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The 'Tourist Gaze' on Gaelic Scotland

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The book is about space, about language, and about death; it is about the act of seeing, the gaze. (M. Foucault, *Naissance de la Clinique* 1973: ix)

The Abstract

The Scottish Gael is objectified in an un-modified 'tourist gaze'; a condition that is best understood from a post-colonial perspective.

John Urry in *The Tourist Gaze* (1990, 2011) showed that cultures are objectified by the gaze of a global tourist industry. The unequal power relations in that gaze can be mediated through resistance and the production of staged touristic events. The process leads to commoditisation and inauthenticity and this is the current discourse on Scottish tourism icons.

An ethnographic study of tour guiding shows a pattern of (re)-presentation of a silenced and nearly invisible Gaeldom. By building upon Foucauldian theories of power, Said's critique of Orientalism's discourse and Spivak's idea on agency, this unmodified gaze can be explained from a postcolonial perspective.

Six related aspects of Gaeldom's (re)-presentation are revealed: 1. The discourse of the Victorian invention of Scottish cultural icons, and by metonymic extension, Gaelic culture; 2. The commoditisation of Gaelic culture in the image of the Highland Warrior; 3. The re-naming of landscape and invention of new place narratives; 4. Historical presence by invitation; 5. Elision with Irish culture; and, 6. The mute Gael.

Combined, the elements of (re)-presentation result in the distancing and the rendering opaque of Gaelic culture. The absence of informed mediators, either tourist authorities or individuals, the lack of an oppositional narrative and the pervasive discourse of invention reduces the Gael to a silenced subaltern 'other' (Spivak, 1988). Thus the unmediated tourist 'gaze' continues. This singular condition of Gaeldom is comprehensible through analysis of Scottish tourism from a postcolonial perspective.

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Author's Declaration

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due acknowledgement has been made in the text. It has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification except as specified.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

The work is the result of a five-year journey to understand the presentation of Scottish Gaeldom within the tourism industry. It seeks to demonstrate that the Gael is objectified in an un-modified 'tourist gaze'. Its genesis lies in work delivering an element of Gaelic within interpretation at heritage sites. The experience of training as a Blue Badge (BB) tourist guide provided the spur for further research and the data and analysis are based on contact with some 143 clients and three years of self funded academic study.

Examination of the Scottish Highlander and his presence within the contemporary tourism industry has never been attempted. I deliberately privilege 'him' over 'her' - a considered use of the male gender which will become more comprehensible as the discussion progresses. I also use the term 'Highlander' to encompass all Gaelic-speaking peoples in Scotland regardless of location in the same totalizing way in which he is re-presented across all media. The study area, however, is primarily that of the upland areas north of the Forth and Clyde rivers. While the Scots language dominated for many centuries over much of the eastern parts of this area, the area is nonetheless presented to the tourist as the 'Highlands' Thus for instance on the fist minibus trip (see chapter 8) the guide Amanda announces at the Balloch roundabout that "the boring bit of the journey is now over and we are entering the Highlands".

The research has lacked signposts that might guide the study which has thus ranged over a number of related fields. These include an extensive examination of Sir Walter Scott, his Highland novels and the corpus of literary criticism devoted to him. A further exercise has applied Foucault's 'archaeology of knowledge' approach to the discourse of 'tartanry' - an analysis of "those configurations within the *space* of knowledge which have given rise to the diverse forms of empirical science. Such an enterprise is not so much a history […] as

'archaeology'" (Foucault, 1969: xxi and xxii, original emphasis). Although informing this particular work, neither of these studies is covered fully. The ambition of the study has proved to be in excess of the parameters of a single thesis resulting in the need to identify an ordering epistemological framework. This was achieved by adopting the 'tourist gaze' as a paradigm for the analysis of the findings. John Urry (1990, 2011) has used the term 'tourist gaze' to describe the manner in which cultures are objectified by tourism.

This research suggests that the distancing and the rendering opaque of Gaelic culture is a systemic aspect of Scottish tourism. It will be argued that the fact that the culture of Gaeldom suffers from such a singular condition is perhaps best comprehended through analysis of tourism from a postcolonial perspective. Following Ashcroft, et.al (2007), Lazarus (2004) and Moore- Gilbert (1997), postcolonial criticism can be understood as a discrete set of reading practices, preoccupied with the analysis of cultural forms that are mediated, challenge, or reflect upon the relations of domination and subordination - economic, cultural and political - between (and often within) nations, races or cultures. These practices characteristically have their roots in the history of modern European colonialism and which, equally characteristically, continue to be apparent in the present era of neo-colonialism. Postcolonial criticism has also helped to gain acceptance for the argument that 'culture', albeit more subtly, mediates relations of power as effectively as more visible forms of oppression.

Scottish tourism represents one of the oldest sites of mass tourism, remains a significant part of the Scottish economy and there is a substantial corpus of literature on the nature of the Highlands of Scotland. But, paradoxically, the Gael (the Gaelic Scot) is reduced to a silenced subaltern 'other' under an unmediated 'tourist gaze' This condition, as is posited, is due to the absence of informed mediators, the lack of a mediating narrative, limited desire to generate one, and the continued primacy of a pervasive discourse of 'invention'

that sees all Gaelic culture as a Victorian construct. For those reasons, therefore, the tourism sector provides one of the best opportunities for gaining a sense of the present day status of the Gaelic Highlander within Scotland.

This thesis comprises thirteen chapters with accompanying bibliography and appendices. Chapter Two provides a background to the research explaining its genesis, a brief overview of Gaelic's policy context, reference to the principal discourses concerning Gaelic culture within the Scottish tourist industry, a short introduction to Blue Badge (BB) guides and their training and, finally, a brief statement on the manner of the research conducted. Chapter Three comprises an introduction to the Scottish tourism industry.

Chapter Four examines theoretical frameworks and provides a brief overview of postcolonial theory, a consideration of the intellectual wellsprings of Urry's 'tourist gaze', and an examination of earlier attempts at the application of a postcolonial perspective on Scotland. It concludes that there is merit in applying a postcolonial reading strategy to the representation of the Highlander in Scottish tourism. Chapter Five provides a survey of the relevant literature. The focus is largely chronological in that it traces Scottish Lowland tropes of Highlanders' representation from 1950 to the late mediaeval period. Its conclusion is that elements of that representation have persisted for some five hundred years. The following chapter addresses theoretical approaches, the method of inquiry, the justification of research approaches and links to other research. Chapter Seven contains an analysis of the data from the autoethnography undertaken and Chapter Eight reports on the findings of a mystery shopper exercise. Three chapters then address respectively the themes of 'invention', elision, and erasure as they relate to the Gaelic Highlander. Chapter Twelve summarises the conclusions from the three discussion chapters.

The thesis concludes with a consideration of the implications of the research and recommendations. Chapter Thirteen considers future practice, issues beyond the scope of the study and future research. Specific recommendations stemming from the research are included as an appendix.

CHAPTER TWO: BACKGROUND

The Scottish Literary Texts Society gathered at Balloch in the June 2010 to celebrate the 200th anniversary of the publication of the *Lady of the Lake*. The interest that poem generated in the early nineteenth century, is claimed to have kick- started the Scottish tourism industry (Seaton, 1998:8). Most commentators avow that its author, Sir Walter Scott, created a romantic Highland landscape, peopled by chivalrous Gaelic warriors and romantic heroines, that remains in the popular imagination to this day. Michael Newton, an American academic delivered a paper on the indigenous Gaelic poetry of the area in which the Lake - Loch Katrine - is situated which he had published in *Bho Chluaidh gu Calasraid: From the Clyde to Callandar* (1999). In subsequent informal discussions Alastair Durie, a tourism academic, declared that Gaelic is of no value to the Scottish tourism industry and that "too much money is spent on Gaelic". This attitude from a member of the academic community is not unique; a senior academic adviser to Historic Scotland (HS), the government heritage body, has expressed the view that its investment in Scottish Gaelic material would not provide any value neither to it nor to the tourism industry (pers. com.). This research is concerned with an examination of the industry in an attempt to gain an understanding of the manner, both historical and current, in which the Gaelic Highlander is treated in Scottish tourism.

Gaelic

Before the establishment of the burghs in the twelfth century, Gaelic was the principal language of Scotland. While its prestige and area of extent had diminished by the sixteenth century, Scots authors still acknowledged that the Scots were largely of Gaelic descent (MacGregor, 2007:45). It was only during the eighteenth century process of industrialisation and improvement that spoken English began to predominate in the upland

areas to the north of the Forth and Clyde. To this day, English is still not exclusively the language of everyday speech in the Highlands. A number of studies, most recently those by Wilson McLeod (2003, 2006), have examined Gaelic's position as one of the minority languages of Scotland and the nature of its struggle for survival.

Samuel Johnson observed that "[t]here is no tracing the connection of ancient nations, but by language; and therefore I am always sorry when any language is lost, because languages are the pedigree of nations" (*Rambler*, 1752: 208). Language is more than a means of communication and is an indicator for distinct cultural attributes (Deutscher, 2010). A number of these markers have become Scottish cultural icons such as the sett pattern, described as tartan, and the kilt. Although regarded by Lowlanders as 'barbarous' people in need of civilisation, the 1760 publication of MacPherson's Ossianic poetry awakened interest in the locality in a manner similar to that by which Winkelmann re-awakened German literary interest in Greece (Harloe, 2013).

MacCannell, (1992:1) has stated that tourism is "an ideological framing of history, nature and tradition; a framing that has the power to reshape culture and nature to its own needs" and his lead has been followed by authors who claim that the iconography of Highland Scotland was shaped and emerged as an early mass tourism destination (Bhandari, 2012; Brendon, 1991; Davidson, 2000; Seaton, 1998). Although primarily motivated by an animus against MacPherson, (Ferguson, 1998) Johnston's 1773 visit to Scotland and the publication of his book two years later provides a picture of a cultural area which, although under change, was nonetheless worthy of study.

Rapid societal change was a feature of the eighteenth and nineteenth century Scotland. Scott in *Waverley* (1815) noted that pace of change:

> There is no European nation which, within the course of half a century [...] has undergone so complete a change as [...] Scotland.... The [...] present people of Scotland ... [are]... as different from their grandfathers as the existing English are from those of Queen Elizabeth's time (492) …

The Highlands were affected by the notion of 'improvement' and large tracts of land were cleared of people for, initially, sheep farms, and subsequently, deer forests. The native Gaelic population declined rapidly and indigenous culture and language was gradually largely restricted to the north-west mainland and the Hebrides. In a little researched process, physical manifestations of the culture were taken up by the British Army as it recruited large numbers of men from the Highlands (MacKillop, 2000; Tabraham & Grove, 2002). Commentators agree that tartan, the kilt, bagpipes and associated martial paraphernalia metonymically came to exemplify Highland culture and ultimately the whole of Scottish touristic culture (Craig, 1996; Nairn, 1975, 1977).

Although the *Lady of the Lake* was a seminal publication that led rapidly to organised tours of the Loch Katrine area, Durie (2007) notes that Scott was far from completely enthusiastic over the growth of tourism. Durie sees it as a "by product of his work" and Scott "objected to the cultural corrosion of tourism, when showing rocks and ruins became a trade" (121). Despite the fact that his works are now largely unknown outwith the academy (Gifford, 2005), in popular perception he is supposed to have single-handedly invented today's image of Scotland (Gold & Gold, 1995). Scott is credited with creating for King George IV's visit to Edinburgh in 1822, - known at *The King's Jaunt* - 'a tartaned pageant', thus popularising the use of a fabric and dress (Prebble, 1988; Trevor-Roper, 1983) which has been a marker of Scottish difference from the rest of the United Kingdom. The literature suggests that the process was given further impetus by Queen Victoria's interest so that the popular image of Scotland became associated with that of the tartan-kilted Highlander.

From 1846, this romantic image was readily taken up by Thomas Cook, who promoted tours to the Highlands of Scotland (Brendon, 1991; Gold & Gold, 1995; and McCrone, 1992, 1995), and popular tourism became a significant part of a wider Scottish economy at the same time as the Gaelic language area continued to shrink. Withers's (1984) *Gaelic in Scotland, 1698-1981* provides a survey of the geographical ebb of a language. This 'retreat' was, in spite of the increased mass appeal of a Highland 'brand' founded principally on the visual markers of its culture.

The literary imagined landscape of the Highlands that Scott purportedly created has been the subject of much critical examination in the recent past (McCrone et. al., 1995). However, despite the critical gaze of many poets, literary critics and academic commentators who have sought to demonstrate the 'invented' nature of the popular perceptions of the Highlands, Scotland's tourism industry grew steadily, nourished by images of a romantic landscape, peopled by kilted Highlanders. The industry today remains a more significant employer than whisky (http://www.scotch-whisky.org.uk/media/ 16623/ economicimpact reportmay2010.pdf).

Analysis of today's Scottish tourism industry considers it 'a mature market' in terms of The Tourist Area Life Cycle (TALC) (Butler 1985), no longer a destination for mass tourism and relying on its appeal as a niche market. It has been recognised by successive policymakers, in seeking to encourage growth in visitor numbers (Kerr, 2003), that one of the key niche markets of considerable potential is heritage or cultural tourism. Although Bhandari has recently completed his thesis on the specifically political nationalism of aspects of Scottish cultural tourism (2012), it remains an area of limited study. This may be a missed opportunity for one of the oldest sites of mass tourism which potentially offers some of the best data to study the longitudinal aspects of tourism's impact upon indigenous culture.

Although the industry itself tends to dwell on transactional issues such as the quality of welcome, food and accommodation (see below), commentators have sought to question the nature of the product offered to the visitor. The analysis has not been positive. The most authoritative view is that of McCrone who stated in *Scotland the Brand* (1995:5) that much of Scotland's tourism iconography was a Victorian construct, in other words, an 'invented tradition' a term applied by Trevor-Roper (1983) to the culture of Scotland. His analysis has been adopted almost without modification by commentators such as Gold & Gold (1995) and continues to influence both academic and popular perceptions of Gaelic and Highland Scotland to this day.

So, although tourism in Scotland, as we shall see, is largely marketed by Highland imagery, Gaelic's presence is almost subliminal with regard to Scotland's 'Brand'. This is the paradox under investigation in this study. The lack of language profile and concomitant diminution of status is puzzling. Since every language is the embodiment and means of transport of culture, this is a wasted opportunity for Gaelic and Scotland. Language experts agree that raising the profile of an endangered language is of considerable value: an endangered language will progress if its speakers increase their prestige within the dominant community (Crystal, 2000:130). An endangered community therefore needs to raise its visibility, or profile. Tourism is a good example of a service industry which can bring considerable benefits to an endangered language. (Phipps, 2007).Successful examples are to be found in parts of Switzerland and Northern Italy (Crystal, 2000: 133). Macdonald, (1997) describing the Aros centre in Skye explains that this "accommodating Gaelic with commercialism" is seen as a way:

> of giving new strength to the language and culture. In the revivalists' vision, the market and tourism are appropriated and put to the service of Gaelic culture. (Macdonald, 1997: 159)

She quotes documents from Highlands & Islands Enterprise and *Commun na Gàidhlig,* a government funded Gaelic development body, that make a case for the promotion of "cultural tourism" in the Highlands which they do by casting "Gaelic heritage" as "an underutilised resource" which can be used as a "development tour" to attract tourists.

Gaelic is an officially recognised language within the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages. In Scotland, the Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act 2005 contains statutory provisions designed to secure the status and maintain the status of Gaelic in Scotland. In particular, it establishes a public body, *Bòrd na Gàidhlig*, to undertake the task; it requires the preparation of a National Plan for Gaelic; and it empowers the *Bòrd* to require public bodies in Scotland to prepare Gaelic Plans setting out how they will promote the use of Gaelic.

The 2012 -17 National Gaelic Language Plan (NGLP): Growth & Improvement

On page 40 of the NGLP the Bòrd recognises that Gaelic heritage and tourism are important to the future of Gaelic as well as providing the context for the historical importance of the language in Scotland. It states that the language's visibility and "use in … […]… cultural tourism is important and that VisitScotland should ensure that Gaelic is used in promoting Scotland to the domestic and overseas markets" This statement, and the Plan's desire that the place of Gaelic be acknowledged in the interpretation of places of interest is a more emphatic statement than that contained in the first Plan as to the value of tourism to efforts for the language's survival.

The desire to develop Gaelic's profile in the tourism sector is not new. From the inception of public interventions in support of Gaelic, the potentially important role of tourism has been recognised. *The Internal* Dynamics *of Gaelic Development* (1993) report for

Highlands and Islands Enterprise (HIE) stated that provision would be made for integration of Gaelic into the tourism industry. Although there has been some analytical work done on the value of the Gaelic cultural industries, there have been no major national initiatives to date. The only specifically Gaelic-focused marketing initiative, *Cearcaill na Gàidhlig,* by operating mainly on the West Coast, does not target mainstream tourist destinations. (http://www.gaelic-rings.com/www/en.php)

Gaelic Language Planning

The Act gives the *Bòrd* authority to issue a statutory notice to any relevant public authority requiring that body to develop a Gaelic language plan, setting out how it will use and enable the use of Gaelic within its relevant operations. In deciding whether to issue such a statutory notice, the *Bòrd* considers to what extent the authority could contribute to the implementation of priority areas of the National Plan. A number of bodies have received approval for their plans, including VisitScotland (February 2012). However, analysis of that plan demonstrates that it primarily addresses domestic matters such as signage, translation, language training and correspondence in Gaelic. It has no strategic role for the culture. The extent to which it projects the culture to 'overseas markets' (14) is to agree that "Gaelic interpretation of VisitScotland's straplines in the UK and overseas ("Surprise Yourself"; and "Scotland. Welcome to our Life") will be introduced - except in respect of URLs." (http://www.gaidhlig.org.uk/Downloads/ Approved_

Gaelic_Plans/Published%20version%20of%20Gaelic%20Plan%20-%20English.pdf)

Other support

Other national voluntary and statutory organisations providing for support for the Gaelic language include: *Ainmean-Àite na h-Alba* (Gaelic Place-Names of Scotland) a partnership of authorities and organisations, chiefly funded by *Bòrd na Gàidhlig*, to produce a

definitive online national gazetteer of Gaelic place-name forms and to advise on wording for signs incorporating Gaelic place-names; *An Comunn Gàidhealach* is a membership organisation founded in 1891 which promotes the study and development of Gaelic language, literature, music, drama and all other related forms and promotes the use of the language in everyday community life. It organises the main Gaelic cultural festival, the Royal National Mod; BBC Gaelic (BBC *Craoladh nan Gàidheal*) is the department of the British Corporation responsible for its broadcasting in the language through various media, including radio and television; *Cli Gàidhlig* is an access and promotion organisation which promotes the learning and national status of Gaelic, disseminates information on Gaelic and Gaelic matters, and acts as the voice of Gaelic learners and non-native speakers; *Comunn na Gàidhlig* is a Gaelic development body which works in a number of areas to develop Gaelic. It is particularly involved in initiatives involving community, education, younger people and promotion; *Fèisean nan Gàidheal* is an umbrella organisation for many of the Gaelic arts teaching festivals in Scotland. It gives support funding and delivers training programmes, and is involved in initiatives which promote Gaelic and its culture; *Pròiseact nan Ealan* (the Gaelic Arts Agency) is the principal national development agency for the Gaelic arts in Scotland; *Sabhal Mòr Ostaig* is a Gaelic higher education institute with an international reach and part of the UHI Millennium Institute partnership. It offers a range of Gaelic language and medium tuition, including degree programmes through short, part-time and distance learning courses.

The limited ambition of VisitScotland's plans for the language and culture of Highland Scotland is reflected in the fact that, for Gaels, their language, culture and history, remain practically invisible to the average visitor. Opportunities to see or hear Gaelic are limited to parts of the west coast, the Inner Hebrides, and the Western Isles. Many tourists, whether they are coach parties, shore visitors from cruise ships, city break visitors or independent travellers, mainly learn about Scotland by using a tourist guide. These guides'

task in interpreting and explaining what visitors see plays a crucial part in enhancing the visitor's experience. However, guide training pays scant attention to the Gaelic dimension to Scotland's story so that their understanding is patchy. These recent (2008/9) comments made to me by Scottish Tourist Guides Association (STGA) BB guides, who are qualified to guide anywhere in Scotland, illustrate the scale of the task of education:

"When people ask me to speak a few words of Gaelic, I just speak gibberish." This was the admission in 2008 by a recently qualified non-native English speaking guide. Comments from guide trainers include the following; "All names ending in 'o' are Pictish"; "The place name Strontian has at least four possible meanings"; "Rob Roy was so physically challenged that he looked like a gorilla and his knuckles practically scraped the ground"; and, "There was a bit of controversy when Ossian published his poems a couple of centuries ago."

The bulk of formal accredited tour guide training is provided by the STGA with the national agencies (e.g. Historic Scotland (HS), and Scottish Natural Heritage (SNH)) undertaking individual specific in-house training programmes. The STGA's two-year, part-time course, accredited by Edinburgh University, provides, through 1,200 hours of core study, a grounding in the archaeology, history, art, architecture, geology, human and cultural landscape, natural history and literature, as well as the organisations and institutions of Scotland. At present, as the above quotations suggest, in the STGA course, Gaelic is dealt with in a fashion that stresses its romantic and mystic aspects. The Gaels, quite simply, are portrayed as 'other'.

I have trained as a BB tourist guide consciously specialising in Gaelic Scotland, graduating in May 2010. Five years' experience as a trainee and subsequent guiding and my study of

how the Gaelic component in Scotland's narrative is marginalised have largely informed

this research. The next chapter considers the wider tourism context.

CHAPTER THREE: INTRODUCTION TO THE SCOTTISH TOURIST INDUSTRY

Introduction

The chapter commences with a general overview of the tourism industry looking at scale both at global and local Scottish level. It then considers heritage and cultural tourism at global and Scottish levels.

