within their cohorts. Writers like Allan Ramsay (1686-1758) and James MacPherson (1736-1796) sought to shape a new origin story which drew on a comfortably distant past that fused both Scottish and Gaelic identities in attempts to emphasize the merits of a simplistic, wholesome, non-threatening Highland identity centered around nature and familial belonging for a collective Scottish populace. Ramsay, a member of Edinburgh's pro-Jacobite Easy Club, was a pioneering contributor to both Scottish poetry and Scots language literature. His vernacular poetry in particular aimed to emphasize the humanity and culture that permeated all levels of Scots society regardless of prominent social stereotypes to the contrary and instill a new sense of Scottish exceptionalism within a larger Great Britain. Many of Ramsay's poems, including his 1720 "An Elegy on Patie Birnie," made conscious references to his British audience. He wrote:

Sae I've lamented Patie's end;
But lest your grief o'er far extend,
Come dight your Cheeks, ye'r brows unbend,
And lift ye'r head,
For to a' Briton be it kend
He is not dead.⁴¹

⁴⁰ Charles Jones, *A Language Suppressed: The Pronunciation of the Scots Language in the 18th Century* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1993), 2.

⁴¹ Allan Ramsay, "An Elegy on Patie Birnie," (1720) in *The Poetical Works of Allan Ramsay: With Selections from the Scottish Poets Before Burns, Volume I* ed. Charles Mackay (London: Virtue, 1866), 166-7.

Ramsay's insistence on the use of Scots dialect also reinforced his own conceptualizations of a Britain with a prominent Scottish culture. James MacPherson, known for his wildly popular 1760s translations of the epic Gaelic poetry of third century writer Ossian, not only made accessible a wealth of earlier literature but more importantly attempted to solidify Scotland's role within Britain as the steward of ancient culture and comradeship.⁴² Despite his translations later being sold out as heavily distorted elaborations on Ossian's original works, MacPherson's writing, like Ramsay's, emphasized for Britain the potential for a truly great literary tradition built upon traditional Scottish forms like balladry and epic poetry.⁴³

In addition to reinforcing Scottish distinction and unearthing for Britain a wealth of ancient culture, other writers aided the shaping of a palatable image of Scotland fit for popular consumption.⁴⁴ Robert Burns (1759-1796), widely regarded as the national poet of Scotland, was one of the first to push back against union progress and clearly express nationalist sentiments that resonated with the middle classes. On a trip to Stirling Castle in 1787, he carved a poem known as the "Lines on Stirling" into the window of his room:

HERE Stewarts once in triumph reign'd,
And laws for Scotland's weal ordain'd;

⁴² James MacPherson, *Fingal, an Ancient Epic Poem in Six Books, together with Several Other Poems composed by Ossian, the Son of Fingal, translated from the Gaelic Language* (London: T. Becket and P. A. Hondt, 1762); "Temora: An Epic Poem of Ossian in Eight Cantos," (London: T. Becket and P. A. Hondt, 1763); *The Poems of Ossian, Son of Finegal* (Glasgow: Cameron and Murdoch, 1765).

⁴³ Debates surrounding the authenticity of MacPherson's work arose immediately after its publication. Irish historians claimed that their heritage was being appropriated despite similarities in Gaelic culture across Scotland and Ireland. Samuel Johnson, author of *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*, was convinced that MacPherson was "a mountebank, a liar, and a fraud, and that the poems were forgeries" (as quoted in Magnus Magnusson, *Fakers, Forgers & Phoneys*, Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing, 2006). The Romantic Movement helped temper criticism but inquests and dissertations on the topic persisted well into the nineteenth century. Derick Thomson concluded definitively in 1952 that MacPherson's work represented a collection of genuine Scottish ballads albeit heavily adapted and riddled with a good deal of his own imaginative additions.

⁴⁴ An estimated ninety-one percent of men in Edinburgh achieved basic literacy by 1760, including eighty-seven percent of tradesmen and twenty-four percent of servants, making literature a pertinent means of connection according to R. A. Houston, "Literacy, Education and the Culture of Print in Enlightenment Edinburgh," *History* Vol. 78, No. 254 (October 1993): 375-377. While exact literacy rates for the period immediately following union are difficult to come by, particularly for women, The *Statistical Account of Scotland* compiled by John Sinclair in the 1790s indicated that all but the oldest citizens were able to read and write in accordance with Lowland burgh and parish educational standards.

But now unroof'd their Palace stands,
Their sceptre's fall'n to other hands;
...The injured STEWART-line are gone,
A race outlandish fill their throne;
An idiot race, to honor lost;
Who know them best despise them most.⁴⁵

Burns rallied his readers with a focus on the stranger, or “outlander,” mentality still present in Scottish politics even eighty years after union, taking the division one step further in his 1791 poem “Such a Parcel of Rogues in a Nation.” Calling out the continued failure of politicians to honor their identity and protect Scotland’s distinctive interests, the poem culminated in the selling of Scotland to England with the signing of the Act of Union:

What force or guile could not subdue,
Thro' many warlike ages,
Is wrought now by a coward few,
For hireling *traitor's* wages.⁴⁶

While “Rogues” took more of a defeatist perspective on the union and derided those charged with representing Scotland, its stanzas emphasized for the Scottish public the importance of identity and self-determination and reinforced a certain sense of patriotism in viewing the Act of Union as treasonous. Burns appealed to popular sentiment through reminders of militaristic valor – namely the final Jacobite stand at Culloden in 1746 – and the distinctiveness of the Scottish landscape in particular, reaffirming the importance of both civic and ethnic belonging. His reduction of the union to a poor deal by members of parliament – “We’re bought and sold for English gold/ Such a parcel of rogues in a nation!”⁴⁷ – validated the general public’s questioning of the motivations of their leadership and offered a sense of redemption to those otherwise lost in the bleakness of perceived takeover. Scottish members of parliament (MPs) *had* sold their

⁴⁵ Robert Burns, “[Lines on Stirling],” in *Burns: Poems and Songs* edited by James Kinsley (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1969), lines 1-10.

⁴⁶ Robert Burns, “Such a Parcel of Rogues in a Nation,” (1791) in *Complete Poems and Songs of Robert Burns* (Reprint, Glasgow: Geddes and Grosset, 2015), 313-14. Emphasis is my own.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

political independence for the economic benefits of union, but poems like “Rogues” helped to divert attention back to the simple pleasures of Scottishness.⁴⁸

As one of the first to openly reaffirm the English as the distinct other in the context of union, Burns sought to manufacture a Scottish unity that could erase centuries old Highland and Lowland divisions, reawaken an increasingly dormant sense of collective pride, and instill a more unified notion of Scottishness across classes.⁴⁹ His poetry in particular elevated notions of a distinct Scottish identity and underscored the role of language in nationalist debates; his unique phrasing and trademark Scots-English dialect gave a new voice to the powerless and encouraged the questioning of allegiances of convenience and opportunity. Janet Little (1759-1813), known as the “Scotch Milkmaid,” was one such poet who benefitted from the rise in Scots language literature Burns catalyzed.⁵⁰ Little, like Burns, was a working class Scot who utilized her poetry to comment on evolving notions of Scottishness, but perhaps more significant than her political commentary was her radical focus on the ways in which such discussions were rooted firmly in the territory of men. Her poem “To the Public” described her experiences as a female writer, featuring the lines,

“Vain are her hopes,” the snarling critic cries;
“Rude and imperfect is her rural song.”

⁴⁸ Burns’ use of the term “rogues” is also a thought-provoking linguistic choice. The very idea of a “rogue” implies masculinity, but also invokes more of the rascal and the scoundrel than the proper gentleman. Even though these Scotsmen were not feminine, they were not suitably masculine either, necessitating the assistance of real men to help redirect and support a straying citizenry.

⁴⁹ In his piece “The Use of “Othering” in the Formation of a Nationalist Society,” legal scholar John Evans, like many of his contemporaries, defines othering as “the process in which groups or individuals are defined by the social majority as different, incompatible, unworthy, or otherwise unwanted or ostracized.” While Scotland relied heavily on the process in their quest to define identity, the power dynamic of the union prevented such actions from being as exclusionary as Evans describes. In keeping with Scotland’s history of oppression, it can also be argued that rallying, rather than retribution, was the goal of Burns’ techniques.

⁵⁰ In a short biography of Little, Scottish journalist James Paterson described her as “a very tall masculine woman, with dark hair, and features somewhat coarse.” James Paterson, *The Contemporaries of Burns, and the More Recent Poets of Ayrshire, with Selections from Their Writings* (Edinburgh: H. Paton, 1840), 87.

But she on public candour firmly relies,
And humbly begs they'll pardon what is wrong.⁵¹

The self-awareness is tangible in Little's writing; not only was she a Scot, already disenfranchised in an Anglo-dominant Britain, but even more limiting to her reception was her status as a woman.⁵² "Given to a Lady Who Asked me to Write a Poem" delved deeper into that latter category and even went so far as to call Burns out on his male privilege by name:

A ploughman chiel, Rab Burns his name,
Pretends to write; an' thinks nae shame
To souse his sonnets on the court;
An' what is strange, they praise him for't.
Even folks, wha're of the highest station,
Ca' him the glory of our nation.⁵³

Turning the focus back on herself, she continues:

But then a rustic country quean
To write was e'er like o't seen?
...Does she, poor silly thing, pretend
The manners of our age to mend?
...So much I dread their cruel spite,
My hand still trembles when I write.⁵⁴

Negotiating the small space she had carved out for herself, Little used her poetry to present a female counter-narrative to those so dominant in Burns' writing: "Where Burns imagines a fanciful muse and a heroic nation, however, Little identifies her own poetic inspiration with a woman even more marginal than she is... Where Burns uses women as

⁵¹ Janet Little, "To the Public," in *The Poetical Works of Janet Little, the Scotch Milkmaid*, 3-4 (Air: Press of J. and P. Wilson, 1792), <http://worldlibrary.org/eBooks/WPLBN0001169373-Poetical-Works-of-Janet-Little-The-Scotch-Milkmaid-by-Little-Janet.aspx>.

⁵² Leith Davis, "Gender and the Nation in the Work of Robert Burns and Janet Little," *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* Vol. 38, No. 4 (Autumn 1998): 632. As Esther Breitenbach, Alice Brown, and Fiona Meyers confirm, "women in Scotland suffer a double disadvantage of marginalization within a male-dominated Scotland, and marginalization within an English-dominated Britain." Esther Breitenbach, Alice Brown, and Fiona Myers, "Understanding Women in Scotland," *Feminist Review* Vol. 58 (1998): 62.

⁵³ Little and Davis both employ the term *nation* to refer to the collective Scottish community formed in contrast to a distinct English other.

⁵⁴ Janet Little, "Given to a Lady Who Asked me to Write a Poem," in *The Poetical Works of Janet Little, the Scotch Milkmaid*, 37-38 (Air: Press of J. and P. Wilson, 1792).

allegories of poetic and national inspiration, Little creates a female community within the nation.”⁵⁵ Despite being on the “vanguard of Scottish nationalism” according to twentieth-century critic Donna Landry, and quite well connected in her time, with subscribers like the travel journalist Samuel Johnson and even Burns himself, Little as a Scotswoman remains relatively unknown in the world of poetry.⁵⁶ As Robert Louis Stevenson (1850-1894) emphasizes in his *Weir of Hermiston*, “For that is the mark of the Scot of all classes: that *he* stands in an attitude towards the past unthinkable to Englishmen, and remembers and cherishes the memory of *his* forebears, good and bad; and there burns alive in *him* a sense of identity with the dead even to the twentieth generation.”⁵⁷ The conceptualizations presented by Ramsay, MacPherson, Burns, and Stevenson not only served to delineate what these writers perceived to be “true” Scottishness and ultimately shaped an evolving English identity through the othering integral to their depictions, but also firmly positioned men, regardless of class, as the stewards of culture and the arbiters of identity for a transitional Scotland. As Leslie Fiedler asserted in the 1970s, women were “an unassimilated, perhaps forever unassimilable, stranger, the first other of which the makers of our myths, male as far back as reliable memory runs, ever become aware.”⁵⁸

1.3 Sir Walter Scott and the Cementing of the Scottish Myth

The impact of literature at the turn of the nineteenth century cannot be understated. English scholar Henry Thomas Buckle (1821-1862), described by a close friend as an “Evangelist for the historiographical cause,” questioned the legitimacy of earlier Scottish

⁵⁵ Leith Davis, “Gender and the Nation in the Work of Robert Burns and Janet Little,” *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* Vol. 38, No. 4 (Autumn 1998), 638.

⁵⁶ Donna Landry, *The Muses of Resistance: Laboring-Class Women’s Poetry in Britain, 1739-1796* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990): 237.

⁵⁷ Robert Louis Stevenson, *Weir of Hermiston: An Unfinished Romance* (Leipzig: Bernhard Tauchnitz, 1896), 110. Published posthumously. Emphasis is my own.

⁵⁸ Leslie Fieldler, *The Stranger in Shakespeare* (New York: Stein and Day, 1972), 45.

intellectual activities, both philosophical and historical, as ephemeral peculiarities with insufficient staying power.⁵⁹ Few notable historical works came out of this period; like George Chalmers' (1742-1825) series *Caledonia*, first published in 1807 and highly celebratory of the union's ability to further Scottish "material and moral progress out of superstition and poverty," the tendency was to avoid critical approaches to union and the promotion of Scottish interests in favor of maintaining broad, sweeping narratives that echoed larger British understandings of economics and governance.⁶⁰ The complacency and indecision within the academy in Scotland following the union, as seen with historians like Hume and Chalmers, allowed literature to emerge as the main medium through which to convey more forward-thinking interpretations of identity and culture.

One of the central-most figures in the elevation of literature to such an influential position and the solidification of a burgeoning national myth in public consciousness was Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832). Growing up in the Borders of Scotland, a region steeped in centuries worth of Anglo-Scottish turbulence, Scott was deeply influenced by the nationalist writers of the eighteenth century and their bold depictions of the gallant ritual and romantic landscape of a "traditional Scotland merging into a great world empire."⁶¹ This idealized view of his homeland provided the inspiration for his poems, most notably "The Lay of the Last Minstrel" (1805),

⁵⁹ N. T. Phillipson, "Henry Thomas Buckle on Scottish History and the Scottish Mind," *History of Education Quarterly* Vol. 14, No. 3 (1974), 408. Devine and Wormald, "Introduction," 4.

⁶⁰ Chalmers antagonistically asserted, "the freeing of the people of Scotland from their parliament was one of the important objects, which were obtained by the Union." Chalmers, *Caledonia: or, An Account, Historical and Topographic, of North Britain; From the Most Ancient to the Present Times*, 3 Vols (London: Cadell, 1807-1824) Vol. I, 866; Devine and Wormald, "Introduction," 4.

⁶¹ David McCrone, Angela Morris and Richard Kiely, *Scotland--The Brand: The Making of Scottish Heritage* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1995), 4. The difference between Scotland and Ireland or Wales, which had both been brought under English control by 1801, was that Scotland managed to exercise a level of political and cultural autonomy, remaining on an equal footing with England rather than succumbing to colonial status and the suppression of dominant cultures like that of Roman Catholicism in Ireland, which was perhaps the most feminine of all the member nations. With its history of warfare, the voluntary nature of the union, and the retention of institutions like the Kirk, Scotland retained a level of mutual respect with England not shared by Ireland or Wales that continued on into the nineteenth century. For more, see Martin, *The Mighty Scot*, 4.

“Marmion” (1808), and “The Lady of the Lake” (1810), and later novels like *Waverley* (1814) and *Rob Roy* (1817).⁶² Scott’s literature, largely fictitious yet loosely rooted in history, reinvigorated national imagery in the minds of his readers and spurred historians to “recover and study historical documents and records, and recreate for themselves similar pictures of the past.”⁶³

With a common focus on highly contentious subjects like the 1715 and 1745 Jacobite risings, Scott’s literature allowed for a cultural coexistence where such a phenomenon had not previously existed and represented a key element of the transformation of the Scottish past into a more palatable unionist history of brotherhood and camaraderie.⁶⁴ His 1814 novel *Waverley*, often regarded as the first historical novel, featured an English hero who fought for the Stuart cause, transcending national boundaries and forging allegiances where they most certainly did not exist in 1745. *Waverley* also featured a Hanoverian colonel, a Highland love interest, and a prominent Lowland family to further unite dissonant sociocultural groups in early Britain. The skillful restructuring of traditional social dynamics in the pages of his novels not only fueled a friendlier, less threatening collective memory of Highland Scotland, but more importantly made Scotland a space where conflicting social identities could coexist against the backdrop of a idyllic natural landscape. Scott’s ability to weave politically charged history with enthralling fiction contributed to the positive reception of his literature and the popularity it maintained across Britain. His plots were not so far removed from the emerging upper and middle class past

⁶² Sir Walter Scott, *Waverley* (Edinburgh: Archibald Constable & Co, 1814); *Rob Roy* (Edinburgh: Archibald Constable & Co, 1817); *Redgauntlet* (Edinburgh: Archibald Constable & Co, 1824); *The Lay of the Last Minstrel* (Edinburgh: Archibald Constable & Co, 1805); *The Lady of the Lake* (Edinburgh: John Ballatyne & Co, 1810).

⁶³ McCrone, Morris and Kiely, *Scotland--The Brand*, 4.

⁶⁴ As Colin Kidd emphasizes, Scott not only legitimated the communication of historical truths through fiction, but perhaps more significantly, utilized his focus on Whiggish heroism and the misinterpretation of his fascination with Jacobitism it fostered to maintain a steady English interest in his novels. Colin Kidd, ““The Strange Death of Scottish History” Revisited: Constructions of the Past in Scotland, C. 1790-1914,” *The Scottish Historical Review* Vol. 76, No. 201 (1997), 91.

as to create doubt amongst readers seeking a deeper understanding of Scotland; with the ability to weave history and romantic fiction within the existing social norms of his time, often going so far as to frame the old in the context of the new, Scott could convey messages of passion, crises, and allegiance and reinforce relationships of power. “Indeed his very success and the appeal of his dramatic and colorful tales helped to steer interest in the Scottish past into the intellectual dead end of ‘historical kailyards’ and romantic appendages.”⁶⁵

The use of gendered language throughout his literature not only reinforced the hard lines forged between Burns and Little within literary circles but also spoke to a dominant concern in the late Georgian (1714-1830s) and early Victorian (1837-1901) eras: the socially prescribed roles of men and women.⁶⁶ As literary scholar Elisa Beshero-Bondar reminds, Scott dramatized gender equality “in the capacity for nationally destructive passions, by investing powerful women like Lady Heron [“Marmion”] with the capacity to seduce and destroy an all-too-fragile Scottish nation, while at the same time exposing the tyranny of men like Marmion [“Marmion”] and Rhoderick Dhu [“The Lady of the Lake”] in their pillaging of women’s private domains.”⁶⁷ His characters upheld prevalent notions of male social dominance and the relegation of women to the domestic sphere as arbiters of safety, care, and rehabilitation. Women and their bodies were included for the purposes of contrasting allegory and metaphor, the others against which, or often in response to which, men were positioned to triumph. As Bronte Wells notes, “Women as

⁶⁵ Richard J. Finlay, “Controlling the Past: Scottish Historiography and Scottish Identity in the 19th and 20th Centuries,” *Scottish Affairs* Vol. 9 (Autumn 1994), 127.

⁶⁶ Like Burns and Little, Scott maintained a contentious relationship with English novelist Jane Porter. Of her 1809 *The Scottish Chiefs*, a tale of William Wallace’s exploits against the English, he commented: “I wished to think so well of it...but lord help her! It is not safe meddling with the hero of a country and of all others I cannot endure to see the character of Wallace frittered away.” James Hogg, *Familiar Anecdotes of Sir Walter Scott* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999), 71. Such deprecating, if not hypocritical, commentary helped keep Porter out of the spotlight and tempered her esteem within the Edinburgh literary scene. Only recently have her works been recognized for their contributions to the Romantic genre and the establishment of the historical novel in the nineteenth century. Thomas McLean, “Nobody’s Argument: Jane Porter and the Historical Novel,” *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* Vol. 7, No. 2 (Fall-Winter 2007): 88-103.

⁶⁷ Elisa Beshero-Bondar, *Women, Epic, and Transition in British Romanticism* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2011), 87-88.

characters are not simply women, but are embodiments of fear, ridicule, ideals, and a whole host of politics.”⁶⁸ In *Rob Roy*, Scott positioned Lady Helen MacGregor, one of two dominant female characters, as “arguably the most threatening character in the novel.”⁶⁹ Playing the wronged, merciless, and violent revolutionary to her husband’s Robin Hood like character, she was meant to be feared, but only in as far as to allow Rob Roy to be a likeable, less complicated hero. Like Highland Scotland, Lady MacGregor’s antagonism was a tangible yet manageable threat; in the turmoil surrounding the 1715 uprising, she and her people had been left with “neither house nor hold, blanket nor bedding, cattle to feed us, or flocks to clothe us...the very nature of our ancestors ha[d]...been taken away.”⁷⁰ By rooting Lady MacGregor’s grievances firmly in the realm of domesticity, Scott tempered both her volatility as a masculine woman and her otherness as a Highland woman in order to tie them back into a more acceptable, even sympathetic, femininity focused on advocacy and concern for her kin.⁷¹ He makes it clear to his readership that such an emotional, volatile, womanlike response as revolution, here again drawing parallels with Scotland’s Jacobite past, held the potential to be devastating to the forward momentum of union.

Whether or not these underlying themes were immediately noted by the entirety of his readership, his novels and poetry reinforced fundamental gender norms and “satisfied the nostalgic emotional needs of the propertied classes in a world experiencing unprecedented change from tradition to modernity.”⁷² Through selective remembrance and an emphasis on the

⁶⁸ Bronte Wells, “Neither Full nor Flat: Women, Representation, and Politics in Walter Scott’s *Rob Roy*,” *Constellations* Vol. 8, No. 2 (2017), 38.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Sir Walter Scott, *Rob Roy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 349.

⁷¹ Wells, “Neither Full nor Flat,” 45. As Kathleen Wilson notes, “female masculinity,” or masculine values that were not the product of male bodies, fed into the cultural and political anxieties of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Kathleen Wilson, “Nelson’s Women: Female Masculinity and Body Politics in the French and Napoleonic Wars,” *European History Quarterly* Vol. 37, No. 4 (2007): 563.

⁷² Devine and Wormald, “Introduction,” 3.

historical legitimacy of tradition and custom from the third century onward, they helped to create a new dominant narrative of Highland culture through selective immersion.⁷³ Allowing readers, particularly Lowland and English readers, to see Scotland in stable terms unthreatening to their own ways of life helped to foster a palatable understanding of this reinvigorated culture and made chic the cultural borrowing necessary to incorporate it into larger threads of empire.⁷⁴ Not only were Scott's novels a model for the creation of modern, yet seemingly ancient, Highland traditions, they were the fulcrum upon which Scottish reputation and public perception turned.⁷⁵

With a command on the antiquity of Scotland, Romantic writers were able to foster a certain element of storytelling within their histories to animate facts, events, and notable individuals. The idea of prominent "poet-historians" like Scott who could mediate not only within the history but also between the history and its readership heavily influenced historiographical methodologies in the nineteenth century and set a new standard for historical inquest. Thomas Carlyle's (1795-1881) coining of the phrase "hero worship" in his 1841 book *On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and The Heroic in History* helped to overturn the Enlightenment's disdain for personal histories and reinvigorate the study of key men in history as heroic emblems

⁷³ The idea of collective forgetting is also significant here. In his 1882 speech at the Sorbonne, Ernst Renan stated, "Forgetting is an essential factor in the creation of a nation." This idea of a *selective* collective memory is key in understanding the exclusionary nature of national narratives. Renan's use of language, as seen in the later phrase, "A heroic past with great men and glory is the social capital upon which the national idea rests," is also central to explorations of masculinity in nationalistic constructs. For more, see Ernst Renan, "What is a Nation?" speech delivered at the Sorbonne, Paris, 11 March 1882, translated by Ethan Rundell (Paris: Presses-Pocket, 1992).

⁷⁴ Scott's novels were incredibly well received on both sides of the border. *Waverley* (1814), *Guy Mannering* (1815), *The Antiquary* (1816), and *Rob Roy* (1818) all sold out ever larger print runs in a matter of days and continued to sell well into the early 1820s. Scott's *Ivanhoe* (1819) served as the inspiration for the English legend of Robin Hood and *Kenilworth* (1821), which centered around the life and court of Elizabeth I, sold "10,000 copies in the first 3 weeks, another 3,000 in the next month, and a second edition within six weeks of the first" at the unreasonably high price point of 31 shillings (£145/\$177). Stephen Arata, "Scott's Pageants: The Example of *Kenilworth*," *Studies in Romanticism* Vol. 40, No. 1: Scott, Scotland and Romantic Nationalism (Spring 2001): 99. For Scott to make such an impact among his English readership was monumental, as "the myth of Good Queen Bess was central to Victorian England's self-definition." Nicola J. Watson, "Gloriana Victoriana: Victoria and the Cultural Memory of Elizabeth I," in *Remaking Queen Victoria*, ed. Margaret Homans and Adrienne Munich (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998): 79-104.

⁷⁵ Hugh Trevor-Roper, "The Invention of Tradition: The Highland Tradition of Scotland," in *The Invention of Tradition* edited by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 16.

of national narratives worthy of empathy and understanding.⁷⁶ Carlyle focused his attention on figures like Oliver Cromwell, Frederick the Great, and Napoleon, but Patrick Fraser Tytler (1791-1849) and Thomas McCrie (1797-1875) were also eager to elevate Scottish personalities like Reformation minister John Knox, theologian Andrew Melville, and Mary, Queen of Scots.⁷⁷ Normalized and disseminated through print culture, distinctly Catholic figures like the Jacobite Bonnie Prince Charlie and the keenly traitorous Mary, Queen of Scots became heroic icons in an overwhelmingly Protestant Britain. The legitimizing nature of their antiquity and positive cultural applications helped transform their reputations from those of barbarism and contempt to coveted simplicity and refinement, carrying forth a new understanding of practices like early modern Catholicism as central to an emerging Scottish identity. Underpinned by the nostalgic memory of past glories, Romantic poetry, literature, and biography grounded action in desirable values of place-based heroism. Scott writes in his preface to *Ivanhoe* (1819) that he merely availed himself of the stories that lay scattered around him, reinforcing the idea that reinvention was simply the reuniting of existing fragments of culture.⁷⁸ Such a rationale, coupled with the sheer magnitude of Scott's reach, exemplify Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger's theory of the invention of tradition; Scott, in addition to figures like Carlyle and McCrie, used literature to

⁷⁶ Paul A. Westover, *Traveling to Meet the Dead, 1750-1860: A Study of Literary Tourism and Necromanticism* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 101. It should be noted that Carlyle wholly embraced dominant Victorian ideologies regarding women and their place in society. In his 1841 *On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and The Heroic in History* he even goes as far as to assert that his masculine "great man" was a spiritual guide for the world, a bearer of truth and light: "In the true Literary Man there is thus ever, acknowledged or not by the world, a sacredness: he is the light of the world; the world's Priest; — guiding it, like a sacred Pillar of Fire, in its dark pilgrimage through the waste of Time." Thomas Carlyle, *On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and The Heroic in History* (London: James Fraser, 1841), 253-54. The powers of such "literary men" can most certainly be seen within the Scottish canon as well.

⁷⁷ Patrick Fraser Tytler, *Portraits of Mary Queen of Scots* (Private Circulation, 1845); Thomas McCrie, *Sketches of Scottish Church History: Embracing the Period from the Reformation to the Revolution* (Edinburgh: John Johnstone, 1841).

⁷⁸ Yoon Sun Lee, *Nationalism and Irony: Burke, Scott, Carlyle* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 75. Of Scott's *Ivanhoe* Colin Kidd writes, "Indeed, he used the authenticating apparatus of *Ivanhoe* to explain why early nineteenth-century Scotland was the natural seat of the emergent historical romance and, by way of apology, why it was so difficult to create a compelling English equivalent." Kidd, "The Strange Death," 88.

take these practices and personages and elevate them to a status of repetitive, symbolic ritual, automatically implying continuity with a suitable historic past.⁷⁹

The appeal of heroic figures and a highly romanticized rugged Scotland drummed up by writers and historians in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was not limited to the general public, however; the degree to which Britain's elite were also reimagining Scotland became increasingly apparent in the frequency of royal visits to Scotland in the early 1800s. The culmination of conceptual presentations came with King George IV's visit to Scotland in 1822, the first by a monarch in almost two hundred years.⁸⁰ It was during this fanfare that Sir Walter Scott transcended the pages of his novels and packed the three-week visit with galas, receptions, banquets, and processions to make Edinburgh as charming as possible to the king and his attendants.⁸¹ The Grand Ball, a pivotal event held toward the end of the king's visit, was the stage upon which Scott staged his most enterprising reveal of reinvigorated Highland tradition. Outfitted in the highest quality Royal Stuart tartan and accompanying accessories (as shown in Figure 5), George IV was presented to attending Highland societies and their clan chieftains as a Jacobite king, his bloodline proclaimed to be as pure as that of Bonnie Prince Charlie in a crucial move to reinforce the bonds of union and dissuade those with lingering ideas of radical reform.⁸²

⁷⁹ Eric Hobsbawm, Introduction to *The Invention of Tradition* edited by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 1.

⁸⁰ 1822 also witnessed the publication of Scottish historian George Brodie's *A History of the British Empire from the Accession of Charles I to the Restoration*, an account that equated the superficial accomplishments of England and Scotland yet once again reaffirmed the latter's dearth of constitutional achievements, continuing late-eighteenth century historiographical trends and compounding dominant nationalist sureties that Scotland had something to prove. Brodie, *A History of the British Empire from the Accession of Charles I to the Restoration* (Edinburgh, 1822), 425-27.

⁸¹ Not only was Scott a commoner, his literary fame was not solidified until 1827 when he claimed authorship of the *Waverly* series, which had been published anonymously to encourage sales.

⁸² The irony in such a transformation not one hundred years after the battle of Culloden should not be lost. However relegated to the pages of history through solid defeat and undeniable suppression, the Jacobite cause remained central to Highland identity as reflected in the literature of Ramsay and Scott in particular. Endowing a distinctly British figurehead with Jacobite ancestry, however questionable, not only served to ease the fears of Scottish Highlanders but normalize the idea of Jacobite patronage among wary Englishmen. For more on George

Per Scott's pamphlet, "Hints Addressed to the Inhabitants Of Edinburgh, and others, in Prospect of His Majesty's Visit by an Old Citizen," distributed before the event, unless in uniform, "no Gentleman is to be allowed to appear in any thing but the ancient Highland costume."⁸³ The call incited a scramble among Highland and Lowland gentlemen alike to trace their own heritage, however dubious, and locate a suitable tartan kilt from amongst Edinburgh's top tailors.

For a custom that had previously been banned by the 1746 Act of Proscription's Dress Act subsection as barbaric and backwards, the wearing of the kilt, or "feileadh-beag," a smaller, more modern take on the longer belted plaids, quickly became an honorable and highly desirable practice amongst the highest strata of British society.⁸⁴ John Murray, the 4th Duke of Atholl (1755-1830), described the visit as "one and twenty daft days," explaining in his journal that "the Mania is the Highland garb...a considerable Procession of Troops, Highlanders and the different Persons dressed up by Walter Scott in fantastic attire."⁸⁵ There was some pushback to an unquestioned acceptance of the English king in Scotland and to the parading of Scottish culture for the king's pleasure, particularly by Highlanders like the Duke of Atholl and his recognition of the caricature that the visit was made out to be, but overall Scott's goals were fulfilled; George IV returned to London with an overwhelmingly positive impression of his northern territory, having remarked on multiple occasions, "They are a nation of gentlemen."⁸⁶

IV's connections to Highland tradition, see the Scottish Tartans Authority, <http://www.tartansauthority.com/tartan/the-growth-of-tartan/george-iv/>.

⁸³ Sir Walter Scott, "Hints Addressed to the Inhabitants of Edinburgh, and others, in Prospect of His Majesty's Visit by an Old Citizen." Printed pamphlet, Edinburgh: William Blackwood, Waugh and Innes, and John Robertson, 1822. Capitalization in original.

⁸⁴ Trevor-Roper, "The Invention of Tradition: The Highland Tradition of Scotland," 34. Scottish Tartans Authority, "Ancient Highland Dress," accessed 7 July 2019, <http://www.tartansauthority.com/highland-dress/ancient/>.

⁸⁵ Caroline McCracken-Flesher, *Possible Scotlands: Walter Scott and the Story of Tomorrow* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 104.

⁸⁶ Christopher Hibbert, *George IV* (London: Allen Lane, 1973), 251.



Figure 5: David Wilkie, “George IV in Kilt” oil on canvas (1829), Courtesy of the Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 401206

1.4 Queen Victoria and the Making of a Highland Husband

The depictions of Scotland put forth and celebrated publicly over the course of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were not only highly indicative of the more valuable elements of Highland culture carefully selected to represent the nation, but also revealed the underlying social tensions and cultural anxieties of empire in the face of clashing Scottishness, Englishness, Britishness, and imperial otherness.⁸⁷ The values drawn upon and embraced in popular culture like beauty, simplicity, and heroism were not just aesthetically pleasing; they represented core needs within an evolving society and an entirely new brand of imperialistic

⁸⁷ McNeil, *Scotland Britain Empire*, 3.

commodity for which England could justify a continued union with Scotland. George IV's visit to Edinburgh in particular, a "national performance of Scottish difference...that was overwhelmingly militant and male," reinforced key absences in English society from the highest levels. Through the re-popularization of such emblematic icons as the tartan, the kilt, and the rugged Highlander who sported them, the discourse inevitably honed in on a new descriptor: Scotland's supposed wealth of primal masculinity.⁸⁸

The receptivity of the English middle and upper classes, including the monarchy, to Romantic presentations of Scotland through art, literature, and sport, which often included blatant displays of masculine heroism and communal fraternity, emphasized the lack of such equivalents within their social circles and encouraged its spread through mainstream channels across Britain.⁸⁹ Queen Victoria's fervent embrace of the Highlands in the mid-nineteenth century, culminating in the completion of Balmoral Castle in Aberdeen in 1856, established a consistent and visible royal presence in the Highlands and cemented the region's significance to the British monarchy.⁹⁰ The increased presence of English nobility made Highland life incredibly fashionable, spreading a highly appropriated culture throughout the empire and making the focus

⁸⁸ Kenneth McNeil explains, "*Waverley* depicts a complex array of British masculinities and narrates the interplay between them...the novel not only works to effect the masculinization and militarization of the Highlands but is informed by a kind of ethnography of masculinity. As the novel brings a variety of masculine typographies into play – English, French, Scottish Lowland and Highland, and others – it sets them against each other, staging the interactions between them." McNeil, *Scotland Britain Empire*, 87.

⁸⁹ As Maureen Martin notes, "The receptivity of the English middle-class public to literary and artistic associations of Scotland with displays of primal masculinity...points to a perceived lack of primal masculinity in modern Britain and the discovery of its locus in Scotland." Martin, *The Mighty Scot*, 5.

⁹⁰ Some scholars, including James Loughlin, have made the claim that Victoria's failures in Ireland, particularly during the Potato Famine of 1845, left a mutual distaste in the mouths of both Irish leaders and the British monarchy and pushed Victoria closer to Scotland as a land of safe, attainable possibility and redemption in the early years of her reign. Loughlin posited, "The factors that conditioned her were several: negative personal encounters; traditional British Protestant objections to the 'spirit of tyranny' of the Irish Catholic clergy; and the related threat of nationalist separatism." Loughlin, "Allegiance and Illusion: Queen Victoria's Irish Visit of 1849," *History* Vol. 87, No. 288 (October 2002), 493. Scottish publisher Robert Chambers' *History of Scotland* (1832) fueled English fondness for Scotland through his own admonition that the latter was indebted to the former for "the enlightened acts which first placed [Scotland] in a condition of nominal freedom. Only by the abolition of the most heritable jurisdictions and wardholding vassalage did the 'tenants' and 'common people' of Scotland at last become 'free citizens'." Chambers, *History of Scotland* (London, 1832), 225-229; Kidd, "The Strange Death," 90.

on masculine traditions like hunting, riding, and even training in traditional combat techniques an increasingly desirable experience. “Queen Victoria embraced Scotland, propagated its masculine image through commissioned paintings and her published journals, and modeled English dominating but drawing strength from masculine Scotland. Legions of [her] subjects followed her lead north, the more privileged creating in Highland estates they visited a sort of virility theme park.”⁹¹ Victorian culture fostered the obsession with the creation of a more manly man, essentializing the Scottish experience and placing immense value on the integration of older, more “authentic” measures of Scottish masculinity no longer available to the commercial English gentleman. The donning of the kilt was a voyeuristic escape for the aristocracy, a class of men who became increasingly associated with effeminacy and weakness following their removal from traditional agricultural and military lifestyles during the Industrial Revolution. Economic man – the worker released from the farm, forest, or battlefield and ushered into the factory, warehouse, or high street storefront by the progress of industrialization – was inherently feminine, characterized by a lack of hardihood, fearlessness, and fighting ardor. “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.”⁹²

This manifestation of nineteenth-century imperial anxieties coincided with a significant transformation in English sociopolitical character. Not only did Victoria play a considerable role in the popularization of the Highlands and the elevation of a heavily appropriated Scottish culture across Britain, but the nuances of her personal life and its pervasiveness within British society as a model for upstanding family values had a direct impact on the nature of Anglo-

⁹¹ Martin, *The Mighty Scot*, 12-13.

⁹² Martin, *The Mighty Scot*, 6.

Scottish dynamics. The combination of Victoria's quintessential maternalism and her enduring allegorical identification with Britannia "tended to encode the state itself not just as female but as maternal."⁹³ In kind, and in keeping with Victorian (hetero)sexual propriety, depictions of Scotland honed in on its "older, grander, more savage past, so that paradoxically England seem[ed] to be embracing a husband who [was], at the same time, both her child and her ancient parent."⁹⁴ The link between the two remained predicated on the salvation of Scotland, but the new dynamic was far more maternal, with England rehabilitating a feebler Scottish husband and in turn drawing on the rich wisdom and "ideological testosterone" of his seemingly ancient existence.⁹⁵

Ironically, then, it was Scotland's surrender of its independent identity and its receptiveness to the desires of Victoria and the English state that helped make this gender transformation possible. As Maureen Martin notes, "Scotland developed no female emblem of its nationhood [like Britannia, Marianne, Germania or Mother Russia] because it neither had, nor in the nineteenth century sought, an independent existence. Uncontested by an alternative female icon Scotland as a rugged warrior could become the primal male element of female Britannia."⁹⁶ Not only had Scotland overcome the threat of an all too plausible English ascendancy under the guise of Great Britain, it had come out on top with a celebrated, albeit highly appropriated, national narrative firmly rooted in the ancient virility of a Scottish Highland culture.

⁹³ Martin, *The Mighty Scot*, 21.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 38.

1.5 Defending the New Status Quo

By the turn of the twentieth century and the end of the Victorian era, notions of a distinct Scottish nationalism marked by a reaffirmation of ancient tradition, picturesque landscapes, and romantic masculine heroism were firmly engrained in British literary tradition and a sense of popular memory that transcended class and nationality. The dissemination of more palatable interpretations of Scotland placated the English and allowed for a resurgence of national pride at home. The work of storytellers like Scott and Burns helped to stave off the erasure of oral tradition that often went hand in hand with modernization efforts and provided for its performers an expanded, reinvigorated canon of legend and lore. Although rapid industrialization had disrupted educational opportunities in the late eighteenth century, particularly in larger cities like Edinburgh and Glasgow, the rise of Kirk, or church, schools in the 1820s and 1830s helped to close the gap.⁹⁷ Between 1850 and 1900, the literacy rate in Britain rose from an estimated fifty-five percent to nearer seventy-five percent, with men maintaining a slightly higher rate than women.⁹⁸ Such a rise coincided with the expansion of voting rights and provided an ideal medium for the transmission of information on government and identity necessary to informed political decision-making. Despite its upper class roots, the newly transformed origin story resonated deeply with the lower classes, emphasizing values of home and family while removing some of the stigma from connections to past disgraces like the Jacobite risings. Its pervasiveness across all strata of society, particularly among highly visible bastions of culture like the royal family, offered up a new sense of truth and legitimacy and encouraged sustained personal connections to the recycled traditions of the past.

⁹⁷ Michael Lynch, *Scotland: A New History*, 2nd ed. (London: Pimlico, 1992); Olive and Sydney Checkland, *Industry and Ethos: Scotland 1832-1914* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1989).

⁹⁸ Max Roser and Esteban Ortiz-Ospina, "Literacy," *Our World in Data*, University of Oxford Global Change Data Lab, 2019. Accessed 17 July 2019, <https://ourworldindata.org/literacy>.

As such, the Romantic depictions of ancient and early modern Scotland so ingrained in literary fiction remained the foremost authorities on identity and culture well into the twentieth century. This mythology, however, comfortably rooted in the realm of fiction, epic novels, and poetry, did little to penetrate the academy and challenge the existing historiography, which continued to overwhelmingly favor Anglocentric studies of union and restricted mentions of Scotland to those made in the context of a unified Britain.⁹⁹ A focus on Whig constitutionalism rooted in English politics and governance remained the pedagogic model;¹⁰⁰ official narratives continued to depict Scotland as a “stateless nation, though rich in heroic characters and dramatic episodes...[but] appear[ing] to lack a Whiggish plot.”¹⁰¹ Academic historians remained few and far between, and even those who managed to make a name for themselves through progressive studies of Scotland, men like Peter Hume Brown (1849-1918) and Robert Rait (1874-1936), Historiographer Royals and professors at Edinburgh and Glasgow respectively, were often keenly challenged by those upholding dominant eighteenth- and nineteenth-century methodologies. Tom Johnston’s resoundingly anti-feudal *Our Scots Noble Families* (1909) quickly dismantled Brown’s rehabilitation of the Scottish nobility in his 1906 “The Scottish Nobility and Their Part in the National History,” for example.¹⁰² “To all intents and purposes, it seemed that only the ‘independent’ nation was a worthy and proper focus for academic research. Modern Scottish history remained a Cinderella subject.”¹⁰³

At the close of the nineteenth century, there was little written about modern Scotland and even less that transcended the academy and permeated popular culture and collective memory.

⁹⁹ Devine and Wormald, “Introduction,” 13.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid, 6.

¹⁰¹ Robert Anderson, “University History Teaching and the Humboldtian Model in Scotland, 1858-1914,” *History of Universities* Vol. 25, No. 1 (2010), 167.

¹⁰² Kidd, “The Strange Death,” 90-91; Peter Hume Brown, “The Scottish Nobility and Their Part in the National History” *The Scottish Historical Review* Vol. 3, No. 10 (Jan 1906): 156-170; Thomas Johnston, *Our Scots Noble Families* (Glenarundel, Scotland: Argyll Publishing, 1909).

¹⁰³ Devine and Wormald, “Introduction,” 8.

Ironically enough, a nationalistic resurgence of literature heavily informed by folk traditions and the need to preserve dying languages like Scots Gaelic cemented twentieth century textual production firmly in the realm of writers and artists once again. The works of poets Hugh MacDiarmid (1892-1978) and William Soutar (1898-1943), novelists Naomi Mitchison (1897-1999) and Nan Shepherd (1893-1981), and playwright James Bridie (1888-1951), among others, harkened back to eighteenth-century nationalist and Scots language influences like Robert Burns and Allan Ramsay and came to define the key tenets of the Scottish Renaissance (1915-1960). Their productions reinvigorated earlier depictions of a rugged, intensely masculine early modern Scotland as the standard for contemporary interpretations in all facets of popular culture and imagination, capturing and retaining attention in ways academic histories, like those of Peter Hume Brown, could not.

It was not until the 1960s and 70s that academic historians made the critical breakthroughs needed to regain a margin of authority and precedence over attempts to define Scotland. Archie Duncan, Ranald Nicholson, Gordon Donaldson, and William Ferguson's 1965 *Edinburgh History of Scotland* gave Scots a professional account of modern history that superseded predecessors in depth and breadth.¹⁰⁴ The rise of the Scottish National Party (SNP) in the late 1960s sparked some of the first serious talks of devolution and independence, elevating "Scottishness" to the ranks of "Britishness" in popular discourse.¹⁰⁵ "These political changes above all lent the modern era a relevance and credibility outside the academic domain that it had previously lacked. Many Scots developed a new hunger for understanding the connection

¹⁰⁴ Archie Duncan, Ranald Nicholson, Gordon Donaldson, and William Ferguson, *Edinburgh History of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Mercat Press, 1965).

¹⁰⁵ For more on notions of "Britishness," see Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005).

between the Scottish past and the Scottish present.”¹⁰⁶ Historical novelists John Prebble (1915-2001) and Nigel Tranter (1909-2000) published continuously throughout this period, providing the public with accounts laced with earlier Romantic themes like adventure, exploration, and resilience yet bolstered with far more historical legitimacy.¹⁰⁷ The guiding motivations of popular titles like Prebble’s *Glencoe: The Story of the Massacre* (1966), *Darien: The Scottish Dream of Empire* (1968), and *Mutiny: Highland Regiments in Revolt, 1743-1804* (1975) as well as Tranter’s *Outlaw of the Highlands: Rob Roy* (1965), *Portrait of the Border Country* (1972), and *Traveller’s Guide to the Scotland of Robert the Bruce* (1985) helped lend a certain sense of credibility to the novels of earlier decades.¹⁰⁸ Dominant themes of masculinity and militarism remained largely uncontested; if anything, they provided a palatable and widely accepted foundation upon which to base these new explorations.

1.6 Waging The Battle Over Memory

The expansion of social history in late twentieth century also inspired the growth of debates once on the historiographical periphery and an increase in attention paid to rhetorical strategies and voices. The rise of nationalism studies in the 1980s also marked perhaps the most significant departure in studies of the Scottish narrative. Instead of producing works that served to further the agenda and contribute to the rich layering of past and myth, historical studies instead sought to turn a critical eye to both the contents of the myth and to the methods of its

¹⁰⁶ Devine and Wormald, “Introduction,” 11.

¹⁰⁷ Historians like Tom Devine have since declared Prebble’s works in particular to be incredibly partisan and politically motivated, based largely on the oral tradition of the nineteenth century, yet their popularity and impact immediately following publication is undeniable.

¹⁰⁸ John Prebble, *Glencoe: The Story of the Massacre* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1966); *Darien: The Scottish Dream of Empire* (Edinburgh: Birlinn Ltd, 1968); *Mutiny: Highland Regiments in Revolt, 1743-1804* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1975). Nigel Tranter, *Outlaw of the Highlands: Rob Roy* (London: Dennis Dobson, 1965); *Portrait of the Border Country* (London: Robert Hale Ltd, 1972); *Traveller’s Guide to the Scotland of Robert the Bruce* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1985).

creation and entrenchment. Marinell Ash's *The Strange Death of Scottish History* (1980) centered on the idea that Scottish national narrative, so deeply rooted in ancient myth, arose separately from, and perhaps even in spite of, Scottish historiography, which presented a consistently self-deprecating picture of backwardness and barbarism. She attributed the resurgence of Scottish identity post-union to figures like Scott and Burns, writing that Scott in particular, "helped to free the Middle Ages from the ignorance in which they had languished."¹⁰⁹ Benedict Anderson's 1983 *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* reinforced Ash's notions of strategic selectivity through an exploration the idea of nations as socially constructed entities.¹¹⁰ Anderson's theory of nationalism took the inventive nature of a nation and highlighted its core elements: an imagined state of communion and shared identity with a finite group of fellow citizens possessing their own collective sovereignty and determinism, as well as a strong sense of connection with past generations.¹¹¹ Romantic accounts of the Scottish past consistently capitalized on both qualifiers.

A leading voice in the early work on national identity as a modern construct, Hugh Trevor-Roper identified the outsider identity, a Highland tradition once regarded as barbaric, "roguish, idle, predatory, blackmailing...a threat to civilized, historic Scotland"¹¹² and how it came to represent the collective values and character of the nation as a whole, pulling back the curtain on a construction two centuries in the making. He went on to explain that one specific

¹⁰⁹ Marinell Ash, *The Strange Death of Scottish History* (Edinburgh: Ramsay Head Press, 1980), 41.

¹¹⁰ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (1983, Reprint, London; New York: Verso, 2006).

¹¹¹ Ibid, 6-7. Anderson's take has recently been called into question by scholars like Mary Louise Pratt, who argue that his very description of the nation displayed "the androcentrism of the modern national imaginings," "because in portraying the nation as a fraternal link, Anderson and those working with his definition of a nation, directly excluded women." Pratt, "Women, Literature and National Brotherhood," *NCC* Vol. 18, No. 1 (1994): 30. Davis, "Gender and the Nation in the Work of Robert Burns and Janet Little," 621.

¹¹² Hugh Trevor-Roper, "The Invention of Tradition: The Highland Tradition of Scotland," in *The Invention of Tradition* edited by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 15.

area of interest for the application of these invented traditions was the social engineering of the nation, a comparatively recent innovation rooted in historical novelty and innovation.¹¹³ Gender historian Maureen Martin brought the debate full circle in *The Mighty Scot: Nation, Gender, and the Nineteenth-Century Mystique of Scottish Masculinity* (2009), offering up the idea that the masculine conception of Scotland and the very origins story that had come to define it post-Union were not a reaction to statelessness, but rather a product of it. While Scotland's surrender of its independence often relegated it to the role of the damsel, the very act of abandoning the idea of independence paved the way for divergence from the European norm.¹¹⁴

In keeping with the title of Colin Kidd's 2010 *Subverting Scotland's Past: Scottish Whig Historians and the Creation of an Anglo-British Identity, 1689-1830*, a prominent goal of twenty-first century Scottish historiography has been a subversion of the dominant narrative to reveal the motivations, mindsets, and multiplicities of history written into it. With the severe erosion of Whig history, historians are no longer limited to grand, sweeping accounts of the past marked an inevitable upward trajectory of progress.¹¹⁵ Instead, accounts tackling much more nuanced aspects of Scottish history have begun to emerge, often with a strong focus on social commentary. Issues of identity and belonging, particularly in relation to emerging post-national theory and a swelling of pro-independence sentiments tend to dominate accounts, building on the politically motivated nationalist histories of the 1960s and 70s but with a more refined focus on the processes of identity formation and narrative construction. Works like David McCrone's *Understanding Scotland* (2001), Tom Devine's *Being Scottish: Personal Reflections on Scottish Identity Today* (2002), Atsuko Ichijo's *The Scots and Scotland* (2004), Caroline McCracken-

¹¹³ Hobsbawm, Introduction to *The Invention of Tradition*, 13.

¹¹⁴ Martin, *The Mighty Scot*, 37-38.

¹¹⁵ Atlantic historian Bernard Bailyn referred to Whig history as "the most venerable structure of Anglo-American history." Bernard Bailyn, "The Challenge of Modern Historiography," *The American Historical Review* 87, No. 1 (Feb 1982): <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1863306> (accessed June 10, 2017), 3.

Flesher's *Possible Scotlands* (2005), and Kenneth McNeil's *Scotland, Britain, Empire* (2007) highlight a preoccupation with identity, both personal and national.¹¹⁶ The timing of the 2014 independence referendum with accounts like Gordon Brown's *My Scotland, Our Britain* (2014), Christopher Whatley's *The Scots and the Union: Then and Now* (2014), Linda Colley's *Acts of Union and Disunion* (2014), and Tom Nairn's *The Breakup of Britain* (2015) is also not a coincidence, commenting on resurgent anxieties regarding the necessity and impact of membership in both Great Britain and the European Union.¹¹⁷ The history of Scotland's relationship with the rest of the UK features prominently in these accounts and encourages new questions about what it means to be Scottish.¹¹⁸ Insinuations have even been made that Scotland was never fully integrated into the UK, reemphasizing 1603 and 1707 as key focuses of both scholarship and popular culture.¹¹⁹

The complexity of the dialogue continues to have an inverse effect on the mythicism of the national narrative. In much the same fashion that the Industrial Revolution drove the narrative decidedly into the safety and security of Romanticism, the complexity of late twentieth- and early twenty-first century historiography has had the same regressive impact upon the national narrative it seeks to interrogate. As historians dig deeper into the driving forces behind traditional Scottish nationalism – namely masculinity, imperialism, and memory – and

¹¹⁶ David McCrone, *Understanding Scotland: The Sociology of a Stateless Nation*, 2nd ed. (New York, Oxford: Routledge, 2001); Tom Devine, *Being Scottish: Personal Reflections on Scottish Identity Today* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 2002); Atsuko Ichijo, "The Scots and Scotland," in *Scottish Nationalism and the Idea of Europe: Concepts of Europe and the Nation*, 15-42 (Oxford, New York: Routledge, 2004); Caroline McCracken-Flesher, *Possible Scotlands: Walter Scott and the Story of Tomorrow* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2005); Kenneth McNeil, *Scotland Britain Empire: Writing the Highlands, 1760-1860* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2007).

¹¹⁷ Gordon Brown, *My Scotland, Our Britain: A Future Worth Sharing* (London: Simon & Schuster UK, 2014); Christopher A. Whatley, *The Scots and the Union: Then and Now* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014); Linda Colley, *Acts of Union and Disunion* (London: Profile Books, 2014); Tom Nairn, *The Breakup of Britain: Crisis and Neo-nationalism* (Champaign, IL: Common Ground, 2015).

¹¹⁸ Dunn, "The Problems with Scottish History."

¹¹⁹ Allan Little, "Scotland and Britain 'Cannot Be Mistaken for Each Other,'" *BBC News Scotland*, 6 June 2018, <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-scotland-44361867>; Michael J. Keating, "Parliamentary Behavior as a Test of Scottish Integration into the United Kingdom," *Legislative Studies Quarterly* Vol. 3, No. 3 (Aug 1978): 409-430.

continually reevaluate what it means to be Scottish, the national narrative becomes rooted more firmly than ever in the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century version of itself. A resurgence in Romantic interpretations of Scottish identity and culture at the turn of the twenty-first century, most prominently through popular culture adaptations like American director Mel Gibson's *Braveheart* (1995) that recounts William Wallace's valiant revolt against Edward I of England in the late thirteenth century; American author Diana Gabaldon's *Outlander* series (2014) that follows an English combat nurse's travels back in time to the Scottish Highlands during the Jacobite uprisings; and Scottish filmmaker David Mackenzie's *Outlaw King* (2018) that chronicles Robert the Bruce's guerrilla war against the English army in the early fourteenth century.¹²⁰ The imagery of Gibson's Wallace, Gabaldon's Jamie Fraser, and Mackenzie's Bruce harkens back to the depictions of kilted warriors and indomitable clan chiefs that captured imaginations in the nineteenth century, reinforcing such tropes in popular conceptualizations of Scottish culture yet again. The reality that two-thirds of these leading creators are not even Scottish themselves also comments on the prolonged influence of outside voices on the canon and the centuries-old receptiveness of both Scottish and non-Scottish audiences to highly appropriated, keenly scripted portrayals of history and heritage designed more for entertainment than education.

The ability of such symbols to continuously capture and recapture public imagination in spite of historiographical advancements, many of which harbor the potential to destabilize and even overturn existing notions of Scottish identity, underscores the staying power of the Romantic national myth. Supported by a myriad of cultural histories coming out of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, scholars like Anderson and Trevor-Roper have pulled back the curtain on the wholly imagined, completely invented nature of Scottish national

¹²⁰ *Outlaw King*, directed by David Mackenzie (Los Gatos, California: Netflix, 2018).

identity. And yet, the elements of Scottish history and culture that continue to capture the minds of Scots and the international community alike are the very same elements that emerged with the writings of Sir Walter Scott and Robert Burns. Despite continual bombardment from historians of nationalism, gender, imperialism, and a host of even more nuanced cultural histories in the twenty-first century, the national narrative has proven itself to be impervious to inquisition and perhaps even more dangerously, impervious to change.

1.7 Conclusion

Examining the ways in which the dominant myth has developed in Scotland over the last three centuries is key to contextualizing its contemporary survival, and arguably, dominance. In transforming a divisive and inflammatory past into a highly desirable commodity, Scots were able to preserve elements of an ancient culture, advance their own evolving interests, and ensure for themselves a stable, dependable place within the larger British Empire. The overcoming of early emasculation at the hands of the English via the rooting of a reinvigorated national identity in carefully crafted interpretations of desirable Highland masculinity emphasized the value of tradition and ancient heroism in Scottish memory and provided England with a wholesome, palatable remedy for the industrial and social anxieties plaguing Victorian society. By carefully selecting and sentimentalizing a finite range of historical myths and symbols, influencers like Sir Walter Scott successfully transformed the barbaric, backward, and savage image of the Highlands held through the eighteenth century into something unique and exotic in the nineteenth, an aesthetic heritage fit for branding. The precedents set by monarchs like King George IV and Queen Victoria as well as the multitudes of English and Scottish elites that accepted and advanced cultural interpretations of Scotland allowed Romantic nationalism to

flourish in a safe, comfortable environment. Unlike European nations facing evolving notions of nationalism and identity that challenged state sovereignty in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Scottish presentations appealed so deeply to the anxieties of the British state that once-subversive presentations of counter identity and resistance were quickly and eagerly normalized through mass interaction and appropriation. But as Catriona MacDonald explains, “Establishing the case for Scottish history involved not just challenging the overlordship of English historiographical practices, but simultaneously changing the rules of engagement altogether...This was history in the service of a higher ideal – a new national historiography – and sacrifices were inevitably made.”¹²¹

¹²¹ Catriona M.M. Macdonald, “Gender and Nationhood in Modern Scottish Historiography,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Scottish History* edited by T.M. Devine and Jenny Wormald, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012, 607.