A significant factor for many peoples' motivation to travel has long been the desire to engage with different cultures. However, not all tourists share the same motivations for travel; many people travel just for pleasure while large numbers also travel in order to visit family and friends (Gladstone, 2005:53). In 2012, according to the World Travel and Tourism Council, the direct contribution of Travel and Tourism to GDP was $2,056.6bn (2.9% of total GDP), which was forecast to rise by 3.1% in 2013, and maintain a 4.4% pa growth, from 2013 - 2023, to $3,249.2bn in 2023. The total contribution to GDP was $6,630.4bn (9.3% of GDP) in 2012, forecast to rise by 3.2% in 2013, and to grow by 4.4% pa to $10, 507.1bn in 2023. In 2012 Travel & Tourism directly provided 101,118,000 jobs (3.4% of total employment). This was expected to increase by 1.2% in 2013 and by 2.0% pa, creating 125,288,000 jobs (3.7% of total employment) in 2023, an increase of 2.0% pa over the ten years. This includes employment by hotels, travel agents, airlines, other passenger transportation services and the activities of the restaurant and leisure industries directly supported by tourists.

(http://www.wttc.org/site_media/uploads/downloads/world2013_1.pdf)

The rate of expansion to non-Western destinations is higher than that in Europe with a flow of tourists from the cold North to destinations in the warm South, particularly around the Mediterranean, Caribbean, South Pacific, and Southeast Asian coasts. This has implications for northern climes such as Scotland, since the significance of tourism to the wider Scottish economy is unusually large.

The Scottish industry

According to VisitScotland's primary statistics, the Scottish tourism sector accounts for 11% of total service sector GDP (for the UK as a whole, tourism accounts for 9% of service sector Gross Value Added (GVA).   The statistics indicate that in 2012, almost 15 million overnight tourism trips were taken in Scotland, for which visitor expenditure totalled £4.3 billion (http:// www.visitscotland.org/pdf/VS%20Insights%20Key%20Facts%202012%20(2).pdf) and over 200,000 jobs are supported by the sector.

Visitors from within the UK account for the majority of tourism volume and value. However, whilst overseas residents account for only around 16% of the total number of tourism trips taken in Scotland, they account for 32% of total visitor spend, underlining the value of attracting these visitors. USA, Germany, France and Ireland are long-time major markets for Scotland while good growth has been seen in recent years in markets such as Spain and Italy. Scottish Enterprise states that the months of July to September are the most popular for holidays in Scotland amongst both UK and overseas visitors.   However, business tourism is also a significant component of the Scottish tourism market accounting for around 20% of total visitor expenditure. (http://www.scottish-enterprise. Com /resources /publications/stuv/scottish-key-facts-july-2013.aspx).

Stephen Leckie - chair of the Scottish Tourism Alliance - writing in the foreword of *Tourism Scotland 2020*, *A strategy for leadership and growth*   (2012), confirms that tourism is one of Scotland's key economic contributors with overnight visitors generating in excess of £4.5bn annually and day visitors contributing a further £6.2bn, giving an annual total spend close to £11bn. When speaking of future opportunities, however, he goes on to say that:

if the long-term trend in overnight visitor spend witnessed since 1973 was to continue, we would see little or no real growth in the coming decade – a reflection of increasing costs, new competitor destinations and the fact that Scotland is a mature tourism destination operating largely in well-established markets such as Western Europe and North America. […] the long-standing picture doesn't look set to change any time soon (http://www.scottish-enterprise.com/~/ media/SE/Resources/ Documents/ STUV/ New%20Tourism %20 Industry %20Strategy.pdf).

This analysis is built on the Leadership in Tourism Group's (LTG) report on the future direction of the industry, published in the Spring 2011, and is based upon earlier documents (www.stforum.co.uk/wmslib/Towards_a_Tourism_Strategy__ Outputs_of_phase_1_-_Feb_2011.pdf). That LTG report confirms that the industry is stagnating and that numbers are static. The validity of the data is disputed however (Kerr, 2003) and one of the LTG's recommendations is the need for its better collection and analysis. Most commentators acknowledge that the industry is not expanding. Indeed, Kerr's research study (2003:156) suggested that revenues have declined by some £1 billion since the 1990s. He claims that there is too much low quality published research and much of the output is written in a way that makes it difficult for the industry to access and/or understand. He analyses a series of Scottish tourism initiatives and strategies and concludes that Scottish tourism fails to challenge competitor destinations or realise its ultimate potential. In a report on drivers and scenarios of Scottish tourism to shape the future to 2015, Kerr's view of the need to build a shared vision between industry and the public sector is acknowledged as 'perhaps one of the crucial challenges and will be one of the most difficult elements to achieve' (Lennon and Yeoman, 2007:11).The concern is not new. The research report on the Inquiry of the Enterprise and Lifelong Learning Committee, a Scottish Parliament committee, in September 2002 states that tourism in Scotland has been declining in real terms since 1998 (http://www.scottish.parliament.uk/official_ report/cttee/enter-02/elr02-tourism-01.htm).

That research uses case studies of sixteen comparable destinations to identify the main factors in a successful tourist industry and suggests a number of approaches for developing successful tourism in Scotland. As a result the Scottish Government promoted the initiative of *Scottish Tourism*: *The Next Decade- A Tourism Framework for Change* (TFFC) (2006) with an explicit reference to a strategic objective of using native/traditional culture and heritage to differentiate destinations. Specific targets for 2015 were set: an annual volume growth by around 2% in visitor numbers, leading to a 20% increase and delivering a gross increase of 50% in revenues by 2015. (http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Publications/2006/03/03145848/0)

By 2011, the LTG's Report revealed that such aspirations had not been achieved. The report showed that the value of tourist expenditure in 2010 remained static at roughly £4.2bn. The report showed that trends were similar in 2009 and that visitor numbers increased at a slightly higher rate in the UK as a whole than in Scotland. Significantly, trends in the value of tourism differed between countries within an UK-wide increase since 2005 - in Scotland the value had declined. Scotland was losing its share of the overall UK tourism market. The report concluded that the industry was on the cusp between stagnation and decline. To avoid slipping into decline, action was required. Scotland did not generally compete in price and its strengths lay in differentiating itself from its competitors. Scotland is a powerful destination, distinctive and differentiated from other competitors in a number of ways - landscape, culture, heritage and its people. A synopsis of the TLG report, prepared and issued to BB guides, forms Appendix 3.

Nature of industry /guiding

A substantial element of the industry is concerned with the package tour sector. Many people still receive their first glimpse of Highland Scotland through the window of a tour

coach or minibus. Operators such as Shearings and Lochs and Glens run tours daily throughout the year usually lasting between five and seven days. Cruising is growing in worldwide significance and is becoming an increasingly important part of the Scottish industry. Thus Cruise Scotland, an industry body established to cater for this sector, published a report in 2010 which suggested that Scotland will enjoy a substantial increase in the number of visiting ships, although at a lower level of percentage increase than other competitor countries. Although the report highlights pressure on small ports, this growth is seen as positive since it introduces to Scotland visitors from other countries, particularly from the BRIC block (Brazil, Russia, India and China) that would perhaps not otherwise visit (http://www.cruisescotland.com).

City Break tourism is also significant with many consumers taking such breaks as a supplement to more extended annual vacations. In Scotland the primary centre is Edinburgh, although Glasgow is beginning to attract increased numbers. A spin-off from this market is the growth of one-day minibus tours from these two centres into Highland areas. Independent travellers, primarily English, American and northern European, are still important but their numbers are difficult to determine fully accurately.

Yeoman, (2009) identified that, apart from special interest groups focusing on golf, extreme sport, 'wilderness' landscape, and 'roots tourism', the culture and scenery of Scotland would appear to be the most significant attractions. This pattern has been a consistent element of visitor perception for some time and the key elements of attraction remain pertinent today. The rugged landscape dotted with numerous ruined castles and associated traditions seem to be the principal draw. Many visitors will arrive in Scotland with a set of preconceived notions (Sleiner and Reisinger, 2004). Many other visitors will have purchased a guidebook while others will have read a novel that has provided them with a 'mind picture'. Sales of guidebooks remain buoyant and novels such as Gabaldon's

Cross Stitch (1992), (subsequently entitled *Outlander*), provide yet another set of images of Gaelic Scotland. The same is true for Pilcher, an author delivering a romantic impression of the Highlander in popular German literature, followed up by sustained visits from German tourists (Jack and Phipps, 2005). Each of these media forms purveys an imagined impression of Highland Scotland. Images are also gained from popular culture, for example, the Loch Ness Monster, the Island of Skye, the *Harry Potter* Bridge and the films *Braveheart* (Mel Gibson's successful Hollywood film on the life of William Wallace)*, Highlander* and *Rob Roy*. The power of such imagery is illustrated by the latest partnership between VisitScotland and Disney Pixar jointly to market *Brave*, an animated film released in 2012. VisitScotland's £12 million investment sought to publicise Scotland to a worldwide audience and drive large numbers of fan visits thereby building on the '*Harry Potter* effect'. There has yet to be any systematic analysis of impact although it would seem that the film has had less appeal that the earlier films mentioned above.

Tour operators, however, do not rely solely on their guests' prior knowledge to enrich their visit. All coach and cruise tours will provide 'enrichment' through, in the case of cruisers, evening lectures and/ or on-board guides. Many visitor attractions provide guided tours. Some companies will provide tour managers who also 'explain' the landscape to their guests while many companies rely on the knowledge of their drivers. Other operators will, however, accept the increased cost of the provision of a local trained guide.

The guiding industry in Scotland is not regulated and no accreditation system is applied. However, one craft guild, the Scottish Tourist Guides Association (STGA), supplying some 350 trained guides, is generally used by cruise companies for their on-shore excursions, by the more up-market operators that provide extended tours as well as providing drivers/guiding services for small groups. Minibus operators, providing

exceptionally short exposure to Highland Scotland through marathon journeys, will in all cases use a driver /guide who has been trained in-house by the companies concerned.

Although visitors are provided with a range of stimuli through a range of devices, this study focuses on the role of trained tourist guides in their task of seeking to 'enrich' the visitors' experience. It examines to what extent the guides interpret Highland Scotland and how the brand images of tartan, kilt, bagpiper, clan and whisky are used to narrate in the largely emptied upland landscape north of the Forth and Clyde rivers. The term 'emptied landscapes' is used advisedly as will be the term 'wilderness'. The Highland Clearances and their aftermath have the effect of making the upland areas of Scotland north of the Forth and Clyde one of the most sparsely populated parts of Western Europe. The landscape is empty but it is a constructed 'wilderness'. This fact has a significant bearing upon the task of the guides providing a narrative on what visitors see. In the absence of distinctive landscape features, known in the trade as Top Visual Priorities (TVPs) - the guide has recourse to 'fillers'. These fillers are short narratives designed to maintain the visitors' interest.

Although acknowledging the pioneering work of Dann (1996) and Cohen (1995), Jonathan Wynn shows in *The Tour Guide* (2011) that the role of the tour guide has been little researched. In the European context, Scherle & Nonnenmann in their analysis *Swimming in Cultural Flows* (2008) view guides "as 'intercultural mediators' that facilitate their guests' access to other cultures" (126). They are of the view that to be culturally competent, guides must develop at least the rudiments of relational competence in order to form and maintain positive social relations. They also require competence in information transfer in order to transmit knowledge with minimum loss or distortion. One characteristic that they identify which has significant bearing on this study of Highland Scotland, is a guide's "awareness of one's own cultural reality relative to others" and his

ability to "distance oneself from perceptions and value systems specific to one's own culture". Only a person with this key qualification, they claim, "can become a mediator between divergent cultural systems" (126). The authors elevate the role of the guide to that of translator - in mediating between different cultures. The act of translating has long been a site of critical analysis and it is acknowledged that the task calls for special skills not least an intimate understanding of the culture which is being translated and being made available to the guest. Conversely, it also calls for the same kind of understanding of the culture and language being translated into, particularly that of the non-Anglophone market.

If the role of the tourist guide is important in 'translating' a landscape so that a visitor can understand and relate to it, it follows that the preparation for this role should be of high quality and is likely to have a bearing on the manner in which Highland Scotland is presented. The tourist guiding industry in Scotland, as with the rest of the UK, has no formal academic system to provide the necessary skills base. In its absence, the craft guild mentioned earlier - the STGA - has for many years promoted its members' services on the basis that the consumer was paying for the services of a trained professional. It is important to note that with an attenuated pattern of tourist visits to Scotland, the season being concentrated from Easter to September, few tourist guides succeed in making a full-time career from guiding alone. The profession, therefore, is primarily part-time and many STGA members are retired teachers, primarily women, and largely from a language teaching (French, German, Italian, and Spanish, in that order) background (STGA, Guidelist2012; www.STGA.co.uk). Among the three hundred and fifty guides listed in the annual Handbook, only three of them provide guiding services in Gaelic, the same number as for Mandarin Chinese and Japanese respectively. Over one hundred offer French and Spanish.

The STGA course

Guide training has always been a core purpose of the STGA. Although the Association itself undertook the first training course in 1960, by the mid-1960s the training was run through University of Edinburgh. In 1969 The Scottish Tourist Board (STB), was formed and training was run through that body before being devolved back to STGA in the 1970s when the Association worked with the University of Edinburgh. Courses were also held with Glasgow, Strathclyde, Aberdeen and Dundee. In 1995 STGA became a limited company and the Accrediting body for Guides in Scotland for the Yellow, Green and Blue Badges, and further education or adult education courses open to the general public were utilised for the BB training – e.g. the Universities of Aberdeen, Glasgow, Strathclyde, and U. of E. OLL. By early 2000 streamlined BB specific courses through OLL were developed solely for BBs. Gradually the other universities ceased offering specific courses with U. of E. OLL being the only remaining training provider.

Since its incorporation in 1996, the STGA has sought to enhance the quality of guiding delivered by its members by developing a 'badge' system which indicates a professional standard of performance. The highest level is the colour Blue, which denotes a guide's ability to guide in all areas of Scotland. Supported solely by course fees, the Association has worked with Edinburgh University Office of Lifelong Learning (U. of E. OLL.) to provide an education programme designed to equip the guides with the necessary core knowledge. Only the BB standard requires university accredited training.

The Edinburgh University course enrolls approximately 20 students for a part-time programme of some 20 months' duration. The course costs approximately £4,000 and is a mix of formal class-based core knowledge learning complemented by a programme of practical guiding skills training. The core knowledge programme is designed to provide

students with a basic grounding in all aspects of Scotland and amounts to some 1,200 hours' study. Approximately the same amount of time is devoted to practical guiding skills, delivered through a mix of coach guiding work and walking tours supported by mentors drawn from the existing cadre of BB guides. (http://www.stga.co.uk/)

When the Association sought feedback from the 2010 students, I conducted a short survey. The results of that 20 point questionnaire (Appendix 4A) are as follows. While that cohort was generally positive about the course, they were critical about the limited attention paid to the traditions of Scotland and the complete absence of information about Gaelic culture. Drawing upon this formal and other informal feedback, a proposal was made to the STGA to include a short series of eight lectures on aspects of Gaelic Scotland in the programme commencing in June 2012. The response of the University was to state that space could not be found in the programme, given competing priorities for new elements such as lectures on Scottish food.

Only two references were made to the Gaelic language in the course I attended between 2008 and 2010. The first concerned the early Gaelic accounts of the founding of the Dalriadic kingdom and, the second, the satirical flyting of William Dunbar in which the sixteenth-century poet compares Walter Kennedy's high-register Galloway Gaelic to Lowland farting. Although no detailed syllabus was available, informal soundings and interviews indicate that there was no content on Gaelic culture, language and history for the guides who qualified in the summer of 2012. In the absence of any formal educational input, therefore, the BB guide, when interpreting the landscape of Highland Scotland is presented with a challenge. The nature of touring in Scotland is centred on 'the milk run' - a circular route from the Central belt to Inverness or Skye. North of the Forth and Clyde rivers visitors travel largely through a landscape which was settled, named, cultivated,

shaped and has a place narrative that was developed over 1,500 years by a Gaelic-speaking population.

The STGA in part overcomes the problem of knowledge of that landscape through workbooks accredited by Edinburgh University. It is made clear that these resources are only intended to provide an introduction and description of primary locations and have to be supplemented. Guides, therefore have to fall back on their own resources or seek the assistance of other guides to develop a coherent narrative for the landscapes of Highland Scotland. However, as with all informal systems, the quality of the guiding experience and the nature of the information imparted to visitors are likely to be widely variable. This problem is compounded when the guide has to deal with a language and culture of which they have little knowledge. The STGA terminated the contract with Edinburgh University in 2014 and will launch an internally resourced, two-year guide training programme in June 2014. An element of teaching about Gaelic culture is to be included.

Gaelic and tourism

Writing in *Media in Scotland* (2008) Mike Cormack states that:

> Much of the traditional symbolism of Scotland is related to Gaelic culture... Yet in most displays of 'Scottishness' [...] the Gaelic language itself is notable by its absence [...] aspects of the culture have been cut loose from the language, to create symbols of a Scottishness which is clearly distinct from the identity of other Englishspeaking countries (Cormack, 2008: 225).

Nor has there been any significant development of Gaelic's potential contribution to the tourism industry. In 1995, *Commun na Gàidhlig* unveiled measures that were then being taken to create a new Gaelic tourism industry as a way of exploiting "an under-utilised resource while at the same time enhancing the development of Gaelic culture and society" (Pedersen, 1995: 289). A European Regional Development Fund's (ERDF) pilot marketing

and training project was described. The progress made under the pilot phase in raising

awareness of the potential of Gaelic tourism was then sufficiently encouraging for the

preparation of proposals to proceed with "the longer term task of developing Gaelic

tourism as a major force in Scotland" (297) and these were to be set out in due course. No

further action was taken.

In a 1995 conference paper, Stuart Adams, a Scottish Tourist Board, (STB, now branded as

'VisitScotland') director explained the tourism industry dated from Victorian times, with

Thomas Cook starting his career in the Trossachs. Over the last 150 years, "uncrowded,

beautiful scenery, interesting history, not England" were the themes found in tourist

brochures about Scotland (191). He stated that "STB will explore the possibility of

building on the *Wild Scotland* brochure with, perhaps, brochures on *Gaelic Scotland,* and

thus "progress from the scenery of Scotland to the people of Scotland" (1995: 199). They

are still awaited.

Although in 1995 support of initiatives to promote a Gaelic centred heritage tourism sector

was evident, by 1999 a report on the industry's utilisation of Gaelic acknowledged that "it

is at the very early stage of development" (Sproul 1999: 112). Finally, an evaluation,

conducted in 2010, of *Cearcaill na Gàidhlig* a tourism marketing initiative designed in

2008 to boost both cultural tourism and Gaelic language related cultural activity along the

west coast, recommended the need to focus on particular target groups and to develop a

marketing strategy to reach them (Westbrook et al., 2010).

Therefore, while there has been a view that tourism offered opportunities for enhancing the

language's profile, with some limited piloting of initiatives (Pedersen, 1995), there has

been no sustaining investment. Indeed, there appears to be general disinterest with no

attempt to 'manage' the language and culture's profile within the industry. It is likely that

the manner in which Highland Scotland is re/presented to visitors is subject to wide variation. This research has, therefore, sought to assess possible gaps and possible distortions of Gaelic language and culture within the Scottish tourist industry's guiding cadre.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Theories of tourism

This chapter briefly discusses the key paradigm of 'staged authenticity' before detailing

theories related to the 'tourist gaze'. It then points to the underlying knowledge /power

nexus of the nature of the gaze as drawn out by Michel Foucault and explores his work's

links to the field of post-colonial studies. It considers the potential application of such

reading practices to tourism. With specific reference to Scotland, it examines earlier

attempts to apply a post-colonial reading to the country and then concludes by looking in

detail at the work of Silke Stroh (2011) in applying a post-colonial approach to Scottish

Gaelic poetry.

Since tourism is a cultural activity undertaken by people, the nature of the tourist as

consumer has been the subject of considerable academic attention. MacCannell notes that

"tourist attractions and the behavior surrounding them are one of the most complex and

orderly of the several universal codes that constitute modern society" (1999: 46). Jamal

and Robinson (2009) state that tourism, "is cultural; its practices and structures are very

much an extension of the normative cultural framing from which it emerges. As such, it

has a vital part to play in helping us understand ourselves" (3). Thus an examination of the

Scottish industry could provide important insights. Seaton (1998) states that:

> Scotland is central to the history of tourism [...] in the Western world. It was the
> most important new European destination to emerge [in the 1840s] as a principal
> object of bourgeois tourism taste [...]. To trace its development as a tourist
> destination is to gain an insight [...] into some of the factors that underlie the
> development of tourism in any destination (1998; 1).

As "the most important" destination, the researcher anticipated examination of Scotland

within a range of possible frameworks. While a number of works (Smout, 1983; Seaton,

1998; Durie, 2003; Yeoman, 2005, 2009) have provided overviews of the early phases of

development and processes, such as infrastructure development that lead to the growth in the industry, few works place the Scottish tourism industry in a theoretical framework (Yeoman, 2005; Macleod, 2010). Seaton (1989) acknowledges the lack of a comprehensive survey of Scottish tourism and there is little previous research to call upon. We noted the earlier use by Yeoman of the concept of authenticity as an aspect of niche marketing (2005, 2009). His failure to recognise the contingent nature of that term has led to criticism (Hall, 2007), but consideration of authenticity within the tourism industry provides a useful starting point for this survey of theoretical frameworks pertinent to an analysis of the 'tourist gaze' on Gaelic Scotland.