CHAPTER TWO

THE LAND OF MISTS AND MYTHS: HERITAGE AND PATRIMONY IN NINETEENTH- AND TWENTIETH-CENTURY SCOTLAND

“The solitude, the romance and the wild loveliness of everything...the independent simple people, who all speak Gaelic here, all make beloved Scotland the proudest, finest country in the world.” – Queen Victoria, Loch Katrine, September 2, 1869¹²²

The tartan boom that followed George IV’s visit in 1822 and the rise of mass tourism following Victoria’s adoption of a Highland basecamp at Balmoral in 1856 were indicative of a new Scottish vogue across Britain. The industry that rose to meet increasing demands for experience and immersion in such a popular culture predicated its success on the maintenance of such symbolism, continually elevating selected tropes to the echelons of memory and cementing Romantic imagery as that of the “true” Scotland, no longer the uncivilized, unruly threat to English borders it had been for centuries but rather the acceptable, desirable wellspring of masculinity, authenticity and uncorrupted tradition necessary to ground a burgeoning empire.¹²³ As this new narrative took hold and the desire to experience such “authentic purity” firsthand exploded, an unprecedented upsurge of attention and attraction allowed the narrative to manifest in a new medium: the heritage landscape. Positioning heritage as a function of nationalism and examining the ways in which a distinctive narrative entrenches itself in the built environment reveals how the historical narrative has been shaped, presented, and sold to the general public and helps to uncover the ethos and ideology that underpins it. Examining the ways in which this new frontier not only perpetuated the tendency to sacrifice but also simultaneously masked

¹²² Queen Victoria, *More Leaves From the Journal of a Life in the Highlands: From 1862-1882* (Leipzig: Bernhard Tauchnitz, 1884), 105.

¹²³ As David McCrone notes, “The irony was that the part of Scotland which had been reviled as barbarian, backward and savage found itself extolled as the ‘real’ Scotland – land of tartan, kilts, heather.” McCrone, *Understanding Scotland*, 17.

sacrificial elements reveals key truths about the relationship between narrative and built environment and reinforces notions of heritage as both a legitimizer of nationalism and prescriber of social values within imagined communities like Scotland.

2.1 The Birth of an Industry: Literary Inroads and the Tourism Boom

The reawakening of the Highlands in popular memory in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries marked a turning point in Scottish history and the beginning of an entirely new brand of Scottish heritage predicated on escapism and transcendence. As Scotland's foremost tour guide, Sir Walter Scott "showed readers how to appropriate this place which seemed at once so near and so distant from everyday life."¹²⁴ His descriptions transported audiences to places they had never seen and might never see, familiarizing the unknown and helping make Scotland a more comfortable reality. Plots like *Waverley* provided tourism with an inroad into the modern novel and demonstrated the novel's effectiveness in utilizing tourism to meet its narrative and thematic goals; perhaps even more crucially, it helped meet the emotional and imaginative needs of an anticipated English readership.¹²⁵ As such, travel became the vehicle through which fiction writers could "release the full nationalistic and touristic potential of Scotland by wrapping romance within a mantle of factual history."¹²⁶ Works like Tobias Smollett's *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker* utilized the concept of a romantic tour to bring fictional Englishmen to Scotland and allow them to experience the sophistication of such a

¹²⁴ Katherine Haldane-Grenier, *Tourism and Identity in Scotland, 1770-1914: Creating Caledonia* (Oxford: Routledge, 2017), 53; William Pearson, *Papers, Letters & Journal of William Pearson* ed. by his wife (London, 1863), 268.

¹²⁵ John Glendening, *The High Road: Romantic Tourism, Scotland, and Literature, 1720-1820* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1997), 158; Sir Walter Scott, *Waverley* (Edinburgh: Archibald Constable & Co, 1814).

¹²⁶ Glendening, *The High Road*, 160.

modern landscape for themselves.¹²⁷ Smollett's novel also helped to soften dominant conceptualizations of Highland Scots and invoke John Dryden's *noble* savage trope with a focus on the redemptive power of civilization through union:

When they [Highlanders] come forth into the world, they become as diligent and alert as any people upon earth. They are undoubtedly a very distinct species from their fellow subjects of the Lowlands...The Lowlanders are generally cool and circumspect, the Highlanders fiery and ferocious: but this violence of their passions serves only to inflame the zeal of their devotion to strangers, which is truly enthusiastic.¹²⁸

Such a depiction emphasizes the suitability of the Highlands and the hospitality of its people for visiting Britons while retaining an emphasis on the otherness of Highland Scots as not *quite* civilized and thus not quite on par with Englishmen and Lowland Scots. Such depictions are indicative of larger colonial forces guiding the new union and emphasize for readers the merits of progress, of civility, and of venturing forth into new lands, even through the pages of enthralling literary fiction.

Scottish plot lines offered readers the best of both worlds, a mirror of a somewhat earlier phase in England's social history without the damaging effects of industrialization.¹²⁹ Because of its natural, seemingly untouched physical landscape and the lifestyles so magnificently sustained by it, "[Highland] Scotland came to suggest all the virtues the modern world appeared to have discarded...As the ongoing experience of industrialization, urbanization, political reform, and intellectual shifts created a sense of a society in transition, Scotland became more valuable as a place rooted in the past."¹³⁰ This focus on history, however selective, not only provided an escape for a vast audience of upper class Britons, but also reemphasized the significance of Scotland, ironically also an industrialized nation, as the source of pure, uncorrupted culture and

¹²⁷ Tobias Smollett, *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker* (London: W. Johnson and B. Collins, 1771).

¹²⁸ Smollett, *Humphry Clinker*, 265. Dryden, *Conquest of Granada*, 34.

¹²⁹ Glendening, *The High Road*, 168.

¹³⁰ Haldane-Grenier, *Tourism and Identity*, 1-4.

comfortable, controlled tradition. The allure of the picturesque wilderness grew to replace the fears of a barbaric, primitive north following the suppression of Gaelic culture in the 1740s and the containment of direct threats to civilized society posed by its practitioners, meaning the landscape was now safe for exploration.

A newly imposed sense of purity, coupled with Victorian propriety, meant that simply indulging in the Romantic allure of Scotland from afar was no longer suitable; Scotland needed to be penetrated in order to become a transcended part of Britain's past and to allow the skeptical to internalize any lingering danger through a new wave of "conquering."¹³¹ Driven by this lust for control and a sense of understanding gained through exposure to literary depictions of the Highlands, Britons from around the kingdom put down their novels in favor of actual trips to the north, and conditions could not have been more encouraging. Not only was European travel out, thanks to a general proclivity for avoiding the Continent during the French Revolution (1789-99) and the Napoleonic Wars (1803-1815), but the more limited budgets and timelines of the middle classes proved a fruitful challenge to the traditional grand tour mentality so characteristic of upper class travel. Improved road conditions and the emergence of cheaper, more efficient methods of travel like the steamship and the railroad meant that the journey from London to Edinburgh was reduced from a full two weeks to a mere two days, placing it squarely in the realm of possibility for the average Briton.¹³² One London observer remarked in 1840, "See what it [the railroad] has done for Scotland...every summer...what thousands pour into that beautiful country, exploring every valley, climbing every mountain, sailing on every firth and loch, and spreading themselves and their money through the land. And what roads and steam-vessels, what

¹³¹ Martin, *The Mighty Scot*, 29.

¹³² Glendening, *The High Road*, 197-8.

cars and coaches are prepared for them! What inns erected!”¹³³ Nineteenth-century infrastructural developments ushered in a new age of tourism for Britain: “Scotland was the very definition of romance... Tourism showed those who came north how to perform the ritual of Scotland in such a way that it fulfilled its desired purpose.”¹³⁴

Scotland held out three categories of attraction for tourists: “natural ones, such as an outdoor environment which enabled visitors to envision a world untouched by industrialization; historic ones, which suggested that the past was uniquely accessible in Scotland; and human ones, particularly the men and women of the Highlands and Western Isles, who sightseers believed preserved an ancient way of life in a changing world.”¹³⁵ This tendency to privilege a very distinct set of symbols largely informed by the Romantic literature and royal patronage of the nineteenth century – including but not limited to tartan, bagpipes, castles, warriors, whisky, and picturesque landscapes of mountains and heather – in effect froze popular perceptions of Scotland, much like the Orient of the latter nineteenth century, in a pre-industrial, unadulterated stasis. For the English and Lowland Scots in particular, Scotland represented a static, unchanging locus for ancient purity that, if properly subsumed, could serve as a redemptive antithesis for English modernity. Such a focus came to represent the foundation for any and all engagement with the nation.

¹³³ William Howitt, *Visits to Remarkable Places: Old Halls, Battle Fields, and Scenes Illustrative of Striking Passages in English History and Poetry* (London: Longman, Orme, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1840), 200; Adrian Tinniswood, *The Polite Tourist: Four Centuries of Country House Visiting* (London: National Trust, 1989), 134.

¹³⁴ Haldane-Grenier, *Tourism and Identity*, 50. While heritage and tourism represent distinct entities in most contexts, their emergence in Scotland has been inextricably predicated on one another in the years since 1707.

¹³⁵ Haldane-Grenier, *Tourism and Identity*, 9-10. Parallels can be drawn between the tourist boom in nineteenth-century Scotland and Paul Rabinow’s first stage of modernization, the attempt by officials to balance progress with natural and historical absolutes. His belief in the evolution from “warrior to industrial stages” had been achieved in England, and the internalization of a pure, uncorrupted Scotland posed the solution that was needed to remedy “the problems posed by the industrial revolution of these times.” Rabinow, *French Modern: Norms and Forms of the Social Environment* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 104-5.

2.2 “Through Celtified Eyes”: Expectation and the Push for Authenticity¹³⁶

Within the first few decades of Victoria’s reign (1837-1901), a deeply entrenched tourist vision of Scotland was inescapable.¹³⁷ Like the majority of her fellow Britons, the works of eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century fiction writers enchanted the young queen and profoundly shaped her own views of the mysterious northern realms. “Scotland was to Victoria the imaginary domain of freedom depicted by Scott.”¹³⁸ In keeping with such tradition, Victoria quickly ingratiated herself into the heavily romanticized world of Scottish heritage and became its most visible proponent. Her reception at Taymouth Castle during her first visit to Scotland in 1842 was marked by all the extravagance and pageantry of her predecessor, George IV, complete with kilted clansmen and displays of military might set against the most picturesque of Highland scenery. In her diary she later said the experience was as if “a great chieftain, in old feudal times, was receiving his sovereign.”¹³⁹ Not ten years later, Victoria and her husband Prince Albert had their own estate in the Scottish Highlands. The construction of Balmoral and the language Victoria used to describe her Highland paradise symbolized the complete and total royal embrace of a romanticized Scotland, a process later dubbed “Balmoralization” for its international influence, and solidified for the world what set Scotland apart.¹⁴⁰ In the same breath that the

¹³⁶ The term “through celtified eyes” is one Ian Mitchell uses to describe expectations for engagement with Scotland in the Victorian era as informed by highly appropriated understandings of Gaelic culture. He writes, “A natural selection took place as the [nineteenth] century progressed, and the Celtified image, of a Scotland whose true essence lay in the clan system of the Highlands (which had by that time been safely destroyed) took over, drawing inspiration from Scott – and elsewhere. Victoria unambiguously embraced this ideal, her love of the Highlands and its people reinforcing the Victorian public’s wish to see Scotland through Celtified eyes.” Ian Mitchell, *On the Trail of Queen Victoria in the Highlands* (Edinburgh: Luath Press Limited, 2000), 3.

¹³⁷ Haldane-Grenier, *Tourism and Identity*, 1-3.

¹³⁸ Haldane-Grenier, *Tourism and Identity*, 57.

¹³⁹ James Macaulay, *Victoria R. I., Her Life and Reign* (New York: Religious Tract Society, 1887), 169.

¹⁴⁰ “Balmoralization” is a term used by historians like David McCrone, Celeste Ray, and Katherine Haldane-Grenier to describe the obsession with Highland culture and history that swept Britain following Queen Victoria’s construction of the Balmoral Estate in 1856. It describes not only her entrenchment in the region but also that of the British aristocracy, who embraced Highland fashions and created a world based upon highly appropriated interpretations of it. It should be noted that the queen demolished the original lodge on the estate two years after its

London-based *Quarterly Review* was vilifying Welsh brothers John Carter Allen and Charles Manning Allen, the self-professed Sobieski Stuarts, for their claims to Jacobite blood, Prince Albert was fashioning the Balmoral Estate in the tradition of the monarchy's "ancestral" Highlands.¹⁴¹ Designed as a rugged, mock-medieval hunting lodge, Balmoral allowed Victoria and Albert to embrace wholeheartedly the traditions they believed to be authentically Highland in nature. Scott's "Lady of the Lake" had established the stereotype of the hunting monarch, and Albert wasted no time in decorating the walls of Balmoral with the antlers of the ineptly shot stags he pursued with parties of his fellow nobles. Victoria's enthusiastic embrace of tartan was not limited to the walls of Balmoral, once described as a "tartan fantasia;" she was often seen patronizing Highland games in full Highland dress. Her inspiration in all of this was Sir Walter Scott.¹⁴²

purchase to make way for a brand new Balmoral. Victoria loved Scotland, but only in as far as she could control her exposure to it.

¹⁴¹ According to Celtic scholar Henry Jenner, Jacobite antiquarian Leo Berry, Hugh Trevor-Roper, the brothers held court in an Inverness lodge, ingratiated themselves into clan circles, pursued the sport of deer hunting, and even converted to Catholicism. The duo published authoritative volumes on Highland culture including the *Vestiarius Scoticum* in 1842 and *The Costume of the Clans* in 1844. Trevor-Roper and Alistair Moffat have both dismissed these works as fantasy, forgery, and "clearly bogus". Alistair Moffat, *The Borders: A History of the Borders from Earliest Times* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2007), 462. Trevor-Roper, "The Invention of Tradition." Henry Jenner, "The Sobieski Stuarts," *The Genealogical Magazine* Vol. 1 (1897) 21-30.

¹⁴² Stuart Kelly, *Scott-land: The Man Who Invented a Nation* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2011), 281.



Figure 6: Significant Castles, 1706-1856, as indicated by towers. Pins denote capital cities. Image created by author

Victoria's celebration of the Highlands not only set the region apart as a distinguished royal selection, but more importantly solidified its place in British memory as what made Scotland, Scotland. Victoria was the symbol of Britain and the Mother of the Nation, celebrated in a more grandiose manner than any monarch before her.¹⁴³ The symbols Victoria selected were the symbols of her empire; therefore, Victoria's celebration of the Romantic image of Scotland, of tartan, bagpipes, and Bonnie Prince Charlie, formed the foundation against which the rest of

¹⁴³ Marjorie Morgan, *National Identities and Travel in Victorian Britain* (Hampshire, England: Palgrave, 2001), 155. Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli contributed to the styling of his queen as a maternal figure to create "a bulwark against social disorder" in the 1860s. Mitchell, *On the Trail*, 4.

the world would come to know it as well. “A tourist in the mid-century would have found little useful information in the two-volume *Traveller’s Oracle* published ten years before Victoria came to the throne...The democratization of travel made possible by the railway caused many to conclude that the Victorian age was, more than anything else, a ‘traveling age’.”¹⁴⁴ Patriotic Scots reveled in the queen’s attention, largely permitting the unabashed attribution of a Highland heritage to all of Scotland in exchange for the favor it ensured; patriotic English did their duty and made the pilgrimage to Scotland both to satisfy their own curiosities about their unbridled northern neighbor and to keep up with the trend of popular tourism so favored by their queen. Like the literary journeys before them, these forays into the wilds of Scotland so carefully dictated by the rhetoric of tourism were exercises in staged authenticity, highly selective and colored by the whims of the royal family. “They perfectly encapsulated the vision of Scotland which tourists would seek for the remainder of the century.”¹⁴⁵

The fascination with Scotland fostered by Romantic literature and royal appropriation helped sculpt an entirely new brand of Scottish heritage in the nineteenth century. It is crucial to note here that heritage is not the same as history; while history is our contemporary understanding of what happened in the past, heritage is what we have allowed to survive, be it through careful preservation or an equally significant forgetting or abandonment. Heritage is, quite simply, “aspects of our past that we want to keep.”¹⁴⁶ It is historic by its very nature, but as the world saw with Victoria, heritage often paints a very deliberate picture of a very nuanced interpretation of the past for a very specific purpose.¹⁴⁷ The embrace of the Highlands in the

¹⁴⁴ Morgan, *National Identities and Travel*, 13.

¹⁴⁵ Haldane-Grenier, *Tourism and Identity*, 57-8.

¹⁴⁶ Susan Marsden, “Is heritage history? History and the Built Environment,” *Community History* (June 1992), 6.

¹⁴⁷ John Urry asserts that heritage is, by nature, confined to the past. John Urry, *Consuming Places* (London: Routledge, 1995).

eighteenth and nineteenth centuries helped restore a certain sense of order in Britain and grounded a highly tumultuous history in the more comfortable realm of myth and romance; in essence, Scotland as a nation was pulled back from the precipice of statelessness and abject obscurity through the repurposing of seemingly ancient tradition for the needs of modernity. Benedict Anderson pointed out that the very process of ‘nationing’ “involved the careful appropriation of the material legacy of glorious pasts.”¹⁴⁸

The selectivity employed in creating this new popular memory of Scotland and the transformation of fraught history into celebrated heritage through the coopting of safe, comfortable features of an ancient past and aesthetic landscape reinforces notions of heritage as a process. This imagery did not develop overnight; rather, it took decades of reinvigoration and an almost systemic implementation throughout British culture, from print media and literature to art and royal pageantry, to satisfy the skeptical and assert the new Scotland as a place worthy of parity and dispensation. The Highlands were immensely popular because they had been made in the minds of outsiders as an enduring, fascinating region rich in change and transformation.¹⁴⁹ To echo Benedict Anderson, the invented nature of Scottish heritage was rooted in a deeply romanticized Highland history and predicated on a departure from modernity so central to travel

¹⁴⁸ Tim Winter, “Heritage and Nationalism: An Unbreachable Couple,” *Institute for Culture and Society* Vol. 3, No. 4 (2012), 2; Alexander Diener and Joshua Hagen wrote that, “heritage formation is eminently political and potentially perennially negotiable,” also underscoring the distinct motivations guiding heritage formation. Diener and Hagen, “The City as Palimpsest: Narrating National Identity through Urban Space and Place,” in *The City as Power: Urban Space, Place, and National Identity* (London: Rowman & Littlefield, 2019), 11.

¹⁴⁹ Historian Charles Withers wrote, “The Highlands do not figure in the Scottish consciousness in the way they do because of historical and current interest in the material transformation of Highland society. The region has national associations precisely because it has been made in the minds of outsiders and because the historiographical creation of how we have *believed* the Highlands to be has been both more enduring and more fascinating (and enduring because it has been fascinating) than our knowledge of changes in Highland life.” Withers, “The Historical Creation of the Scottish Highlands,” in *The Manufacture of Scottish History* edited by Ian Donnachie and Christopher Whatley (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1992), 155.

experiences in Scotland. “Journeys to Scotland were rituals; liminal experiences which offered spiritual renewal and even physical regeneration through contact with a transcendent reality.”¹⁵⁰

As is the case with any ritual, replicability is key. The symbols that became so central to nineteenth-century interpretations of Scotland dominated popular memory and thus represented the standard for an “authentic” experience.¹⁵¹ In much the same way as readers supported the literary transformations of Romantic writers in the nineteenth century, visitors to Scotland shaped its imagery through the decisions they made regarding value and engagement. Their quests for “authenticity” helped to solidify the idea that experience must match expectation; good trips are signs of themselves, reinforcing the rule not proving the exception.¹⁵² As such, the heritage infrastructure that sprang up in the nineteenth century was a crucial factor in sustaining the meaning of the journey, “for the ‘Scotland’ sought by tourists was created, not natural, and could be found only if sought with the right attitude.”¹⁵³

2.3 Monuments and the Traveler’s Itinerary: Grounding Heritage in Space

The reimagination of Scotland following the union transformed notions of meaning and memory to imbue the Scottish space with a fresh sense of place. Although used interchangeably in the dominant discourse, the concepts of space and place have distinctly different meanings

¹⁵⁰ Haldane-Grenier, *Tourism and Identity*, 50. Dean MacCannell adds that tourism in general and sightseeing in particular represent ways “of attempting to overcome the discontinuity of modernity, of incorporating its fragments into unified experience.” Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013), 13.

¹⁵¹ Dean MacCannell’s concept of “staged authenticity,” or the idea that places and events are not left as they are, but are contrived to look as visitors expect them to look, reinforces the active role tourists, both local and international, play in upholding narratives and determining value by means of preconceived expectations of place and the commodity of experience. His theory, detailed in the 1976 classic *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*, places visitors at the heart of contemporary heritage formation and preservation as their desires inform the offerings made by the industry and in turn their interactions largely dictate its success. Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013).

¹⁵² Jonathan D. Culler, *The Pursuit of Signs: Semiotics, Literature, Deconstruction* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1981), 127.

¹⁵³ Haldane-Grenier, *Tourism and Identity*, 4.

when it comes to understanding heritage and identity; it is this application of meaning to space that gives us notions of place.¹⁵⁴ National reinvention required the careful transformation of a historic space into a heritage place worthy of distinction and the crafting of an identity worthy of embracing for a population stumbling through relative ambiguity following the marriage with England. Heritage represented the ideal medium through which to carefully tailor and skillfully broadcast a finite selection of tropes and themes conducive to the conveyance of dominant ideologies and desirable sociocultural characteristics: “Through heritage, selected memories are inscribed into public space. Heritage indexes places with histories that are, in part at least, their own, drawing on and further supporting a particular complex of ways of conceiving culture as ‘property’ and as a manifestation of ‘identity.’”¹⁵⁵ Positing heritage as the process by which history, in all its various interpretations and incarnations, is inscribed into public memory through the transformation of space into place is key to understanding how the landscape grew to match the expectations placed upon it by a burgeoning tourist population. As Sara McDowell stressed, “Best known perhaps for their emblematic features or materialized discourses, cultural landscapes embed and convey meaning and are consequently inexorably linked to memory, power, and place. Yet they are not solely representative or passive; their meanings are negotiated, disputed and questioned through the dual process of materialization and memorialization.”¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁴ Timothy Cresswell, *Place: A Short Introduction* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 7; As Yi-Fu Tuan emphasized, “What begins as undifferentiated space becomes place as we get to know it and endow it with value...the ideas “space” and “place” require each other for definition.” Yi Fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), 6.

¹⁵⁵ Sharon Macdonald, “Unsettling Memories: Intervention and Controversy Over Difficult Public Heritage,” in *Heritage and Identity: Engagement and Demission in the Contemporary World* edited by Marta Anico and Elsa Peralta (Oxford: Routledge: 2009), 93.

¹⁵⁶ Sara McDowell, “Commemorating Dead ‘Men’: Gendering the Past and Present in Post-Conflict Northern Ireland,” *Gender, Place and Culture* Vol. 15, No. 4 (2008), 336-7.



Figure 7: Significant Heritage Destinations in Chapter Two. Key sites denoted by heart pins, cities by circle pins, castles by towers, and the capital at Edinburgh by star pin. Image created by author

For the majority of Scottish heritage, tangible physical manifestations that could be used to uphold the new narrative were not new constructs. Ancient ruins, battlefields, and castles situated against the breathtaking backdrops of mountains and glens had always been Scotland, arising through the abundant conflicts of history, but the new markers attributed to them in the nineteenth century imbued these old haunts with a fresh sense of meaning. Markers, from

guidebook and literary designations to signs and plaques, allowed sites to stand out from otherwise indistinguishable relatives.¹⁵⁷ William Pearson, a friend of the Wordsworths, noted in 1822 that the inn near Loch Katrine, featured in Sir Walter Scott's 1810 narrative poem "The Lady of the Lake," had become a 'great resort'.¹⁵⁸ Scott's home at Abbotsford in the Borders and the town of Ayr on the west coast, which boasted connections to Robert Burns and ancient warriors William Wallace (1270-1305) and Robert the Bruce (1274-1329), also became must-see destinations. Thomas Cook, an Evangelical English businessman who fervently believed in cheap travel for the working class, was one of the first to encourage the visitation of such sites. Stringing popular destinations together to form the first package tours, Cook created itineraries capable of being recycled over and over to perform "Scotland" for an infinite number of receptive travelers. On his first trip to Scotland in 1846, he led a party of about 350 people from Leicester, England to Glasgow via steamer and railroad with special excursions to Edinburgh, Stirling, and Ayr.¹⁵⁹ "By shepherding his clients to Scotland's most popular sites at the least expensive rate and taking care of their transportation, lodging, and board, Cook was instrumental in effecting an interdependent network of tourist facilities."¹⁶⁰ His influence was unprecedented; it is estimated that Cook alone took over 40,000 people to Scotland between 1846 and 1861.¹⁶¹

Once key destinations were established, less tangible and more inventive elements of the narrative were carefully and thoughtfully added back in. A focus on sport and adventure in particular dominated the early tourism industry; it was not simply the witnessing of the landscape

¹⁵⁷ MacCannell, *The Tourist*, 41.

¹⁵⁸ Pearson, *Papers, Letters & Journal*, 268.

¹⁵⁹ Thomas Cook Travel, "Thomas Cook History," accessed 07 July 2019, <https://www.thomascook.com/thomas-cook-history/>. Cook led his first tour in 1841 from Leicester to a temperance meeting in Loughborough, taking some 500 people a distance of only 12 miles. Longer trips were planned to Liverpool and North Wales in 1845 with his first guidebook produced to accompany the tour. Cook made travel accessible for the lower classes, popularizing destinations around the world as he expanded.

¹⁶⁰ Haldane-Grenier, *Tourism and Identity*, 64.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 1-2. For perspective, the entire population of Edinburgh in the 1840s was around 180,000.

that offered British men the redemptive embrace of masculinity but rather the opportunity to conquer and subsume its power. The opening of vast deer forests across the Highlands allowed upper class men to take up hunting, or “deer-stalking,” in order to get up close and personal with the romantic yet appropriately doomed figure of the royal stag. “Participating in the sport allowed an Englishman to insert himself into the narrative of English victory over Scotland and claim as part of himself the primal masculinity that the stag seemed to embody.”¹⁶² Prince Albert’s obsession with deer-stalking in particular – and the British media’s obsession with Prince Albert – helped allay fears of England’s comparative femininity and “demonstrated that a man could fortify his own masculinity through his moment of individual victory over a wild Highland stag.”¹⁶³ So prevalent was the sport that E.P. Thompson commented on its connections to the very root of capitalism: “Status and wealth demanded ostentatious display, the visible evidence of wealth and power. Deer parks were part of this display.”¹⁶⁴

The rising popularity of hunting with the middle classes over the course of the nineteenth century allowed for a further distancing from the anxieties of industrialized society with the assertion of individual manhood separate from class: “By becoming a deerstalker, a middle-class man could not only “become” an aristocrat, but could remake “authentic” aristocracy in the image of the middle class...The invention of Highland deerstalking as a gentlemanly sport thus helped middle-class men reconcile their conflicting desires both to displace aristocratic ideals of manhood and to match up to them.”¹⁶⁵ Sir Walter Scott’s “Hunting Song,” published in *The Edinburgh Annual Register* in 1808, featured the stanza:

Waken, lords and ladies gay,
To the green-wood haste away;

¹⁶² Martin, *The Mighty Scot*, 35.

¹⁶³ Ibid., 40.

¹⁶⁴ E.P. Thompson, *Whigs and Hunters: The Origin of the Black Act* (New York: Pantheon, 1975), 198.

¹⁶⁵ Martin, *The Mighty Scot*, 48-49.

We can show you where he lies,
Fleet of foot, and tall of size;
We can show the marks he made,
When 'gainst the oak his antlers fray'd:
You shall see him brought to bay: –
“Waken, lords and ladies gay.”¹⁶⁶

The language Scott utilized in the poem, one written from the perspective of a hunting guide, or “Ghillie,” is indicative of the dynamics of an organized chase, a guided experience meant to provide the aristocracy with the same thrills as those experienced by a seasoned hunter with noticeably less effort and risk. As Scott revealed, the hard work had already been done: “And foresters have busy been,/ To track the buck in thicket green.”¹⁶⁷ The poem not only emphasizes the class element of this pastime but also drives home the wholly staged nature of the hunt itself through both its perspective and clear definition of roles. We see a whole host of laboring hands supporting an audience and a subject who are ultimately one and the same: the lords and ladies venturing out to experience the thrill of “traditional” Highland deer-stalking.

In addition to the stuffed heads and mounted antlers covering the walls of lodges, inns, and private homes, the imagery of stags and their trophy killing proliferated Victorian artwork and décor. Engraver Carl Haag’s 1854 piece “Evening At Balmoral Castle: The Stags Brought Home” depicts Prince Albert, decked out in his tartan finest, presenting Queen Victoria and the young Prince of Wales with three dead stags on the castle’s front steps.¹⁶⁸ The piece evokes an appreciation for a range of quintessentially Scottish elements so central to both the national narrative and Victoria’s preoccupation with it: kinship, traditional dress, a command of weaponry and nature, and the picturesque beauty of the Highlands. The royal family’s affinity

¹⁶⁶ Sir Walter Scott, “Hunting Song,” *The Edinburgh Annual Register* Vol. I, No. II (Edinburgh: J. Ballantyne & Co, 1808), xxviii, lines 17-24. The Hathi Trust, <https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/010015727>.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 13-14.

¹⁶⁸ Wilson & Hay, “Stuffed Stag’s Head at Balmoral,” carbon print of an original albumen photograph, 1880, Royal Collection Trust RCIN2800710, <https://www.rct.uk/collection/2800710>. Carl Haag, “Evening At Balmoral Castle: The Stags Brought Home,” watercolor, 1854, Royal Collection Trust RCIN 451255, <https://www.rct.uk/collection/451255/evening-at-balmoral-castle>.

was not relegated to the walls of Balmoral, however; in 1851, Victoria commissioned Sir Edwin Landseer, renowned for his depictions of stags, to paint several panels to hang in the Palace of Westminster. His piece “The Monarch of the Glen” (see Figure 8) quickly became one of the most famous prints of the nineteenth century and advertising images of the twentieth.¹⁶⁹



Figure 8: Sir Edwin Landseer, “Monarch of the Glen” oil on canvas (1851), Courtesy of National Galleries Scotland, NG 2881

¹⁶⁹ National Galleries Scotland, “Sir Edwin Landseer: The Monarch of the Glen,” accessed 08 July 2019, <https://www.nationalgalleries.org/art-and-artists/159116/monarch-glen>. A 2005 article in the *Sunday Herald* dubbed the painting “the ultimate biscuit tin image of Scotland.” Moira Jeffrey, “The death of the monarch? Is Monarch of the Glen, symbol of Scotland, a blessing or a burden? Moira Jeffrey seeks five answers,” *The Sunday Herald*, 1 April 2005, accessed 11 November 2019, <https://www.heraldsotland.com/news/12396925.the-death-of-the-monarch-is-monarch-of-the-glen-symbol-of-scotland-a-blessing-or-a-burden-moira-jeffrey-seeks-five-answers/>.

Monuments

With such an explosion of large-scale artwork celebrating quintessentially Scottish subjects, the growth of statuary in cities like Edinburgh and Glasgow in the mid-nineteenth century – culminating in what *The Contemporary Review* dubbed a “statuomania” in 1888 – was no coincidence; the desire to immortalize key figures like Sir Walter Scott and the warriors of bygone battles created “an open-air museum of national history as seen through great men” and helped make the landscape come to life in keeping with visitors’ expectations for engagement.¹⁷⁰ Statues had long been treated with curatorial reverence, “jewels of the city to be placed in scenographic arrangements and iconographically composed to civilize and elevate the aesthetic tastes and morals of an aspiring urban elite,” and the Scottish additions were no exception.¹⁷¹ These monuments helped anchor collective memory in material sites and served as rallying points for shared identity; “they represented the personification of the nation or nationalizing-state, the transmission of mythic histories, a material and visual connection with the past, and the legitimization of authority.”¹⁷² Far from passive, monuments were, quite literally, touch points between the present and the past designed to rally consensus and build confidence in the national experience.¹⁷³

Construction in Edinburgh picked up in the years between 1800 and 1850 and continued steadily through the first half of the twentieth century to meet the demand for memorialization

¹⁷⁰ Gabriel Monod and Alexander Strahan, “Life and Thought in France,” *The Contemporary Review* Vol. 54 (1888), 908; Eric Hobsbawm, “Foreword” to *Art and Power: Europe under the Dictators 1930-45* edited by Dawn Ades et al (London: Thames and Hudson, 1995), 13.

¹⁷¹ Christine M. Boyer, *The City of Collective Memory. Its Historical Imagery and Architectural Entertainments* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1994), 33-34.

¹⁷² Brian M. Osborne, “Landscapes, Memory, Monuments, and Commemoration: Putting Identity in its Place,” Department of Canadian Heritage for the Ethnocultural, Racial, Religious, and Linguistic Diversity and Identity Seminar (Halifax, Nova Scotia. 1-2 November 2001), 15.

¹⁷³ James A. Leith, *Space and Revolution: Projects for Monuments, Squares, and Public Buildings in France 1789-1799* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's Press, 1990).

following the horrors of the First and Second World Wars. Favorite subjects for depiction included royalty, political leaders, military heroes, and animals, shaping the city's skyline with a careful curation of personages deemed essential to the moral and cultural fiber of the nation; of the nineteenth century, David Graham-Campbell wrote, "Hitherto we have seen effigies on tombs but only isolated statues of monarchs; there [was] nothing even nearly contemporary of the sort to Wallace or Bruce, Knox or Montrose. Now, not only these folk heroes get their statues but every notable figure, even non-Scots such as Nelson [and] Wellington...and a good many not very notable personages too, not to mention Greyfriars Bobby and Queen Victoria's pet dogs."¹⁷⁴

It comes as no surprise that the largest monument erected was that of Sir Walter Scott. Completed in 1846, the 200-foot-tall sandstone tower (as shown in Figure 9) was prominently located in Princes Street Gardens, the expansive green space that separates Edinburgh's New Town and Old Town. Of its grandeur Reverend Charles Rogers wrote, "It is the *chef-d'oeuvre* of Scottish memorial art; in elegance of construction it has never been excelled."¹⁷⁵ The "Gothic Rocket" featured a statue of Scott nestled under the main structure and sixty-eight figurative statues of Scottish poets and characters from Scott's novels engraved in its niches.¹⁷⁶ Of his double life-size marble statue of Scott, sculptor Sir John Steell declared, "Deeply, very deeply did I feel the importance of that commission, for it not only implied the honour of having a part in the execution of a nation's gratitude to one of the most gifted of her sons, but it implied also the sacred honour of handing down to posterity the lineaments of one whose memory will be

¹⁷⁴ David Graham-Campbell, *Scotland's Story in Her Monuments* (London: Robert Hale, 1982), 171. The irony in Graham-Campbell's book lies in his abstract, which proclaims, "This book illustrates the evolution of custom and the richness of our national heritage, and places in their historical context the *men* and events commemorated." Women are not mentioned.

¹⁷⁵ Reverend Charles Rogers, *Scottish Monuments and Tombstones, Volume I* (London: Grampian Club, 1871; reprint, Bowie, MD: Heritage Books, 1971), 1.

¹⁷⁶ Historic Environment Scotland, "Edinburgh, Princes Street, Scott Monument," Canmore: National Record of the Historic Environment, <https://canmore.org.uk/site/74114/edinburgh-princes-street-scott-monument>. The Scott Monument is also the second largest monument to a writer in the world, smaller only than the 358' Jose Marti Memorial in Havana.

cherished by ages yet to come and nations yet unknown.”¹⁷⁷ Not only did the £2.1 million (\$2.5 million) monument require the invoking a parliamentary act to enable its construction in a protected area of the city, but it represented the second statue to Scott constructed in less than ten years.¹⁷⁸ The first was built in 1837, just five years after his death, on a pedestal reserved for King George III (1738-1820) in Glasgow’s George Square, a move that spoke volumes about Scott’s significance to the national narrative and revealed much about priorities in the mid-nineteenth century.¹⁷⁹ If passersby were not already aware of the greatness that was Scott, they most certainly would be now.



Figure 9: “View from the East End of Princes Street” photograph (c. 1890), Courtesy of HES (RCAHMS) Canmore, SC 466060

¹⁷⁷ Michael T.R.B. Turnbull, *Monuments and Statues of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh: W & R Chambers Ltd, 1989), 73.

¹⁷⁸ Because of a ban on any construction between Princes Street and the Old Town (so as not to obscure the historic view) permission for the monument was needed from Parliament; it came in the form of the Monument to Sir Walter Scott Act 1841. The monument was estimated to have cost around £18,000 in 1846, amounting to £2.1 million/\$2.5 million today. Bank of England inflation calculator used throughout for estimation purposes.

¹⁷⁹ Graham-Campbell, *Scotland’s Story*, 171-72.

While the Scott Monument was perhaps the most significant imposition of Romantic identity on the city of Edinburgh in the nineteenth century, gentlemen's heritage advocacy groups like the Highland Society of Scotland and the Free Masons Tavern in London continued to call for the design, funding, and construction of notable monuments around the capital city to emphasize an accessible masculine heritage.¹⁸⁰ The Nelson Monument, a 105-foot-tall stone telescope tower completed in 1815 to honor the Battle of Trafalgar victor English Vice Admiral Lord Horatio Nelson featured the inscription: "The grateful citizens of Edinburgh have erected this monument, not to express their unveiling sorrow for his death, nor yet to celebrate the matchless glories of his life; but by his noble example to teach their sons to emulate what they admire, and like him, when duty requires, to die for their country."¹⁸¹ The ironic dedication revealed the Scottish tendency to avoid valorizing Englishmen and to circumvent the extension of equalizing grace to such heroes by commending the traits that gained them such recognition rather than the significance of their personage.

The National Monument, a grand parthenon dedicated to the Scottish fighters of the Napoleonic Wars (as shown in Figure 10), was initiated during George IV's visit to Edinburgh in 1822. According to its inscription, it was intended to be "A Memorial of the Past and Incentive to the Future Heroism of the Men of Scotland."¹⁸² After raising less than half of the required £6.3 million (\$7.7 million), the Highland Society abandoned the project in 1829; despite receiving nicknames like "Scotland's Folly" and "Edinburgh's Disgrace," the parallels that could be drawn

¹⁸⁰ The Highland Society and the Free Masons Tavern were responsible for the construction of the National Monument and the Burns Monument, respectively. Both, in addition to the Nelson monument, were funded in large part by public subscription.

¹⁸¹ Rogers, *Scottish Monuments*, 6.

¹⁸² Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, "Proceedings of the Society, January 23, 1888" in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland XXII* (Edinburgh: Neill and Company, 1888), 63. The monument would "restore to the civilised world that celebrated and justly admired edifice [the Parthenon], without any deviation whatever, excepting the adaptation of the sculpture to the events and achievements of the Scottish Heroes, whose prowess and glory it is destined to commemorate and perpetuate."

between the half-finished monument and its ancient Greek counterpart proved a hit with visitors and contributed to its resilience in public memory. The Robert Burns Monument, a neo-Greek temple built in 1839 at the cost of £400,000 (\$500,000) was also modeled on an ancient example, the monument of Lysistratus at Athens.¹⁸³ Commissioned by the Free Masons Tavern in London, a group of self-professed gentlemen admirers of the bard, the monument (as shown in Figure 11) was intended to function as both a memorial and a museum.¹⁸⁴ While not nearly as grand as the Scott Monument, the classical Burns Monument succeeded in reasserting the latter's persona back into public consciousness and solidifying his contributions to the Romantic landscape of Scotland in a tangible manifestation of legacy.

In 1873 a local baroness erected a monument to Greyfriars Bobby, the beloved mythical terrier famous for guarding his owner's grave between 1858 and 1872 near the entrance to the equally famous Greyfriars Kirkyard. Its inscription commemorated his fidelity, loyalty and devotion as a model for the city. Other colorful additions to the landscape included several memorials for Robert Louis Stevenson and over a dozen named and unnamed military memorials; between 1800 and 1900, over fifty monuments were erected to men in the city of Edinburgh. Perhaps the most ironic of these was the 1893 American Civil War Monument, which featured a life-size statue of Abraham Lincoln above a kneeling slave (as shown in Figure 12) to both honor Scottish participants in the American Civil War and serve as a reminder for Scotsmen to "exert themselves in like manner in the future."¹⁸⁵ As evidenced by this brief list, the trademark nature of Scottish monumentality, particularly in the capital city of Edinburgh, was overwhelmingly mythical, militaristic, and male.

¹⁸³ Rogers, *Scottish Monuments*, 7.

¹⁸⁴ Robert Alstead, "Burns Monument," *EdinburghGuide.com: City Guide to Edinburgh, Scotland*, accessed 19 July 2019, <https://www.edinburghguide.com/venue/burnsmonument>.

¹⁸⁵ Turnbull, *Monuments and Statues of Edinburgh*, 28.



Figure 10: Thomas Hamilton, “The National Monument, Calton Hill, Edinburgh” work on paper (c. 1850), Courtesy of National Galleries Scotland, D 2493



Figure 11: William Mossman, “Burns' Monument, Regent Road, Edinburgh” engraving (c. 1840), Courtesy of HES (RCAHMS) Canmore, SC 932549



Figure 12: Alexander A. Inglis, American Civil War Memorial on “Decoration Day, 1895” photograph, Courtesy of HES (NCAHMS) Canmore, SC 1209819

The need for such figures in the landscape not only helped reinforce notions of authenticity, but the visitation of such sites in conjunction with larger heritage itineraries became a ritual in itself, a “perfunctory, conventionalized act through which an individual portrays his respect and regard for some object of ultimate value to its stand-in.”¹⁸⁶ As Walter Benjamin maintained, the unique value of these “authentic” works had its very basis in ritual.¹⁸⁷ Otherwise, sites remained anonymous and faded into a collective backdrop for their more emblematic counterparts. Organizations like Edinburgh World Heritage, the governing body for the city’s UNESCO presence since 1999, continue to exalt statues and monuments as some of the city’s

¹⁸⁶ Erving Goffman, *Relations in Public: Microstudies of the Public Order* (New York: Basic Books, 1971), 62. MacCannell, *The Tourist*, 43.

¹⁸⁷ Walter Benjamin, *Illuminations*, edited by Hannah Arendt, translated by Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken, 1969), 223-24.

most precious assets and those that best contribute to the rich, eternal character of the built environment.¹⁸⁸ Firmly entrenched in the landscapes of Scottish cultural heritage, as well as art and photography, monuments served as tangible, visible embodiments of a highly anticipated past, storytellers in their own silence.

The imposition of meaning onto Scottish space via buildings and monuments gave locations the very sense of place that drove tourism. As Henri Lefebvre explained in his 1991 book, *The Production of Space*, “Authentic knowledge of space must address the question of its production...Space is permeated with social relations; it is not only supported by social relations, but it is also producing and produced by social relations.”¹⁸⁹ Limited access to space, particularly on the part of women during the Victorian heritage boom, restricted the degree to which those actors could direct the landscape and thus the narrative. As such, the allocation of space is a keenly political tool with the ability to shape understandings of place and belonging: “One of the consistent ways to limit the rights of groups has been to constrain social reproduction by limiting access to space. For women, the body, the home, and the street have all been arenas of conflict. Examining them as political territories helps us to analyze the spatial dimensions of “woman’s sphere” at any given time.”¹⁹⁰ To exemplify these trends, forty-one statues were erected to men in the years between 1800 and 1900, and of these, twenty-five, or sixty-one percent, physically featured the men they memorialized. Women, on the other hand, received only eight monuments during this period. Of those, only two (twenty-five percent) physically featured the women they memorialized and both were Queen Victoria.

¹⁸⁸ Edinburgh World Heritage Trust, “Twelve Monuments,” accessed 12 November 2018, <https://ewh.org.uk/project/twelve-monuments/>.

¹⁸⁹ Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (London: Blackwell, 1991), 388.

¹⁹⁰ Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place: Claiming Urban Landscapes as Public History* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1995), 22. Hayden builds on Henry Lefebvre’s theory of public space as a tool for shaping social reproduction.

In much the same way as they had been in Romantic literature, women in statuary tended only to be represented allegorically or abstractly. Their treatment in public media reflected a general discomfort with female visibility, particularly on grand scales.¹⁹¹ The monument to Victoria atop the Royal Scottish Academy (as seen in Figure 13) sculpted by Sir John Steell in 1844 depicts Victoria as Britannia, “four times the size of life.”¹⁹² On its unveiling, the *Edinburgh Evening Post* commented, “We can see an English lady; and accordingly the artist has conveyed that sweet and placid smile which marks the feminine character in its elevated aspect. The entire statue is thus imbued with all the majesty which belongs to the office of the Sovereign, rendered interesting and attractive by the gentle and natural expression which belongs to the woman.”¹⁹³ Similarly, a twenty-seven-foot-tall granite sculpture of a woman and child completed in 1957 by Hew Lorimer in memory of the faithful Catholics of the Highlands and islands, “who never yielded to the Reformers despite considerable harassment,”¹⁹⁴ stands to further depictions of Catholics and Highlanders, historically the rebels and the threats to order and civility, with a woman; even in allegory, this equation is rife with underlying meaning. The popular treatment of historical women and their legacies is deeply indicative of enduring sentiments regarding the significance of Scotland’s women and their worthiness of status in its memorial landscape.

¹⁹¹ Examples of such indirect representation include the Witches Well, a drinking fountain erected in 1894 that honors Scotswomen burned at the stake between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries, and the Catherine Sinclair Memorial, a gothic spire erected in 1860 in memory of novelist and philanthropist Catherine Sinclair (1800-1864), who first guessed that Sir Walter Scott was the author of the anonymous Waverley Novels, among other accomplishments. St. Margaret’s Well is not a monument to St. Margaret (1045-1093), one of the most prominent Scottish queens later canonized for her religious works, at all, but rather the restored well-head of the spring that served Edinburgh Castle during her lifetime. She has no other memorials in the city.

¹⁹² Rogers, *Scottish Monuments*, 8.

¹⁹³ “Colossal Statue of the Queen,” 17 February 1844 in *The Illustrated London News*, Vol. 4, January 1 to June 30, 1844 (London: William Little, 1844), 98. The Hathi Trust. <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015006972890&view=1up&seq=106>.

¹⁹⁴ Graham-Campbell, *Scotland’s Story*, 198.



Figure 13: “Colossal Statue of the Queen at the Royal Institution, Edinburgh,” *London Illustrated News* (v. 4, 17 February 1844) page 105, Courtesy of the Hathi Trust

The Traveler’s Itinerary

One of the foremost proponents of cultural significance and upholders of a masculine status quo during the tourist boom of the nineteenth century came in the form of guidebooks. Like the one published by Thomas Cook to accompany his first tour in 1845, these books were designed to be companion pieces and planning aids for tours of Scotland, detailing sites to see, places to stay, and experiences to undertake in order to obtain an “authentic” Scottish experience. These guidebooks were “extensive ceremonial agendas involving long strings of obligatory rites,” emphasizing yet again the invented nature of tradition.¹⁹⁵ Carefully curated to meet the needs of tourists from an industrialized, urbanized society, the selectivity of destinations in works like Robert Chambers’ *Walks in Edinburgh* (1825), John Wood’s *Descriptive Account of the Principal Towns in Scotland* (1828), John Murray’s *Handbook for Travelers in Scotland with Traveling Maps and Plans* (1875), and *The Waverley Guide Book to Edinburgh and its Environs*

¹⁹⁵ MacCannell, *The Tourist*, 43.

(1896) reinforced the status quo and ushered readers toward an intentional and highly particular selection of sights grounded in the intangible heritage of the new origin story.¹⁹⁶ Their ability to emphasize the Romantic imagery and Highland “tradition” of industrialized Lowland cities like Edinburgh reveals the degree to which an almost universal Scottish identity had been coopted by the nineteenth century in the face of a diverse, and often dissonant, history. Often stressing connections with literary interpretations like those of Walter Scott, authors like Robert Chambers in particular were careful to remind readers where they might have “seen” these sites before, reinforcing their perceived legitimacy and ancient authenticity.¹⁹⁷ In his description of Holyrood Palace, John Wood also played up nostalgic sentiments by evoking George IV’s visit to Edinburgh in 1822: “The cavalcade, after traversing a part of the new town, arrived here, by the Regent Bridge, Calton and Abbey Hill, at the ancient Palace of the Scottish Kings; which His Majesty entered, amidst the deafening shouts of triumph of a population remarkable for loyalty and attachment to their Kings...”¹⁹⁸ Whether or not the sites themselves actually represented tangible links to the past was arbitrary; the careful rhetoric of guidebooks equated the sense of immersion and connection with the past at more inventive sites like the Scott Monument in Edinburgh with that of genuine historic sites like his home at Abbotsford in the Borders. The 1896 *Waverley Guide Book* was prudent enough to include sketches of prominent memorials, including the Prince Albert Memorial built in 1876, the David Livingstone Memorial of 1878,

¹⁹⁶ Robert Chambers, *Walks in Edinburgh* (Edinburgh: Ballantyne Press, 1825); John Wood, *Descriptive Account of the Principal Towns in Scotland; to Accompany Wood’s Town Atlas* (Edinburgh: John Wood, 1828); John Murray, *Handbook for Travelers in Scotland with Traveling Maps and Plans* (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1875); James Middlemass & Co, *The Waverley Guide Book to Edinburgh and its Environs* (Edinburgh: James Middlemass & Co, 1896).

¹⁹⁷ Even before Scott claimed authorship of his novels, guidebooks stressed his appeal: “Upon the shoulder of one of the lower ridges of Arthur’s Seat stands a small but very picturesque fragment of the ancient Chapel of St. Anthony, with which every reader must have become acquainted through the tale entitled “The Heart of Midlothian” by the Author of Waverley.” Chambers, *Walks in Edinburgh*, 14.

¹⁹⁸ John Wood, *Descriptive Account of the Principal Towns in Scotland; to Accompany Wood’s Town Atlas* (Edinburgh: John Wood, 1828), 120-21.

and several views from the Scott Monument, which is featured prominently on its cover, to drive home the suitability of all inclusions.¹⁹⁹

In streamlining the view of Scotland presented to visitors, the dominant trend within guidebooks was to emphasize the same assortment of sites as bastions of heritage and culture with slightly different approaches to their presentation depending on intended audience.

Chambers wrote of *Walks*, “The whole manner of the Book is calculated for the stranger. In a series of Walks, radiating from a central spot, the visitor of our Northern Metropolis is conducted through all the parts of the Town worthy of his notice.” He continued, “The picturesque style, which I have assumed...and the train of sentiment occasionally indulged in, proceed solely from my patriotic desire of making the capital of my native country appear in all its best lights, and of raising in the breasts of strangers those feelings.”²⁰⁰ The *Waverley Guide Book* took a more practical approach, filling its front matter with advertisements for suit tailors and equipment outfitters to ensure comfort and familiarity for visitors setting out to tour the capital city.

In referring most often to travelers and decision makers, regardless of class, as men, the ideas of separate spheres and relationships of power were reinforced in these presentations. With the solidification of both the public/private divide in the industrial period and the rise of mass tourism during the nineteenth century, the social relations of the western world stood to dictate how the budding industry embraced power dynamics in manifestations of interaction and exchange. Tourism was inherently gendered by its very nature; in catering to the male gaze, pleasure and spectacle played a foremost role in fulfilling expectations.²⁰¹ The very act of gazing was one of normative male voyeurism, underpinning the power dynamic that already favored

¹⁹⁹ James Middlemass & Co, *The Waverley Guide Book to Edinburgh and its Environs* (Edinburgh: James Middlemass & Co, 1896), 1-5.

²⁰⁰ Chambers, *Walks in Edinburgh*, x-xi.

²⁰¹ John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies* (London: Sage, 1990), 56

men and reinforcing the relationship between “spectacle, sex, and commercial development.”²⁰² As Judith Walkowitz explored in her study of Victorian London, middle- and upper-class men gaze, and women of all classes are *gazed upon*; tourism encouraged the Flâneur, a term used to indicate those advantaged males walking the line between their own worlds and those they are not a part of.²⁰³ The proliferation of masculine imagery in Scottish guidebooks, most commonly in the form of militaristic fortifications and weaponry as well as statues of men themselves, reinforced equations of the industry with action, power, ownership and the privilege of transcendence.²⁰⁴ The vocabularies of travel literature were deliberately gendered to engage with a select audience and invigorate the male expectations for experience; the very practices and ideologies of tourism and travel existed to exclude and pathologize women.²⁰⁵ The strategic use of gendered language in marketing pieces and other forms of tourist literature was a key way to perpetuate gender roles and safeguard a normative experience for visitors so rooted in nineteenth-century heteropatriarchal traditions; tourism in Scotland was firmly rooted in the real and fantasized experiences of men.²⁰⁶

Maintenance

The twentieth century brought with it the diversification of sites and the growth of professional management across Scotland. The rise of preserving societies like the Association for the Preservation (now Protection) of Rural Scotland (APRS), founded in 1926, encouraged an innovative focus on ensuring the longevity of Scotland’s most valued landscapes. As properties

²⁰² John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies* (London: Sage, 1990), 56.

²⁰³ Judith R. Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 15-17.

²⁰⁴ Margaret B. Swain, “Gender in Tourism,” *Annals of Tourism Research* Vol. 22 (1995), 249.

²⁰⁵ Janet Wolff, *Feminist Sentences* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990), 115.

²⁰⁶ Eeva Jokinen and Soile Veijola, “The Disoriented Tourist: The Figuration of the Tourist in Contemporary Cultural Critique” in *Touring Cultures: Transformations of Travel and Theory* edited by Chris Rojek and John Urry (London: Routledge, 1997), 24.

and structures rather than nature preserves increasingly began to factor into such concepts, Scottish politician and philanthropist Sir John Stirling Maxwell (1886-1956) founded the National Trust for Scotland (NTS) in 1932.²⁰⁷ Its founding was twofold, as the creation of a Scottish equivalent to the National Trust – established in 1895 by clergyman Hardwicke Rawnsley (1851-1920), social reformer Octavia Hill (1838-1912), and solicitor Sir Robert Hunter (1844-1913) to conserve heritage in England and Wales – also prevented the subsuming of Scottish heritage into a collective British body.²⁰⁸ With more organized support for management and preservation, the heritage command of the physical landscape intensified. The addition of birthplaces and homes to tourist itineraries alongside gardens and planned parks provided much more variety for visitors, and augmentations to existing structures, like the addition of life-size statues of Robert the Bruce and William Wallace to the entryway of Edinburgh Castle in 1929 (as shown in Figure 14), imbued old landmarks with new reminders of national mythology.²⁰⁹ On their unveiling, the Duke of York proclaimed: “Six hundred years have passed away, and those two countries [England and Scotland], who were then the bitterest of foes, have become sister nations, linked together by the closest bonds of blood and

²⁰⁷ The Trust became responsible for a host of prominent heritage sites, including the Bannockburn (1314), Killiecrankie (1689), and Culloden (1746) battlefields, Castle Fraser, Glencoe, Iona, and the Robert Burns birthplace. Today, the Trust oversees 130 properties consisting of over 150,000 buildings and represents the largest membership organization in Scotland with over 330,000 members. Jacobite history and the resilience of Highland resistance have proved durable focal points of NTS holdings and have been carefully incorporated into its overall mission of encouraging people to connect with the things that make Scotland unique while protecting them for future generations. For more on the NTS, see www.nts.org.uk.

²⁰⁸ The tendency of the National Trust to prioritize England as the center of heritage are readily apparent on its website. Despite serving England, Ireland and Wales, the Trust makes frequent mention to “the nation.” For more, see <https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/features/peoples-landscapes-explore-the-places-that-have-shaped-the-nation>. Many of the founding properties in both trusts were gifts from the landed elite and their beneficiaries.

²⁰⁹ David Graham-Campbell explains, “The statue on its pedestal, solemn and too often uninspired, is gradually superseded by a much wider variety of memorial, and by a much more imaginative treatment. A man’s birthplace may well be much more revealing than a statue and the National Trust for Scotland has done well to preserve those...whose cottages illustrate a way of life now past.” Graham-Campbell, *Scotland’s Story*, 185.

affection...animated by the same spirit and ideals which inspired these two heroes of old, Scotsmen and Englishmen fought side by side in the Great War for justice and liberty.”²¹⁰



Figure 14: “Gateway, Edinburgh Castle, with Statues of Wallace and Bruce,” postcard (c. 1930-40). Image from author’s own collection

Although the obsession with statuary as the primary form of memorialization waned, the construction of prominent nationalist monuments continued on well into the mid twentieth century. Scotland joined in on the international movement to memorialize the war dead after World War I and II, expanding the focus of memorialization efforts beyond the nation but still

²¹⁰ D. Robertson, M. Wood and F. C. Mearns, *Edinburgh 1329-1929* (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1929), li. Quoted in Graeme Morton, *William Wallace: A National Tale* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014). The Duke’s use of the phrase “sister nations” is another poignant linguistic choice, most likely intended to instill a sense of gentle camaraderie without the inherent jockeying and competition of a similar brotherhood.

emphasizing the figure of the Scottish soldier in collective memory.²¹¹ In 1920, the Duke of Atholl, chairman of the committee responsible for the construction of a war monument in Edinburgh, wrote to Scottish Commanding Officer Sir Spencer Ewart to express the need for a public facing place of remembrance rather than another exhibit of army rolls in Edinburgh Castle: “Old soldiers...value as you and I do the history of our regiments...but on the other hand you must remember that there is a great mass of people – more especially women who lost their relatives – who want to see a definite memorial.”²¹² The Duke’s vision was for a memorial to the entirety of the Scottish martial tradition, a tangible attribute of Scottish pride even within the broader contexts of union and empire. In keeping with his concept, between 1923 and 1927 architect Robert Lorimer and two hundred Scottish craftsmen created “a serene Hall of Honour and Shrine” in Edinburgh Castle. Now known as the Scottish National War Memorial, it commemorates the 200,000 Scots who have died in warfare since 1914, including General Douglas Haig (1861-1928), the only person individually honored.²¹³ Alongside a memorial for canaries and mice in its section for non-combatants, the memorial includes a bronze relief by sculptor Alice Meredith Williams (1877-1934) in memory of the Women’s Services and the Nursing Services, as well as a monument on the opposite wall “In honour of all Scotswomen

²¹¹ As Jay Winter emphasized, “Almost all commemorative monuments express a sense of indebtedness. The living can go about their lives in freedom because of the selflessness and dedication of the men who fell.” Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 95. Such memorials also allow women the opportunity to reaffirm their roles as supporters and caretakers not only of their fallen husbands, brothers, fathers, and sons but also of the monuments that depict them as Fitzhugh Brundage posits in *The Southern Past: A Clash of Race and Memory* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008).