The impact of tourism on location

As Leite and Graburn (2009) emphasise, the concept of authenticity is an essential concept in studies of tourism, because it is often invoked by tourists, tourism producers and anthropologists concerned with the 'impacts' of tourism" (43). MacCannell (1976) initiated the concept of "staged authenticity" in response to criticism of mass tourism for being uncritically consuming the contrived. He instead claims that tourists, alienated by urban life, are in search of authenticity elsewhere. Tourists are said to seek meaning in nature, in history, or in the lives of other people. In response to this desire, the tourism industry 'staged authenticity' by which MacCannell means the explicit creation, marking off, and advertising of tourist attractions, presenting tourists only with products created expressly for them. As the tourists recognise that everything 'on stage' is put there as entertainment, they believe that the 'real' or authentic parts are hidden and can be found 'backstage'. The tourism industry appreciates this desire and responds by making the front stage appear to be a backstage, or by staging tours to see the apparent backstage which is in reality only another front stage. Also, to succeed as a tourist destination, a locality requires to develop an identity. Commentators have noted that such 'branding' of place is often

achieved through the selection of an emblematic ethnic or cultural trait, for example, festivals, dances, crafts, architectures or food (Abram et al., 1997; Coleman & Crang, 2002). Although Greenwood (1977) initially believed that commoditisation would dilute the original value in local practices as they are increasingly modified in response to the 'tourist gaze', subsequent research suggests a more nuanced outcome. For example, evidence suggests that the marketing of place through ethnic or cultural features can achieve several purposes, potentially increasing community interest in traditions that have been abandoned (Medina, 2003), or promoting or shifting the balance of power among ethnic groups (Adams, 2006).

In response to MacCannell's argument, three significant challenges are raised, questioning whether all tourists are searching for authenticity, whether involvement with the tourism industry necessarily renders something 'inauthentic, and querying precisely what is meant by the term 'authenticity'. In addressing the first of these Cohen (1988) argues that tourists differ widely in degrees of alienation: some are satisfied with home life while others search for something 'different' away from home but happily return. Cohen also argues that authenticity of a site rests primarily in the minds of tourists and thus adaptations for tourism purposes do not automatically produce inauthenticity. Wang (2000) summarises MacCannell's model and proposes recognition of distinctions between three understandings of authenticity. The first distinction is when an object is authenticated by an expert. The second is where authenticity is a label for a perceived socially constructed status, determined according to criteria. The third is where the tourists, during their journey, focus on the "truth" of their inner and interpersonal feelings.

Leite and Graburn (2009) provide a useful overview of the range of research that has been marshalled to challenge and expand upon MacCannell's framework. For example, English white collar workers are found to be sufficiently 'switched on' to know that most things

are created expressly and enjoy them for the ascetic and humorous qualities of that 'inauthenticity'. Labelled as 'post tourists', these travellers are said to characterise postmodern tourism (Rojek and Urry, 1997). However, other commentators argue that tourists are generally sincere in their quest for the 'authentic' (Conran, 2006; Harrison, 2003). Ultimately, however, Leite and Graburn (2009) are of the view that the theoretical debate over 'authenticity' has eased. Frankin nonetheless views MacCannell's *The Tourist* (1976) as a landmark study in the sociology of tourism because for the first time it is interested in tourists' motivation and actions and "link[s] forms of modern tourism with more universal forms of human culture" (2009: 70).

The relevance of this discussion to Scotland

The above examples suggest that mass tourism produces a variety of positive and negative outcomes, depending on the individual's role and engagement with the industry, raising questions concerning the power relations inherent in the relationship between guests and hosts and the extent of commoditisation associated with the process. Given the long exposure of Scotland to mass tourism, the processes of commoditisation related to locations and occasions such as the Royal Military Tattoo (Tattoo) at Edinburgh Castle with its paramount images of the Scottish Highlander are of immediate relevance. These processes involve a 'tourist gaze'. Along with MacCannell's work on authenticity, Franklin identifies Urry's (1990) *The Tourist Gaze,* now in its third edition, published in 2010, as the other "landmark in sociological theory development in tourism" (2009: 71). The concept of the institutional and professional 'gaze' has assumed major currency in tourism studies.

For Urry (1990) there were initially five principal forms of the 'gaze' in tourism, viz., the romantic, the collective, the spectatorial, the environmental and the anthropological. They

variously constitute particular scopic regimes which are self-consciously organised by 'professionals' who work in tourism and they are authorised and projected through different discourses. However, Franklin sees a particular weakness of *The Tourist Gaze* in that Urry does not provide a particularly clear explanation for touristic behaviour *per se*. He cautions that Urry's "vague reference" to the pleasurability of 'the different' and 'the unusual' or 'the non-everyday' simply asserts some forms of pleasurability but does not account for them. For him, Urry's account draws upon an "older process" by which the educated middle classes "acted as the initial travellers and tourists, establishing a pattern of touristic consumption" that mass markets simply copied through "critical innovations such as Thomas Cook's package tours" (2009: 71-2). As we shall see, this observation has particular relevance to Scotland and the Gaelic Highlander.

Refinements by Urry

Veijola and Jokinen (1994) critiqued the largely visual and cognitive character of tourism theory. Whereas the 'tourist gaze' was portrayed as fleeting, passive and shallow, engaged mainly with the semiotics of sites, the tourist body might yet be more active, as a physical, sexualized, drinking, dancing body directed to and engaged with other tourists. In addition, this new perspective insisted that tourists could not be clear in advance what their experience as a tourist could be like because, in addition to being embodied, "it was also open-ended, experimental and performed" (Franklin, 2009: 74). In the light of the revisionary work particularly on the typologies of the 'tourist gaze', Urry has continually refined his examination of the nature of the 'gaze'. More relevant, however, to this study is the nature of the theoretical framework - Foucault's *regard* – the concept of the medical gaze (1973) that underpinned Urry's discussions. Thus in the third edition of *The Tourist Gaze* (2011) Urry states that while it might appear to have nothing to do with the gaze of

the medical world that concerned Foucault, the 'tourist gaze' was "as socially organised and systematised, as is the gaze of the medic" (1).

The nature of the gaze

Cheong, writing in 2000, notes that a small number of studies have employed Foucault's concepts in the study of tourism, concentrating on aspects of gaze (Hollinshead 1999; Labone 1996; Rojek 1992; Urry 1990), body (Veijola and Jokinen, 1994), and resistance (Wearing, 1995). According to him, these studies have interpreted power in generalised terms and "have applied Foucault's particular concept of power in oblique ways" (374). So, while Urry recognizes that the tourists' ability to 'gaze' is enabled by a relationship in which tour companies and locals produce power effects and create tourists, Cheong's view is that "a stronger Foucauldian statement would stress that practitioners define, constrain, and elicit a normalizing behavior for tourists" (383). For him it is the agent-location power relations which guarantee that it is their 'tourist gaze' that creates the sociological gaze of tourists described by Urry.   The 'tourist gaze' is thus evident in the actions and discourse of three agents - the travel agent, the guide, and the local - which "constitute the focus of the flow of power from the agent to the target and not vice versa" (383). As a result tourists often "see through the guides' eyes", since they choose the objects of interest to be viewed and direct attention to them. Thus tourists will "not see what guides prefer they would ignore" (384).

The wider implications of Foucault's work

Hollinshead, cited in Cheong's work, has developed a more nuanced analysis of the implications of the eye's focus on tourism. Writing in 1999, he states that "the tourist gaze is that aggregate way-of-seeing and interpreting particular peoples, places, and pasts" (9).

He notes that this is the product of a process by which "the tourism industry or travellers cumulatively appreciate and disappreciate over time" (loc. cit.). Hollinshead's treatise is that, under the 'tourist gaze', "some things/ideas/attractions are powerfully and/or commercially made dominant, while others are subjugated, silenced, or ignored" (loc. cit.). He returns to Foucault's own analysis of 'the gaze' and to the work that is the source of Urry's theory. Foucault comments that *The Birth of the Clinique* (2003, [1973]) "is about space, about language, and about death; it is about the act of seeing, the gaze" ([1973]: ix), which is Foucault's desire to understand the ways in which the experiences of individuals are regulated by the preformulated limits which institutional truths, collective power-knowledge, and assumed communal rights quietly and cumulatively impose. To Foucault the gaze is a grammar of utterances and a scaffolding of passive behaviours within a particular agency and across a particular society over time. Hollinshead, notes that Urry's treatise is "never explicitly explained" and the nature of the gaze is not "heavily coloured in any way" (12).

To Hollinshead, Foucault's "investigative assault upon matters of dominance, subjugation and normalisation" with its "very depth, range and ubiquity" is of value to tourism studies (10). His own 1992 work notes that "the First Americans find themselves in a sort of tourized confinement in the suffocating straitjacket of enslaving external conceptions." He highlights the way the tourism decision-makers "unwittingly imprison 'First Americans' in a debilitating 'Red' and 'Indian' identification" (43), in a sense, the silent 'other'. Hollinshead's belief is that an acquaintance with Foucauldian ideas on knowledge and power can help practitioners and researchers comprehend how their own discourse can subsequently create or curtail opportunities for the tourist-receiving people. He also cautions them to be aware of how their current discursive knowledge can rapidly penetrate tourism trade publications, local exhibitions and local media interpretations and thus, through embedded ethnocentrisms, subjugate people, places and pasts. To him,

Foucauldian thought in tourism exposes the fact that actions are not "neutral" and impartial, and that the industry works to entrenched *a priori* understandings.

When discussing the prospects of identifying the silent 'others', therefore, a closer attention to Foucauldian analysis in tourism could lead to an understanding of the complex interrelationships of competing logics of power and an appreciation of the plural and contested contexts in which single destinations may exist. To Hollinshead, finally, "the Foucauldian concept of power-knowledge not only opens up the comprehension of tourism decision makers leading them to be more considerate to those difficult but unsuspected contexts" (17). Hollinshead's cautionary observations on the tourism industry in general might well have some direct applicability to the representations of the Highlander in Scottish tourism.

Further application of Foucault's theories - Edward Said and Orientalism

Foucault sees 'knowledge' as the key instrument of power in all these contexts and develops an argument linking all forms of 'the will to knowledge' and all modes of cultural representation of 'the other', all marginal constituencies, to the exercise of power. Foucault further argues that 'discourse' - the medium which constitutes power and through which it is exercised – 'constructs' the object of its knowledge. As he says "discourse produces reality; it produces a domain of objects and rituals of truth" (1995 [1978]:194). These concepts in Foucauldian philosophy have found expression in the postcolonial work of Said's *Orientalism* (1978).

Young in *White Mythologies* (2004 [1990]) explains that the application of French theory by Anglo-American intellectuals "is marked, and marred, by its consistent excision of the issue of Eurocentrism and its relation to colonialism". He explains that not until Said's

Orientalism did it become a significant issue for Anglo-American literary theory. Young quotes Said's view that "the literary - cultural establishment as a whole has declared the serious study of imperialism off limits" (Said, 1978: 13) For Young, "it would not be too much to suggest that *Orientalism* broke that proscription, and as such cannot be underestimated in its importance and in its effects"(165).

For Moore-Gilbert (1997), the novel aspect of *Orientalism*, is Said's insistence on the importance of attention to the political and material effects of Western scholarship and academic institutions on the world outside them. Said saw the practices of such scholarship as deeply implicated in the operations and technologies of power, by virtue of the fact that all scholars are subject to particular historical, cultural and institutional affiliations which are governed by the dominant ideology of the society concerned. For Said, Western domination of the non-Western world is not an arbitrary phenomenon but a purposeful and conscious process. According to Moore-Gilbert, "the range of disciplinary power inscribed in Orientalism transforms the 'real' East into a discursive 'Orient'" (36-7). Thus, in Said's view, the institution of Orientalism operates in the service of the West's hegemony over the East, principally by producing the East discursively as the West's inferior 'other', a manoeuvre which strengthens and partly constructs the West's self image as a superior civilisation. It does this principally by distinguishing and then "essentialising the identities of East and West through a dichotomising system of representations embodied in the regime of stereotype" (39).

Beyond the Orient

The power of Said's application of Foucault's theories in *Orientalism* led to their application far beyond the original field of east-west relationships. Lazarus in introducing *The Cambridge Companion to Post Colonial Literary Studies* (2004) provides the

following formulation by King who sets out to give a sense of what postcolonial studies is about, what it does and why, and what theoretical and methodological aspects govern its practice:

> the modern history of postcolonial (literary) criticism informed by poststructuralism began seriously in the early 1980s. Its early exponents (Homi Bhabha, Edward Said, and Gayatri Spivak) focused on a critique of literary and historical writing … The critique was directed especially at Eurocentricism and the cultural racism of the West. Subsequently, the [...] critique expanded to include [...] all examples of cultural praxis that are [...] circulating in the West (1995: 543-44)

Although Lazarus has some specific reservations over King's perceptions of the impulse for such work, he agrees with King in his highlighting of the large debt acknowledged by Bhabha and Gayatri Spivak to Said, with his work providing "a spring-board for many of those coming after him" (1997: 35). Moore-Gilbert also identifies the influential role of what he terms French 'high' theory, principally the work of Derrida, Lacan and Foucault, on the foundational work of Said, Spivak and Bhabha (6). For him, it is Said who "so often sets up the terms of reference of subsequent debate in the postcolonial field and a large debt is acknowledged by Bhabha and Spivak" (34).

Spivak's 'Can the Subaltern Speak?' (1988) applies Foucauldian discourse theory in describing a process through which the 'reality' of subject peoples (principally in India) was constructed for the British, through the techniques of geographical and ethnographic 'mappings'. Her analysis of examples of 'othering' from official colonial archives largely corroborates Said's arguments that Orientalism was a means by which the West constructed the colonial arena in terms which had little to do with 'reality'. While Spivak is indebted to a revisionist Marxism, her interest in the 'itineraries of silencing' - the ways in which political, cultural and literally narrative alike attain their coherence and authority to the exclusion or marginalisation of certain kinds of experience or knowledge - owes much to Macherey's formula for the interpretation of ideology where to him what "is important

in the work is what it does not say" because there "the elaboration of the utterance is carried out in a sort of a journey into silence" (1978: 87).

Moore-Gilbert identifies a methodological link between Spivak and Said in a shared interest in Marxism, particularly the work of Gramsci, most evidently in the key analytic figure of 'the subaltern', a term derived via the Subaltern Studies group of historiographers from *The Prison Notebooks*, written between 1929 and 1935, where Gramsci employs it to describe rural labour and the proletariat. Guha (1982), in an introductory essay to the first volume of *Subaltern Studies* explains that he and his colleagues adapted the concept 'subaltern' to designate non-elite sectors of Indian society, and "groups constituting the mass of the labouring population and the intermediate strata in the town and country" (Quoted in Arnold, 2000: 34). In 'Can the Subaltern Speak?', the reach of the term is further extended to consider the social groups 'further down' the social ladder and thus even less apparent to colonial historiography. Spivak concludes that "[t]here is no space from which the sexed subaltern can speak" (1988: 99), by which she means the ability to make her experience known to others in her own voice. As Young puts it, the problem which Spivak identifies is that the subaltern "is assigned no position of enunciation". Thus everyone else speaks for her, so that she is "rewritten continuously as the object of patriarchy or of imperialism" (1990: 164). The subalterns' muteness, as McLeod (2000) usefully elucidates, is not so much that they did not speak, but rather that:

> [O]thers did not know how to listen […] The subaltern cannot speak because their words cannot be properly interpreted. Hence, the silence of the subaltern is the result of a failure of interpretation and not a failure of articulation (195).

In this conscious muting there is an echo of Said's conception of the colonised as the silent interlocutor of the dominant order (1978: 94-5). However, whereas Said ascribes this state of affairs to the all-powerful nature of the coloniser, Spivak's particular target is the

contemporary Western intellectual who, ostensibly at least, is the champion of the oppressed.

This general survey of the primary wellsprings of postcolonial theory now turns to the third member, along with Said and Spivak, of what is sometimes called the 'Trinity', Bhabha. Whereas in early Said the focus is almost entirely on the coloniser, Bhabha seeks to emphasise the mutual relationships and negotiations across that colonial divide. For Bhabha, the relationship between coloniser and colonised is more complex and nuanced than Fanon in *Black Skin, White Masks* (1968 [1952]) and Said imply. This is largely because of the existence of contradictory patterns of psychic effect in colonial relations such as the desire for, as well as the fear of, the 'other'. In order to change the focus of his analysis of colonial discourse to address questions of identity formation, psychic affect and the mechanics of the unconscious, Bhabha's main methodological debts are to Freud and primarily Lacan's 1966 collected writings, the *Écrits* (Fink, 2007). He adapts Lacanian theory to demonstrate that the unstable psychic sphere of colonial relations undermines the assumption that the identities of the colonists and the colonised exist in static and unitary terms that are rigidly distinct from and in conflict with each other. In particular, in *The Location of Culture* (1994), his analysis of colonial stereotypes illustrates the unstable psychic sphere of colonial relations. Diverging from Said's *Orientalism*, Bhabha does not address definitions of the identity of the 'other' by a supposedly all-powerful metropolitan culture. Moore-Gilbert usefully points out that, in contradistinction to Said, Bhabha interprets the regime of stereotype as evidence not of the stability of the 'disciplinary' gaze of the colonists, or security in his own conception of himself, but of the degree to which the colonists' identity (and authority) is fractured and destabilised by contradictory psychic responses to the colonised 'other' (1997: 117). A not dissimilar process is identified by Lederach in his *The Little Book of Conflict Transformation* (2003) in which he discusses

the effect of the exercising of violence, which he sees as significantly destabilising the individual.

It is necessary to re-emphasise at this point that the focus of this particular research is the nature of the 'tourist gaze' on the Highlander and the silencing of the Gaelic language, whether that be language as material culture in the sense of place naming and signage, being an object of the gaze, but also language as audible cultural and oral culture. Under the 'tourist gaze' or, more properly, Foucault's *Le regard,* the object of that gaze is subject to more than simply 'seeing'. Urry's debt to Foucault is clear but what has less salience in discussions of the nature of the 'tourist gaze' is the condition of most interest to Foucault: the exercise of power. Said's *Orientalism* carries that analysis into the field of postcolonial studies. Many postcolonial critics have sought to break down the formerly rigid boundaries between context and text in order to show the continuities between the material practices of (neo-) colonial power and the patterns of representation of subject peoples. The analysis of colonial discourses is now undertaken across an increasingly broad range of fields, including anthropology, art history, the history of law, philosophy, psychoanalysis and political economy, a number of which are considered in the literature survey. This theoretical review now considers the extent to which the methodologies deployed in postcolonial studies have relevance to the field of tourism studies.

The potential for the extension of postcolonial perspectives to the field of tourism studies

Tucker and Akama (2009) note that postcolonialism has only recently begun to attract interest in tourism studies. They see this interest as offering "ways in which tourism might act as a medium for offering postcolonial counter-narratives of resistance to postcolonial relationships" (504). They cite Mishra and Hodge's observation that, "Postcolonial theory maintains that colonial discourse continues to dominate many forms of representation of

the 'Third World' by the First World" (506). Ashcroft et al., following Said, contend that one of the main features of imperial oppression is the control over language and text. They note that language, and its translation, has not only become the medium through which a hierarchical structure of power is perpetuated, but also the medium through which concepts of 'truth', 'order' and 'reality' have become established (2007: 215). Tucker and Akama argue that such hegemonic structures of language and representation have created specific notions of 'truth' and 'reality' for both tourism practice and tourism destinations (2009: 505).

The utility, therefore, of an analysis of tourism from a postcolonial perspective is that it directs attention to the continuation of colonial power relations at both structural and ideological levels. Matthews has described tourism as being potentially a new colonial "plantation economy" where "Metropolitan capitalist countries try to dominate a foreign tourism market" (1997: 79). Craick (1994), Edensor (1998), Echner and Prasad (2003) have highlighted the connection between tourism and neocolonialism and Tucker and Akama suggest that the summation of the contributions to Hall and Tucker's volume (2004) would be that many of the economic structures, cultural representations and exploitative relations that were previously based in colonialism are still extant. In their discussion of the colonial narratives underpinning tourism, they arrive at the view that "tourism might always be an activity and an industry that feeds of […] essentialisms and myths" (513). Indeed, the development of tourism in many 'developing' countries is closely linked to the era of colonial rule in those societies. Furthermore, the current forms of tourism development initiatives in most of these countries are still, to a large extent, influenced by Western philosophical values and ideological orientation (506-7). They illustrate these points by examining the experience of Kenya where there was minimal social interaction between pioneer Western travellers and indigenous Kenyans during the early stages of tourism development at the beginning of the twentieth century when

Africans were employed mainly to work in "servile positions as gardeners, cleaners, waiters, cooks and guards" (508).

Representation

Tucker and Akama's case study discussion of Kenya moves on to the nature of representation where they highlight that tourism promotion today expends little effort to provide a fuller picture of Kenya's diverse cultural and environmental attractions. A prime example of commoditisation is in the tourism presentation of Maasai as the only African community that exists in Kenya. Consequently the culture that tourists are presented with is that of Maasai tribesmen and their physical adornment, dance and other cultural artefacts. Crucially, the tourist image of the Maasai does not appear to have changed since early European explorers and adventure seekers first encountered them over 200 years ago (509). Thus, overseas tour operators "reinforce existing stereotypes and images of Kenya in particular and Africa in general" (510).

The illustrative potency of Kenya as a case study for the linkages between tourism and postcolonial discourse is demonstrated by Bruner and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's 1994 study of Maasai touristic performance which concluded that it:

> enacts a colonial drama of the savage/pastoral Maasai and the genteel British, playing upon the explicit contrast between the wild and the civilised so prevalent in colonial discourse and sustained in East African tourism (435).