²¹² Duncan MacMillan, “Scotland’s National War Memorial,” *The Scotsman*, 28 June 2014, accessed 3 September 2019, <https://www.scotsman.com/arts-and-culture/art/scotland-s-national-war-memorial-1-3460076>.

²¹³ Graham-Campbell, *Scotland’s Story*, 189. The Scottish National War Memorial was started as a way to honor those who fell in WWI but was expanded to include WWII and all wars since. Haig’s centrality is particularly notable, as he neither died in battle nor presents a sound legacy upon which to base such a singular embodiment of national, and arguably international, heroism. Scottish Air Chief Marshall Hugh Dowding, who fought in both World Wars, was a prominent Royal Air Force commander during the Battle of Britain, and is often credited with thwarting Hitler’s invasion of Britain, has a statue in London and several memorials at his places of birth and death but is not mentioned anywhere in the National War Memorial.

who, amid the stress of war, sought by their labours, sympathy and prayer, to obtain for their country the blessings of Peace.”²¹⁴ In keeping with the rest of the memorial, no individual women are named.

Affirming a quintessentially masculine, gloriously accomplished spirit of national brotherhood and international service, print culture, eager to uphold such enduring tropes, quickly latched onto these new monuments and memorials. In J.F. Muirhead’s *Baedeker’s Great Britain* (1906), Ward Lock & Company’s *Edinburgh Illustrated Guide Book* (1924), and the 1930 *Official Visitor’s Guide to Edinburgh* we are reminded of the traditions of earlier works; each gave a nod to the male onlooker as the target audience, placed an emphasis on sites with Romantic literary associations, and made clear a strong preference for military sites and memorials to war heroes in its recommendations.²¹⁵ The strong focus on war in the early part of the twentieth century heavily informed the inclusions made in guidebooks and pushed tourists, particularly after the end of World War I, toward sites of military remembrance. The 1930 guide featured two full pages on the Scottish National War Memorial in Edinburgh, yet made sure to note that the arrival of Bonnie Prince Charlie in 1745 “was the last scene in Edinburgh’s military history – unless exception be made...of the German air raid of April 1916.” The subsequent story, it continues, is one of peace and prosperity for a collective Britain.²¹⁶

Such a broadening of scope and a focus on more cooperative contribution can also be seen in official guides published by travel agencies in the post-WWII years. Two global conflicts afforded the media a renewed sense of agency in the pursuit of nationalist agendas, and print

²¹⁴ Scottish National War Memorial, “Virtual Tour: the Western Transept,” accessed 3 September 2019, https://www.snwm.org/tour/?view=station_5.

²¹⁵ J.F. Muirhead, *Baedeker’s Great Britain* (London: Dulau and Co, 1906); Ward Lock & Co, *Edinburgh Illustrated Guide Book* (London: Ward Lock & Co, 1924); The Company, *Official Visitors Guide to Edinburgh* (Tanfield, England: Morrison & Gibb Ltd, 1930).

²¹⁶ The Company, *Official Visitors Guide to Edinburgh*, 15.

culture contributed heavily. Guidebooks in particular had the tendency to lump Scotland in with larger discussions of England and the collective kingdom, limiting explanations to a quick sweep of popular sites that fit within existing conceptions of the country. Popular titles like The British Tourist & Holidays Board's *The British Isles* (1949) and A Holiday Magazine's *Britain: England, Scotland, Wales* (1960) both relegated Scotland to about ten pages worth of generalizations.²¹⁷ The British Tourist & Holidays Board in particular perpetuated dominant imagery of the nation with evocations of timelessness, picturesqueness, and simplicity: "Here is a country which has remained unchanged throughout man's recorded time, and here may one feel the presence of the ageless elements. No one who has walked in the high places of the Highlands is likely to forget either the scene or the sensation... here is romance indeed."²¹⁸ A Holiday Magazine even limited its history sections to English monarchs and battles and perpetuated antiquated language and stereotypes of the relegated Scot: "The North Briton has never quite learned to be at ease with the people of the South. The Welsh and Scots still try resolutely to keep their ancient languages and folkways alive. And everywhere the past is cherished and preserved."²¹⁹

The language employed throughout these guides was not only openly denigrating toward Scotland, but is also strikingly reminiscent of earlier imperial descriptions of colonized territories. Like Tobias Smollett's *Humphry Clinker*, a sustained focus on characteristics like timelessness and simplicity in publications like A Holiday Magazine exemplified the paradox of primitivism as an acceptable, celebrated facet of Scottish identity when tempered with British progress and civility. Incorporating elements of nostalgia and romantic idealization, particularly

²¹⁷ British Tourist & Holidays Board, *The British Isles* (London: The Travel Association, 1949); A Holiday Magazine, *Britain: England, Scotland, Wales* (New York: Random House, 1960).

²¹⁸ British Tourist & Holidays Board, *The British Isles*, 70-71, 74.

²¹⁹ A Holiday Magazine, *Britain*, 9-10.

through literature's emphasis on nature, helped to encourage a sense of familiarity and further temper the disastrous potential harbored by threatening others. The position of Scotland and its Gaelic population was still one of ambivalence; the successful conquest of their traditions and the harnessing of their barbarism as a form of military capital were necessary for romanticization and the establishment of a British world power well into the twentieth century.²²⁰ Such linguistic choices hint at the pervasiveness of British – and even internalized Scottish – perceptions of Scotland and its conditional place in the union even 250 years after the fact.

The monuments and memorials that emerged as late as the 1990s also served to shift the focus away from the primitive and toward more refined indicators of a successful Scottish transformation. In 1997, the Saltire Society, a heritage advocacy group founded in Edinburgh in 1936, erected a fourteen-foot-tall statue of David Hume on the Royal Mile, and the Adam Smith Institute unveiled an imposing ten-foot-tall statue of economist Adam Smith nearby in 2008 to round out the Enlightenment presence in the city. The new Scottish Parliament building designed by Barcelona architects Enric Miralles and Benedetta Tagliabue in 1999 featured twenty-four quotes chosen by the public for inscription in its Canongate Wall; emphasizing yet again the imperial nature of Scottish progress in which great men were no longer warriors but writers and a dominant Protestant Christianity was confirmed, every single quote was either biblical or by a man, including, unsurprisingly, Robert Louis Stevenson, Sir Walter Scott, and two each by Robert Burns and Hugh MacDiarmid.²²¹ The first quote by a woman, Dundee mill worker and

²²⁰ Stroh, "The Reemergence of the Primitive Other," 114.

²²¹ The Scottish Parliament, "Canongate Wall Quotations," accessed 2 August 2019, <https://www.parliament.scot/visitandlearn/21013.aspx>.

labor activist Mary Brooksbank (1897-1978), was not added until 2009, amid much public outcry over her affiliation with the Communist Party of Great Britain.²²²

Not surprisingly, late twentieth-century guidebook publications matched pace with these heritage developments and continued the trend of bringing a sense of Scottish evolution full circle. Colourmaster Publications' *A Tourist Guide to Scotland* (1978), *Fodor's Scotland* (1983) and Philip A. Crawl's *The Intelligent Traveler's Guide to Historic Scotland* (1986) were each the first guides to Scotland in their series.²²³ Crawl's earlier *The Intelligent Traveler's Guide to Historic Britain* (1983) did not make mention of Scotland at all, and despite decades of experience publishing European guides, Eugene Fodor admitted, "It has taken us [*Fodor's*] nearly fifty years to get around to adding Scotland to our series with a book all to itself. We are not entirely sure why...Not that it is entirely easy to come to realistic grips with Scotland – the country is so heavily disguised by a swirling reputation for high romance."²²⁴ *Frommer's Scotland 2019* includes a list of the "best authentic experiences," from "sipping single malts at the source" and "watching burly guys hurl logs" to "keeping an eye out for the Loch Ness monster" and "looking over the Tweed Valley from Scott's view."²²⁵ These recommendations conjure up a powerful image of ancient, "authentic" Scotland, and together an understanding of the nation begins to form in the minds of even the most uninformed reader. Pauline Frommer, editorial director of Frommer's and daughter of the company's founder Arthur Frommer,

²²² To mark the tenth anniversary of the new Scottish Parliament, a competition was held in which the public submitted over 300 names and a panel of MSPs and literary experts selected just two for inclusion on the Canongate Wall. The other was poet Norman MacCaig (1910-1996). For more on Brooksbanks' reception, see "Communist is First Woman Quoted on Walls of Holyrood," *The Herald*, 14 November 2009, accessed 2 August 2019, <https://www.heraldscotland.com/news/12606375.comunist-is-first-woman-quoted-on-walls-of-holyrood/>.

²²³ Colourmaster Publications, *A Tourist Guide to Scotland* (Cambridge: Photo Precision Limited, 1978); Fodor's Travel, *Fodor's Scotland* (London: Fodor's, 1983); Philip A. Crawl, *The Intelligent Traveler's Guide to Historic Scotland* (New York: Congdon & Weed, 1986).

²²⁴ Philip A. Crawl, *The Intelligent Traveler's Guide to Historic Britain: England, Wales, and the Crown Dependencies* (New York: Congdon & Weed, 1983); Fodor's, *Fodor's Scotland*, vii.

²²⁵ Frommer's, *Frommer's Scotland 2019* (United States: FrommerMedia, 2018), 4.

confirms, “Our books are not meant to be encyclopedic but curated. They are built to guide the reader to the most authentic, invigorating travel experiences possible.”²²⁶ These guides demonstrate the influence of selectivity and imagination on perceptions of authenticity and historical legitimacy and reaffirm the notion that carefully tailored travel rhetoric has not lost any of its staying power in the years since Johnson and Boswell published one of the first guides, *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*, in 1775.²²⁷

2.4 Conclusion

The array of sites erected by government organizations and heritage bodies and featured in guidebooks over the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries upheld dominant notions of Scotland as a deeply romantic land, transcribing intangible nationalism into space and presenting curious travelers with a place that not only fulfilled their expectations for experience but equally as importantly presented them with the opportunity to engage with Scotland as it suited their own needs. The establishment of heritage organizations like the National Trust for Scotland – and later VisitScotland (1969), the Public Monuments and Sculpture Association (1991), Historic Scotland (1991) and its successor Historic Environment Scotland (2015), and Scottish National Heritage (1992) – not only aided in the preservation of sites deemed significant over the course of the proceeding century, but allowed the narrative of their worth to remain in the forefront of public consciousness. The designation of Edinburgh as UNESCO World Heritage site in 1995 and the founding of a corresponding governing body, Edinburgh World

²²⁶ Stoller, “So You Thought Travel Guidebooks Were Dead?” Frommer’s currently boasts over 350 titles and has sold over 75 million copies since 1957, making it one of the most prolific authorities on travel and heritage in the world.

²²⁷ Samuel Johnson, *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland* (1775, reprint, London: Penguin, 2006).

Heritage, in 1999 enshrined Scottish heritage on the international stage and solidified the country, and its Highlands in particular, as a top international destination.²²⁸

VisitScotland's Tourism Performance Summary Report (TPSR), an annual report of tourism data and statistics, helps to convey just how significant tourism is to Scotland.²²⁹ The 2017 report indicates that approximately £11.3 billion (\$15 billion) was spent on tourism in Scotland, up 16.7 percent from 2016.²³⁰ This includes 11.6 million domestic and 3.2 million international overnight trips. For context, Historic Environment Scotland (HES), which manages over 300 historic properties including Edinburgh Castle and Holyrood Abbey, reported attendance numbers upwards of five million between 2017 and 2018, indicating that a significant portion of visitors makes its way to these sites. With the help of popular culture, sites across the Scottish Highlands have seen a dramatic increase in visitor numbers as well. As HES explains, "The ongoing 'Outlander Effect' has seen North American visitor figures increasing by twenty-seven percent and French visitors increasing by nineteen percent year on year. The sites that have featured in this popular American-British television series continue to enjoy an uplift in visitor numbers with Doune Castle [as "Castle Leoch"] attracting a massive 227 percent increase in numbers and Blackness Castle [as "Fort William"] increasing by 182 percent since 2013."²³¹

²²⁸ Scotland boasts six world heritage sites overall, including the city of Edinburgh, the mill village of New Lanark, the iconic Forth Bridge, the ancient archipelago of St Kilda, the most complete Neolithic village at Orkney, and the Roman Antonine Wall that spans the width of the country. For more, see <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/>.

²²⁹ The TPSR consists of data distilled from such sources as Visit Britain's Great Britain Tourism Survey and the Great Britain Day Visitor Survey as well as the International Passenger Survey published by the British government's Office for National Statistics. The domestic tourism surveys are jointly sponsored by VisitScotland, VisitEngland, and Visit Wales, and carried out by independent research agency TNS-RI. For more, see <https://www.visitscotland.org/binaries/content/assets/dot-org/pdf/research-papers-2/2017-national-tourism-stats-summary-v2.pdf>.

²³⁰ Visit Scotland, *Insight Department: Scotland's Tourism Performance Summary Report 2017*, <https://www.visitscotland.org/binaries/content/assets/dot-org/pdf/research-papers-2/tourism-in-scotland-2017-summary.pdf>. The report draws on figures published by the Great Britain Tourism Survey, International Passenger Survey, and Great Britain Day Visitor Survey for purposes of comparison.

²³¹ Historic Environment Scotland. "Record-Breaking Visitor Figures at Scotland's Historic Sites." 17 April 2018. <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/about-us/news/record-breaking-visitor-figures-at-scotland-s-historic-sites/>; Visit Scotland, *Insight Department: Scotland's Tourism Performance Summary Report 2017*.

Diana Gabaldon's *Outlander* series and all the spinoffs that accompany it – from Phoebe Taplin's *Outlander's Scotland* guidebook (2018) to over a dozen tour companies offering *Outlander* routes – help to blur lines between fiction and reality, reinvigorating mythical perceptions of Scottish history and culture for yet another generation.²³²

These statistics begin to paint a picture of cultural life in Scotland. As evidenced by increasing engagement by both locals and visitors, Scottish heritage represents a worldwide commodity able to withstand the forces of change and continually meet the needs of even the most discerning audiences. From industrial anxieties in the nineteenth century to technological ones in the twenty-first, the heritage landscape has continued to represent an escape from the confines of modernity and an immersion in a simpler, heartier realm of tradition and adventure. The heritage landscape not only serves to tell a highly curated story of its past, but perhaps more importantly it stands to convey lasting values, significance, and notions of belonging. What is constantly reaffirmed in the Scottish canon is a value system built on heteronormative warrior masculinity firmly rooted in nineteenth century Romantic myth. But despite a booming global engagement that shows no signs of tapering off, cracks in this rugged façade are beginning to show. The Scottish myth predicates itself on embracing the rebel and the outsider, and yet its very essence is reliant upon an extremely narrow, highly exclusive parameter for normative acceptability rooted in dangerously outdated social norms (see Figures 15 & 16).²³³ As academic

²³² Phoebe Taplin, *Outlander's Scotland* (London: Pavilion, 2018); Some of the many companies offering *Outlander* tours include Slainte Scotland Tours, Rabbie's Tours, Discover Scotland Tours, and Heart of Scotland Tours. VisitScotland also has a page about the *Outlander* series that contains an interactive map of filming locations: <https://www.visitscotland.com/see-do/attractions/tv-film/outlander/>.

²³³ Of the 5.4 million people counted in the 2011 Scottish census, an estimated 4.4 million were Scottish-born, with another half a million born in England. Cultural markers like an adherence to Roman Catholicism and a use of traditional Gaelic dialects appeared almost solely within the limits of Highland clans from Figure 1. This Highland region still maintained a strong "Scottish only" self-identification, but a surprising ten percent of Scots identified with a non-Scottish, non-British identity entirely. This could be attributed to a growing Scotch-Asian population, with numbers nearing 150,000, and Black Scottish population nearing 40,000. A far more broad "other" category includes an additional 20,000 people. While these numbers are small comparatively, their influence on

inquests and an increasing awareness for equality and representation permeate twenty-first century society, brushing this beloved narrative against the grain reveals major discrepancies between the rebels it esteems and the citizens it claims to characterize. As if channeling Janet Little, the sanctity of the hypermasculine national narrative and the legitimacy of its heritage landscape are being called into question for the first time since the eighteenth century.

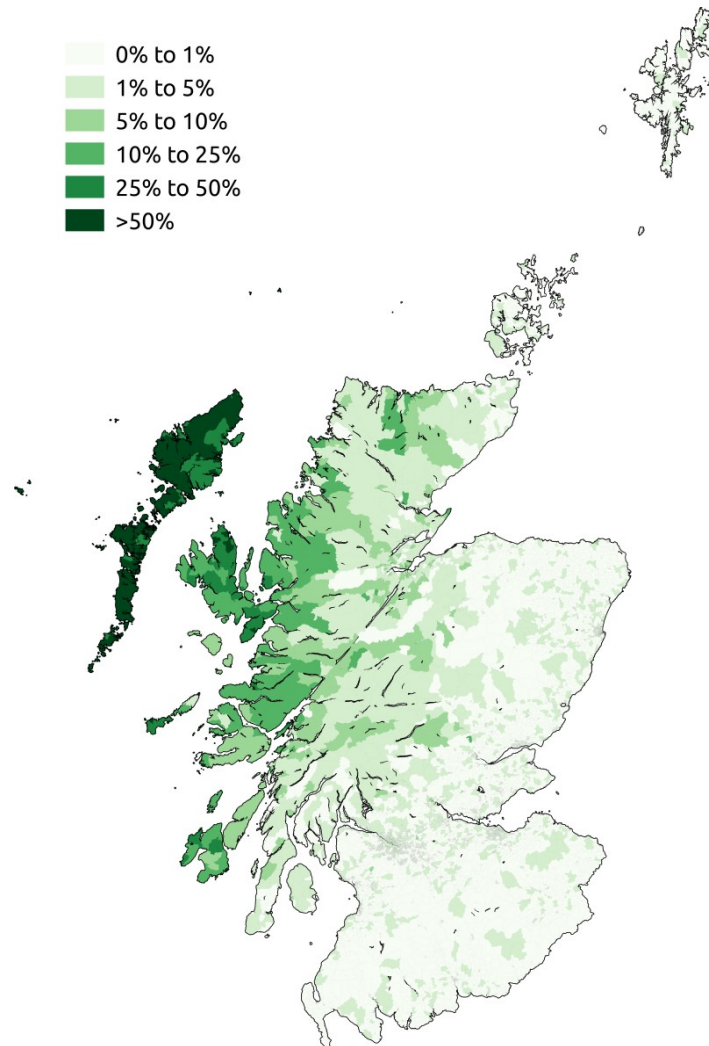


Figure 15: Map showing Scottish Gaelic speakers aged 3 and over by region as reported in the 2011 Scottish census. The demarcation almost identically follows the limit of Highland clans from Figure 1. Image courtesy of SkateTier, Wikimedia Creative Commons, 4 April 2014

homogenous notions of Scottishness is undeniable. For more on the census, see <https://www.scotlandscensus.gov.uk/ods-web/home.html>.

% Scottish only

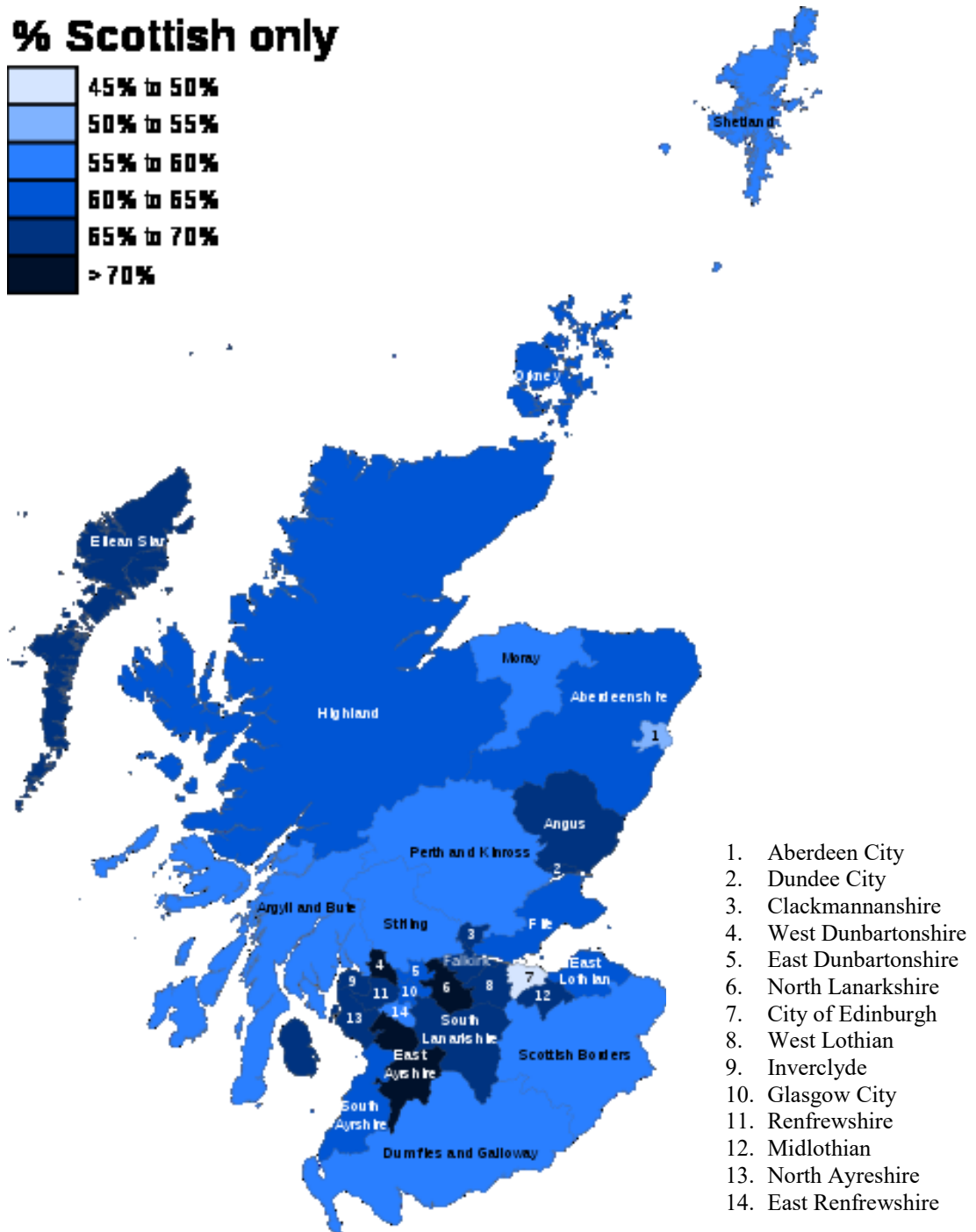
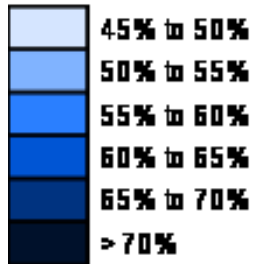


Figure 16: Map showing self-identified “Scottish Only” identity by region as reported in the 2011 Scottish census. Ironically, Edinburgh (labeled #7 on the map), the region with some of the lowest percentages, upholds some of the strongest nationalist imagery as demonstrated in this thesis. Image courtesy of Brythones, Wikimedia Creative Commons, 4 March 2017

CHAPTER THREE

THISTLE, QUEEN OF THE WEEDS: RECLAIMING WOMEN'S SPACE IN THE SCOTTISH NARRATIVE

"The way to right wrongs is to turn the light of truth upon them." – Ida B. Wells

Freeman Tilden wrote in 1957 that the task of heritage interpretation is to reveal a larger truth.²³⁴ Scottish heritage prides itself on telling the true story of Scottish history and protecting the places that serve as key actors in that story to reveal larger truths about the power and prestige of the nation within Britain and beyond. Organizations like Edinburgh World Heritage pursue conservation and public engagement to ensure "the city's World Heritage status is a dynamic force that benefits everyone."²³⁵ Historic Environment Scotland strives to "promote community and individual learning engagement with Scotland's heritage."²³⁶ The National Trust for Scotland runs on the idea that "the places and objects in our care tell the stories of Scotland and the Scots: how our people travelled and interacted with the wider world, taking with them their energy and values and returning with new ideas and treasures."²³⁷ Even the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), one of the world's foremost authorities on heritage, embraces its goal of protecting the authenticity and historical significance of Edinburgh as determined by its built environment, namely listed buildings and monuments. Of the monuments in particular, the site's management plan celebrates Edinburgh's monuments as

²³⁴ Freeman Tilden, *Interpreting Our Heritage* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1967): 8.

²³⁵ Edinburgh World Heritage, "About Us," 2019, <https://ewh.org.uk/about-us/>.

²³⁶ Historic Environment Scotland, "About Historic Environment Scotland," 2019, <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/about-us/who-we-are/about-historic-environment-scotland/>.

²³⁷ National Trust for Scotland, "Our Work," 2019, <https://www.nts.org.uk/our-work>.

contributors to “the richness and diversity of the townscape and their subjects represent a variety of personalities who were significant in their time.”²³⁸

While these goals are commendable, what all of these organizations fail to address are the glaring gender omissions and exclusions present in their interpretation efforts. UNESCO in particular officially prides itself on its inclusion of gender equality as one of two global priorities, striving “to establish gender-sensitive, gender-responsive and gender-transformative policies and practices in the field of heritage,” yet limits its actions largely to the management of existing sites rather than the interpretive practices that govern them.²³⁹ In her introduction to the 158-page manual “Gender Equality, Heritage and Creativity,” (now former) General-Director of UNESCO Irina Bokova highlights the need to “recognize women and girls as agents of change within their communities and value their achievements” but relegates her activism to “the importance of understanding gendered roles in safeguarding heritage and fostering dialogue and empowerment.”²⁴⁰

The damaging effects of such official takes within Scottish heritage are becoming increasingly palpable. In January 2016, Dani Garavelli, a writer for Edinburgh-based newspaper *The Scotsman*, published an article with the glaring headline, “Where are the Statues of Scots Women?” Seeking to highlight the progress made to include women in the heritage landscape, Garavelli came up short, noting, “Whether it’s plaques, memorial stones or stained glass windows, women are consistently under-represented in our public spaces and, despite much

²³⁸ Edinburgh World Heritage, “Old and New Towns of Edinburgh World Heritage Site Management Plan, 2017-2022,” <https://ewh.org.uk/plan/>.

²³⁹ UNESCO, “Policy Document for the Integration of a Sustainable Development Perspective into the Processes of the World Heritage Convention,” 20th Session of the General Assembly of States Parties to the World Heritage Convention (Paris: UNESCO Headquarters, 18-20 November 2015), 8.

²⁴⁰ UNESCO, *Gender Equality, Heritage and Creativity* (Paris: UNESCO, 2014), 3.

awareness-raising, progress is slow.”²⁴¹ She highlights how efforts to memorialize women continue to fall flat; as Scottish celebrities Irvine Welsh and Robert Carlyle campaigned for a statue to boxer Benny Lynch at Glasgow Central Station and Radio Clyde circulated a public petition calling for Glasgow City Council to fund a statue of actor Billy Connolly, yet another campaign to memorialize Dr. Elsie Inglis (1864-1917), suffragist, surgeon, and founder of the Scottish Women’s Hospitals during World War I, fell flat.²⁴² While a host of artists competed for the right to design a statue to social reformer and political activist Mary Barbour (1875-1958), Creative Scotland, the government’s body for the arts, turned down the project’s grant application, citing “lack of community engagement.”²⁴³ The disparity in Scotland’s heritage landscape, particularly in the capital city of Edinburgh, resonated with Garavelli, who pointed out, “Many of the city’s statues were erected during the Victorian era, but three of the five around St Giles’ – Adam Smith and David Hume, by Sandy Stoddart, and James Braidwood, by Kenny Mackay, have been put up within the past 25 years, so the problem cannot be dismissed as the

²⁴¹ Dani Garavelli, “Where are the Statues to Scots Women?” *The Scotsman*, 23 January 2016, accessed 17 July 2018, <https://www.scotsman.com/news-2-15012/where-are-the-statues-of-scots-women-1-4009631>.

²⁴² Progress has since stalled on the Lynch memorial, but only because the hero’s alcoholic past and convictions for child abuse and domestic battery have been brought to public attention. Catriona Stewart, “Questions Raised Over Plans for a Statue in Memory of Boxing Hero Benny Lynch,” *The Herald*, 29 December 2018, accessed 2 August 2019, <https://www.heraldscotland.com/news/17326130.questions-raised-over-plans-for-a-statue-in-memory-of-boxing-hero-benny-lynch/>. The Billy Connolly statue has been created but disputes over its final resting place have stalled installation. Shaun Milne, “Billy Connolly and Chic Murray Statues Could be Erected in Edinburgh,” *Edinburgh Evening News*, 1 June 2018, accessed 2 August 2019, <https://www.edinburghnews.scotsman.com/whats-on/entertainment/billy-connolly-and-chic-murray-statues-could-be-erected-in-edinburgh-1-4748119>.

²⁴³ Garavelli, “Where are the Statues”; Ben Tufft, “Anger as Creative Scotland Snubs Statue to Feminist Icon Mary Barbour,” *The Herald*, 28 November 2015, accessed 1 October 2019, <https://www.heraldscotland.com/news/14110779.anger-as-creative-scotland-snubs-statue-to-feminist-icon-mary-barbour/>. Creative Scotland (CS) is responsible for distributing funds from the Scottish Government as well as the National Lottery Fund to arts organizations and campaigns. Despite raising over half of the necessary £110,000 and demonstrating overwhelming community and parliamentary support for the project, the Remember Mary Barbour Association (RMBA) was told by CS that “we have to select projects that we feel fit most strongly with our ambitions for the arts, screen and creative industries across Scotland.” Without grant support, it took another two and a half years to erect the statue, which now stands in Barbour’s hometown of Govan in Glasgow. Magdalene Dalziel, “Hundreds of People Flock to Govan Cross as Glasgow’s Mary Barbour Statue Unveiled,” *Glasgow Live*, 8 March 2018, accessed 1 October 2019, <https://www.glasgowlive.co.uk/news/glasgow-news/glasgows-mary-barbour-statue-unveiled-14385125>.

unfortunate legacy of a bygone era.”²⁴⁴ If Serbia can circulate stamps honoring Dr. Inglis, why is she, and many notable Scotswomen like her, not being recognized in her own home country?²⁴⁵

Garavelli’s research stands as yet more proof of the gendered inequality of memorialization in the Scottish heritage landscape. Not only does her piece corroborate the trends I have worked to expose, but her platform is indicative of a growing sense of awareness for such trends among the general public, women in particular. We can no longer deny that the phenomenon exists, but as we work to draw more and more attention to such inequality and its manifestations, the question then becomes, what can we do about it? For the majority of Scottish society, heritage’s lack of engagement with women, both historical and contemporary, is either unacknowledged or grossly under-acknowledged. In order to instill any hope of remedying this issue, it is crucial that we evaluate both the pervasive, and prevailing, gender disparity in the heritage landscape and highlight the efforts to draw attention to it over the course of the last twenty years.

3.1 Digital Mapping and the Nature of Visibility

In 2012, Women’s History Scotland and the Glasgow Women’s Library launched one of the first efforts to recognize the absence of women and elevate their status in Scottish historical memory.²⁴⁶ The Mapping Memorials to Women in Scotland (MMWS) project is a digital, interactive, crowd-sourced mapping initiative with the goal of promoting women’s

²⁴⁴ Garavelli, “Where are the Statues.”

²⁴⁵ Ibid.

²⁴⁶ Women’s History Scotland (WHS) began as the Scottish Women’s History Network in 1995. The organization is led by a panel of prominent Scottish women’s and gender historians including Lynn Abrams, Esther Breitenbach, and Rosalind Carr. For more about WHS, see <http://womenshistoryscotland.org/>. According to its website, the Glasgow Women’s Library is “the only accredited museum in the UK dedicated to women’s lives, histories, and achievements, with a lending library, archive collections, and innovative programmes of public events & learning opportunities.” For more about the GWL, see womenslibrary.org.uk. For more on the MMWS project, see <http://womenofscotland.org.uk/>.

accomplishments and their visibility in the Scottish heritage landscape. The project grew out of a smaller initiative known as ‘The Big Name Hunt,’ a campaign led by Girlguiding Scotland – the Scottish equivalent of Girl Scouts – to encourage young girls to discover, locate, and learn about notable women in local and national history. When the project came to an end at the close of 2012, it was rebranded and re-launched by WHS and the GWL as Mapping Memorials to Women in Scotland. The project represents a unique mapping-based platform designed to remedy a dearth of official records, create a central hub for collecting and documenting female commemoration across Scotland, and shift the narrative to a more representative account of accomplishment and contribution. Users are able to explore the familiar Google Maps interface, click on pins to gain more information on existing sites and the women they represent – landmarks ranging from monuments and memorials to named buildings and grave markers – and register with the project to create and submit their own records for inclusion on the map. All submissions are monitored and moderated by the WHS board, which includes distinguished historians like Alison McCall, Esther Breitenbach, Lynn Abrams and Rosalind Carr. Blue pins blanket the country, concentrating, as one might expect, in areas like Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dundee, and Aberdeen; at a 200-kilometer zoom the entire country is covered (as shown in Figure 15). Having begun with just seventy-five records and blossoming to several hundred with an equal number of registered contributors, the map and its corresponding records database represent an essential step towards uncovering a relatively unknown past and, according to its creators, “commemorat[ing] the contribution that women have made to Scottish life. It is a rich and fascinating story.”²⁴⁷

²⁴⁷ Women's History Scotland & Glasgow Women's Library, *Mapping Memorials to Women in Scotland*, Press Release, 1 March 2012. <http://womenofscotland.org.uk/about/press>.

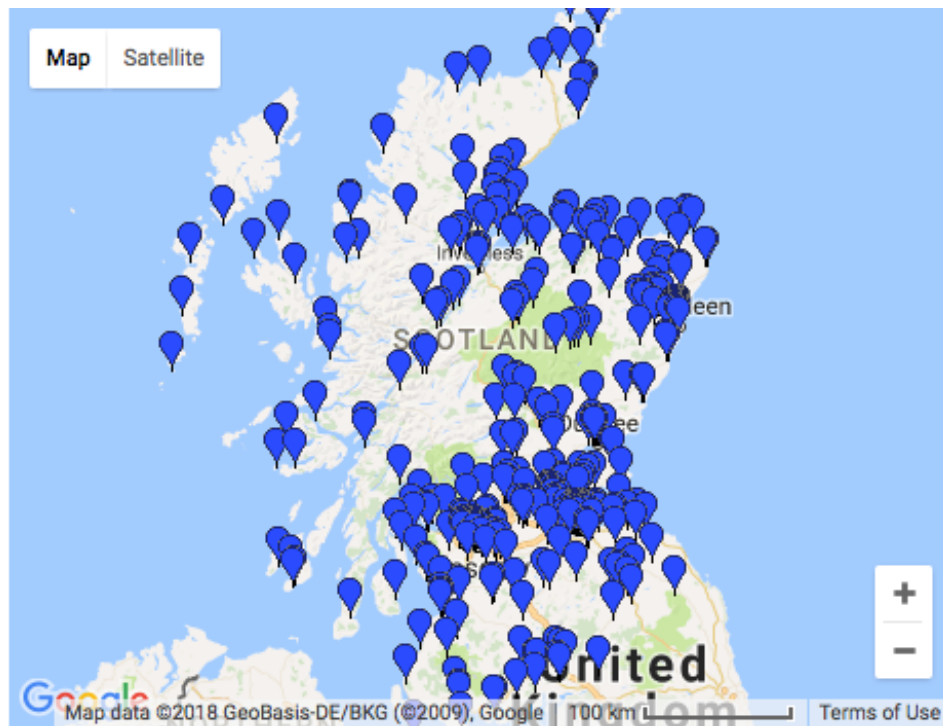


Figure 17: Screenshot of the MMWS Map, 2018. Pins represent locations of memorials, monuments, graves, cairns, plaques, and buildings named for or dedicated to women

One of the challenges of digital history, however, is providing a framework for dynamic interaction and a well-rounded comprehension of subject material that stands the tests of time and technology.²⁴⁸ Platforms like Google Maps and other visualization media allow historians to present data in new ways and draw conclusions from patterns that may not have been evident previously, but we must also work to make, and keep, these projects relevant not only to our discipline but also among their primary audience, the general public. In the ever-evolving world of digital tools, software, and user interest, projects must be sustainable in order to avoid, as Abby Smith warns, losing our scholarship to the “dustbin of history.”²⁴⁹ Unfortunately it is all too common for digital projects like MMWS to fade after a brilliant launch and a short period of

²⁴⁸ Roy Rosenzweig and Daniel J. Cohen, *Digital History: A Guide to Gathering, Preserving, and Presenting the Past on the Web* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 1-17.

²⁴⁹ Abby Smith, “New-Model Scholarship: Destined for the Dustbin of History,” *Perspectives* 47, no. 7 (2003), accessed 2 August 2019, www.historians.org/Perspectives/issues/2003/0310/0310vie1.cfm. Smith is the director of programs at the Council on Library and Information Resources (CLIR).

widespread recognition; without dedicated attention in the form of technological updates, user support and interaction, and the reevaluation of initial conclusions to reflect changes in data, methodologies, and project goals, we risk losing the unique innovation and interactivity these projects provide.

In order to expand beyond the MMWS project and frame my research in an accessible, interactive digital visualization, I launched the Edinburgh Built Heritage Project (EBHP) in 2018. Building on MMWS's methodology but representing an entirely new approach to context, my project represents a synthesis of women's and gender history with the power of geospatial data visualization for purposes of applying quantitative records to qualitative analyses of power and place.²⁵⁰ I focused on Edinburgh – both the city center and all surrounding villages within the A720 Edinburgh bypass – as an exemplar of heritage dynamics, both for its status as the capital of Scotland since the fifteenth century and, arguably more significantly, a UNESCO World Heritage site since 1995.²⁵¹ Such a narrowed focus represented a tangible, more easily comprehended epicenter for an in-depth heritage investigation. With the city of Edinburgh as my case study, my aim was to provide dynamic digital support for my thesis and translate my research into a public-facing project that not only demonstrated the status of Edinburgh's women but also provided the context necessary to properly convey the magnitude of their obscurity in the Scottish heritage landscape.

Having already established that women do not have space in the Scottish national narrative, I structured this project around several guiding questions designed to augment this central conclusion and explore the potential for the gathering of further evidence to support it.

²⁵⁰ Carys O'Neill, "Edinburgh Built Heritage Project," 2018, edinburghbuiltheritage.org.

²⁵¹ Both Edinburgh's New Town and Old Towns were added to UNESCO's list of World Heritage sites in 1995. Such a designation recognizes the city for its contributions to the global heritage landscape, praising what exists and ensuring visibility and longevity through preservation and conservation support.

First and foremost, how is the lack of space for women in the Scottish national narrative reinforced in physical manifestations like monuments? Next, what do the locations and distributions of women's monuments say about their significance within the larger heritage landscape and the narrative that shapes it? Third, how do heritage sites, tourist destinations, and the bodies that govern them exemplify and reinforce carefully constructed narratives of dominance, power, inclusion, and exclusion? How and when do monuments to women factor into those narratives, if at all? And finally, to what extent has the Scottish heritage industry favored, and thus perpetuated, a mainstream hypermasculine narrative? How does the presentation of women's history, or lack thereof, position it in relation to these dominant narratives in terms of significance and accessibility?

To answer these questions, I compiled a data corpus from a host of city records and national monument listings, including Historic Environment Scotland's Canmore database, the City of Edinburgh Council's Monuments in Parks and Green Spaces database, Scottish listings within the Imperial War Museum's War Memorials register, and a host of listings of public art, including that of the Public Monuments and Sculpture Association (PMSA). In setting clear-cut parameters for inclusion in this record, namely the relegation of appropriate sites to monuments and memorials, which I have defined herein as any statues, sculptures, or freestanding physical structures erected to commemorate a person or group of people, I was able to distill down the MMWS data to sites representing prominent female commemoration and weed out the more common contributions like grave markers that tended to water down MMWS visualizations and create a false sense of abundance.²⁵² The remaining sites represented the first layer of the map: monuments and memorials dedicated to women.

²⁵² It should be noted that while grave markers and other elements of cemetery architecture are important forms of memorialization and have immense storytelling potential, particularly as it relates to the social status and

In order to place monuments to women in their sociocultural context and test out my overarching thesis that heritage does indeed represent a function of nationalism, I added a second layer for monuments and memorials dedicated to men. This layer represents the normative masculine baseline that the Scottish narrative upholds and provides the control against which to compare visualizations of women's prominence and visibility. In the process of compiling men's and women's layers, my investigation of popular news discourse revealed a strong tradition of memorializing animals in the city as well. A listing of these monuments and memorials to animals quickly became the third layer in the project and, although not inherently gendered, provided another criterion against which to compare notions of inclusivity and significance.

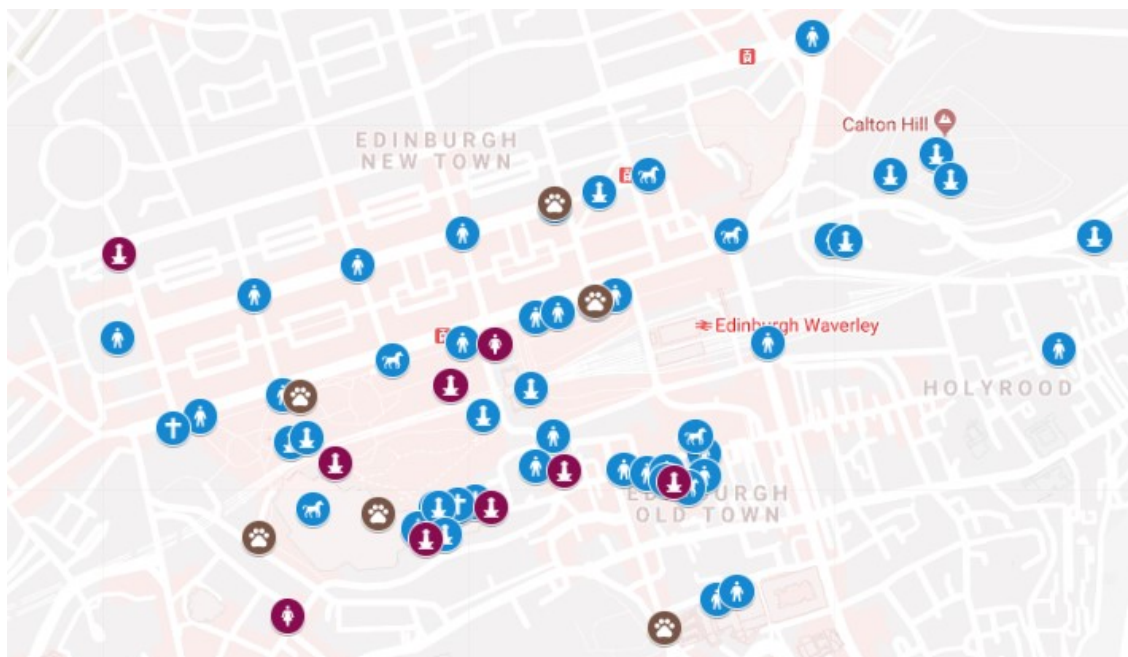


Figure 18: Screenshot from the EBHP map showing monuments to men (blue), women (red), and animals (brown) in Edinburgh's New Town and Old Town, 2018. Image author's own

contribution of their subjects, these markers tend to be more private in nature. They are not subject to the same gatekeeping (placement, funding, maintenance) as larger, more public-facing monuments and memorials and, as is often the case in historic cities like Edinburgh, are not able to carry the local or national narrative up through the present day. Two of the most prominent cemeteries in the city, the Old Calton Burial Ground and Greyfriar's Kirkyard, for example, have added very few graves since the 1850s.

With three solid layers of data, the map helped to reveal new patterns of memorialization and substantiate broader thesis conclusions. Of the ninety-nine monuments that fit the parameters for mapping, seventy-seven were dedicated to men, fourteen to women, and a further eight to animals. With a population of 518,000 in 2018 that was fifty-one percent female, we can conclude that representation in the city of Edinburgh is grossly skewed toward men and not at all representative of the general public.²⁵³ On the most fundamental level, such a trend corroborates my assertions that the Scottish national narrative overwhelmingly favors men and that heritage is a distinct function of nationalism.

The particular advantages of mapping begin to emerge as this observation was taken one step further; in addition to the clear discrepancy between male and female monuments numerically, trends in location and distribution also began to present themselves. To help understand the spread of monuments across the city and investigate potential correlations with locations of cultural and historical significance, I plotted sites found in the most recent online guides from leading authorities like Frommer's, Fodor's, Travel Channel, and TimeOut alongside memorial data (see Figure 17 for one example).²⁵⁴ These four additional layers, one for each guide, not only serve to contextualize the cityscape for those unfamiliar with its geography, but also began to explain some of the patterns that emerged within the first three layers. When overlaid, these seven layers revealed strong correlations between prominent destinations and the city's monuments. Of the ninety-nine monuments mapped, Princes Street Gardens, the beautifully landscaped public park that separates Edinburgh's Old and New Town

²⁵³ National Records of Scotland, "City of Edinburgh Council Area Profile," April 2019, accessed 1 October 2019, https://www.nrscotland.gov.uk/files/statistics/council-area-data-sheets/city-of-edinburgh-council-profile.html#population_estimates.

²⁵⁴ For these guides, see <https://www.frommers.com/destinations/edinburgh/attractions>; <https://www.fodors.com/world/europe/scotland/edinburgh-and-the-lothians/things-to-do/sights>; <https://www.travelchannel.com/destinations/united-kingdom/scotland/edinburgh/photos/20-must-see-spots-in-edinburgh--scotland>; <https://www.timeout.com/edinburgh/things-to-do/the-20-great-things-to-do-in-edinburgh>.

neighborhoods, is home to seventeen; Edinburgh Castle, a bastion of Scottish military might, boasts twelve; and the area immediately around St Giles’ Cathedral, a 900-year-old relic of Scottish ecclesiastical resilience, plays host to nine.²⁵⁵ As these examples demonstrate, employing geospatial mapping methodologies to place monuments in the context of their built environment, and in the context of one another, helps reveal correlations in the data that may not otherwise present themselves.

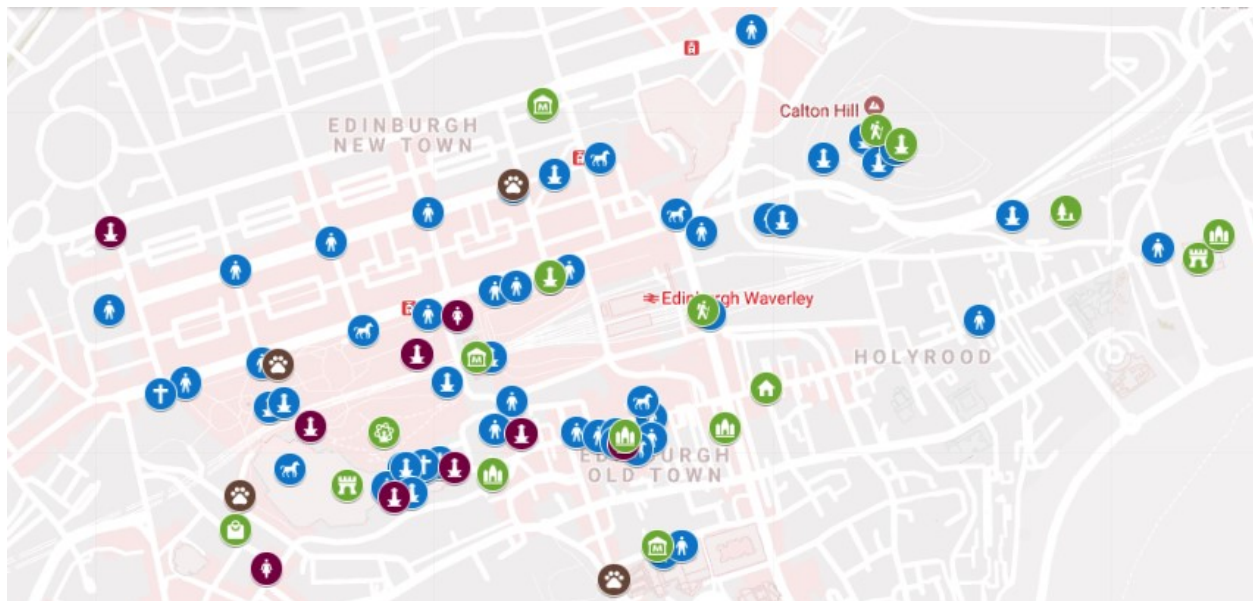


Figure 19: Screenshot from the EBHP map showing monuments to men (blue), women (red), animals (brown) and Travel Channel’s 2018 “19 Must See Spots in Edinburgh” (green). Image author’s own

Although the city inevitably grows and changes with the passage of time, the correlation between monuments and sites of cultural and historical significance indicates that place is a key determinant in their narrative power. As William Cohen explained, “The placing of statues in a village, town, or city indicated an attempt to establish hegemony for the ideas represented by the

²⁵⁵ Carys O’Neill, “The Map,” Edinburgh Built Heritage Project, 2018, <https://www.edinburghbuiltheritage.org/map>.

monument...[its] location could decide its impact on the public.”²⁵⁶ The nature of sites like Edinburgh Castle, St Giles’ Cathedral, and Princes Street Gardens, centrally located zeniths of Scottish architecture and immensely popular tourist destinations, affords them a unique platform from which – and a steady audience with whom – to share their narratives. Edinburgh Castle, for example, received over 2.1 million visitors in 2018 and topped the charts as Scotland’s most popular paid attraction.²⁵⁷ Among Britain’s most popular paid attractions, the castle comes in second only behind the Tower of London, which received 2.8 million visitors in 2018.²⁵⁸ The reality that the second highest concentration of monuments in the city can be found at such a prominent site is no coincidence, and neither is their subject matter. The proximity of monuments like those to William Wallace, Robert the Bruce, and Douglas Haig, warriors and archetypes of martial, masculine heroism, to locations like Edinburgh Castle emphasizes a complementary power in the landscape, one that allows destinations and their surrounding monuments to play off one another and collectively reinforce the legitimacy of the dominant narrative.

Looking at the map through the lens of gender reveals trends that help frame broader notions of inequality while providing a range of categories for analysis. Within Princes Street Gardens the ratio of monuments to men and women sits at 4:1. At Edinburgh Castle, the ratio

²⁵⁶ William Cohen, “Symbols of Power: Statues in Nineteenth-Century Provincial France,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 31, No. 3 (July 1989), 495.

²⁵⁷ Association of Scottish Visitor Attractions, “Scottish Visitor Attractions Record an Increase in Visitor Numbers for the Fifth Year in a Row,” 05 March 2019, accessed 01 October 2019, <https://www.asva.co.uk/news.php#newsid1124>; Ian Swanson, “Edinburgh Tops List of Scotland’s Most Popular Tourist Sites,” *Edinburgh Evening News*, 04 March 2019, accessed 01 October 2019, <https://www.edinburghnews.scotsman.com/whats-on/arts-and-entertainment/edinburgh-tops-list-scotlands-most-popular-tourist-sites-90861>.

²⁵⁸ Visit Britain, “Annual Survey of Visits to Visitor Attractions, Latest Results,” accessed 01 October 2019, <https://www.visitbritain.org/annual-survey-visits-visitor-attractions-latest-results>.

risers to 5:1. And around St Giles' Cathedral, that ratio jumps to 8:1.²⁵⁹ These trends are also upheld across Edinburgh's neighborhoods. Old Town, the historic heart of the city, and the most popular neighborhood among the four guides mapped, boasts the highest concentration of monuments and memorials. Of its thirty-five, twenty-seven (77%) are dedicated to men, seven (20%) to women, and one (3%) to an animal. The discrepancy in Old Town is his high, but in New Town, the eighteenth-century Georgian extension of the city, men have received sixteen out of eighteen monuments (89%) and atop Calton Hill, six of six (100%). The area where representation is most equitable – yet still wholly inequitable – is in the suburbs immediately surrounding the city center. Here, men have received seventeen out of twenty-five monuments (68%), women five (20%), and animals three (12%).²⁶⁰ It comes as no surprise that this neighborhood, the one furthest from the heart of the city's political and religious power and shielded from its tourist base by the unassuming cover of domesticity and family life, is where women stand the best chance of being memorialized.

Presenting this data visually allows for a deeper understanding of place in Edinburgh. Not only does the inclusion of images and background information for each site allow users to comprehend *who* or *what* is being represented, but providing different layers for interaction also begins to convey *how* representation is accomplished. Factors like proximity and density that are much more difficult to conceptualize quantitatively paint a picture of the interconnectivity of place and the interdependency of power dynamics in a broad narrative like Scotland's. Icons indicating representation through physical likeness, allegory, or abstract interpretation also lend a hand in this endeavor. Out of ninety-nine monuments mapped, over half physically depict the subject they memorialize. Breaking this down by gender, men feature in about sixty percent of

²⁵⁹ Carys O'Neill, "The Trends," Edinburgh Built Heritage Project, 2018, <https://www.edinburghbuiltheritage.org/trends>.

²⁶⁰ O'Neill, "The Trends."

their monuments, animals almost ninety, and women slightly over twenty.²⁶¹ The tendency in this later category is for far more abstract or allegorical representation, which not only serves to control representations of the female form in public but also encourages less focus on individual accomplishment and contribution, reverting attention back to more intangible normative values and dominant social ideals.²⁶² In Sir John Steell's 1844 statue of Victoria as Britannia atop the Royal Scottish Academy, for example, we see the commemoration not of the queen herself, one of the rare few acceptably female figures in the Scottish narrative, but rather the imposing, larger-than-life presence of a collective Great Britain in the heart of Scotland.²⁶³ Onlookers are not being invited to consider the merits of Victoria's life or even her reign, but rather the power of her kingdom. As Marina Warner notes, "Our first thought when seeing a man on a pedestal in a public place is not "What does he represent?" but "Who is he?" The individuality of the male image and the idealized generality of the female divide our perceptions as if naturally, until the convention and all its premises become invisible."²⁶⁴ Once again, the forms we see celebrated in public spaces reinforce the idea that heritage tourism not only celebrates men but also caters to the dominant male gaze. Highlighting these tendencies with the EBHP map is a crucial step in drawing awareness to marginalization and restoring a sense of agency to individuals, particularly women, veiled within their own monuments.²⁶⁵

²⁶¹ O'Neill, "The Map," O'Neill, "The Trends."

²⁶² Out of fourteen mapped monuments to women, only three depict their subjects, one represents its subject in allegory, and the remaining ten do not depict their subjects at all. EBHP, 2019.

²⁶³ Victoria appointed Steell as Sculptor to Her Majesty the Queen in 1838, a title he held for almost fifty years, and knighted him in 1876 following the unveiling of *The Prince Consort*, a memorial to Prince Albert in Edinburgh's Charlotte Square in 1876. It is possible that his proximity to the royal family and his international popularity following the appointment to her staff might account for such a pro-British, even unionist, interpretation of his queen, but the allegory is surprising nonetheless.

²⁶⁴ Marina Warner, "Eternally Female," *The New York Times Magazine*, 18 May 1986, accessed 01 October 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/1986/05/18/magazine/eternally-female.html>.

²⁶⁵ My use of the term "veiled" here also comments on the far more general tendency to restrict or even obscure the female form in public art and architecture. As journalist Caroline Criado-Perez points out, "If you're a woman, your best chance at becoming a statue is to be a mythical figure, a famous virgin, royal or nude." Criado-Perez, "I Sorted the UK's Statues by Gender," 26 March, 2016, accessed 01 October 2019,

The EBHP map also tested a secondary hypothesis regarding alternative memorialization efforts in the city. If women are not traditionally represented in large public monuments and statuary, might they be visible in subtler, less obtrusive installations tucked away on walls and floors out of the direct line of sight? What do representational trends look like among plaques? To answer this question, I began to compile data on plaque construction and dedication in Edinburgh. While records are not as centralized or complete as those of larger installations, I was able to gather enough data to carry out a case study at the Edinburgh Writers' Museum in Old Town. The museum's website describes Makar's Court, the courtyard surrounding the museum, as "a peaceful public space with beautifully inscribed flagstones which celebrate Scottish writers from the 14th century up to the present day."²⁶⁶ Of forty-one engraved flagstones added to the courtyard since 1997, only seven are dedicated to female writers, maintaining a 6:1 ratio similar to that of larger installations.²⁶⁷ Women have traditionally had more success gaining recognition for their accomplishments and contributions to the arts, as Caroline Criado-Perez points out, and yet the story told by the Writers' Museum suggests otherwise (as shown in Figure 18).²⁶⁸ Edinburgh's status as one of UNESCO's Cities of Literature makes such relegation doubly impactful and hints at much broader trends in the perceived centrality of female writers geographically and institutionally.²⁶⁹

<https://www.newstatesman.com/politics/feminism/2016/03/i-sorted-uk-s-statues-gender-mere-27-cent-are-historical-non-royal-women>.