Tucker and Akama's assessment is that promotional messages and images derive from "existing dominant Western cultural values and economic systems" and they continue to play a "powerful role in shaping the current gaze - the objectifying 'slant'" - of Europeans in 'ethnic' tourism today (512). That "slant" has also been present in Scotland's past, as the 1822 account of George IV's dinner entertainment in Dalkeith House by "the tenants

of Lord Breadalbane and Lord Fife dancing strathspeys and reels to the music of the bagpipe" (McNeil, 2007: 74) would tend to suggest. Perhaps this display is one of the earliest "touristic performances" on record?

Nor are such practices now confined to East Africa. Tourism promotion of the Orient, argue Morgan and Prichard (1989), is also "constructed around notions of Western superiority over Oriental inferiority" (15). They illustrate how meanings which are produced and consumed by tourism imaging represent certain ways of seeing reality, images which both reflect and reinforce particular relationships in societies. To them, these relations are grounded in relations of power, dominance, and subordination that characterise the global system. They continue that a tourism image "reveals as much about the power relations underpinning its construction as it does about the specific tourism product" (1998: 6). Thus the colonial myths and fantasies that shaped the European social constructions of the colonised landscapes and peoples continue to play a powerful role in shaping the current gaze of Europeans in postcolonial tourism today.

Postcolonial discourse is also present according to Echtner and Prasad (2003), Huggan, (2001), Morgan and Prichard (1998) in the mechanisms of place promotion and representation in tourism. Within such promotion, according to Adams, while literature becomes the prism through which the tourist filters perception and experience, that literature "remains firmly lodged in the cultural values and orientations of its own society" (1984: 472). So for Spurr (1993) travel narratives are discourses of colonialism through which one culture works to interpret, to represent and finally to dominate another. Bhattacharyya (1997), in her semiotic analysis of *The Lonely Planet* guide book to India, has highlighted the colonial narrative underpinning tourism practice in India. She demonstrates that by categorising Indians as being there either to serve tourists or to act as

interesting 'others', the guidebook inadvertently highlights significant power differentials between local inhabitants and travellers (377).

To Tucker and Akama it is evident that tourism is an arena in which postcolonialism resonates strongly, and they echo Ashcroft et.al., (1998) and Bhabha (1984), to call for a new effort that recognises the ultimate goal of postcolonial writing as being to focus predominantly on the ways in which language and writing, can be wrested from the dominant European culture and thereby provide an alternative voice. Tourism, in their view, cannot be separated from such cultural politics which, quoting Ortner, they define as "the struggles over the official symbolic representations of reality that shall prevail in a given social order" (Ortner, 1989: 200). Thus this analysis of theoretical linkages between the 'tourist gaze' and the inherent power structures within tourism returns to notions of Foucauldian power-knowledge and they conclude that tourism activities that continue to be based upon and re-enact colonial narratives, will "continue to perpetuate colonial, core - periphery relationships" (513-4). So, while issues of image and representation of identity have become a concern in tourism studies, particularly with respect to 'ethnic', indigenous and heritage tourism, their view is that the need continues for more nuanced ethnographic and ethno-historical analyses of the range of heritage and cultural displays and a range of tourism relationships (516). Might such "issues of image and representation of identity" be worthy of examination in Scotland?

Critiques of postcolonial perspectives

Before moving to consider their possible applicability to Scotland, it is necessary to acknowledge that there are critiques of postcolonial reading practices, from those within and outside the field. Ahmad (1992) is viewed by Lazarus (1997) and Ashcroft (2007), as probably the most systematic of those. For Ahmad, postcolonial theory, in particular Said

and Bhabha, represents a taming of 'real' material struggles against Western domination and their transfer into the safely discursive realm of the West's traditional culture industries (1992). To Moore-Gilbert, the force of Ahmad's (1992) *In theory* critique derives from the attention to Said's privileged position within an institutional framework which leaves Said compromised by the Western academy's complicity in the current international division of labour (35). To Ahmad, the claim for postcolonial theory representing the most appropriate and effective form of resistance avoids the more pressing questions raised by contemporary global cultural relations.   Likewise, JanMohamed in his *The Economy of Manichean Allegory* argues that Bhabha produces an "unwarranted unification of colonizer and colonized as a (single) 'colonial subject'" (1986: 79), which discounts the deep differences in the respective political power and material conditions. Consequently, Moore-Gilbert considers that there is justice in JanMohamed's conclusion that Bhabha "circumvent[s] entirely the dense history of the material conflict between Europeans and natives" and instead focuses on colonial discourse "as if it existed in a vacuum" (1997: 148). Eagleton has drawn similar inferences from Bhabha's more recent work: "one is allowed to talk about cultural difference, but not [...] about economic exploitation" (*Guardian*, 8th February, 1994).

In the Scottish context, Craig feels that the problem with Bhabha's theories which assert the positive value of 'hybridity', is that "they unavoidably require the continual re-identification and re-assertion of the very 'purity' that they were deployed to overthrow" (2009: 237). Finally, Parry claims that the location of the discussion within English and Cultural Studies faculties "had the effect of promoting an indifference to social explanation." She continues that a "theoretical position wholly neglectful of political economy" has had the effect of "disengaging colonialism from historical capitalism and re-presenting it for study as a cultural event" (2004: 74). Despite such criticisms, however, the validity of an analysis that has a sensitivity to the unequal power relations inherent in

Foucault's original theories and which underpins much postcolonial work does merit further examination in the Scottish case.

Postcolonial analysis and the Scottish Highlander

This chapter now considers whether there might be merit in applying aspects of postcolonial studies to the Scottish Highlander. Although India and Africa were the initial foci, proponents of Commonwealth Studies claim a postcolonial identity for old 'settler' colonies, such as Australia, Canada or New Zealand. The application of a postcolonial perspective to Canada demonstrates to Moore-Gilbert "just how tangled and multifaceted the term 'postcolonial' has now become in terms of its temporal, spatial, political and socio-cultural meanings" (1997: 10). Application to Canada suggests to him that there are many degrees, forms and (inevitably intertwined) histories of colonialism and there are many degrees of, expressions and histories of postcoloniality. But postcolonial criticism perspectives, he believes, are also being increasingly used to address the histories and current predicaments of 'internally colonised' cultures within the nation state. Moore-Gilbert is of the view that in Britain Hechter's *Internal Colonialism* (1975) "inaugurated a new phase of analysis which stressed a continuing, essentially (neo) colonial, relationship of subordination of the 'peripheral' nations of Scotland, Wales and Ireland by the English 'centre'" (10).

Internal Colonialism

The term 'internal colonialism' has proved *"tangled and multifaceted"* in the Scottish context. While Hechter may have introduced the term a number of years in advance of Said's *Orientalism*, an examination of the Scottish case reveals that the precocious use of an 'internal colonialism'' perspective did not inaugurate any sustained application. In his

analysis and synthesis of the primary postcolonial texts, *Postcolonial Criticism*, Moore-Gilbert makes the point that it is "the whole question of belonging and the status of the insider/outsider, that postcolonialism serves to dislocate" (1997: 5). For him, the undoing of that opposition leads to the geographical aspect of the location of postcolonialism and raises the issue of 'internal colonialism' within the British Isles. However, Moore-Gilbert also instances Hechter's work in a discussion on the dangers of a preoccupation with the West and a blurring of the boundaries of colonial space that might arise from a focus upon dissident or minority elements within a dominant culture. Thus for Moore-Gilbert, Ireland, has long functioned as one exemplary site of such blurring, and continues to be "a borderland of sorts" between old and new conceptions of Empire. But that "borderland" is due to Ireland once serving "as a staging-post between Europe and America, so it now functions as a halfway house between colonialism and postcolonialism" (47). The sense of an anomalous status also affects discussions in the Scottish context. So, just as Womack speaks of "quasi-colonial patterns of underdevelopment" (1989: 147), there is almost no use of the term 'colonialism' in a Scottish Highlands context without some form of qualifier, such as 'internal'.

Liu in *Postcolonialism* (2000) explained that the origins of the term 'internal colonialism' lay in the Civil Rights Movement in the United States and the1960s outbreak of racial violence which forced social scientists to develop a new model in the field of race/ethnic relations. That model contends that racial minorities in America "have been relegated to a position of underdevelopment and dependency in a socio-economic structure similar to that of a classical colony" (1347). Liu explains that the model of 'internal colonialism' also posits that the "continued existence of ethnic and racial minorities has been dependent upon the degree of coercion exerted by the receiving society" (1349). Beyond the United States, the concept of 'internal colonialism' is now defined as a state of structural, political and economic inequality between regions within a nation state. The inhabitants of

'internal colonies' are distinguished as different by cultural variables such as ethnicity, language, or religion. They are then excluded from prestigious social and political positions, which are dominated by members of the metropolis (Abercrombie et al., 2000: 183).

The term was, however, given a distinctly Marxist dialectic by Wallerstein as being a product of the 'world-system', a unit with a single division of labour and multiple cultural systems, in which, according to him, national states are not societies that had separate, parallel histories, but are "parts of a whole reflecting that whole."(1979: 53). Hechter's *Internal Colonialism (*1975) applied such an explicit Wallerstein framework to Britain. Thus, building on these antecedents, Hechter's model of 'internal colonialism' emphasised how the political incorporation and enforced assimilation of peripheral regions were accomplished through the economic dominance of metropolitan culture (6-9). His analysis is that the 'superordinate group' seeks:

> to regulate the allocation of social roles such that those roles commonly defined as having high status are generally reserved for its members. Conversely, individuals from the less advanced group tend to be denied access to these roles (39).

'The Celts', as Hechter claims, "are an internal colony within the very core of this world system" (1975: 348). But Scotland did not take kindly to this early application of the prism of postcolonialism reading. To quote Callum Brown, writing in 2001 in a Highland academic internet group, "Hechter was rejected out-of-hand":

> Those of us who were history researchers [...] were immediately repulsed by the book. His 'Celtic fringe' analysis was rejected because of the empirical errors of the book, principally in relation to the history of landownership in the Highlands […] His perception of external imperial colonisation just did not fit in the terms he wrote it. His book was widely condemned and then ignored in Scottish scholarship, and was all but omitted from undergraduate History reading lists (http://www.jiscmail.ac.uk/archives/ highlands.html).

Thus a search for a discourse on the economic and historic grounds, as distinct from literary, for the application of an internal colonial model to Scotland, reveals a limited field. It is in the field of sociology that an attempt was made to address Hechter's thesis. McCrone in *Understanding Scotland* (1992) says that Hechter's is "[P]erhaps the most explicit (and contentious) attempt to employ the language of colonialism and dependency to 'ethno-nations' in Britain" (1992: 57). While McCrone states that "Hechter's analysis generated considerable interest and controversy", critics pointed out "that Scotland was a poor fit for his theory. While at times careful to refer only to the Gaeltachd (*sic*) of Scotland, at other times Hechter slid into a more general equation" (59-60). Unfortunately, McCrone does not cite the critics referred to, although it would appear that Hechter is criticised primarily for his historical analysis since, as McCrone explains, "Hechter had begun to modify his account of the Celtic fringe in the light of the criticism, especially from historians" (61). However, McCrone's critique and rejection of the concept is based on his own assessment of the model's theoretical weakness rather than any evidence drawn from empirical data.

A more technical critique of 'internal colonialism' is provided by Page (1979) who states that "Hechter does provide interesting insights into the nature of the development of the United Kingdom" (26). He goes on to say that while the insights and interest generated by the theory "are considerable, it does contain certain problems" particularly how the various indicators of regional inequality related to "a structural difference." (27). Despite these reservations the theory of 'internal colonialism' continues to generate discussion, most recently by Blaustein (2003) in his analysis of the parallels between Scotland and Appalachia. He cautions that internal colonialism must be "carefully defined to be more than a catchword". He asks:

> Is internal colonialism just another exhausted artificial construct [...] or does this concept still have some relevance...? Though Scotland and Appalachia may not have

been colonies in the very strictest sense of that term, nonetheless Scots and Appalachians must still address and overcome the lingering effects of internalized colonialistic beliefs in the inherent inferiority of the periphery and the assumed superiority of the metropolitan core (103).

While outlining those concerns, Blaustein also concurs with McCrone's own view of the "compelling rhetorical power" of the internal colonialism model and he quotes McCrone's observation that "its power is that of the metaphor rather than explanatory concept, and it is these concepts that have shaped academic work on Scotland by both historians and sociologists alike"(1992:62). However, if these concepts actually have shaped academic work in these fields, little has appeared in print. There is, however, evidence of the use of the concept of 'internal colonialism' within literary discourses. A representative example is that of Trumpener's *Bardic Nationalism* (1997), in which she states that:

> The modern British state, as Hechter has influentially argued, resulted from the internal colonization of Wales, Ireland, and Scotland, building its economic strength on the systematic underdevelopment and impoverishment of these domestic colonies… The conquest and administration of domestic colonies served as a trial run for the colonization of the overseas empire (294).

Netzoff's examination of class, capital, and the literature of early modern English colonialism, *England's Internal Colonies* (2003) employs the term 'internal colonialism' in order to emphasise the domestic foundations of early modern colonial discourses and practices. Netzoff also touches on the concept of the 'subaltern'. Arnold (2000) notes that Gramsci's term 'the subaltern' has received less attention, especially among English writers and he identifies Hobsbawm as the only exception. However, even Hobsbawm does so fleetingly, as in his introduction to *The Invention of Tradition* (1983), where he suggests that there is " a well-known weakness of bureaucratization" to deal with unforeseen contingencies, "particularly at the subaltern level" (3). Despite the lack of discourse in English, Arnold sees its possible advantage that it "emphasises the central importance of the relationship of power between social groups:" So for him "the language of subalternity might generally be more appropriate than that of class" (2000: 32).

Irish commentators, however, are less tentative: Cleary, writing, in *Ireland and Postcolonial Theory* (2003), on colonialism, location and dislocation in Irish Studies notes that the focus on colonialism is "concentrated overwhelmingly on English language sources" and that "the historical response of the subaltern Gaelic community to British rule ...[is]… still seriously underresearched"(29).

Might "the language of subalternity" have similar currency in nineteenth century Highland Scotland? Netzoff does recognize the complications of applying a postcolonial discourse to the historiography of the Scottish Highlands. He quotes Barrera's formulation of internal colonialism as "a form of colonialism in which the dominant and subordinate populations are intermingled, so that there is no geographically distinct 'metropolis' separate from the 'colony'" (1996: 24). In what is thus an echo of Bhabha's perspective, Netzoff's view is that the model blurs "the boundaries imposed between seemingly domestic interests and foreign relations, thereby destabilizing the representation of metropolitan culture's imputed stability, insularity, and integrity" (7).

However it might be helpful to note that revision of earlier postcolonial work has moved beyond Bhabha to recognise such differences in the nature of colonisation itself. Recent examination of Lusophone colonialism makes a theoretical comparative contribution through looking at Portuguese and British forms of colonial administration. Thus Madureira (2008) in a review of *Toward a Portuguese Postcolonialism* (2006) notes that the aim of Soares's edited volume was to avoid the tendency to interpret the Lusophone postcolonial world through the uncritical "application of theoretical concepts developed in the Anglophone context" (11). Madureira identifies the text that has gained wide currency in Portuguese studies and which is the spur for that enterprise as being de Sousa Santos's essay '*Entre Prospero e Caliban*' (2002). One of the reasons for its ubiquity is that Santos identifies a limitation in Anglophone writings on the postcolonialism as being the tendency

to homogenize colonial relations despite wide differences among European colonialisms. The example does remind us when considering the applicability of 'internal colonialism' to the Scottish context that a generic, uniform postcolonial reading would tend to mask and discourage discussion of the value of potential reading practices.

However, when we turn to the literary criticism of the work of Sir Walter Scott, we find less inhibition. Makdisi's *Romantic Imperialism* (1998), reading Scott's novel *Waverley,* sees Hechter's incorporation of the Celtic Periphery "as imperial in nature rather than national" (80), and understands Scott's description of the Highlands as a remote and vanishing 'past' not within the context of uneven power relations between Scotland and England, but within the context of the Lowland Scots' collusion with the English in the internal colonisation of the Highlands. This notion is extended further by David Richards who feels that Scott's *Waverley* and *Rob Roy* novels "portray a process of oppression of dissident ethnicities which borders on genocide" (1994: 133). These texts build upon Clyde's description of the Highlands and Islands as "a peaceful but distressed internal colony, favoured by tourists and artists…" (1995: 187). More recently Fielding's *Scotland and the Fictions of Geography* (2008), in examining the roots of the Romantic preoccupation with locality in Enlightenment geography, is quite clear that the relationship of Scotland and England is sometimes seen as "a form of internal colonialism" (186).

The preceding examination shows that while Netzoff (2003) pointed out that there has been reluctance in the British academy to accept its application to the 'Celtic periphery', the concept of 'internal colonialism' remains current. This is particularly the case in transatlantic writings and also in English literary criticism. It would appear therefore that there is merit in the use of the term 'internal colonialism'. However, it should be pointed out that the term is regarded in the Irish context as something of a distraction (see Carroll & King (eds.) *Ireland and Postcolonial Theory*, 2003) and there is no evidence for a strong

current of postcolonial Scottish analysis, despite a number of recent works (Riach 2005; Gardiner, et.al. 2011; Palmer-MacCulloch 2011; Chiu 2012). Thus, Jackson and Maley stated in an article entitled 'Celtic Connections' that "Scotland has received little attention from postcolonial critics" (2002: 4, 1: 76) and that:

> [P]ostcolonial readings have been opposed or overlooked in Scotland. The challenge postcolonialism presents to existing critical frameworks is matched by a reluctance to read Scottish and Irish writing against and alongside one another (76).

They proceed to claim that there are connections worth pursuing, because they shed light on the different ways in which these two neighbour nations "responded to cultural hegemony", and that there were good reasons for dialogue "between two cultures intimately estranged by precisely what ties them together - colonialism" (76-7).

Morris (2012) , recipient of the 2013 Prof. G. Ross Roy Medal for Excellence in Scottish Literature, suggests in 'Atlantic Archipelago's, his unpublished thesis on the Cultural History of Scotland, the Caribbean and the Atlantic World, c.1740-1833, that Mack's (2006: 7) identification of a 'colonised/ coloniser' position for Scotland would be more accurately applied to the experience of Ireland. Morris believes that "the 'Irish model' has been misleading" and he finds support for this position in the work of Connell who, Morris claims, "skewered many of these arguments" for a postcolonial reading in Scotland, through " a devastating pair of essays which attack the predominance of an under-theorised 'catchphrase criticism'" (29). Morris continues that:

> Postcolonialism apparently provides Scottish critics with a framework in which to discuss inequalities and injustice. However, that framework is incompatible with the reality of Scotland's position within the British Empire (29).

Morris does not devote any space to an analysis of Connell's "devastating pair of essays" but given their citing in support of this definitive dismissal of a possible postcolonial approach, they deserve consideration. This pair of "devastating" articles, published within a year of each other, are 'Modes of Marginality' (2003), and 'Scottish nationalism and the

'colonial vision of Scotland' (2004). The second paper repeats the same argument as the first and adds a more detailed examination of the writings of MacDiarmid on Gaelic.

In these articles, Connell deploys a Marxist reading of history. He views Scotland's colonial designation as "highly controversial and displays a dazzling confusion of textual and social forms of exclusion" and claims that contemporary "political concerns remain the subtext of the use of postcolonial methodologies for textual analysis" (42). Pursuing a class based analysis he continues that, "one of the weaknesses of Scottish postcolonialism is that its concentration upon the construction of Scottish linguistic inferiority leaves critics blind to the social exclusion of the English working class" (44). He selects only a single historical analysis, Davidson (2000), itself an explicitly Marxist critique, and repeats that geographically undifferentiated analysis of Scotland as a single economic entity to the effect that:

> [A]fter 1746 when the threat of Catholic (*sic*) revolt had been suppressed, Scotland retained comparatively high levels of autonomy [...] In order to claim that Scotland was colonized it is necessary to ignore these material indicators that suggest that, as a whole, Scotland benefited greatly from the processes of modernization following the union with England (44-5).

Having thus addressed "a proper review of the material conditions of Scottish history", Connell moves on to argue that "it seems plausible that aligning Scottish literature with postcolonialism has been part of a strategic attempt to borrow postcolonialism's fashionability in order to provide a wider audience for Scottish literary criticism" and as "an attempt to insulate autonomous Scottish educational institutions from further competition with their English counterparts by developing explicitly Scottish curricular areas of study" (47).

'Scottish nationalism and the colonial vision of Scotland'

In this second paper (2004) Connell repeats the same argument and provides a detailed examination of the writings on Gaelic of the nationalist poet, Hugh MacDiarmid. For Connell, the idea that Scotland is an English colony relies upon two key rhetorical manoeuvres: a suppression of the material conditions of Scottish development in favour of a concentration upon the cultural aspects of Scottish modernisation, and a conflation of the suppression of Gaelic culture in the Scottish Highlands with the standardsiation of Scottish culture (253). Connell concludes by supporting an encapsulation by the same Marxist historian, previously cited - Davidson - that:

> [T]his collapsing of the difference between Highland and Lowland cultural history has been a frequent strategy for elaborating a colonial model for Scotland. This involves transforming a Highland/British opposition into a Scottish/English one. A colonial model of Scottish history depends upon a generalization of certain exceptional instances of Highland oppression as the normal experience of Scotland as a whole (260).

Connell's reduction of the theoretical basis for the postcolonial readings practice to Scotland to "certain exceptional instances of Highland oppression" is according to Morris sufficient grounds for arguing that the postcolonial "framework is incompatible with the reality of Scotland's position within the British Empire". Morris, moreover, continues that it is:

> therefore unfortunate that in the most significant collection of essays to date on the subject, the editor Gardiner opens by stating that he will leave "behind the wearied and misleading ...[question]... of whether Scotland is 'postcolonial'". This disappointingly sidesteps the issue that is surely the main stumbling block (2012: 29).