²⁶⁶ Museums and Galleries Edinburgh, "The Writers' Museum," <https://www.edinburghmuseums.org.uk/venue/writers-museum>.

²⁶⁷ These writers are Elizabeth Melville (1578-1640), Violet Jacob (1863-1946), Helen Cruickshank (1886-1975), Nan Shepherd (1893-1981), Naomi Mitchison (1897-1999), Muriel Spark (1918-2006), and Dorothy Dunnett (1923-2001); O'Neill, "The Map."

²⁶⁸ Criado-Perez, "I Sorted the UK's Statues."

²⁶⁹ According to the Edinburgh City of Literature website, "The UNESCO designation 'City of Literature' recognizes excellence and places an obligation on cities to nurture and support their art form and collaborate internationally by sharing best practice, supporting freedom of speech and through projects which ensure literature reaches as wide and diverse an audience as possible, locally and internationally." For more, see <http://www.cityofliterature.com/international-cities-of-literature/>.

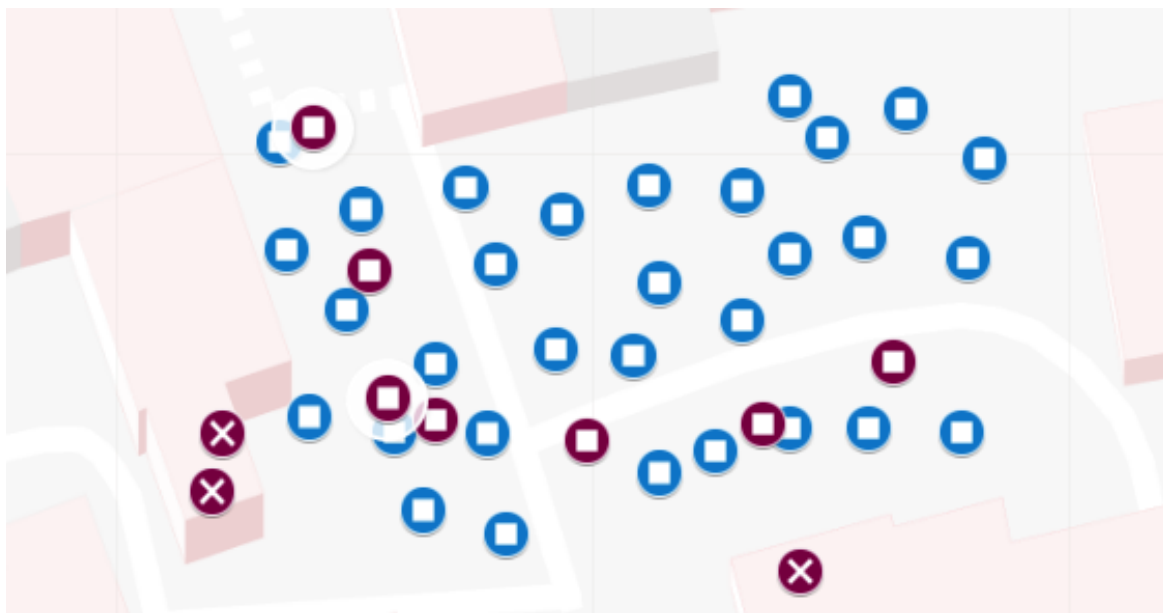


Figure 20: Screenshot from the EBHP map showing the flagstones & plaques to men (blue) and women (red) in Makar's Court, Edinburgh Writers' Museum, 2018. Xs indicate missing plaques. Image created by author

The functionality of digital mapping and interactive geospatial interfaces not only helps reveal patterns of memorialization – otherwise lost in the quantitative descriptors of sites as individual pieces of a broader landscape – to historians and cultural heritage practitioners in a more dynamic format, but it also allows for engagement with broader audiences, particularly the general public. As Garavelli notes, “The effacement of women is a self-perpetuating problem: there are fewer monuments to women, so we know less about them, so when it comes to choosing candidates for future monuments they are less likely to make the cut.”²⁷⁰ Between 2013 and 2014, for example, Historic Environment Scotland erected new plaques to twenty-three notable Scots as nominated by the community. Of these, only two were women. In 2015, facing pressure from Culture Secretary Fiona Hyslop, three out of eight new plaques were put up for women, although one singular plaque of those eight was dedicated to “the Edinburgh Seven,” the first women to be admitted to a British degree program. A spokesman for HES’s independent selection panel

²⁷⁰ Garavelli, “Where are the Statues to Scots Women?”

admitted, “We are aware of the need for more women, but we are limited in what we can do as we can’t steer people in the direction of a particular candidate.”²⁷¹ Such acknowledgments help to underscore the significance of initiatives like the EBHP; highlighting the phenomenon that is unequal representation in built heritage and beginning to explain the roots of its pervasiveness creates opportunities for education, the elevation of marginalized voices, and raises the standard of accountability not only among academics and heritage practitioners, but perhaps even more significantly, among the general public as well.

3.2 Gender and the Preservation of National Priorities

The EBHP map is a strong example of the centrality of gender in the Scottish national narrative and the built environment in which it manifests. Approaching heritage through this lens emphasizes the idea that the androcentric national narrative, “sprung from masculinized memory, masculinized humiliation and masculinized hope,” has set a clear expectation for participation in, and more importantly leadership of, the particular forms the fabricated national community has taken in Scotland.²⁷² Because men possessed “more of the characteristics that [were] culturally valued,” traits like courage, virility, and power, they were seen as representing the true needs of the nation.²⁷³ Women, on the other hand, have been “subsumed symbolically into the national body politic as its boundary and metaphoric limit [and] constructed as the symbolic bearers of the nation but are denied any direct relation to national agency.”²⁷⁴ Their historical roles in

²⁷¹ Ibid.

²⁷² Cynthia Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches, and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 44.

²⁷³ Mechtild Rössler, Christina Cameron, and Benedicte Selfslagh, “World Heritage in Gender,” UNESCO’s *World Heritage* No. 78 (January 2016), <https://en.calameo.com/read/0033299727c6f658f66ef>, 6.

²⁷⁴ Anne McClintock, ““No Longer in a Future Heaven”: Gender, Race and Nationalism,” in *Dangerous Liaisons: Gender, Nation, and Postcolonial Perspectives* edited by Anne McClintock, Aamir Mufti, and Ella Shohat (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998), 90.

Scottish society have been paid little attention, as exemplified by Scottish poet Hugh MacDiarmid's loaded line "Scottish women of any historical interest are curiously rare."²⁷⁵ Those that are included, figures like Mary Stuart, the infamous queen, and Flora Macdonald (1722-1790), the woman who helped Bonnie Prince Charlie escape to France in the aftermath of Culloden, often appear heavily romanticized and are positioned as doomed participants in history's lost causes while the rest find themselves relegated squarely to the home by dominant domestic ideologies and the idea of separate spheres. As Sara McDowell reminded, "It can be argued that the exclusion of women from the popular narrative is not a consequence of women's inherent irrelevance to the public heritage value...but rather it is a byproduct of wider social circumstances."²⁷⁶ Matt McGuire explained that in post-union Scotland, there has existed an inherent conflict between women's interests and those of the nation: "Historically, the assertion of a female agenda in Scotland was at best regarded as a distraction and at worst an act of selfish disloyalty. Feminist concerns served only to deflect radical energy from the 'real' political struggle which in Scotland's case is, of course, the national one."²⁷⁷

These trends carry over to the heritage landscape as well. The women memorialized in cities like Edinburgh have all made socially acceptable accomplishments in the safer realms of education, literature, or nursing. Figures like Alison Hay Dunlop, an antiquarian, Helen Crummy, an advocate for the arts, and Jenny Geddes, a highly mythologized defender of the Protestant faith, do not pose a threat to the established social order. Five of the fourteen monuments to women in Edinburgh are dedicated to royals, including a fountain to Princess

²⁷⁵ M. Bain, "Scottish Women in Politics," *Chapman* 27/28 Vol. IV, No. 3-4 (1980), 9, as quoted in Breitenbach et. al., "Understanding Women in Scotland," 44. MacDiarmid, a staunch Scottish nationalist who listed Anglophobia as one of his hobbies, delivered this line during an interview with Bain in 1967. Chris Bambery, *A People's History of Scotland* (New York: Verso, 2014), 214. Bambery refers to MacDiarmid as a rebel himself.

²⁷⁶ McDowell, "Commemorating Dead 'Men,'" 350.

²⁷⁷ Matt McGuire, *Contemporary Scottish Literature* (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave MacMillan, 2009), 69.

Louise, Duchess of Argyll (1848-1939) erected by her namesake regiment of Highlanders in 1874, a well in memory of its most famous user, Queen/Saint Margaret (1045-1093), and three to Queen Victoria dated 1844, 1870, and, posthumously, 1907.²⁷⁸

Victoria in particular is a favorite subject for British memorialization efforts, featuring in a grand total of seventy-eight statues across the UK and at least one in each of a further twenty-six countries across the former empire. Her reign marked a stark departure from the slow and uninspiring reigns of her predecessors George IV (r. 1820-1830) and William IV (r. 1830-1837). “Young, female, attractive, politically innocent yet with decidedly Whiggish sympathies, the new Queen seemed far removed from the excesses of her aged Hanoverian uncles.”²⁷⁹ The growth of print and visual culture in the 1830s helped to shape the image of the new queen as one of idealized modernity and distribute it wider than ever before. This media making of the monarchy in magazines, periodicals, art, illustration, lithography and engraving elevated to an imaginative status. John Plunkett adds, “Although the subjective investment poured into Victoria promoted a sense of intimate connection and empathy, the greater the degree of investment, the more Victoria risked being turned into a wholly fabricated figure.”²⁸⁰

When the novelty began to fade in the late 1830s and early 1840s, those closest to the queen employed more enduring depictions designed to bolster her public image and instill a sense of longevity in her persona. Over the next thirty years, a dozen statues of Victoria were erected throughout the empire, including John Steell’s in Edinburgh in 1844, another in Exeter in 1848, Cork in 1849, Glasgow in 1854, and Salford in 1857. This monumental effort, combined with the Queen’s marriage to Prince Albert and the birth of the first royal child in 1840 as well as

²⁷⁸ O’Neill, “The Map.”

²⁷⁹ John Plunkett, “Of Hype and Type: the Media Making of Queen Victoria, 1837-1845,” *Critical Survey* Vol. 13, No. 2 (2001), 7.

²⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 9.

Albert's conscious efforts to foster a certain cult of family across Britain, revived public faith in Victoria and reinvigorated the symbolic power of her image. Victoria, like post-union Scotland, was the product of her media, a largely invented persona put to the test by critical public appraisal at all levels of society. In the very same way that the public idealized Scotland as the wellspring of British masculinity and a remedy for the anxieties of empire, Victoria's public persona, bolstered by public art and reinforced by the accomplishments of own private life, set her apart as "an exemplar of bourgeois femininity."²⁸¹ She was "not only the telos of British queenship but also the telos of British womanhood" as Miriam Burstein noted.²⁸² The parallels that can be drawn between Victoria's reign and post-union Scottish nationalism, particularly through their safeguarding in public memory, serve to ground the significance of heritage and the built environment within larger ideas of narrative power and account for the longevity of their popularity in the dominant discourse.

In contrast to Elizabeth I (r. 1558-1603) and Mary Stuart (1542-1567), queens not privileged by the inventive, redemptive power of media and art, Victoria's legacy is cemented in the very fabric of the landscape she helped to popularize. Because of their controversial legacies and common portrayals as far more masculine women deeply involved in the decidedly male realms of politics and participating in relationships unbefitting of their sex and station during their lifetimes, Elizabeth I and Mary Stuart have been deemed largely unworthy of social

²⁸¹ Ibid., 20.

²⁸² Burstein, "From Good Looks," 73. Burstein builds on Anna Jameson's argument that "Elizabeth's reign exemplified the woman whose absolutism is grounded in her own weakness, for she conducts all her business "on the principle of self-preservation and self-interest, rather than of enlightened benevolence."" Anna Jameson, *Memoirs of Celebrated Female Sovereigns Volume I* (London, 1831): 295-96. David Forsyth, a senior curator at the National Museum of Scotland, adds that Mary was surrounded by "intrigue, sex, love, conspiracy, and murder" and that many historians regard her as a "scheming, murdering adulteress," not a fitting model for adoration and emulation. Ashley Cowie, "Ancient Sex Crafts of the Femme Fatales," *Ashley Cowie*, accessed 2 August 2019, <https://ashleycowie.com/new-blog/ancient-sex-crafts-of-the-femme-fatales>.

commendation.²⁸³ There are only a handful of statues of Elizabeth I in England and most, like those at the private Ashridge House in Hertfordshire (1813) and on the west face of Canterbury Cathedral (c. 1869), tend to be ornamental building decorations rather than standalone public memorials. Queen Elizabeth II unveiled the most recent addition to Elizabeth I's repertoire outside London's Westminster School in 2010 (as shown in Figure 19); it is more prominent than the majority of its predecessors yet its depiction is far more abstract.²⁸⁴ Only two statues of Mary Stuart can be found in England, including the sole example carved during her lifetime (c. 1586) tucked away in a niche of London's Church of St Dunstan-in-the-West. She did not receive a statue in her home country of Scotland until 2015 when the Marie Stuart society raised funds for the erection of a seven-foot bronze likeness outside Linlithgow Palace, the queen's birthplace.²⁸⁵ Although royal status aided in their memorialization, however slight, Elizabeth I and Mary, Queen of Scots represent a much broader social tendency to forego the memorialization of historical women in public. As Miriam Burnstein observed, "If, ideally, a woman's life was too uneventful to warrant narration and interpretation, then a "historical woman" could be identified as a disruption: a woman with a fragmentary or nonexistent domestic existence was too obviously singular to be situated in exemplary history."²⁸⁶ Not only did such inclusions disrupt the social order of acceptability and propriety, they stood to disrupt the very dynamic of Britain as balanced by a capricious, feminine England and a stable, virile Scotland. The celebration of

²⁸³ In response to yet another push for marriage from Speaker of the Lower House Thomas Gargrave in 1559, Queen Elizabeth I replied, "I have already joined myself in marriage to a husband, namely, the Kingdom of England." Emily Abdow, "A Virgin Queen, But Not By Choice," *Rice Historical Review* Vol. 3 (Spring 2018), 4. Elizabeth's supposed unwillingness to marry and thus cede power to a man continues to cast her as a difficult woman and problematic queen. Such a quote also indicates the perceived masculinity of England pre-union.

²⁸⁴ "Queen Unveils Statue to Elizabeth I at Westminster Abbey," *The Telegraph*, 22 May 2010, accessed 01 October 2019, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/theroyalfamily/7750380/Queen-unveils-statue-of-Elizabeth-I-at-Westminster-Abbey.html>.

²⁸⁵ Elizabeth Quigley, "Mary, Queen of Scots to Get First Statue," *BBC News*, 26 February 2015, <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-scotland-31625413>; Richard Moss, "Scotland's First Statue of Mary, Queen of Scots Unveiled Outside Linlithgow Palace," *Culture24*, 28 April 2015, <https://www.culture24.org.uk/history-and-heritage/royal-history/art525518-scotlands-first-statue-of-mary-queen-of-scots-unveiled-outside-linlithgow-palace>.

²⁸⁶ Burnstein, "From Good Looks," 67.

decidedly weaker traits associated with womanhood and female heroism, even in allegory, stands to unsettle the dominant imagery of Scotland as a wellspring of masculinity and the savior of an effeminate industrialized Britain. The treatment that figures like Lord Nelson as an Englishman received in Scotland was concession enough; public memory simply was not the realm of notable women, “their natures fragmented by political participation instead of unified by domestic and Christian harmony.”²⁸⁷ Any variation on this pattern was the exception that proved the rule.



Figure 21: PA, “The Queen looks at a statue of Elizabeth I during a visit to Westminster School, on the 450th anniversary of the granting of their royal charter by Queen Elizabeth I” photograph (21 May 2010), Courtesy of *The Telegraph*

²⁸⁷ Ibid. Burstein references Mary Cowden Clarke, *World-Noted Women; Or, Types of Womanly Attributes of All Lands and Ages* (New York, 1858), 3.



Figure 22: Julie Bull, “Powderhall Bronze foundryman Mitch Storey waxing and polishing Greyfriars Bobby” photograph (2013), Courtesy of *The Scotsman* and JPI Media

An assortment of conservation projects completed across Scotland in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries reveal much about the entrenchment of this phenomenon and the ways in which the established narrative continues to be sustained. With many of Scotland’s most notable landmarks recently reaching their centenaries and sesquicentenaries, Scottish heritage practitioners needed to make key decisions regarding their futures in the landscape. Historic Environment Scotland and the Heritage Lottery fund have been the two biggest authorities on the subject since the 1970s; with strong public support, they are able to command authority in a range of heritage matters and largely determine the agenda for national heritage protection and funding.²⁸⁸ For example, HES designated Greyfriars Bobby (as shown in Figure 20) as a grade A listed building, noted for its national and international significance, in 1977 and the statue underwent a complete restoration under the supervision of the Edinburgh District Council in

²⁸⁸ According to a 2018 survey by the HLF, “The groups that are the most engaged in heritage are older people, ABC1s [people from the top 3 socioeconomic tiers in Britain], those from a White ethnic background and women. In almost all cases, these groups are the most supportive of heritage in general, the social impact it can have and the range of ideas for the types of project that could be funded.” Heritage Lottery Fund, “Public Perceptions of Heritage 2018,” January 2018, accessed 01 October 2019, <https://www.heritagefund.org.uk/publications/public-perceptions-heritage-2018>.

1985.²⁸⁹ In the 1990s, the Scott Monument, a grade A listed building since 1970, underwent a £2.36 (\$3.1) million renovation by the Heritage Lottery Fund, Historic Environment Scotland, and the City of Edinburgh Council.²⁹⁰ A year-long restoration to the Burns Monument, category A since 1966, was carried out in 2008 at a cost of £300,000 (\$370,000).²⁹¹ Thorough restoration and preservation work ensures that these symbols will survive, their very forms personifying the highest of national ideals and “commanding their descendants to take up their authority and their subjects to continue in deferential obedience.”²⁹²

It is through this lens that we gather an even keener understanding of the interplay between heritage in Scotland and the outcomes for social prescription and legitimation. For perspective, only four of the EBHP monuments to women are listed with HES: the statue of Victoria in Leith and the Inverleith Park gate dedicated to Alison Hay Dunlop are category B for regional significance, while Princess Louise’s fountain is a category C for local; fifteenth-century St Margaret’s Well was removed from the B listing and added to the scheduled category in 2019.²⁹³ The statue of Victoria as Britannia is not listed (but the building it sits on is category A) and was threatened with relocation in 2003 for the ways in which Victoria’s “disproportionate

²⁸⁹ Since its founding in 1991, Historic Scotland, which became HES in 2015, has been responsible for the designation of listed buildings in Scotland. Listings are made based on significance: A is national or international, B is regional, and C is local. Only eight percent of the estimated 50,000 listed sites in Scotland fall into the first category, underlining their value to the nation. The US equivalent would be the National Register of Historic Places and its choice list of National Historic Landmarks. For more on listing and scheduling in Scotland, see <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/advice-and-support/listing-scheduling-and-designations/>.

²⁹⁰ City of Edinburgh Council. “The Scott Monument: Restoration at Binny Quarry.” Scottish Cultural Resources Access Network (SCRAN). http://sites.scran.ac.uk/scottmon/pages/mon_restoration/rest_page4.htm. For every £2 lottery ticket purchased in Britain, the Heritage Lottery Fund sets aside 56 pence for good causes. This totals about £300 million (\$372 million) annually. Organizations can apply for set grants and tailored funding based on need. Decisions under £2 million are made by one of six local committees and those over that amount are made by HLF trustees, a board of six men and seven women. The chair of the Scottish committee, Ray Macfarlane, is also a woman. With such equitable representation on its board and committees, it is surprising that the HLF is one of the strongest proponents of the hypermasculine status quo in Scottish heritage.

²⁹¹ Alstead, “Burns Monument.”

²⁹² Peter Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory in Early Modern England* (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2008), 12.

²⁹³ Historic Environment Scotland. “Historic Environment Designations Portal.” Accessed 2 August 2019. <http://portal.historicenvironment.scot/>.

and incongruous bulk weighs down Playfair's chaste design and classical proportions."²⁹⁴ Such an affront comes from critics, particularly in journalism, who argue that the addition of Victoria atop the building was not part of Playfair's original design, which featured a far more comfortable statue of Minerva, the Roman goddess of warfare, instead.²⁹⁵ The treatment of these statues and the lack of any notable restorations to them speak volumes about their esteem in the city, both publicly and officially.

The 12 Monuments Project, a £410,000 (\$500,000) restoration initiative that focused on the conservation and preservation of twelve of Edinburgh's most prominent monuments between 2007 and 2012, is another great example of the power of narrative. A joint initiative between Edinburgh World Heritage, the City of Edinburgh Council, and National Environment Scotland, the sites selected for restoration and preservation represented a commodified swatch of Scottish heritage easily justifiable not only to the organizations in charge but more importantly to the general public as gatekeepers in their own right. Work was carried out on two wells, two military memorials, and eight statues dedicated to men, all comfortable, acceptable embodiments of a masculine, militaristic past.²⁹⁶ As EWH boasted on the project website, "Key to each project has been a fundraising campaign, generating not only the necessary funds but also demonstrating public support for the monuments [showing] that whatever the intentions of the original

²⁹⁴ "Colossal Statue of Victoria Out of Place." *The Scotsman*. 26 July 2003. Accessed 2 August 2019. <https://www.scotsman.com/news-2-15012/colossal-statue-of-victoria-out-of-place-1-657355>.

²⁹⁵ William Henry Playfair, "Northern Elevation of the Royal Scottish Institution, Edinburgh," 1832, ink on paper, National Galleries of Scotland D4250. Accessed 10 November 2019, <https://www.nationalgalleries.org/art-and-artists/6541/northern-elevation-royal-institution-edinburgh-now-royal-scottish-academy-building>.

²⁹⁶ EWH carried out work on the Bow Well in the Grassmarket; St Bernard's Well in Stockbridge; the Black Watch Memorial on the Mound; the National Monument, Burns Monument, and Nelson Monument on Calton Hill; the Melville Monument in St Andrew's Square; the Buccleuch Memorial and equestrian statue of King Charles II in Parliament Square; the statue to Adam Black on the Royal Mile; and the statues to Professor Wilson and David Livingstone in Princes Street Gardens. For more, see Edinburgh World Heritage Trust, "Twelve Monuments," <https://ewh.org.uk/project/twelve-monuments/>. All twelve are all A listed.

instigators, people today value these monuments and statues as part of the fabric of the city, something to take pride in and pass on to future generations.”²⁹⁷

The 12 Monuments Project is testament to the nature of heritage as both a dynamic process and a commodifiable product. The stratified management hierarchy of Scottish heritage – starting with HES, NTS, and UNESCO and working its way down to include all manner of museums, galleries, libraries, records offices, antiquarian societies, and public charities – is responsible not only for the preservation of existing heritage, but more importantly to the tourist sector, the constant creation of new sources of engagement with a highly anticipated past. The constant reapplication of the durable, recognizable central narrative across strata is indicative of the drive to uphold the past and ensure its longevity for future generations. The commercialization and commodification of heritage, happening with an arguably equal veracity in lowland cities like Edinburgh and Glasgow as well as Highland destinations like Iona and Inverness, represents the push for a standard product with widespread acceptability and consumption potential across visitor populations.²⁹⁸ The impact of such processes, as Laurajane Smith discerned, is not passive: “Cultural heritage management and the acts of visiting heritage sites as a tourist or other visitor become acts directly implicated in the occasional construction or reconstruction, but most certainly the maintenance, or more precisely *conservation* and *preservation*, of social and cultural meanings.”²⁹⁹ Initiatives like the 12 Monuments Project serve not only to protect highly selective manifestations of national heritage like military figures and

²⁹⁷ EWH, “Twelve Monuments.” The irony in the restoration of the National Monument in particular is that the structure was never completed in the first place.

²⁹⁸ As John Urry points out, these roles are not passive, and an array of specializations develop that “attempt to reproduce ever-new objects of the tourist gaze.” Urry, *Consuming Places*, 133.

²⁹⁹ Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, 12; Bob McKerscher and Hilary DuCros add, “Knowledge is power. Whoever controls the knowledge imparted to the visitor wields a tremendous amount of power over how the cultural tourism asset is ultimately used...Understanding who gatekeepers are, what role they play, and how, collectively, the message can be changed provides an understanding of how tourists form their expectations of places and consequently, how they use them” McKerscher and DuCros, *Cultural Tourism*, 153, 162.

prominent male leaders in the most physical sense, but by grounding their efforts in the good of the Scottish people, they are also able to reinforce values like masculinity and militarism as distinct, and contemporarily relevant, sociocultural ideals for the nation.

3.3 The Challenging of Masculine Overlordship in Scottish Heritage

The hypermasculinity of the Scottish national narrative and the heritage landscape it supports developed slowly in the years following the Union of 1707, both in response to the eighteenth-century remedies marketed by Scotsmen seeking to solidify a place for themselves within the new kingdom and in terms of the nineteenth-century anxieties that family, industry, and empire represented across Britain. These two centuries of development, encouraged by the Industrial Revolution, the growth of British imperialism, the ideals of Victorian society, and the motivations of emerging heritage professionals culminated in both the entrenched national narrative and the highly anticipated heritage landscape that performs it. Despite a growing awareness for the limitations of representation and inclusivity, as evidenced by news articles like Garavelli's and campaigns like that of the Marie Stuart Society to erect more monuments to women, the ability to overcome centuries of marginalization is a massive undertaking. We can – and I do – argue that the revitalized Scottish origin story so deeply rooted in mythology and invented tradition has served its purpose. The difficulty in limiting the interpretation of that narrative and reigning in the destructive side effects of its perpetuation, namely the marginalization of female actors, is evident in failed campaigns like that of Mary Barbour and Dr. Elsie Inglis and the treatment of existing monuments like that of Queen Victoria at the Royal Scottish Academy; the challenge that strengthening the female presence in heritage and reshaping the narrative to reflect a more balanced interpretation of the past poses confirms the

roots of our current predicament. In pushing back against the historical paradigms that have normalized and prioritized men as insiders and marginalized women as non-normative outsiders within their own narrative for centuries, even in the subtlest of ways, we are able to witness the power of that grip and the task that freeing those actors from it ultimately presents.

Public historian Nicole Deufel came head to head with such resistance in 2007 while serving as the first learning manager at Culloden Battlefield, the hallowed ground of romantic hero Bonnie Prince Charlie and his Jacobite army's last stand against government troops in 1745.³⁰⁰ After an initial encounter with a photographer who refused to accept her dressed as a female representative of the Jacobites during a living history demonstration at the battlefield's museum, Deufel launched a personal investigation into the ways in which gender dictated interpretations of Culloden's history and the reception of such interpretations among visitors.³⁰¹ Not only did her subsequent attempts at female representation receive little interest, they even generated some hostility from male viewers. She tells the story of one visitor who challenged her on the contribution of women to the Battle of Culloden after the conclusion of her presentation "Strong Women for the Cause": "He implied that, because women had not themselves fought in any battles, there was no need for this particular presentation, although this viewpoint alone cannot explain the obvious strength of his feelings."³⁰² What can explain the strength of his feelings, however, is the notion that entrenched social norms inform viewers' expectations for their visits to sites like Culloden that convey authority on historical subjects and offer opportunities for the reaffirmation of viewer preconceptions through selective interaction. Just as

³⁰⁰ Culloden Battlefield is managed by the National Trust for Scotland. NTS opened a visitor center in 2007 to direct guests and provide educational context for the site, which is otherwise undeveloped except for the Memorial Cairn and headstones marking the graves of the clans erected in 1881, the Well of the Dead, marking the place where Jacobite Alexander MacGillivray fell, and Leanach cottage, the farmhouse that survived the battle and served as a visitor center for a short time. HES added Culloden to the "Inventory of Historic Battlefields" in 2011.

³⁰¹ Deufel's insights are detailed in her 2011 article, "Telling Her Story of War: Challenging Gender Bias at Culloden Battlefield Visitor Centre," *Historical Reflections* Vol. 37, No. 2 (Summer 2011): 72-89.

³⁰² Deufel, "Telling Her Story of War," 76.

the development of a tourist industry in Scotland was fueled, and continues to be fueled, in large part by expectation, the interpretation of Culloden's museum content is continually informed by such concerns: "Visitors' own conceptions, experiences, and expectations frame their "meaning-making," suggesting that visitors are un-likely to learn what they do not expect or find relevant to learn."³⁰³ The disinterest and dissatisfaction among male viewers more generally hints at the power of expectation and the degree to which presentations of women's history disrupted existing knowledge of the battle as a masculine enterprise.³⁰⁴ Just as the angry male visitor did not expect to have his comfortable notions of war and rebellion disturbed by the positioning of women as equally notable heroes, Deufel's female audiences, whom she noted tended to respond to her presentations with open curiosity and even appreciation, did not expect to encounter such inclusions either.³⁰⁵ Even with a keen awareness of the status of women, reinforced through our experiences *as* women and manifested in public depictions of history, we do not tend to visit sites with the expectation that inclusions may actually materialize.³⁰⁶

A handful of studies of representation at historical sites around the world revealed that among those that were able to quantify women-specific content in their exhibits, depictions of

³⁰³ Ibid., 80. Sharon Macdonald adds, "The incorporation of previously excluded memories into the public sphere does not simply expand the remit of what is included and increase the number of 'voices' represented, but it may also unsettle and disrupt existing accounts of the past. New memories do not necessarily just jostle alongside existing ones...but may expose previous silences, raising questions about their motives or the power dynamic of which they are part. Sharon Macdonald, "Unsettling Memories: Intervention and Controversy Over Difficult Public Heritage," in *Heritage and Identity: Engagement and Demission in the Contemporary World* edited by Elsa Peralta and Marta Anico (New York: Routledge, 2009), 93.

³⁰⁴ Deufel, "Telling Her Story of War," 76. She adds, "Although signs of boredom do occur with some talk-style presentations, the consistency of these reactions by men overall makes this observation stand out."

³⁰⁵ Deufel, "Telling Her Story of War," 76-77.

³⁰⁶ Only nine reviews out of an almost 4000 on TripAdvisor note the inclusion of women in presentations at Culloden, raising questions about the impact of these programs and their longevity after Deufel's return to her native Germany in 2016. For more, see https://www.tripadvisor.com/Attraction_Review-g4600483-d191384-Reviews-Culloden_Battlefield-Culloden_Moor_Scottish_Highlands_Scotland.html. As of August 2019, the Culloden Battlefield website (NTS) makes no mention or advertisements of women's programming available to guests. <https://www.nts.org.uk/visit/places/culloden>.

women's roles and experiences were marginal.³⁰⁷ The tendency was, unsurprisingly, for androcentric content to "dominate the interpretation of war."³⁰⁸ As we have seen more recently with the controversy surrounding Civil War memory and the unquestioned sanctity of corresponding memorials in the United States, the challenge difficult history, including that of women, presents for heritage professionals is steep.³⁰⁹ In his 2008 monograph *The Southern Past: A Clash of Race and Memory*, W. Fitzhugh Brundage explored gendered empowerment through the lens of memorialization.³¹⁰ Despite his positioning of white middle class women like the Daughters of the American Revolution as the curators of ideological preservation and the sculptors of physical manifestations of such heritage in the form of monuments and memorials dotted across the southern landscape, he notes that their prominence was still reliant upon an almost blind reverence for male preeminence and power as evidenced by their most prominent projects; after all, they are not advocating for, sponsoring, and maintaining statues of women.³¹¹ Their whiteness positioned them firmly above other women, and their gender enabled a comfortable, non-threatening assumption of power within the support networks designed to keep men at the forefront of national and regional memory. As Brundage emphasized, "Historical memory becomes inextricably bound together with both public space and culture...The ability to occupy, use, and control one's physical surroundings is an essential measure of both personal

³⁰⁷ These studies include Sabine Marshall, "Serving Male Agendas: Two National Women's Monuments in South Africa," *Women's Studies* Vol. 33 (2004): 1009-1033; Hamzah Muzaini, "Reading Representations of Women's War Experiences in the Changi Chapel and Museum, Singapore," *Geoforum* Vol. 36 (2005): 465-476; Sara McDowell, "Commemorating Dead 'Men': Gendering the Past and Present in Post-Conflict Northern Ireland," *Gender, Place and Culture* Vol. 15 (2008): 335-354.

³⁰⁸ Deufel, "Telling Her Story of War," 79.

³⁰⁹ Difficult history is a term used to describe any histories of marginalization, oppression, violence, trauma, or suffering as based on Julia Rose's definition in *Interpreting Difficult History at Museums and Historic Sites* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2016).

³¹⁰ W. Fitzhugh Brundage, *The Southern Past: A Clash of Race and Memory* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008).

³¹¹ Brundage, *The Southern Past*, 53-54.

freedom and collective power.”³¹² Like MacCannell, Brundage’s work is a keen reminder of the white masculine project that is heritage and the ability of men to maintain power, often with the help of women, over its interpretation. In Deufel’s case, the introduction of any sort of women’s content in a formal capacity required capitalizing upon her power as a heritage practitioner and thus governor of the narrative, even within her small sphere of influence at Culloden, to disrupt the status quo in such a way that challenged notions of inclusivity without completely alienating her audiences and jeopardizing the authority of the NTS at the battlefield.³¹³ Simply changing the names of her presentations – like that of “Strong Women for the Cause” to a more ambiguous “The Women of the ’45,” and “The Women’s Aftermath” to “Stories from Culloden’s Aftermath” – helped foster a new sense of comfort through small, manageable change and restore order to a potentially hostile environment. Not only did male reactions become more tolerant, but reactions among women in mixed-sex audiences began to mirror more closely those of women-only audiences as well.³¹⁴

Perhaps the most surprising development in the crusade against the great man take on Scottish heritage over the last two decades comes in the form of novelist Sara Sheridan’s 2019 *Where are the Women?*³¹⁵ Sheridan, who was named one of the Saltire Society’s 365 most influential Scotswomen past and present in 2014, explained that the book was born after a conversation with James Crawford, the publisher at Historic Environment Scotland, about the

³¹² Ibid., 6.

³¹³ Deufel notes the “business” of heritage, adding, “A patronizing approach to the interpretation of sites is likely to alienate visitors on whose support heritage organizations rely. The heritage environment does not exist in a protected vacuum, but rather competes in the leisure market against other attractions. Ensuring that organizations deliver the “heritage product” that visitors are looking for is necessary to ensure the continued protection of that heritage, and it requires attractive and relevant interpretation of sites. In other words, we cannot simply ignore visitors’ interest in the male aspects of [Scotland’s] story. Instead, we must find positive ways of introducing visitors to new angles on the heritage of [these] site[s].” Deufel, “Telling Her Story of War,” 83.

³¹⁴ Deufel, “Telling Her Story of War,” 77. Deufel only changed the titles of the presentations, not the content nor any of the historical figures described within.

³¹⁵ Sara Sheridan, *Where are the Women? A Guide to an Imagined Scotland* (Edinburgh: Historic Environment Scotland, 2019).

lack of memorialization of women in Scotland. “Over coffee we talked about creating an *imaginary* guide that reflected what [Rebecca] Solnit had done [with a map that renamed stops on the New York Subway after women] – a map not only of an underground system, but of a country. A different world...”³¹⁶ With the green light from HES, Sheridan researched and wrote a 421-page guide to an imagined Scotland, one “where women are commemorated in statues and streets and buildings – even in the hills and valleys.”³¹⁷ Her work, which covers Scotland from the Borders to the Islands, is a thorough, comprehensive glimpse into the lives of hundreds of real Scotswomen by way of fictitious monuments and memorials. Edinburgh Castle is renamed for Queen Margaret, George IV bridge for his scorned wife, Caroline of Brunswick, and St Giles for St Catherine of Siena. Dr. Elsie Inglis has an entire section of the National War Memorial.³¹⁸ From coast to coast, the cityscapes imagined in the text and illustrated throughout each chapter feature notable women from Scotland’s past – and only women. Sheridan notes that she was asked time and time again whether there were *enough* notable Scotswomen to complete her task and whether she intended to only memorialize women.³¹⁹ Not only did she prove that there are more than enough women to highlight, but such questions are indicative of the threat her book poses to the status quo in Scotland, even as a work of fiction; the fact that it cultivates such discomfort exemplifies the paradigm she intends to confront. “If a proliferation of imagined monuments to women sets you on edge, why doesn’t the real-life proliferation of monuments to men?...It is a challenge laid down to all people – men and women together. If this is to be remedied we need to act as allies.”³²⁰

³¹⁶ Sheridan, *Where are the Women*, 8.

³¹⁷ “Where are the Women?” Sara Sheridan Historical Fiction, accessed 14 September 2019, <http://www.sarasheridan.com/books/historical-fiction/>.

³¹⁸ Sheridan, *Where are the Women*, 21-34.

³¹⁹ Sheridan, *Where are the Women*, 12-13.

³²⁰ *Ibid.*, 13.

The progress that Sheridan's book represents, even just as one book in a sea of publications this year, is a step in the right direction. Not only does it draw more attention to the issue of representation in Scottish heritage through contact with an increasing readership and the media publicity its release has generated, but it provides for women in particular an example of the power of advocacy. For Sheridan, writing the book gave her "a window into the world of our culturally dominant gender...I immediately imagined the entitlement I might feel if my gender was included and the impact that would have on my confidence. The sense of what I might achieve – and of that achievement being normal."³²¹ In the same way that writing this thesis has allowed me to contribute to an issue I feel to be of great consequence, Sheridan's research and publication provided her with an outlet for pent-up frustrations and an opportunity to make a difference. "If I can provide a few ideas and take a very small stand, then I'll be proud to have been part of something that I consider hugely important." After all, "If we cannot imagine it, how can we build it?"³²²

3.4 Conclusion

The elevation of women like Caroline of Brunswick, Dr. Elsie Inglis, and Lady Anne MacKintosh, one of Maggie Craig's central heroines in her 1997 book *Damn' Rebel Bitches: The Women of the '45*, upsets the comfortable narrative of masculine resilience and preeminence, especially on the part of Anne MacKintosh's British husband, who, Craig narrates, was delivered into her custody by Jacobite forces in 1746.³²³ Addressing his wife as 'Colonel,' Angus

³²¹ Ibid., 8.

³²² Ibid., 12-14.

³²³ Maggie Craig, *Damn' Rebel Bitches: The Women of the '45* (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing Company, 1997). Craig's book is the first of its kind on the women of the 1745 Jacobite rising.

MacKintosh acknowledged the status in which the rising of his clan had earned her.³²⁴ It is precisely for this reason, however that the story of Anne MacKintosh is not more widely known. Her actions, namely the raising of her own army of tenants from her husband's estate, blur the lines between masculine and feminine and flip the comfortable story of Jacobite resistance and heroism on its head. Craig explained, "By the prejudices of the time, which may not yet be entirely dead nowadays, she had 'unsexed' herself by acting in such an unwomanly fashion. For 'unwomanly' read bold and decisive. By defying her husband, she had of course undermined the authority of men in general."³²⁵ As Berthold Schoene surmised, "Both the nation and the masculine self have traditionally been visualized as solid, impenetrable wholes fortified by clear-cut, non-negotiable boundaries and informed by an uncompromising politics of self-sameness."³²⁶ As such, any challenge to the masculine self is also a challenge to the nation.

For all intents and purposes, Lady Anne MacKintosh represented the ideal Scottish hero – martial, gallant, dedicated to the cause – yet we find her emphatically relegated to the pages of popular fiction rather than basking in her hard-earned glory because of the inherent danger her character represents. Giving her space in more accessible interpretations of Culloden stands to upset dominant representations of women as passive victims and challenge the fundamental nature of combat and protection as the burning core of male responsibility.³²⁷ The sanctity of the national narrative depends on the refusal and repression of alternate possibilities like that posed by Lady Anne, who has received no commemoration outside of her own grave marker tucked

³²⁴ Craig, *Damn' Rebel Bitches*, 28.

³²⁵ *Ibid.*, 26.

³²⁶ Berthold Schoene, "Nervous Men, Mobile Nation: Masculinity and Psychopathy in Irvine Welsh's *Filth and Glue*," in *Scotland in Theory: Reflections on Culture and Literature* edited by Eleanor Bell and Gavin Miller (Amsterdam & New York: Rodopi, 2004), 121.

³²⁷ Deufel, "Telling Her Story of War," 79.

away in the coastal Edinburgh village of Leith.³²⁸ Instead, it is the commander of her regiment and her husband's cousin, Alexander MacGillivray, who was honored with an inscription on the illustrious Well of the Dead, erected on Culloden Battlefield in 1881.³²⁹

Both this story and its legacy reaffirm the fundamentally gendered foundation of Scottish heritage; recognizing and demonstrating the strategic exclusion that underpins both the national narrative and the landscape it informs is essential to understanding the nature of representation in Scotland. Challenging this mentality and working to bring it into the public consciousness – be it through presentations like Deufel's, articles like Garavelli's, books like Craig's, or mapping projects like MMWS and the EBHP – upsets the most fundamental dynamics of social interaction between the sexes and the hierarchies reinforced by popularly accepted understandings of their inner workings. To question or alter any aspect dangerously destabilizes the entire system and threatens to disturb the sanctified version of the past that made the union – and continues to make the present – bearable.³³⁰ But as the stories of Lady Anne and so many Scotswomen like her make clear, the Scottish nation has been, and will continue to be, irrefutably transformed by the lives of its women.³³¹ And for them, we must make room.

³²⁸ Joan Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category," 1067. Nicole Deufel refers to this challenging of the existing norm, particularly within heritage interpretation and education, as supplantive learning. Exposing the reality of women in combat positions and other prominent war roles continues to upset even the most progressive of contemporary historiographies and cultural presentations, particularly at battlefield sites. She references recent studies carried out in Israel that provide key insights into the relationship between military combat and nation building and its adverse effect on the inclusion of women in commemoration. For more see Deufel, "Telling Her Story of War," 79-82.

³²⁹ According to the Association of Leading Visitor Attractions (ALVA), the visitor center at Culloden received over 213,000 visitors in 2018 with even more choosing to explore the battlefield on their own and forego paid admission to the museum. Each one of these visitors was able to interact with Alexander MacGillivray's memorial on the Well of the Dead, while Lady Anne remains relegated to a couple of mentions on the museum's Wordpress blog. For more on ALVA and the 2018 listings, see <https://www.alva.org.uk/details.cfm?p=423>. For the battlefield's blog, see <https://cullodenbattlefield.wordpress.com/tag/lady-anne/>.

³³⁰ David Lowenthal, "Fabricating Heritage," *History and Memory* Vol. 10, No. 1 (Spring 1998), 9. Joan Scott emphasizes, "Hierarchical structures rely on generalized understandings of the so-called natural relationships between male and female." "Gender: A Useful Category," 1073. David Lowenthal issues similar warnings in "Fabricating Heritage," 9.

³³¹ For more stories of notable Scotswomen, see <https://www.edinburghbuiltheritage.org/the-potential>.

CONCLUSION

“I do not wish women to have power over men; but over themselves.” – Mary Shelley

This thesis has established that national identity in Scotland is not only highly imagined, rooted in invented traditions and modern appropriations of a seemingly ancient past, but is also fundamentally exclusive, predicated on othering and the establishment of clear boundaries for participation, contribution, and recognition. From the earliest incarnations of national myths forged in the eighteenth-century Scottish struggle for self-preservation and the nineteenth-century English crusade for salvation from the ills of industrialization to the entrenched twenty-first century version that continues to inform tourism and heritage management practices, the common denominator is a burning core of hegemonic hypermasculinity that exalts the exploits of Scotsmen. As we have seen in explorations of both space and story, place and page, the symbiotic relationship between nationalism and heritage reinforces a wholly antiquated interpretation of Scottish identity and stands to perpetuate an exclusionary image of contemporary society to locals and visitors alike.

Non-normative Scots, particularly women, engaging with the dominant heritage discourse that has developed over the last three centuries are left to reckon with a narrative that is exclusionary at worst and highly contentious at best. Navigating landscapes of repeated and even institutionalized subjugation leaves Scots as a whole with little to guide the formation of an inclusive collective identity and a well-rounded understanding of national value and belonging. With a continued focus on the desirability and power of masculinity, the contributions and accomplishments of women get shoved further and further out of the public consciousness. Individuals unable to see themselves in the cities they build or the societies they anchor become

second-class citizens not only in the eyes of their nations, but more crucially in their own internalized narratives of character and belonging.

Interpretation debates like Brundage's, Deufel's, and even Sheridan's illustrate the role heritage sites play in reinforcing the power of symbols and the sociocultural norms that maintain them. Deufel's experimentation with presentation titles is a crucial step toward Scott's and Davis' more gender-inclusive history and reveals the power of expectation in visitor experiences; despite the reality that women played active roles in Jacobite campaigns throughout Scotland, as brought to light in more recent publications like Craig's *Damn' Rebel Bitches*, a combination of interpretive limitations and popular history skewing depictions of war and honor towards the androcentric precluded more inclusive topics like women's contributions from the expectations viewers brought with them to Culloden.³³² The impact men's expectations had on their own experiences, coupled with their initial hostility toward non-normative presentations, negatively impacted the women sharing in those presentations as well. Social institutions and organizations like the Culloden Battlefield Visitor Centre and its larger governing body, the National Trust for Scotland, heavily contribute to public knowledge of historical events, in turn shaping expectations for future experiences; the perceived authority and interpretive agency possessed by these bodies contributes heavily to public faith in their narratives, perpetuating the cycle of education and expectation regardless of inclusivity. Public-facing institutions, which can be extended to include schools as well, make a significant impact on collective consciousness when it comes to the entrenchment of social norms as key factors in identity formation. This power, coupled with a tendency to favor the traditional great man narratives of war and heroism,

³³² Maggie Craig, *Damn' Rebel Bitches: The Women of the '45* (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing Company, 1997). Craig's book is the first of its kind on the women of the 1745 Jacobite rising.

precludes balance and leaves viewers with content that *meets* their expectations rather than challenging or broadening them.

The concept of women's history together with gender history can be used both to stake a claim to the historical narrative on the part of women and pull back the curtain on the persistent interpretation inequalities between women and their male counterparts.³³³ With a focus on its constitutive elements, "Gender, then, provides a way to decode meaning and understand the complex connections among various forms of human interaction."³³⁴ In the Scottish case, the lens it provides is crucial to decoding highly entrenched norms of male dominance, female subservience, and the permissibility of such dynamics in the heritage landscape. Made evident by projects like MMWS and EBHP, crucial elements of the heritage "truth" are relegated to the margins, if not forgone entirely, when interpretation is not included in discussions of heritage management. Agency is significant, but it cannot be left to women as an overwhelming minority in such spheres to singlehandedly push for their own representation.³³⁵

Next Steps

In light of these conclusions, my work with the EBHP is far from over. I will continue to develop a deeper exploration of plaques in Edinburgh that will hopefully shed more light onto

³³³ Joan Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category," 1066.

³³⁴ *Ibid.*, 1070.

³³⁵ A 2016 article by Sonnet Stanfill of the *New York Times* reported that all twelve of the world's top art museums were currently run by men, and the top three had never been run by a woman at all. Stanfill writes, "it's the leaders of those big-budget institutions who set the tone for all... The male dominance in leadership at the directors' dozen helps to explain why so much of what's on display is man-made, rather than work by female artists." According to a 2019 article by Smithsonian Magazine's Meilan Solly, an estimated eighty-seven percent of artists featured in American museums are men: "Interestingly, [study] results showed little correlation between a museum's stated goals and its level of overall diversity." Although both articles focus on art museums, trends translate to other sectors of the cultural heritage landscape as well. For the article see, <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/10/19/opinion/taking-on-the-boys-club-at-the-art-museum.html> and <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/smart-news/survey-finds-majority-artists-represented-major-museums-are-white-men-180971771/>.

the nature of gendered memory and representation in the city. Additional approaches to digital mapping may also include incorporating the element of time, as the earliest monument to a woman was built in 1868 while over half of those to men were constructed before that date, commenting both on the longevity of a masculine national narrative and on the durability of their subjects in Edinburgh's heritage landscape. Tracking change over time and providing context about the factors influencing monument construction, particularly during the height of nationalism and the statuomania that gripped imperial cities at the end of the nineteenth century, will help situate these landscapes in their broader historical contexts and bring public history more in line with an increasingly dynamic historiography.³³⁶ Sorting features for monuments that have been deemed significant or endangered via "listed" and "scheduled" status, could also be an easy way to shed light onto the determination of value within the heritage authority network. The addition of plaques was the first step toward incorporating the element of size into the EBHP, but categorizing all monuments by size will also prove key to understanding prominence and visibility in the context of their surroundings. The Scott Monument represents the largest monument in Edinburgh and the second largest monument to a writer in the world. It dominates the local landscape and has become a prominent feature of the city skyline at almost 200 feet tall. By comparison, the tallest memorial to a woman, the Catherine Sinclair Monument, stands at just sixty feet tall, shorter than most of the trees surrounding it.³³⁷

In addition to incorporating proposed additions related to time, status, size, and listing, I intend to pursue the potential for the application of similar mapping techniques to other landscapes to probe the possibility of dismantling these trends on broader scales. In studying monuments as key symbols of power and belonging within the city of Edinburgh's heritage

³³⁶ Hayden, *The Power of Place*, 68.

³³⁷ O'Neill, "Catherine Sinclair Monument," Edinburgh Built Heritage Project (2018), edinburghbuiltheritage.org/map.

landscape, I was able to draw new and innovative conclusions about the manifestation of nationalism in the Scottish capital and the methods employed to do so. Recognizing such trends within the confines of a single Scottish city underscores the gendered significance of memorialization across Scotland and holds the potential for much broader conclusions with the incorporation of new categories of analysis. EBHP not only remedies the shortcomings of previous attempts at cataloging like that of MMWS, but perhaps more importantly opens the door for more in depth analyses of memorialization practices in the city. Its methods are testable and transferrable, holding the potential to reveal similar trends in the heritage landscapes of cities like London, Boston, or even Washington D.C. where national narratives differ but a focus on masculinity prevails.

In the city of Manchester in the north of England, there is just one statue to a woman (Queen Victoria) as compared to seventeen to men. In 2018, city councilor Andrew Simcock biked 1100 miles from Land's End, the southernmost point in England, to John O'Groats, the northernmost point in Scotland, to raise awareness and money for a Manchester's notable women; he unveiled the winning design, a statue to suffragette Emmeline Pankhurst, in December, bringing the city's total to two.³³⁸ As Cat Boyd stated, "This isn't even a specifically old-world problem. In America, which is less hidebound by monarchical and aristocratic traditions, things are just as bad, even in the liberal cities. In San Francisco only two women are represented in 87 public statues; it's five out of 150 in New York City. There are fewer than 400 across the whole USA."³³⁹ Curbed, a local news organization covering twelve American cities

³³⁸ Helen Pidd, "Thousands Welcome Emmeline Pankhurst Statue in Manchester," *The Guardian*, 14 December 2018, accessed 2 August 2019, <https://www.theguardian.com/culture/2018/dec/14/thousands-turn-out-for-unveiling-of-emmeline-pankhurst-statue-in-manchester>.

³³⁹ Cat Boyd, "More Statues of Women Will Not Recast the Men in Bronze," *The National*, 13 March 2018, accessed 7 July 2019, <https://www.thenational.scot/news/16082018.more-statues-of-women-will-not-recast-the-men-in-bronze/>.

researched monuments to women in several US cities. In Washington D.C. in 2016 they noted forty: eleven direct memorials to women depicted in sculpture and a further twenty-nine in allegory or group memory. Of the latter category, ten were allegorical statues of women dedicated to men, quintessential reminders of enduring feminine servitude.³⁴⁰ In Boston in 2017, Curbed noted just six statues in four installations.³⁴¹ The commonality of these omissions from public landscapes underscores the importance and timeliness of this work and other efforts to reassert women's claims to space in the heritage landscape.

Final Thoughts

As this thesis has demonstrated, nationalism has proven itself to be a resolute force in narrative construction but it is possible to reshape existing accounts to meet new needs. Scotland in particular has long been a case study for invented tradition in conjunction with the emergence of a distinct nationalism, but as Graeme Morton wrote, "Darkness envelops the place of gender within nationalism...most commonly, the blindness comes from the nationalist side as the rights of women are made marginal to the agenda of the nation's needs."³⁴² Esther Breitenbach confirmed, "The paradox facing women in Scotland is that the debate on nationalism has ignored gender, and feminist debates on nationalism have ignored Scotland."³⁴³ The fundamentally gendered nature of nationalism and nationalist discourse in Scotland necessitated a joint approach to gender and power, a call I have well and truly heeded.³⁴⁴ My identification of the

³⁴⁰ Michelle Goldchain, "Every Female Statue in Washington, D.C., Mapped," *Curbed*, 24 August 2016, accessed 10 August 2019, <https://dc.curbed.com/maps/washington-dc-public-art-female>.

³⁴¹ Tom Acitelli, "Boston Statues of Notable Women, From Abigail Adams to Phyllis Wheatley," *Curbed*, 8 February 2017, accessed 10 August 2019, <https://boston.curbed.com/maps/boston-statues-of-women>.

³⁴² Graeme Morton, *William Wallace: A National Tale* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014), 127.

³⁴³ Breitenbach et. al. "Understanding Women in Scotland," 61.

³⁴⁴ McClintock, "'No Longer in a Future Heaven,'" 90.

exclusion and eliminationism that comes with entrenched androcentrism and antiquated portrayals of a dynamic contemporary identity helps to bridge gaps not only within historical understandings of nationalism and its manifestations, but also between disciplines like history, cultural heritage management, and tourism. Shifting the focus from national identity to gender encourages a reevaluation of both historiographical and institutional practices and creates new possibilities for interpretation among authorities like museums, battlefields, and other stewards of public culture. Anne McClintock stressed, “To insist on silence about gender conflict when it already exists is to cover, and thereby ratify, women’s disempowerment...if nationalism is not transformed by an analysis of gender power, the nation-state will remain a repository of male hopes, male aspirations, and male privilege.”³⁴⁵

Just as Joan Scott and Natalie Zemon Davis insisted of women’s history in the 1980s, it will not do to completely overturn existing notions of Scottish nationalism and replace them with a more inclusive version of the past. Obscuring the longstanding tradition of male preeminence and smoothing over the damaging effects of interpretations that uphold it is arguably just as dangerous as continued marginalization. Through a balanced approach to gender in spaces of contested power, particularly those associated with the most masculine of environments like battlefields and war memorials, and a more comprehensive focus on heritage practices alongside its products, it is possible to present a version of the past that does not threaten male viewers nor exclude female voices. Conscious approaches to inclusion without alienation are essential to meeting visitor expectations for content while doing the historical record justice by demonstrating to marginalized communities, especially women, their significance in the very same spheres. By encouraging heritage – and its practitioners – to focus on the collective impact of people throughout history rather than men or women individually, it may be possible to

³⁴⁵ McClintock, ““No Longer in a Future Heaven,”” 109.

produce new, more acceptable methods for historical interpretation and push the industry to adapt and evolve with its society. As Neil Silberman acknowledged, “It is, I believe, rather more important to reassess the socio-economic value we place on the historical landscape and intangible traditions as the basis for community well-being, whether that community is local and fixed, or a diaspora scattered across the world...There can be no return to the age of high culture and the public funds to support it.”³⁴⁶

We cannot celebrate monolithic national identities and still expect them to reflect the dynamic collective experiences, memories, and references that define our present. They must be encouraged to evolve constantly and engage with a present dependent on adaptive change.³⁴⁷ Calling attention to critical absences in highly anticipated heritage landscapes like Edinburgh’s is the first step in making room for crucial yet forgotten actors in public interpretations of the past; efforts like that of MMWS and the EBHP are key to raising awareness of existing issues and promoting constructive consideration of necessary changes. Challenging precedence and selective memory is possible, and in the Scottish case, extremely necessary. “As museums and heritage sites are increasingly called upon to contribute to greater social cohesion and harmony, such enhanced relevance through interpreting [gender] presents a clear advantage.”³⁴⁸ To reshape is as vital as to preserve.³⁴⁹

³⁴⁶ Silberman, Neil, “Changing Visions of Heritage Value: What Role Should the Experts Play?” *Ethnologies* Vol. 36, No. 1 (2014), 441.

³⁴⁷ UNESCO, *World Report: Investing in Cultural Diversity and Intercultural Dialogue* (France: UNESCO Publishing, 2009), 20.

³⁴⁸ Deufel, “Telling Her Story of War,” 83.

³⁴⁹ David Lowenthal, “Fabricating Heritage,” *History and Memory* Vol. 10, No. 1 (Spring 1998), 19.

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