Morris is perhaps correct in his assertion that *Scottish Literature and Postcolonial Literature* (2011) is "the most significant collection", but his characterisation of Gardiner's position is mistaken. Gardiner, whom Craig describes as having delivered "one of the few theoretically informed discussions of Scotland and the postcolonial" (2009: 223), argues

that, while Scotland is "not in any sense postcolonial", the reading strategies of postcolonial criticism are particularly appropriate because, as Gardiner wrote in 'Democracy and Scottish Postcoloniality' (1996), those reading strategies "foreground questions of race and nation" (36) and "questions of race and nation are already foregrounded in situations where they have been uncleanly and indecisively split between national centres" (39). Gardiner quotes Bhabha notion of modernity is "constituted from the marginal perspective of cultural difference"(1994: 196) to argue that "Scotland's discordant levels of experience puts it *de facto* in a postcolonial position" (2004: 280), Thus from Gardiner's analysis, Scotland is "a place characterised by ambivalent post-colonial agencies" whose " cultural products are so profoundly responsive to *postcolonial* modes of interpretation that it is *already* implicated in postcolonial theory" (1996: 40 original emphasis).

Gardiner's desire, therefore, to leave behind "the wearied and misleading question" does not sidestep the issue. Rather it is a desire to avoid becoming diverted by what Palmer McCulloch in a discussion on the relevance of a postcolonial perspective on Neil Gunn's fiction, calls "historically inept accounts" (2011: 135) of a kind represented by Connell's supposedly definitive "skewering". It would seem an unfortunate lacuna that, despite a careful search of the literature on the application of postcolonial reading practises in Scotland, no sustained examination of Gardiner's "theoretically informed discussions" has so far been attempted. Nor, as we have seen from the contributions of Connell and Davidson, has there been a serious effort to distinguish between the differing histories of Highland and Lowland Scotland, respectively.

Uneasy Subjects of the Scottish or British state

This chapter now examines whether there is merit in extending the field of postcolonial studies beyond their traditional core subject of former overseas colonies of European

powers and their diasporas. Is it of value to apply a postcolonial reading to the condition of the Scottish Highlander under the 'tourist gaze'? A possible avenue is afforded Stroh's by *Uneasy Subjects* (2011) - a study of Postcolonialism and Scottish Gaelic Poetry. The study is situated in the context of intra-British Celtic fringe postcolonialism in both modern and pre-modern times. She notes that, while 'Celtic' postcolonialism has examined Ireland, Scotland has received little attention and such postcolonial approaches to Welsh, Scottish, and Irish culture have generally remained contained within the respective schools of national studies, being little noticed by, or engaging with the mainstream. Furthermore, 'Celtic' postcolonialism has so far been mainly confined to departments of Anglophone Literature, or History, so that most Celtic-language sources scarcely feature in the postcolonial scene.

Stroh sets out to demonstrate, through her reading of original Gaelic sources, that there is a persistent 'red thread' - *roter Faden* - of postcolonialism in that poetry. This phenomenon she ascribes to a number of factors such as the double marginality of the *Gàidhealtachd*, both within Scotland and within Britain "as a result of English hegemony" (2). She argues that just as many Anglophone Scots have been uneasy subjects of the British state so "Gaels have often been uneasy subjects of the Scottish or British state". But because the Gael has also "occupied an uneasy position as both intra-British 'colonized' and overseas colonizers", such ambivalences make the question of Scotland's post/coloniality "an uneasy subject in academic and political discussion" (13). However for Stroh, "it is this very complexity which arguably makes the Scottish case so interesting" (loc. cit.). She harnesses earlier discourses (Chapman 1992; Pittock 1999) to suggest that "the concept of 'Celticness' with its sense of shared marginality and otherness seems almost inherent in the condition of being 'colonised'" (14). The main aim of *Uneasy Subjects* lies in assessing postcolonialism as a:

methodology for analysing certain discursive and ideological patterns which occur in the context of inter- or transcultural encounters and power imbalances - patterns which are not necessarily restricted to post-/colonies proper (15).

Following Webster's (1996) critique of modern interpretations of Celtic warfare, Stroh reaches back into antiquity to demonstrate that the trope of 'Celtic barbarians' has played a vital role in European discourses on civilisation and colonisation since Classical Antiquity. She tracks such discourses forward over a millennium to show that speakers of Celtic languages again become marginalised and essentialised as a barbarian 'other', in an increasingly English language-dominated British mainstream. It is her contention, which this thesis' literature survey will also argue, that the role that Celtic-speaking populations were required to play "as internal barbarian Others continues into the modern period, when colonial discourses from the past were adapted to the ideological needs of emerging modern nation states" (16). This observation gains particular relevance when we consider the motivations of Trevor-Roper later in this thesis. Stroh expands this point in the consideration of external colonial expansion overseas where it is her view that "discourses on Celticity served as a fundamental precedent and model for the textualisation of encounters with new kinds of 'barbarians' in much remoter parts of the globe" (17).

Stroh is, however, alert to the contested nature of such positions and believes that a reason postcolonial reading of Scotland's history is neglected by mainstream postcolonial scholarship is that other Scottish regions (outside the *Gàidhealtachd*) display a considerable degree of non-colonised experience. Nonetheless, her thread of argument is that:

> If postcolonialism is primarily understood discursively and thematically [...] its applicability [...] seems to become even more plausible. Such [...] understanding [...] is based on a preoccupation with certain aspects of cultural power imbalances which are often connected to colonial encounters [...] but which can also occur in other contexts that are characterised by significant intercultural power imbalances (22).

Thus in "intercultural power imbalances", representation of the peripheral subject is of interest to Stroh. She is of the view that such representation has often been "characterised by the discursive hegemony of externally constructed stereotypes that are often informed by a universalist teleology of progress" (23) Thus the Scottish Gael is subjected to a Scottish Enlightenment historicism which results in the "conflation of spatial and cultural difference with temporal distance, which in turn entails the classification of the periphery as backward and static, with any historical or cultural progress being exclusively attributed to the intervention of the coloniser" (23). In an observation which echoes that of Fabian's theorising on anthropological time in *Time and the Other* (1983), Stroh makes the point that where such colonial discourse on native historical processes exist they "are often presented as lacking continuity" (23).

Finally on the particular subject of representation she draws attention to the persistence of dualisms and binaries axiomatic of colonial discourse which had already been tabulated by Newton (2009) and by Turnbull and Beveridge (1989) for all Scotland. These are worth quoting in full as they are dualisms present in every unequal power relationships:

> The centre […] is associated with culture, order, control, lawfulness, diligence, cleanliness, rationality, intellect, reality /realism, constancy, regularity and dynamic progress. The savage or barbarian periphery is credited with the exact opposites of the centre's traits, i.e. lack of culture or cultivation, disorder, lack of control, lawlessness, laziness, dirtiness, irrationality, unreality, dreams, ghosts, superstition, emotion, a passionate temper, violence, immorality, inconstancy, unreliability, stasis and parochialism (Stroh, 2001: 23).

She notes the general trend in recent Postcolonial Studies, perhaps best exemplified, by Bhabha, towards dismantling such traditional dualisms and suggests that one of the main assets of postcolonial Celtic fringe studies is the particularly high degree of hybridity which has characterised relations between England and its Celtic fringes (26). That such hybridity is in vogue in international Postcolonial Studies can be cited in favour of Scottish and Celtic extensions of the discipline.

With regard to international postcolonial comparisons, she is sensitive to the danger of over-generalisation in Postcolonial Studies. She quotes Hall to support her view that these can indeed be enabling as long as the differences and limitations are also kept in mind (32). The emphasis in Hall's statement is her own:

> [T]hose deploying the concept must attend [...] carefully to its discriminations and specificities and/or establish more clearly at what level of abstraction the term is operating and how this avoids a spurious 'universalisation … [not]…all societies are 'post-colonial' *in the same way*... But this does not mean that they are not 'post-colonial' *in any way* (1996: 245-6).

Stroh's hope is that *Uneasy Subjects* will demonstrate that the postcolonial question is as legitimate in Scotland as it is in many overseas contexts. She shows that certain post/colonial patterns run like 'a red thread' through Scottish history and literature, and although these are not the single dominating factor in the country's grand narrative, they form a palpable and influential presence (32). In returning to the question of hybridity and complexity, Stroh's view is that the particularly high presence of these characteristics in the Scottish case makes it an interesting object of postcolonial study. She makes a significant point that:

> The distinction between Lowlands and Highlands is a crucial factor: Several texts which deny the applicability of post/colonial concepts in a Scottish framework, on the grounds of its closeness to the British centre, base the evidence largely on the Lowland experience and fail to take sufficient account of Scotland's internal Gaelic margin, which has been much more "Other" to Britain's mainstream(s) (36).

Detailed analyses of Scottish literary texts and history from postcolonial perspectives are meagre and, as we noted from Stroh's analysis above, continue to suffer an indifferent reception. A marked geographical division has existed with the North American academy exercising a fruitful (if sometimes over-energetic) embrace of postcolonial perspectives on Scotland while within the host country such theorising has had but lukewarm reception. This research is fortunate however in its timing in that it has benefited from a detailed consideration of the applicability of postcolonial methodologies and tools to Gaelic

Scotland specifically. Although, Corina Krause (2005) has exposed the postcolonial roots of Scottish Gaelic poetry, this research has been able to draw deeply upon the far fuller examination of the primary Gaelic sources provided by Stroh's *Uneasy Subjects*. The reader could be justified in their belief that this research is excessively privileging *Uneasy Subjects.* Such a criticism is not without justification but it is important to understand that, to date, Stroh's work of 2011 is the only detailed defence of the application of postcolonial discourse to Gaelic Scotland. Works such as Newton's *Warriors of the Word* (2009) proceed from a position that a postcolonial reading is axiomatic. By contrast, Stroh sets out a detailed position statement for the validity of a postcolonial approach; a position which is sensitive to critics of such an approach. Stroh makes the point that "while post/ coloniality is not the only useful pattern for the analysis of Scottish and Gaelic identity discourses, it is a highly important one which pertains to a considerable number of texts from a variety of contexts (2011:18). Stroh's work is of value principally because it makes clear distinctions between Scottish Highland and Scottish Lowland experiences and is solely concerned with the Gaelic Highlander's experience. The suggestion is that postcolonial perspectives are worthy of attention. With its strict attention to what Said termed "imaginative geography" (1995: 49), its recognition of the very complexity of Highland/Lowland interrelationships, its celebration of hybridity as a spur for research rather than a block and its reinvigoration of Gardiner's 'tired debate' on the validity to Scotland of postcolonial reading strategies, are reasons why her analysis of Scottish and Gaelic identity discourses is to be welcomed.

In conclusion, we have seen that the paradigm of the 'tourist gaze' stems from Foucault but the power relations inherent in that discourse have been largely avoided in a studied focus on typologies of 'gaze'. We see that Said also draws heavily from Foucauldian theories in his postcolonial analysis and his lead has been successfully taken in other fields and that tourism is also a site for postcolonial reading practice. Scotland however, has failed to see

value in such works and its own 'half-way house' of 'internal colonialism' has served

solely to generate marked resistance to reflection upon "the relations of domination and

subordination - economic, cultural and political - between (and often within) nations, races

or cultures" (Moore-Gilbert,1997: 11). Stroh has however brought fresh insight to the field

in exposing the 'red thread' of postcolonialism within Gaelic poetry and has offered the

prospect of fruitful exploration of the applicability of such a perspective upon the position

of the Highlander under the 'tourist gaze'. The thesis now moves on to consider the

manner in which the Highlander has been re/presented in the literature about him.

CHAPTER FIVE: THE LITERATURE SURVEY

This chapter surveys the literature that deals with the Scottish Highlander and seeks to trace the roots of his representation under an external 'gaze', from the contemporary scene back to the early mediaeval period. It therefore expands the standard review format by conducting a Foucauldian analysis of the key texts which have come to represent the Highlander to the Anglophone world. We noted earlier Cormack's observation (2008: 225) that 'aspects of the culture have been cut loose from the language' leading to the Scottish tourism industry's muting and the ultimate aural and visual erasure of the Highlander. In seeking to gain an understanding of portrayals of the Highlander in Scotland, the literature survey covers a number of separate but interrelated fields. From the onset it has to be recognised that, apart from a few rare exceptions such as Martin Martin's *Description of the Western Isles* (1705), the commentaries on the Highlander are the product of an external 'gaze'. In an article entitled 'Misrepresentation of Highlanders and Their History' (1881) in *The Highlander*, MacKay states that:

> If Highlanders have not succeeded in seeing themselves as others see them, it is not for want of abundant opportunity. We believe there is not another race [...] that has so often been treated to the opinions of others regarding them, as the Highlanders have been (45).

Nor is the analysis of Highlander representations within the tourism industry particularly well served in terms of Anglophone writings. While he quotes several book-length works on travellers in Scotland and articles on aspects of Scottish tourism history, Seaton, in his 1989 paper, is of the view that much work on Scottish tourism is anecdotal (4). According to Seaton the factors that turned a "forbidding wilderness" (Scotland) into a "pleasure ground", "an alien and hostile race" into "an object of sentimental myth", indicate that tourism "is as much about ideas and ideologies as physical features" (1998: 3). He regrets, however, in discussing the historiography of the industry, that no single work has so far dealt with the whole span and that there are lacunae in that span with the bulk of the

writings addressing only the nineteenth century (4). The survey starts, therefore, with a consideration of the current industry literature, and that in respect of branding in particular.

Authenticity

Yeoman, the then VisitScotland scenario planner, in a paper entitled 'Capturing the essence of a brand from its history' (2005), suggests that tourism is "an industry which represents the nation's identity, values and culture". The identification of the past and culture will "determine marketing strategies in the future" (139). He lists Scottish icons such as tartan, golf, whisky, etc. that are "an authentic experience" (140). Yeoman claims that "[n]owhere else in the world is tartan associated with a country. The kilt is unique to Scotland and is recognised all over the world." For him the factors that make Edinburgh's Tattoo an iconic event with international appeal are "the combination of the castle venue and tartan, bagpipes and drums with Scotland's military history (140). In addition, Yeoman observes that "whether it is an interest in Celtic (*sic*) culture such as the Mod (*sic*) [...] Scotland offers a diverse cultural experience from heritage to modern"(141) and states that for many visitors it is "the past that matters rather than sport or culture" (145).

This is an emphatic statement in support of Cormack's "traditional symbolism" being "related to Gaelic culture": the icons, tartan, kilt and bagpipes spring from that culture and its annual cultural festival, the *Mòd*, is mentioned. Yeoman holds the view that if Scotland's tourism ambition to grow by 50% by 2015 is to be achieved, one of the key areas identified is authenticity. He argues that for Scotland to "accurately position itself with an authentic proposition" it will require a "strong brand proposition in which the equity of authenticity is positioned" (137). This notion of 'authenticity' perhaps does not, however, reflect the nature of the 'staged authenticity' of post-modern tourism.

'Staged authenticity'

MacCannell's notion of 'staged authenticity' has been described by Franklin, along with Urry's 'tourist gaze', as the two primary theories within tourism research (2009: 67). In the Scottish context, 'staged authenticity' is seen in the annual spectacle of the Tattoo. It is for Seaton "the most successful single event of the whole Edinburgh Festival" (1998: 235). He criticises, however, "progressive commentators, clamouring for Scotland to abandon its tartan/jock/ bagpipes/moor and heather image and develop a more updated, twentieth-century image". To him this 'clamour' "fails to recognise that Scotland's traditional (if partly mythical) attributes constitute a unique form of competitive differentiation […] which other destinations in Europe look upon with envy" (235). For Seaton, therefore, questions of inauthenticity or 'mythical attributes' are outweighed by a "unique form of competitive differentiation" represented by Highland icons.

Although not directly named, McCrone may be one of the 'progressive commentators' referred to. For him the impact of tourism is seen as an element in the process of the creation of 'Highlandism' which formulation is, according to Hesse, "drawn from Edward Said's *Orientalism*" (2013: 178).To McCrone, it is a 'common-place' assertion that 'Highlandism' having resulted in aspects of Gaelic culture, such as the tartan, the kilt, and the bagpiper, components of 'tartanry', has come to represent all Scotland (1995: 5). This critique is broadly followed by Craig (1996, 2009), Davidson (2000), Devine (1994), Kidd (2002, 2005) and Nairn (1975). Thus Bhandari, in his unpublished thesis on 'The role of tourism in the expression of nationalism in Scotland' sees that 'tartanry', in its Highland Games manifestation, is substituted for local Lowland culture in the southwest of Scotland.

However, as this literature survey will demonstrate, the "aspects of Gaelic culture" that McCrone cites, are embodied in the male kilted bagpiper and do not extend beyond him.

Discussions of the semiotic devices used within the tourism industry and, according to Davidson (2000: 134), by extension, also the cultural symbols of a Scottish consciousness, move rapidly to an examination of tartan, the kilt and attendant questions of their authenticity and antiquity. The following quote by Grenier (2006) illustrates the centrality of 'Highland dress' not only to the 'tourist gaze' but also its contingent nature:

> Victorians were also fascinated with Highland dress... Although kilts and tartans were not as ancient as many tourists believed [...] they nonetheless provided evidence of Scotland's alleged rootedness in the past (1008).

Thus today the key semiotic device of the Scottish tourism industry in 'staged inauthenticity' centres primarily on the Highland bagpiper. It is also almost the only visible expression of Gaelic culture. Hesse (2013) states that Scotland "has been associated with Highland images for more than 200 years" and that "the kilted soldier is at the heart of what has been called Scotland's 'invented tradition' or 'tartan monster'" and that the "image of Scotland as a Highland warrior nation was exported via the global channels of popular culture" (178-9). We will return to the question of 'invented tradition' and the 'tartan monster' once the image of the "kilted Highland warrior" has been considered under the rubric of commoditisation.

Commoditisation

The impact of tourism upon indigenous cultures has been the subject of a number of studies (Greenwood, 1972) as has their subsequent commoditisation (Cohen, 1988, 2004). Although the single term 'commoditisation' is used, the concept rests in part on an earlier terminology of cultural objectification that includes essentialism, reification, othering etc. MacCannell in discussing Handler's (1984) analysis of cultural objectification argues that tourism and nationalism are complicit in the artificial objectification of culture.

A further element in the critique of Scottish cultural formation is the phenomenon of kitsch within its tourism industry, sometimes described as the 'tartan monster' (Brown, 2010; Craig 1996; Hesse 2013; Nairn 1975). Kitsch is widely understood as a global phenomenon and for Seaton and Yeoman, tartan, as an object of kitsch, is exceptional only in the sense that it is now a universal brand. To Veblen (1899) (a source for MacCannell's work) all culture is a consequence of aggressive showing-off manifested in 'conspicuous leisure and consumption'. In his examination of aspects of modernity, Calinescu (1987) stresses the modernity of kitsch, and defined it as "a specifically aesthetic form of lying". Calinescu links it to "the modern illusion that beauty may be bought and sold" which appears "at the moment […] when beauty [...] is socially distributed like any other commodity subject to the […] law of supply and demand" (229).

While Calinescu observes that to call something kitsch is a way of "rejecting it outright as distasteful, repugnant, or even disgusting" he does make the point that kitsch dismisses the "pretensions of quality of anything that tries to be 'artistic' without genuinely being so" (235). This point suggests, therefore, a limited applicability of the theory of kitsch to what Blaustein describes as a process in Scotland whereby "deconstructionist cultural critics" have tended to dismiss "romantic nostalgia symbols of Scottish culture as "spurious fabrications fostering false consciousness and bad taste" (2003: 99). Despite an apparent plurality of "romantic nostalgia symbols" this literature survey suggests that any consideration, in terms of his speech and the broader culture of the Highlander, is practically absent, the sole semiotic focus being on the kilt. A survey, therefore, of the literature, in order to trace the development of his representation in modern Scottish tourism and thus understand the impact of the 'tourist gaze' on the Highlander, would appear to be relatively straightforward. McCrone, writing in 1992, states that:

> Perhaps more has been written by historians and social scientists on the Gaelic-speaking Highlands than the rest of Scotland put together. In cultural terms, its imagery dominates (50).

Although the statement implies that there is a substantial range of sources upon which to draw, as we shall see, there are few first-hand accounts and, as Craig (2009) has pointed out, a great deal of the writing about Scotland is the product of the external gazer. This survey suggests that, for the Gaelic-speaking Highlander, their lack of a means of communication with the Anglophone world generated external commentaries upon them and rendered them progressively ever muter in a process that branded them with 'tartanry'.

'Tartanry'

The notion of 'branding' is seen as central to a destination's success as a tourist destination and in Scotland discussion is quickly reduced to an anxiety over the nature and the role that 'tartanry' is perceived to play. 'Tartanry' is described as the kitsch elements of Scottish culture that have been over-emphasised or super-imposed on the country by the tourist industry. That process of commoditisation in drawing upon the Highlander for cultural artefacts for use in the tourism industry has been metonymically transferred to all aspects of the culture. Thus the term refers to the "often mispresented or invented aspects of Scotland such as clan, tartans, kilts, bagpipes, Scottish Gaelic and Highland culture more generally" (Wikipedia, Tartanry, August 2010). Further, a range of labels 'tartanry', 'Balmoralization' and 'Highlandism' etc., are often applied interchangeably or are collapsed into one another. Grenier illustrates such:

> Scholars [...] have been harshly critical of the effects of the tourist gaze upon Scotland. The "Balmoralization" or "Tartanization" [...] reduced that country's culture to a few stereotypes which appealed to foreign visitors[...] As it became a hegemonic discourse which linked all things Scottish to tartans, bagpipes, clans, and Bonnie Prince Charlie, Tartanry trivialized Scottish history and culture (2006: 1004- 5).

Prentice and Anderson in their discussion of 'Festival as creative destination' (2003) provide further categorisation: "much of Scottish 'heritage' has been created through an

idealised past of 'Highlandism', 'Tartanry' and 'Brigadoonism' [...] and more recently 'Braveheartism'" (8). However, Basu (2007) has a different dualist usage to suggest that the representation is not only based on stereotypes, but that these stereotypes are codified in particular ways. He states that:

> In my use of 'Highlandism' I intentionally infer a correspondence with Said's notion of Orientalism, i.e. "a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction". 'Tartanry' I take merely to be a genre of Highlandist discourse - one often associated in Scotland with kitsch and bad taste (2007: 231, n.2).

McKay, in his analysis of the construction of Scottishness in Nova Scotia from 1933-1954, notes Nairn's use of "tartanry" (1977: 286) and the "vast tartan monster" (1977: 85) but he prefers "tartanism" as it conveys a less pejorative image" (6). It would appear, however, that there is no clarity as to what the terms, ' tartanry' 'tartanization','tartan monster', 'Balmoralism', 'Balmoralization', 'Balmorality', 'Brigadoonism' and 'Braveheartism' that appear in the same context as 'Highlandism' or indeed, 'Highlandist' might connote. It is rarely acknowledged that the use of these terms is contingent. McNeil in *Scotland, Britain and Empire* (2007), when discussing assumptions about the 'essential' suitability of the Highland man for a military life, observes that 'Highlandism' calls attention to:

> the geographical determinism that underlies it [...] which reinforces an imperialist epistemology that assumes the universal condition of other 'primitive' mountain people and spaces set apart from normative, civil 'lowland' peoples and spaces (86).

It is necessary to digress slightly at this stage of the survey and record, as Stroh (2009) has noted, the considerable antiquity of that "imperialist epistemology" of the tropes of essentialism to which the Highlander is subject under the 'tourist gaze'.

The Discourse on 'tribal' peoples

Eric Richards's characterisation, in *Strangers in the Realm* (1991) of the Highlands as being "the last home of barbarism in the British Isles" (80) gives a hint of the origins of

this discourse. Despite Stevenson's now long-established (1980) demonstration that the antecedents of the historically observed phenomenon of 'the clan' extend no further back than the power vacuum caused by the weak monarchy from the fourteenth century onwards (9) and his analysis that their development was a direct localised response to the two hundred years of ensuing anarchy following the forfeiture of the Lordship of the Isles, the literature has references to the Highlanders as being 'tribal'. Even to a sympathetic writer such as Ian Finlay, they are like "other hunting and warring tribes - Red Indians, the Zulus" and the "clan system which developed among them was almost inevitable" (1963: 29). Nairn describes the kilt and tartan's evolution as "Tribal barbarities became 'colourful' traditions" (1975: 41-2). The Highlanders' supposed penchant for raiding, to Webster, (1996) provides a "model of the archaic Celtic battle" where warfare "took the form of a raid" (114).   Webster examines the colonial discourse on 'Celtic warrior society' in a literature of Celtic warfare that to her is a product of "Roman imperialism and territorial aggression" (115). She questions "the centrist perspective (both classical and contemporary)" and concludes that "much of what we accept as literary evidence of Celtic warfare can be deconstructed as colonial discourse" (116). A supposed un-broken link from the 'tribal' Celtic peoples to the Scottish Highlander is further reinforced by the primary marker of all cultures described as 'Celtic' - their family of related languages, one of which is Scottish Gaelic.

Language and translation

From approximately 1100 AD Gaelic's position as the language of power and prestige (Newton, 2009) gradually declined. Such a loss of prestige is one of the factors leading to

language loss that the linguist Crystal cites in his manual for language survival, *Language Death* (2000). Population loss through starvation and disease, war and immigration, cultural change, natural resource exploitation, assimilation by the dominant culture, official disdain and neglect, feelings of shame about using the old language and now globalisation, have all contributed to Gaelic's retreat largely to the north and western fringes of Scotland. Crystal (2000), Dorian (1981) and Fishman (1991) apply the term 'extinction' for the decline in language use although Harrison is more comfortable with the notion of smaller tongues being 'crowded out' by bigger ones (2007: 5). Abley (2003) provides an account of a subtler way of 'kissing languages goodbye" and suggests that we "might call it complacency" (44).

Whatever the nature of the process, Gaelic is only subliminally present in Scottish tourist sites. Why this should be the case when the industry's promotional artefacts are mostly of Gaelic origin is of some interest. Cameron (1995), in addressing the processes of 'verbal hygiene' in popular attitudes towards language, examines the practices by which people attempt to regulate its use. Rather than dismissing such practices as misguided and pernicious exercises, she argues that popular discourse about language values is an important function for those engaged in it. Milroy (1997), in a broadly positive survey of Cameron's work, recalls how as a child in "a rural bidialectical community" he applied "normative standards to use of language in different situations" (133). However, the observation may not be immediately extendable to Gaelic. Scots, although considered by some writers as a separate language (Kay, 1986) is closely related to English. In Kloss's (1967), terminology, Scots is an *Ausbau* language vis-à-vis English, forming part of a dialect continuum of closely related languages, while Gaelic linguistically distant from English, and thus clearly 'different', is an *Abstand* language. The application of 'verbal hygiene' would serve only partly to explain Gaelic's diminished role.

Cronin, in a number of works dealing with languages, tourism and translation (2000, 2003, and 2006), provides a perspective for an Irish-speaking *milieu*. In *Across the Lines* (2000) he has no objection to the thesis defended by Urry and Rojek in *Touring Cultures* (1999) that tourism has played its own role in the construction of national cultures, but notes that they fail to mention the role of language in that construction (21). But perhaps his notion of horizontal and vertical travel (19), in which the latter's dwelling and depth of engagement enables a deeper appreciation than the former's superficial contact, might have an impact upon opportunities for exposure to language. Given tourist visitation's characteristic brevity, the linguistic 'travel' is horizontally shallow so that the exposure to the language is, perforce, limited. Building on Cronin's work, Phipps (2007b) breaks from the privileging tradition of the sight of the 'tourist gaze' to give greater attention to language and its imaginative potential. She views languages as "fully embodied" and "not detachable" (3). She has developed the concept of 'languaging' to "make a distinction between the effort of using languages that one is learning in the classroom contexts with the effort of being a person in that language" (12). So that the visitor does more than "just look through the windscreen at the sites, […] but engage[s] in conversations" (187). Echoing Cronin, Phipps believes languaging to be "an act of dwelling" (12). However, Gaelic's subliminal presence affords no opportunities for "an act of dwelling".

Linguistic confusion

The Gaelic Highlander was historically thought to be an extension of an Irish continuum (Stevenson, 1980 and McGregor, 2007). In records of the early travellers the native language of the Highlander is often confused with that of Ireland through the derogatory use of the term 'Erse'. Indeed, as with Wilkinson, in his *Tours to the British Mountains* (1824), the words 'Gaelic' and 'Erse' are often used interchangeably on the same page. One source in which Gaelic finds expression and thus international exposure is in Scott's

novels. In *Waverley* (1814) and *Rob Roy* (1818), Scott is the first English-speaking writer to use Gaelic. Despite opinions to the contrary, such as that expressed at the Lady of the Lake conference at Balloch in 2010, where a number of academics agreed with the statement that "Scott did not speak Gaelic but could understand it" (my own observation) and Mudie's 1822 claim that Scott drank a toast to the King, "which he explained in Gaelic" (Mudie, 286, quoted in McNeil, 2007:74) Scott's proficiency has been exaggerated. Scott himself says that his "great deficiency is that [...] I do not in the least understand the Gaelic language and am therefore much at a loss to find authentic materials for my undertaking" (Grierson, 1932 - 1936: 324).

Tulloch explains that Scott made "a serious attempt to provide a natural and faithful representation of Scots as it was spoken by different people" (1980: 167), and Robert Crawford tells us that "Scott wanted to give a sense of local language, even linguistic exoticism" (2007: 415). But Crawford notes that Scott adopts a "lowlander's mockery of Gaelic language constructions" and so "the bard (Gael) is made to speak of himself as 'hir'(her) and 'scho'(she)" (2007: 86). So while Scott sought to find "authentic materials" his successors in the field of the historical novel such as Stevenson's *Kidnapped* (1886) and Munro's *The New Road* (1914) failed to expand upon his use of Gaelic. Stevenson avoids the use of any Gaelic dialogue while Munro's treatment, although orthographically precise, is oddly tentative. This distanced role for the language is sustained by Broster in her 1925 *The Flight of the Heron*. For although Gaelic makes an early appearance in the word *amadain* (fool) (2) it is not translated, a pattern which she maintains. 'Gaelic' then become 'Erse' and Scott's speech pattern has returned; "'My father is a *taibhsear'*, he explained. 'That iss he hass the two sights'" (26). Gabaldon's *Outlander,* (1991) despite attempted historical accuracy, has error and anachronism. Gaelic fares little better; we are told that "the Gaelic language hasn't got a specific word for drawers." (17) This linguistic

failure is then explained by reference to what is worn under the kilt. When an attempt is made to write in Gaelic, the *sgian dubh* is rendered as *skein dhu* (224).

This detaching and distancing of the language from the cultural signs of Gaelic and the language's silence impacts upon the 'tourist gaze'. Cronin (2000) reminds us that the gaze as culturally determined and politically coercive translates to colonial travel narratives. The effect of a preoccupation with the visual in critical writing on travel literature and tourism is such that "it seems to have affected the writing itself" (82). To Cronin, Urry's work is an example of a failure to link the predominance of the visual to the absence of common language leading to Cronin's aphorism that "Sightseeing is the world with the sound switched off" (82).

An Empire of Signs

For Culler, this switched-off- sound- world makes tourism a branch of semiotics with tourists, as "unsung armies of semioticians", "fanning out in search of the signs of Frenchness, typical Italian behaviour, exemplary oriental scenes" (1981: 127). They seek visual not linguistic evidence of otherness. The panoramic view through the window of the coach, the car windscreen or the railway window accentuates the visual and filters out external smells, sounds, tastes and touch. In pursuit of these experiences, travellers intrude into the lives of the people in travel destinations. Cronin thus identifies the "one strategy for minimising the panoptic inquisitiveness of the tourist" through the use of 'staged authenticity', which provides the tourist with a constructive and "managed illusion of authentic experience" (2000: 94). This survey now considers the nature of the Highlander's representation in such "managed illusions".

Scottish Culture and Highland culture

While the situation in Scotland might be deemed to be analogous with MacCannell's (1973) global phenomenon of the 'staged authenticity' as viewed through Urry's 'tourist gaze', the notion of 'authenticity' is compromised by the belief that the icons utilised are spurious. This view is central to the work of Arranz. He has examined the promotional literature of all of the UK's tourist boards including Scotland (VisitScotland) (2004). His analysis of commoditisation and resultant promotion imagery, primarily in brochures, in the marketing efforts of VisitScotland,   reaches the conclusion that its discourse is a "paradoxical exercise of othering strategies" (2004:16). He claims that the attempt:

> to homogenise Scottish culture under the hegemony of a largely forged Celtic (*sic*) tradition certainly involves the recognition of other peoples and cultures which, […] are also automatically turned into Others…[and]… are made invisible, silenced and ignored, which is […] just as powerful an othering strategy (2004:17).

Arranz's work on branding seems to demonstrate the existence of a discourse centred on the notion of "forged Celtic tradition" and introduces to the tourism debate the notion of the 'other'. In this instance he identifies the Lowland non-Celtic Scot, as distinct from the Highlander, as the 'other'. Arranz makes reference to the commentaries of McCrone who in *Scotland the Brand* (1995), written with Morris and Kiely, considers the nature of representations of Scotland's heritage. They identify a "more important reason" for setting out to account for the "growing cult of the past" (1995: 1) being that the "idea of heritage has its origins in nineteenth century Scotland and the revolution in the writing of history brought about by Sir Walter Scott" (4). They suggest that Scotland "suffers from too much heritage" and that VisitScotland has "tired of 'tartanry' and played down the images of kilted bagpipe players in favour of Scotland's poetry, music and landscape." This is because "it is now a commonplace to assert that much of tartanry is Victorian (*sic*) fabrication" and that it "owes more to the heritage industry than to history" (5).

 'Tartanry' is introduced without explanation but based on the range of connotations noted above, the implication is that much of Highland and, by extension, Gaelic culture is a

"fabrication" based on the "revolution" brought about by Scott. Ash (1980) is cited to the effect that Scott created a highly romantic and fictitious picture of the Scottish past. Their conclusion is that Scotland's "capacity to shape its representation is severely limited" and "that Scotland exists simply as 'land of dreamtime'" (209).

McCrone's articulation of 'Victorian fabrication' was complemented by Gold and Gold (1995). Again Scott is the perpetrator of such representations. In this view they echo Clyde's study of representations of the Highlander *From Rebel to Hero* (1995) which makes the assertion that "anyone who doubts that Scott helped create the Highland tourist industry" has simply to read the words of an early tourist who found the scene at Loch Katrine "just as it is described in the first Canto of the 'Lady of the Lake" (1995: 121). The Golds' chapter 'Sir Walter Scott and the Propagation of the Highland Myth' concludes that while the emphasis on tartan during the visit of George IV to Edinburgh in 1822 was not Scott's influence alone, he has prime responsibility for conflating Highland identity and Scottish identity and that "highland history and tradition was reinvented in the early nineteenth century to meet a broader political and social agenda" (147). They state that:

> Scott's writings and his recasting of Scottish tradition as a romanticized version of highland tradition are pivotal in any analysis of the representation of Scotland in the ensuing years (1995: 74).

They argue that "it was Scott who wrote the script for the promotion of Scottish tourism" (83) and that much marketing output is rooted in imagery that is "nostalgic, sentimental and wreathed in the Celtic mistiness of the romanticized Highlands" (207). They therefore share McCrone's view of the 'brand' as largely a Victorian fabrication based on a mythic Highland culture that is damaging to the Scottish tourism industry and "may now limit the potential of tourism rather than expand it" (207). Neither McCrone nor the Golds' text, however, considers any impact upon Gaelic culture under the 'tourist gaze'. Although these works have remained much cited contributions to the discourse, nowhere does it

appear that they have been seriously questioned. Finegar's (1999) review found that the Golds' emphasis on presentation to the neglect of reception seemed to suggest that "images put forth by promoters equal images received by tourists". Her concern that "the authors could have certainly included some small study of the reception of tourist promotions in the current day" (581) will in some small part be attempted in this thesis.

The mythic creation of Highland culture

There is an extensive literature on the discourse of 'Highlandism' whose authors accept the view that much of Highland culture is to some degree a mythic creation, The view is articulated in general histories by Donaldson (1974), Cowan and Finlay (2002), Lynch (1992), Houston & Knox (2002), Devine (2006), Mackie (1978), and Mitchison (1970), in general surveys of the sociology of Scotland by McCrone (1992, 1995 and 2009), by political economists such as Nairn (1970,1975, 1977) and Harvie (1993, 2002), in more detailed surveys of Highland history such as Trevor-Roper (1983), Withers (1992), Donnachie (1992), Clyde (1995) and Chapman (1978,1992), as well as literary criticism by Womack (1989), Trumpener, (1997), Gardiner (2005) and Pittock (1999). A representative example is presented by Inglis and Holmes (2003) in a survey of ghosts in Scottish tourism, where they aver that:

> Scott was [...] responsible for [...] views of Scotland as misty-mountained Highland territory, peopled by tartan-wearing noble savages, products of the mythical past and yet still living out its inheritance in the present and [...] the creation of the cultural apparatus of 'authentic' Scottishness: bagpipes, tartans, clan chiefs and lairds (54).

For Hills among the elements of perceived Scottish culture is "the great highland myth: the adoption of the Highland clan as a paradigm of Scottish culture" that is a:

> symbolism of beliefs and values which has no equal until the rise of the Hollywood Western and it is disputable which bore the less resemblance to historical reality. The highland identity is almost entirely fabricated (1994: 95-6).

Echoing the "Hollywood Western" theme, Burnett and Cormack in *Media in Scotland* (2008), consider the presentation of Scotland particularly in the press, television and film. The source they cite is *Scotch Reels* (1982), edited by MacArthur, in which Caughie observed that:

> It is precisely the regressiveness of the frozen discourses of Tartanry [...] that they provide […] a reservoir of Scottish 'characters', […] 'attitudes' and […] 'views' [...] a petrified culture with a misty, mythic, and above all, static past (1982: 115).

What these publications share is the thesis that the representations of the culture of the Highlander through which Scotland has been marketed are 'mythical', 'invented' or 'fabricated' through the process of 'tartanry'. In his analysis of national formation, Nairn (1970, 1975, 1977) is dismissive of 'tartanry' which he says "will not wither away", because it "possesses the force of its own vulgarity - immunity from doubt and higher culture". Nairn thus considers these manifestations to be pathological expressions of false consciousness (1970: 165). In Nairn's other term 'the Tartan Monster' McCrone notes "the motif of fear, nightmare, neurosis and sub-Freudian - Scotland as a psychiatric condition" (1992: 138). Of interest here is that McCrone does not link the strong resonances in that "sub-Freudian neurosis" to Bhabha's analysis of colonial discourse to address questions of identity - formation, psychic affect and the mechanics of the unconscious. Rather, for McCrone, it is the issue that "accounts of Scotland are disproportionately coloured by [a] Highland romanticised view of the country" (39).

'Tartanry' and theories of national formation

Space does not allow an examination of the considerable corpus on theoretical frameworks of national formation for which Bhandari provides the four definitions of 'imagined community', 'a function of modernity', a 'bounded entity' and an 'invented tradition' (2012: 41). Thus academics still rely on several approaches to national formation, each of

which will, in Smith's words, 'illuminate a corner of the broader canvas only to leave the rest of it in untraversed darkness' (1998: 220). The aspect of interest to this particular study is the notion of conscious constructedness. This notion generally takes two forms of either 'imagined communities' or 'invented tradition'.

Imagined Communities and the Invention of Tradition

In his 1983 book, revised in 1991, *Imagined Communities* Anderson suggests that a nation is constructed from popular processes which residents share in common. He says:

> It is *imagined* because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow members, [...] yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion (1991: 6, original emphasis).

Anderson argues that the main causes of the creation of an imagined community are the reduction of privileged access to particular script languages (e.g. Latin), the movement to abolish absolute monarchism, as well as the emergence of the printing press under a system of capitalism. Anderson's work resonates with Smith (1986), who considers the nation- building mythology and national myths of 'origin' more as invented narratives than real stories. Neither he nor Anderson, however, views these processes as inherently negative. Instrumentalists, on the other hand, attempt to single out the 'manufacturers' of nations among the groups that have most to gain. They postulate a sharp division between political-economic élites and their followers, seeing the latter as passively manipulated by the former. Thus for Hobsbawm (1994), the élites were ambitious 'social engineers' deliberately stirring up atavistic emotions as a mechanism of hegemonic control over the subaltern classes. Hobsbawm's term 'invention of tradition' (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983) has been described as having "gained near iconic meaning" (Conversi, 2006: 17). The term is a major aspect of the discourse in Scottish national formation. Indeed,

Bhandari contrasts the marked emphasis in Scotland on 'invented tradition' with a focus on 'imagined communities' in other countries (2012: 47).

Hobsbawm published a collection of essays *The Invention of Tradition* (1983) where Trevor-Roper wrote on the invention of Highland tradition. While the collection includes an incisive examination by Cannadine on the invented traditions surrounding the British Royal family, it is Trevor-Roper's work which, in the view of Bhandari (2012), and with many other commentators, provides "the most comprehensive example of 'invented tradition'" as well as "the mystification of Scotland" (46). Where Nairn would see the Hanoverian and Victorian adoption of Highland symbols as part of the British state takeover, Trevor-Roper argues for a deliberate and conscious construction of an inauthentic tradition in a deliberate act of calculated forgery by unscrupulous Gaelic Highlanders.

The idea of invention was elaborated further in a collection of proceedings by Fladmark, (1995) where the quote by Hills, cited above, indicates the thesis's wide impact. Fladmark's *The Wealth of a Nation* (1994) is an attempt to understand the iconography of Scotland and posed the question - what does Scotland mean to ourselves and to others who come as visitors? He feels that we "now believe ourselves in some of the created images that have come to blur the distinction between real and invented heritage" (5). To Fladmark, "the kilt is a case in point which illustrates invented tradition". He then provides a succinct encapsulation that "according to Trevor- Roper (1983) and some other historians, there is written evidence from people who lived at the time" to suggest that the kilt was invented in 1727 by one Thomas Rawlinson. Unfortunately "the other historians" are not named. So, since Rawlinson found the belted plaid worn by the Glengarry men cumbersome for work, "he designed a very different pleated garment" - the kilt. For Fladmark it has become a "very potent force in Scottish culture today". He strives

therefore, to identify an "entirely genuine image of Scotland that is subscribed to by Scots and outsiders alike", which is "the reputation of Scottish inventiveness and intellectual prowess" (5-6). However, he acknowledges these are of less interest to the tourist and cautions that the lack of discrimination between real and invented heritage among Scots will become a matter of concern if visitors begin to "reject the latter by showing a clear preference for the former" (7).

In addition to the concerns of the heritage industry, for those commentators interested in the sociology of a nation and the nature of the iconography of the grand narrative, Trevor-Roper is the source most often cited. Kidd in a discussion of Trevor-Roper and the Scottish Enlightenment saw him engaged in a mission of "demolishing the Great Tartan Monster which it was believed had stifled the creative energies of the Scottish people." Kidd does acknowledge that "the new generation of intellectuals" did not want to hear "this sort of thing" from Trevor-Roper, who had been "newly ennobled in part for his robust defence of the Union during the later 1970s" (2005: 214). Despite the fact that Trevor-Roper's analysis is not without its critics, namely Beveridge and Turnbull (1989), Hearn (2000) and Calder (1994), his work is regarded by most as a basal text. According to McCrone, "in a knockabout piece [...] Dacre (Trevor- Roper) attempts a demolition job on tartanry. It has to be said that Trevor-Roper's interpretation is thoroughly contentious" (1992: 181). The contention is not explained. Others have been less kind with Beveridge and Turnbull, describing his contribution as "ravings" (1989: 58), and Pittock in 'Plaiding the Invention of Scotland' feels that "Trevor-Roper's essentialist, almost racist, logic seems odd, intellectually insubstantial and leading to his historical mythmaking" (2010: 99). Ferguson (2007) has stated:

> Nowhere is the absurdity of Trevor-Roper's 'Scotch history' more apparent than in his essay on "Highland Tradition' [...]. Nearly everything he has to say [...] is either mistaken or wide of the mark. How people have been taken in by that feeble stuff has puzzled me for years (100).

Despite such criticism, Trevor-Roper's account has remained the primary text on the origins of tartan and the kilt. That being the case, a closer examination of precisely what Trevor-Roper has to say occurs in the later chapter on 'Invention' in this thesis. This survey now returns to the literature on national formation.

Narrative and Myth in National Formation

The application of the 'grand narratives' to the process of national formation is of interest to Hutchinson. In his *The Dynamics of Cultural Nationalism,* (1987), Hutchinson considers that the construction of a sense of community is dependent upon narrative. He sets out, despite "limited scholarly attention", to show that cultural nationalism is "a movement quite independent of political nationalism" (7). He argues that historical memory rather than language serves to define the national community. To him, this "invocation of the past" has the goal of "providing 'authentic' national models of progress" (7). Billig's *Banal Nationalism* (1995) develops the term 'banal nationalism' to cover the ideological habits which enable the established nations to be reproduced. He argued that these habits are part of everyday life and that nationalism is an endemic condition. To Billig nations not only have to be imagined, but "also have to create their own histories or interpretations of themselves". He states that nations do not have to pass a theoretical test of nationhood, but the tests are "based upon the ability of the state to impose order and monopolize violence within established boundaries" since "there are competing tales to be told" (85). This echoes Hutchinson's argument that historical memory rather than language serves to define the national community (1987: 7).

Of particular interest in the context of the role of the Highlander as 'other' is the extension of Nairn's notion of 'deformity' to the active use of him as a cipher for failed nation-hood.

Davidson (2000) opens his sweeping rejection of the notion of the Scottish nation as a political entity by singling out Highland 'exclusion'. Davidson's singular view is that:

> a Scottish nation did not exist in 1320, nor in 1560, nor yet in 1707. The lowlands were in the process of developing a sense of nationhood by the latter date but this was a process from which the highlands were largely excluded and which was in any event cut short by the Union […] only after 1707 were the material obstacles to nationhood - most notably the Highland/Lowland divide - overcome (3-4).

Urry (2005:23) quotes Samuel's view that heritage "has little to do with the continuities of monarchy, parliament or British national institutions" but that it is "the little platoons, [...] which command attention in this new version of the national past" (Samuel, 1994: 158). For Urry, "one interesting 'little platoon' established the Aros Heritage Centre on the Isle of Skye". To him the story of its two founders who thought that establishing a commercially oriented centre would help to strengthen Gaelic language and culture demonstrates that "Gaelic heritage is a hybrid and did not exist in some authentic state before visitors began to arrive"(2005: 23-4). The notion of "hybrid culture" is also an aspect of a Highland culture subject to myth-making.

Myth-making

Myth, for some commentators has a significant role in the Scottish context and is used by Basu (2007) in his application of 'imagineerings' to the Highlands to "suggest that homeland and diaspora are both bound up in the production and consumption of this discourse, joint-agents in a complex 'imagineering' of Scotland" (67). To McCrone it is 'dreamtime' (1995: 209), to Hesse 'dreamscape' (2013: 179), while to Womack, it is Barthes, *Mythologies* (1957) that provides the intellectual underpinning for his general critique of Gaeldom in his publication *Improvement and Romance* (1989). He states that:

> We know that the Highlands of Scotland are romantic. Bens and glens, the lone shieling in the misty island, purple heather, kilted clansmen, battles long ago, an ancient and beautiful language, claymores and bagpipes and Bonny (*sic*) Prince Charlie - we know all that, and we also know that it's not real (1).

The development of the discourse of the mythic creation of Scotland is central to Pittock's *The Invention of Scotland* (1991) although this publication is chiefly about the Royal Stuart myth. He describes the contribution Stuart propaganda and ideology has made to the understanding of Scottish identity. Indeed it is his view that "to enable that identity to understand itself the Stuart myth is one of the prime means of definition" (1). He credits Scott's novels with the "burial of Jacobite/nationalist sympathies with honours thick upon them" which directed the attention of the British establishment away from the radical dangers of Scotland's continuing history towards "the pageantry of a safely deceased political struggle". He explains that George IV's visit in 1822 enables Scott to do this most effectively through the "choice of pageantry, tartan, and tradition" that underlined "the picturesque distinction between England and Scotland, and to reassure the British government that there was nothing to fear from it" (88). After 1822, in Pittock's view, these "symbols of the past" were "the property of those who had taken them over in the interests of preserving Scotland as a distinct but compliant partner in Empire" (112). These proprietarial individuals were not the Highlanders but the Lowland ruling elites.

The sense of the Highlands as a site of the imagination is also picked up by Smout in his *Northern Scotland* article on tourists in the Scottish Highlands (1983). He sees the contemporary view of the Highlands as "highly complex" being built up of elements that "originated in the perceptions of travellers of an earlier age", of which we " have kept some, jettisoned some, altered some, found new ones of our own"(100). If therefore we look at the literature to examine what "elements" of this "highly complex" view, have salience, we observe the phenomenon, particularly in the Victorian period of the paradoxical juxtaposition of a feminised Celtic soul (Meek, 2000; Newton, 2009) with the martial Highland warrior of Empire. This latter characterisation is well expressed by McNeil that:

theories of Highland proclivities toward warfare [...] provide the foundations of martial race theory, which assumes that certain races [...] were better suited to the military than others. Martial race theory marks a return of the racial theories... Assumptions about the Highlands therefore do not simply ossify after the Romantic era but continue to change in response to changing cultural circumstances, serving British strategies of cultural difference well into the Victorian age (2007: 22).

Newton points out (2009:74) that this process of attributing supposed ancient and racial characteristics to modern day Highlanders had, by the 1840s, hardened into genetic determinism. He quotes Knox's influential views (1850) who, seeing the process already being applied to Highlanders through the Clearances, called for the ethnic cleansing of inferior peoples from British Colonies. Such views were echoed in the popular press. Fenyő's *Contempt, Sympathy and Romance* (2000), examines Lowland perceptions of the Highlands during the Famine Years and their legacy from 1845 to 1855. She suggests that when the *Scotsman* newspaper talks about the "removal of the diseased and damaged part" of the population, the underlying idea is the same as 'ethnic cleansing' (92). These press outbursts, according to Houston and Knox, "qualify the popular idea that "Highlandism" has become the dominant force in Scottish cultural life" (2001: xviii). They might also lead one to question Chapman's assertion that "the Scottish people have increasingly looked to the Highlands to provide a location for an autonomy in which they could lodge their own political, literary and historical aspirations" (1978: 13).

Thus on the one hand we have the continued martial, heroic and imperial imagery of the Highland warrior coupled with negative characterisations of the indigenous inhabitants of the Highlands. These clashing binaries might suggest a very strong sentiment of 'othering' under an anthropological, racial theory perspective, which would seem to underlie the 'tourist gaze'.

Thomas Cook and mass tourism

Although, his agency is usually cited as creating the touristic image of the Highlander (Bhandari, 2012), an examination of the literature dealing with Thomas Cook's inception of mass tourism in the late 1840s provides only hints towards such characterisation of the Highlander as the tartaned warrior. In 1991, Brendon studied the beginnings of such tourism in *Thomas Cook, 150 Years of Popular Tourism*. He explains that, largely due to Scott, Scotland "had now become a marvellously romantic destination". And "as Cook said, Scott 'gave a sentiment to Scotland as a tourist country'" (38).

Brendon believes that, in promoting, Scotland Cook had an ally in Queen Victoria who developed a passion for tartan and acquired Balmoral as a holiday home. Cook declared that Victoria "leads the way in Excursion Trips and countenances them by her Royal example". Brendon is clear that Cook, by making Scotland the chief tourist goal for mid-Victorians created Thomas Cook (1991: 38). Seaton calls this process 'Balmorality' which he describes as; "an ideological configuration which promoted Scottish tourism [...] and its association with, the British royal family." Scotland was the first country "to get the Royal Warrant" (1989: 14).

It would however be incorrect to give the impression from the literature that the focus was solely on 'a passion for the tartan'. For example, apart from noting Victoria's interest, the only reference to tartan in Brendon's book is the chapter title 'Tartan Tours'. Wider aspects of the nascent industry are identified by Durie in his book *Scotland for the Holidays* (2003), which recognises that sport, rather than scenery, was a major force of nineteenth century development. Although, as he explains, Scotland became known as the home of golf, the development of Highland sporting estates in the latter part of the nineteenth century was also significant. Nonetheless, whatever the precise motivations for tourist presence in Scotland, Grenier is of the view that:

> [T]he subjugating gaze of tourism [...] tended to downplay Scotland's autonomy…
> Tourism's imperialistic tendencies were particularly marked in the Highlands...
> Both Lowland and English tourists could agree that Highlanders were "the Other"
> and acted towards them accordingly (2006: 1013).

"The subjugating gaze of tourism"

We now turn to the impact of the 'romantic gaze', one of the six 'gazes' identified in Urry's typology. The source cited in McCrone's thesis on Scott's romantic construction of the Highlands is Ash's *The Strange Death* of *Scottish History* (1980), an analysis of Scott's significant role in Scottish history writing. Ash makes no statement as to "a highly romantic or a fictitious picture" (McCrone, 1995: 4), but rather avers that Scott had a then standard view of the natural world where good taste demanded intellectualised reactions to natural scenery. Thus, in order to avoid continuous frissons of horror when faced with the Scottish terrain "the landscape should be changed to conform to the standards of good taste and to produce agreeable sensations in the mind of the beholder" (Ash, 1980: 19), Scott, according to Ash, was concerned with creating a 'romantic' landscape. However the gaze which generated such 'agreeable sensations' did not necessarily extend to the landscape's inhabitants but was rather a civilised sentiment that enabled the Romantic metropolitan to appreciate its nature. To quote Kearney's *Strangers, Gods and Monsters* (2003):

> We become most aware of [...] our superiority to nature - at the very moment when nature threatens to humiliate our sensible faculties. We take our distance from the formless menace. We negate the negation. And the name of this double negation is *freedom.* The sublime, in sum, expresses our freedom from nature (128-9, original emphasis).

Womack calls this feeling "the negative sublime" and the "superiority to nature" offered by Scotland makes it "a happy hunting ground for Romantics" (1989: 78). According to Seaton, this combination of the sublime and notions of the romantic created "a powerful aesthetic of looking and travelling which have now been naturalised as a central implant of the tourist gaze" (1998:12). However, if such travel and its attendant writing marks the

start of the concept of the 'tourist gaze', it also incorporates the notion of 'appropriation' which Urry fleetingly acknowledges in 'Consuming' of Place' (2005: 19).

Along with travel's "attendant writing", romantic literature had a significant impact upon external perceptions of Scotland. As Seaton insists, "the importance of the written word as a source of representation of Scotland as a destination cannot be over-emphasised" (1989:3). Glendening's *The High Road* (1997) is an early contribution to the consideration of romantic tourism. His study analyses four literary tours by Daniel Defoe, Samuel Johnson, William Wordsworth and John Keats along with the fictional tours in Tobias Smollett's *Humphry Clinker* and Scott's *Waverley*. His lead was followed in 2005 by Grenier in *Tourism and Identity in Scotland*, *1770-1914*, which supplemented Glendening's analysis with further writers. Both these works are of interest in that they address the question of the position of the Highlander under the 'gaze' of travellers. Glendening, for example, in his introduction discusses the possible application of a postcolonial reading strategy. He finds Said's insights helpful for understanding English travellers' experience of Scotland, "because that country is partially an English fabrication created through a kind of collective social idealism in which desire creates its own reality" (15). However, he concludes that the Scottish case is too subtle to merit such effort. This was because "Scotland and England were too close not to have established complex interactions and a large degree of symbiosis" (loc. cit.). Grenier's (2005) work is nuanced to acknowledge that "Gaelic voices were not heard in the touristic conversation about the definition of Scotland" (31) and she discusses landscape re-inscription in relation to Fingal's Cave. These issues of agency and landscape re-inscription will be considered later.

The accounts of travellers

Many surveys of the accounts of travellers, for instance, that by Rixson's (2009), 'The Highlands and Hebrides through the Literature of Travel', simply provide a themed approach that attempts to make sense of a wide range of early travel literature which Rixson claims to be "the great interface between Highland culture and the outside world" (193). The descriptive representation of such accounts is also followed by E. Mairi MacArthur's 'Blasted Heaths and Hills of Mist' (1993) in *Scottish Affairs*, and her contribution to *Crossing the Highland Line* (MacLachlan, 2009: 158). Such accounts contained in the diaries and journals of travellers continue to generate fresh publications that carry some reference to the 'tourist gaze' on Highlanders but none extends the discussion beyond simple description and there is no attempt at deeper analysis. The most recent and perhaps representative example is *Travels in Scotland 1788-1881* by Durie (2012). He touches fleetingly on the Highlander:

> To the person new to travel, Scotland was an inviting destination. There was no problem with money, or with culture […] nor with language. As tourism advanced and increased, so Gaelic faded (10-1).

He also offers a view that the "value of the tourist eye has long been appreciated" (13). And for Durie, the "reader sees Scotland through their spectacles, which are tinted by culture and class, prismed by their prejudices and values" (15). Durie does not engage with Urry's 'tourist gaze', yet his period of interest is a moment when the 'romantic gaze' has a significant impact upon Anglophone perceptions of Scotland.

The Wordsworths and 'The Solitary Reaper'

We noted earlier Glendening's 1997 study of the Wordsworths' work and his conclusion that such texts do not merit a postcolonial reading strategy using Said's discourse on Orientalism. Womack (1989) offers a perspective on Wordsworth whom he describes as a

useful guide to the construction of 'an other-worldly presence' (111). He quotes

Dorothy's account in 1803:

> We stopped suddenly at the sound of a half-articulate Gaelic hooting [...]. It came
> from a little boy [...] His appearance was in the highest degree moving to the
> imagination:[...] It was a text, [...] containing in itself the whole history of the
> Highlander's life - his melancholy, his simplicity, his poverty, his superstition, and
> above all, that visionariness which results from a communion with the
> unwordliness of nature (Wordsworth, 1803, quoted Womack, 1989: 111).

The representation of a "half-articulate Gaelic hooting", however, achieves a fuller

expression in Wordsworth's poem 'The Solitary Reaper' written in 1805. The poet orders

his listener to behold a "solitary Highland lass" reaping and singing in a field but the song,

in Gaelic, of the young girl is incomprehensible to him. (*Spark Notes* advises us that "she

is likely singing in Scots" http://www.sparknotes.com/poetry/ wordsworth/ section8.rhtml)

However, in an explicit orientalising move, in the third verse, Wordsworth shifts the scene

from Loch Lomond to 'Arabian sands':

> No Nightingale did ever chaunt
> More welcome notes to weary bands
> Of travellers in some shady haunt,
> Among Arabian sands:

So here we have an explicit rendering of Spivak's 'itineraries of silencing ', a central

thread in her discourse on the inability of the subaltern to speak (1988). This poem is

unique in Wordsworth's work because it is based on the experience of someone else:

Wilkinson, as described in his *Tours to the British Mountains* (1824). He wrote:

> Rode on the Loch Lomond … Passed a female who was reaping alone: she sung in
> Erse […] the sweetest human voice I ever heard: her strains were tenderly
> melancholy: and felt delicious, long after they were heard no more. [...] Took a boat
> into Stirlingshire: Four Highlanders attended me: they spoke better English than
> most I had heard in Scotland, yet conversed in Gaelic (12).

What is of interest in Wilkinson's account is that, under the traveller's 'gaze', the

Highlanders are muted and orientalised unless they are capable of speaking "better English

than most heard in Scotland". Here is also a clear expression of the confusion over

languages. The substitution of 'Erse' with 'Gaelic' is only remarkable to the extent that it happens on the same page.

However, the romantic Orientalising picture has a darker side. Earlier mention was made of MacKay's article in *The Highlander*. In the September 1881 issue he considers MacCulloch's *The Highlands and Western Isles of Scotland* (1824) and the representation of its people "as barbarous, incurably indolent, eaten up with beggarly pride, sneaking sycophancy, unconscionable extortion, filthy, dishonest, inhospitable, nay cowardly" (81). While MacCulloch's two volumes may well be considered by such as Wikipedia as "one of the classical treatises on British geology" (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_MacCulloch, accessed 9 October 2013), MacKay says that the principal object of the book is to "whitewash" the Highland landlords "by representing the native population on their estates as brutalised beyond all hope of regeneration" (82). MacKay's attitude towards MacCulloch is perhaps understandable when we read of his view that:

> It was to Gaelic that Scotland was indebted for the long series of misrule, rebellion, rapine, and disorder in which it was involved before the final termination of Highland independence (1824: 186).

We shall return to this notion of the Highlands as a site of "misrule" when discussing historiography, but MacCulloch is not alone: Pinkerton's contemporary view is that the "Celts of Scotland always are, and continued to be, a dishonoured, timid, filthy, ignorant and degraded race" (quoted in Lumsden, 2007: 167). These accounts echo the apparent mental contortions evident in early nineteenth century characterisations of the Highlands as 'sublime' but the natives as 'other'. This complication was purportedly resolved by Scott who is credited with providing the 'other' with a romantic veneer.

The *Lady of the Lake* and the Waverley novels

According to Gold & Gold (1995), "there can hardly be a book on Scottish culture that does not mention Sir Walter Scott. His influence […] is never doubted" (67). Sleiner and Reisinger (2004) suggest that tourists arrive with preformed views of their destination. Their work borrows elements from Heidegger (1962) who believes the world of experience is made up of all the experiences of others that came before us. Hence, the significance of experience pre-exists the moment of our experience. Whether one accepts in full the application of Heidegger to the tourist field, the literature that addresses the Scottish context acknowledges almost without exception the role of Scott in shaping our present image of the historical Highlander and in representing that image to us down to the current day. The images that his novels popularised are considered by many to have romanticised and Celticised perceptions of Scotland. T. Crawford's contribution in Daiches's (1981) *A Companion to Scottish Culture* is a succinct summation:

> [Scott] in 1822 stage-managed the pageantry of George IV's state visit to Scotland. It was then that the Highland Laddie of Jacobite tradition became a Hanoverian's pet, and then, too, that Scott most showed himself 'a sham bard of a sham nation' (Edwin Muir). Abroad, he fathered a new type of romantic historiography […] [but] the negative side of his work has proliferated into that tourist tartanry and North British *kitsch* which has proved so hard to overcome in the present century (338).

Scott's work, after a period of relative obscurity within literary criticism, has been the subject of much recent, more nuanced examination. It should be noted however that contemporary popular culture is less forgiving. Kelly in his introduction to *Scott-land* (2010) quotes a blog by Williamson, the editor of the radical Scottish literary magazine *Rebel Inc.*, that Scott was "not a great Scottish patriot [...] but he was an arse-licking royalist, a falsifier of Scottish history and a Tory cunt of the worst order"(3). Despite such attitudes, Scottian studies are again commanding substantial recent interest and publications such as Buzard (2005) , Duncan (2007), Leask (1992), Kelly (2010), Lincoln (2007), Lumsden (2007), Mack (2006), McCracken-Flesher (2005), McNeil (2007), Makdisi (1998) , Pittock (2006), Sorensen, (2000) and Trumpener (1997) are

regularly cited. They demonstrate how crucial Scott was to the ways in which the novel developed in the early nineteenth century and in its relationship to a burgeoning sense of national consciousness.

An early reconsideration of Scott which is noteworthy for its rare citation in the above works is by David Richards. His 1994 *Masks of Difference* emphasises the ways in which paintings, literary texts and ethnographies "construct through their compositional strategies a structure [...] of otherness" (4). He challenges the move to see other peoples "within the charmed circle of western cultural representation" and their "capacities to misrepresent" (loc. cit.). For Richards the transformation of the Highlands, in Scott's writings, from dangerous territory into written text is "a key landmark in the process of 'accommodating' the primitive to codes and discourses of representation" (121). Richards employs postcolonial reading practices to show that Scott's linking of the Highlanders with others such as Afghans, "allowed him to neutralise the Highland threat by projecting it as extrinsic and alien" (127).

Allied to this notion of an "extrinsic and alien" culture is Makdisi's reading of *Waverley* in 1998, which sees Scott's description of the Highlands as "an imaginary zone" (79) and his recreation of Highland history as a remote and vanishing 'past' (98). The precise nature of that 'imaginary zone', which Scott is claimed to have created, is never explicitly defined. Scott is seen to romanticise the Highlands and by extension Scotland, while the tropes of his portrayal of Highlanders have had a legacy of imitators from Stevenson, Munro and Broster, to Gabaldon today. However, the primary issue of contention rests on perception of the key semiotic marker, the kilt and its wholesale 'appropriation' or 'takeover' of Scotland, depending on which perspective one is asked to take. Invariably the events of King George's visit in 1822 mark the genesis of this process.

Scott and the events of 1822

Zuelow's article 'Kilts versus Breeches' (2006) is a representative description which seeks to examine how the 'tourist gaze' "helped shaped a new identity and memory for Scotland." For him the challenge is to explain why the visit "exerted such a powerful influence" on that identity (34). Scott's motivations in staging the events in 1822 provide critics with much food for thought. McCrone in *Understanding Scotland* (1992) emphasises a literary and pecuniary interest since to him "the climate was right for Walter Scott's romantic tales to become bestsellers, the King acting as literary agent by visiting in 1822" (180). Some commentators, such as Trevor-Roper, view it as 'a hallucination', which Bhandari understands as Scott "demystifying the Highland myth by appropriating Highland culture" (2012: 12). For others it is an accommodation. Pittock sees Scott, by having "fused Jacobitism and the Highlands, consigned both to an outmoded past of "painful division' to be superseded by one of imperial unity" (1991: 91), while for Craig "it is the symbol of a unifying British identity whose apex is the monarch able to integrate all the differences" resulting in "a transcendental harmony" (1996:110). To Royle it is "dismissed [...] as a fortnight of play-acting" but the visit "left a hangover from which Scotland never fully recovered" (2010: 60). None however can determine the precise motivations of a person described by Gifford as a writer who "has withered for us" because he "demands intelligent and perceptive reading" (2007).

Concern over authenticity

The contemporary criticism in 1822 demonstrates the central concern over the question of authenticity in the use of Highland dress. Scott's 'Celtification' was attacked on the grounds of its inauthenticity, because it misrepresented Scotland as Highland and because, to McNeil, "it "appropriated doubtful Highland traditions willy-nilly." (2007: 77).

However, Scott's introduction of the kilted Highlander to the 'pageant' of 1822 was not a new phenomenon. Scott, as Crawford shows in *Scotland's Books*, was a master at developing a concept and the idea of a Celtic clothing of Scotland was neither new nor his own alone. As McNeil points out "many of Scott's critics would have been quite familiar with tartan uniforms parading on Edinburgh's streets" (2007: 83). In 1819 Scott's own son-in-law, Lockhart says that:

> [T]he Scotch are right in not nowadays splitting too much the symbols of their nationhood; as they had ceased to be an independent nation, they do wisely in striving to be as much as possible an united people (305-6).

Scott may well have had other motives. Gordon in his publication *Scott and the Highlanders* (1976) is aware of Scott's desire to support British unity by gaining sympathy for Scotland but too loyal a supporter to use a political issue in a conventional partisan sense (139). He points out that in surrounding the King with armed Highlanders, Scott epitomised his belief in "freemen arrayed [...] with their own good weapons in their hands" (138-9). Whatever Scott's intentions, the events of 1822 have assumed a seminal status in histories of Scotland. All commentators, to some degree, provide assessments to the impact of 1822. None, however, follows Makdisi (1998) in his analysis of Scott's recreation of Highland history to say that Scotland became:

> an imaginary zone in which the spatial process of colonial penetration and development were practiced on a small scale before being brought to bear on much of Africa and Asia" (79- 80).

Scott, though sympathetic to the Highlander, did hold certain views of them under a 'gaze' which was coloured by then current notions of the stadial nature of historical progress. Such 'conjectural history' had a consequence for Highlanders and perceptions of the nature of their culture.

The impact of the Scottish Enlightenment's 'conjectural history' upon the Highlander

McNeil recognises that Scott's understanding of the historical development of human society and the mechanisms of change was indebted to Scottish Enlightenment theorists. (2007:54). Womack remarks that the Highland Gael was converted from 'uncouth savage' to Noble Savage, as a subject of Enlightenment inquiry into the nature of primitive society (1989:145). Grenier, however, is perhaps closer to the mark in her observation that:

> Late eighteenth-century travelers envisioned their role as that of explorers who were getting to know a foreign land […] Their claim of expertise […] was a form of imperial takeover, as was their frequent implication that Scotland needed to be represented by others (2005:1013).

Theoretical underpinnings of such "representation by others" call to mind Spivak's analysis of the dilemma of the silenced muted subaltern and stem from notions derived from eighteenth-century Scottish philosophical or conjectural history. This teleology of civility provided, through historical and sociological stadialism, a universal model for human progress through different kinds of society. At any given time in history, some societies might be at one stage and some at another. This historiography might draw upon evidence derived from the classical models or borrow from information derived from encounters with, or descriptions of, the practices and 'manners' of native Americans. Thus MacLachlan (2009) notes that:

> it was conjectured that the stage of advancement reached by […] [a] population of the Americas might approximate to that of Scotland at otherwise unrecorded phases of her past - and one not that distant when surveying the history of the Gaels (13).

According to Höpfl in *From Savage to Scotsman*, Scottish philosophers often wrote as if it was normal for barbarous and polished peoples to exist contemporaneously, their coexistence in the same society alone calling for explanation. To him (1978:23) the Highland/Lowland, Scotland/England antithesis is often found in Smith's *An Enquiry into The Nature And Causes Of Wealth Of Nations*. Meek's *Social Science and The Ignoble Savage*, suggests that the French and Scottish pioneers of philosophy of the 1750s were "very familiar with the contemporary studies of the Americans" and that some were

"almost obsessed by them" (1976: 128). However, Cronon tells us that "most English colonists displayed a remarkable indifference to what the Indians themselves thought" (1983:58). Perforce, these Americans were represented by 'experts' and the same seems to have held true for Highlanders.

Although it is always necessary to be cautious in accepting Samuel Johnson's strictures in these matters, his comment on Lowland Scots' understanding of the Highlands is that "their estate was equally unknown with that of Borneo or Sumatra" (1777: 67), which might leave one with a faint suspicion that for the Scottish Enlightenment thinkers, and Hume in particular, 'bare-arsed highlanders' (quoted in Kelly, 2010: 28) did not merit particularly detailed or direct study by Enlightenment thinkers. The only exception is Adam Ferguson. His *Essay on the History of Civil Society* (1767) denies the supposed spiritual emptiness of the savage condition. Höpfl observes that the difference in description and evaluation between Ferguson, the only Gaelic speaker of the group of conjectural historians and the rest, suggests that:

> a conjectural history illustrating [...] the natural [...] course of advancement from
> rudeness to polish could serve as implicit justification for the sufferings of rude and
> barbarous Highlanders, as necessary concomitants of 'advancement'. If the belief in
> the long-term benefits to [...] be derived from the progress [...] was denied as it
> was by Ferguson, the post-Culloden maltreatment of the Highlands would appear as
> devoid of justification" (1978: 29).

Höpfl thus notes Hume's antipathy to Ferguson's essay when the philosopher wrote "it is needless to enter into detail, as almost everything appears objectionable" (Greig, vol. 2, letter 303). Ferguson's attempt to represent Highlanders was therefore rejected by the other conjectural historians and, as a result, Highlander 'muteness' perhaps led to inevitable essentialism encouraged by this teleological Scottish Enlightenment approach to history. Newton (2009) usefully summarises in tabular form the dualisms current in

eighteenth and nineteenth century commentaries on the Highlands, most particularly relating to its numerous military recruits (49).

Scottish soldier

The literature survey on the Highlander under the variety of typology of gaze encounters an emphasis on the contribution of Highlanders as soldiers to empire building and, by doing so, concretises tropes of hardiness and bravery into essentialism. Literature in the period following the '45 brings the Highlands into sharper focus from this point onwards. Perhaps the most comprehensive collection of such accounts up to the middle of the nineteenth century is that of Clyde (1995) which exemplifies the pervasiveness of an external 'gaze, in this case 'clinical' in the power/knowledge sense in which Foucault (1988/1977) deploys it and 'surveying' as in Pratt's examination of travel writing and transculturation (2008, [1992]). Thus the grand narratives which characterised the Highlander as warrior are famously encapsulated by Pitt's (1766) speech on the recruitment of Highlanders. His 'gaze' had a distinctly military purpose:

> I was the first minister who looked for ... [merit] ...and I found it in the mountains of the north. I called it forth, and drew it into your service, a hardy and intrepid race of men (Quoted in Royle, 2007: 1-2).

With that "hardy and intrepid race" comes a distinctive dress style. Nairn dismisses the process as "tribal barbarities" becoming "colourful traditions" (1975: 41-2). However, where such "colourful traditions" do assume particular significance in the literature is in the discussions on the role of the tartan kilted Highland soldier within the British Imperial Army. Pittock in 'To See Ourselves as Others See Us' explains that while tartan's association with Jacobitism and Scottish patriotism had "rendered it a mark of treachery to the British state", wars had led to:

> new interest in the valour of 'Highland' troops, [...] and by 1815 [...] the idea that tartan [...] was a badge of rank, entitlement, and status was beginning to take shape.

Tartan had a prestige fed by further military successes for the 'Highlanders' (2009: 298).

Again McCrone in *Understanding Scotland* (1992) offers a straightforward imperial adoption of a powerful semiotic device - the kilted Highland soldier, - in which the Highlander has no agency. His chapter on 'Scottish culture' deals with the "altogether wilder tradition" of 'tartanry' here defined as an "a set of garish symbols appropriated by lowland Scotland [...] and turned into a music hall joke" (180). He summarises the reasons for tartan's survival and development as being:

> the raising of the highland regiments after 1745 was a masterstroke by the British State incorporating the symbols of its enemies into its own identity [...] Wilson's (cloth manufactures) of Bannockburn [...] gave material expression to this fantasy(184).

But is McCrone correct in asserting that the raising of Highland regiments was a masterstroke? Although Kelly writing in *Scott and Scott-land* (2010) describes the entry of the Jacobite force into Edinburgh in 1745 as a "foreign-led invasion force" (19), this view does not reflect either the by then well-established pattern of Highland recruitment into the government forces, or the complexity of Highland soldiers' earlier presence in continental armies (MacGregor, 2007:78). In *Fortress Scotland and the Jacobites* (2002) Tabraham and Grove, use contemporary sources to underscore the ambivalence of Pitt's government:

> The recruitment of erstwhile Jacobites […] was a bitter pill for the […] Government […] and, [...] it insisted that the […] Duke of Argyll must 'vet' those [...] companies who would then 'be sent to America as soon as they were raised' (111).

Perhaps the most quoted observation on this early period of Highland recruitment was by Major-General Wolfe. Although he regarded Highlanders with disdain, and "a secret enemy" he recognised their potential for service. "I should imagine that two or three independent Highland companies might be of use," he wrote tentatively from Banff (in the "midst of Popery and Jacobitism") in 1751. "They are hardy, intrepid, accustomed to rough country and no great mischief if they fall" (Wright, 1864: 168-9). Such comments have

led Galloway in *White People, Indians and Highlanders* to the view that Highland soldiers, "recently considered savages themselves were now fit instruments to root out savagery - and they were expendable" (2010: 95).

Such might have been the attitude in 1751 but within a generation the prestige of the Highland regiments had been transformed. Royle, in seeking to understand the potency of the semiotics of the Highland regiments or, as he phrased it "the love affair between the Scots and their soldiers" (2010: 51), is also somewhat at a loss to explain why kilted Highlanders who constituted only a relatively small component became such a potent symbol of the imperial British army (57). For Royle, therefore, while kilted Highlanders' exploits "were a matter for pride", they were to him "only one of many components of the nation's increasingly confused identity during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries" (loc.cit.). The development of that 'confused identity' is also part of Lenman's view of the process in *The Jacobite Risings In Britain*, *1689 -1746*; "Long dreaded by many of their Lowland compatriots as semi-savage denizens of an internal border region," Lenman writes that "once their capacity to harm" was broken, they were incorporated into the Scottish national self-image in the same way that Americans "build their self-image on the safely dead savages of their own bigger frontier" (1980: 291).

Masculinity and exoticism

Although he also focuses on a commercial spur, Trevor-Roper recognises the link between the military and the use of the kilt, stating "it was the Highland regiments alone which kept the tartan industry alive" (1981: 25). Chapman's *The Celts*, in a discussion on Highland dress, goes further to claim that it had "a long history in the discourse of race, language and culture" a discourse which "created" it (1992: 20). He then extends the scale of the appropriation of Gaelic "differentiae" (Nairn, 1975: 40) by stating that "the highland pipes,

the kilt and the clan system, were all seized upon by polite Scottish society" when they "were fast disappearing and little recorded"(140). He acknowledges the "controversy about the precise pre-romantic state" of such 'differentiae' but concludes ambiguously that "modern moral imperatives altogether outweigh the available facts and the beguiling idealisation resists factual criticism" (loc. cit.). He avoids any examination of the 'invention of tradition' thesis. Instead, he shifts the discourse to issues of masculinity since he feels that it was "the bare-knees feature and the ready possibility of large-scale exposure of the lower body, which most impressed observers of the Highlanders" (141). This interest finds early expression in Bristed's *Anthroplanomenos* (1803) where he recounts that, at an inn in Killin, they were "waited on by a lad in a Highland kilt which was not too long in its dimensions" and that after dinner they began "to discourse…upon the Highlanders, occasioned by our waiter's short kilt flapping about rather unseamlily […] for the improvement and edification of the females"(404). Equally Wilkinson describes 'highland dress' in his *Tours…* (1824) and feels that "it may appear immodest at first sight" (74-5).

To McNeil the kilt retains its exoticism as an example of 'oppositional dress': the kilt underscores the alterity of Highland masculinity (2007: 140-1). And what "most consistently registers in such accounts was his stimulating and unsettling habit of wearing a 'dress'" (123). He follows Chapman's suggestion of a Highland exoticism that has an erotic charge because it "exposes that which should be concealed - the male body and "provocatively, hints at exposing the male sex" (123 - 4). He also supports Chapman's binary analysis that, to their observers, Highland men "wore dresses", which is "in flagrant contravention of established propriety" that was a "classificatory" anomaly inviting notions "of structural oppositions (such as male & female, controlled & uncontrolled, pastoral & settled, wild & civilized) to generate the notion of men whose sexuality was ever-accessible, wild, uncontrolled, and exciting" (1992: 141). Much the same points have been

made by David Richards (1994) on dress in relation to colonial encounters and Hunt's

(1993) comments on eighteenth century middle-class fear of the "naked poor".

Notions, therefore, of propriety and class had an impact upon perceptions of the kilted

Highland soldiers and McNeil also examines the ways in which that image tied together

notions of race and gender in the context of "military struggles against its Others,

particularly Napoleonic France"(2007:21). He identifies a process of representation of:

> a Highland man who is deemed naturally suited to a life of soldiering, but also a
> special breed of non-Highland commanding officers who, in order to bring forth the
> innate martial qualities of the Highland soldier, must assume the ethnographer's
> stance of acculturation, sympathy, and tolerance (21-22).

McNeil's identification of the need for an "ethnographer's stance" in commanding officers

builds upon MacKillop's study of Highland recruitment into the British army, *More*

Fruitful Than The Soil (2000) in which he explains that the scale of the Highlanders'

involvement in the army "somehow confirmed their arbitrary motivation, if not alien

status. By such means, Highland soldiers could be easily portrayed not as Britons but as

foreigners" (220-1). Recent scholarship (Macinnes, 1996) has also corrected an older

historiography of clansmen inspired to military service by traditional notions of martial

loyalty. There is a new emphasis on coercion. Subordination of the individual highland

soldier to varied asymmetrical hierarchies underpins recent interpretations of eighteenth-

century recruiting. (Dziennick, 2012:103). MacKillop's analysis is that the Highlander's

presence within the army only ever offered "a partial and ultimately ineffective basis for a

truly rounded and sustained belief in his British identity" (224).

The persistent notion of the Highlander as rebel - Wolfe's 'secret enemy' - and the

paranoia of the British authorities concerning another uprising in the *Gàidhealtachd* is also

described by Cowan who notes that the expenditure on "defence of the Highlands" was

thus "against *the enemy within*" (2009:13, original emphasis).Thus under the 'gaze' of

travellers, recruiting officers, commanding officers, enlightenment philosophers and improvers and government officials, the Highlander, even in the role of a defender of British imperial interests, was represented in a fashion that denied the possibility of a "sustained belief in his British identity". The extent to which the Highlander was capable of verbally articulating that belief was also adversely affected by the negative perception of MacPherson's poems of Ossian.

Ossian

In 1760 Macpherson published his *Fragments of Ancient Poetry* (1760). He claimed that he had translated ancient Gaelic texts originally composed by Ossian. Although they were ultimately found to be constructs, Stafford (1988) agrees with Thomson (1952) that Macpherson's Ossianic poetry did draw material from Gaelic oral literature but that he interwove those epics with his own poetry. Nonetheless, the poems played a major role in the genesis of the Romantic Movement (Crawford, 2007). There is no space in this literature survey to consider the complexities of the controversy over Macpherson's work or of the motivations of the many authorities who have commented upon the question. What is germane, however, to the representation of the Highlander under the 'tourist gaze' is that the controversy may have had a negative impact upon perceptions of Gaelic language and culture. For example, McNeil notes that "the poetry of Ossian became the subject of increasing fascination and anxiety". For him, Macpherson's translation work instances not simply a crucial example of inquiry into the nation's literary roots:

> but an imperial desire to know the Other, to convert the indigenous culture of the Highlands into a province of metropolitan thought, making it both accessible and available to imperial control (2007: 27).

The idea of translation is, according to Niranjana's *Siting Translation* (1992), "a metonymy for the desire to achieve transparent knowledge and provide for a Western

audience immediacy of access to 'primitive thought'". Niranjana sees the desire to

translate as "a desire to construct the primitive world, to represent it and to speak on its

behalf" (70). According to McNeil, however, this desire presents a challenge to the

Anglophone world:

> In order to understand the voice of its ancient bards, Scots paradoxically had to rely
> on the mediating voice of the translator. Through his knowledge of the native
> language, Macpherson became the agent by which the indigenous culture of the
> Highlands was 'opened up' to imperial expansion (2000: 27).

However, the subsequent discrediting of the poetry had consequences for the wider

perception of the indigenous culture of the Highlanders. Kelly in *Scott and Scott-land*

(2010) characterises the legacy of Ossian as, "ironically enough, mist" (29) failing to

engage with its literary and historical complexities. Ferguson in discussing Samuel

Johnson's views on Scottish Gaelic culture (1998), explains that in his *Journey* (1775)

Johnson had found Gaelic Scotland devoid of culture. Johnson was convinced that the

feeble vestiges of culture that remained relied solely on oral tradition and that this weak

and unsatisfactory mode of transmission collapsed after 1746. He therefore concluded that

"hopeless are all attempts to find any traces of Highland learning" (102)   According to

Ferguson "Johnson's peremptory dismissal of the Highland literary tradition became the

stock 'Eng. Lit.' verdict and it apparently continues as such" (1998: 184). However,

Ferguson shows that Johnston's theory was built on a fundamental error in that he did not

understand that in Scotland the term 'Irish' signified Scottish Gaelic, as did the term

'Erse'. It was this error that caused him to hold that Erse was not a written language.

Nonetheless, according to Ferguson, "the old and increasingly discredited tale about a

Highland cultural desert still goes the rounds. Johnson's account is still widely accepted as

gospel" (185). This was particularly so of Trevor-Roper's (1983) account of Highland

illiteracy and cultural deprivation that "echoes, albeit without acknowledgement, Samuel

Johnson's views" (184). To complicate matters further, the romance of the Jacobites has

been added to this "discredited tale".

Culloden and the Jacobites

Prebble in the introduction to his book *Culloden* (1967) explains that:

> The book begins at Culloden because there began a sickness from which Scotland [...] never recovered. It is a sickness of the emotions and its symptoms can be seen on the labels of whisky bottles (1967: 10).

Prebble's thesis is that this "unhappy affair has been obscured by the over romanticized figure of the Prince" (10). The allusion to whisky bottle labels calls to mind Nairn's assault on "Scotland's parodic culture" in *The Break-up of Britain* (1977:162). Kidd (2002) in his review of Prebble's *The King's Jaunt* tells us that Donaldson's verdict was unambiguous. To him:

> Prebble's work was 'utter rubbish' and exhibited certain biases - towards the political Left and the cause of the Highlands - of which… [Donaldson] … notoriously disapproved (140).

For Kidd, Prebble's work still provoked some unease among Scottish historians and he feels that Devine's comments got to the nub of the problem. Prebble's historical writings, according to Devine, constituted 'a sort of faction', in which it was hard for the reader to determine where the evidence expired and the imagination took wing. This critique has been extended by Morris (2012) to Prebble's implication in wider processes of "collective memory combined with collective amnesia" that have:

> produced an orthodox genealogy of Scotland's national narrative constructed around what Tom Devine refers to as 'victim or hero' representations. In the 1970s, John Prebble's catalogue of national tragedies - Darien, Glencoe, Culloden, and the Highland Clearances - nurtured a sense of long-running grievances that a re-invigorated nationalism would strive to redress (15).

Although "a re-invigorated nationalism" was not necessarily what Prebble, a former member of the Communist Party, sought, Fry in *Wild Scots* (2005) is of the view that "Prebble can be credited with having created, almost single-handedly, the modern

Highland historiography" (324). But Fry feels that Prebble did not understand the country on which "he lavished his scholarship." However, any cursory examination of the bookshelves of any tourist attraction in the Highlands confirms Prebble's concern over the obscuring allure of Bonnie Prince Charlie. The bulk of the available literature foregrounds the 'bonnie' Prince and 'valiant' Flora MacDonald giving some credence to McCrone's characterisation of much Highland history as "a cottage-industry" (1992: 51).

Perhaps the "sickness of the emotions" that Prebble associates with the '45 may in part be due to the nature of the song tradition associated with the events. Galloway in *White People, Indians and Highlanders* (2008) describes how newly-coined, English-language, Jacobite songs full of romantic and defeatist sentiments became common and were taken as "the true voices of men and women long dead before she was born" (245, fn 66). William Donaldson's earlier analysis of this Anglophone oeuvre, *The Jacobite Song* (1988) is blunt in his assessment. He asks:

> Is there anything, then, to prevent the conclusion that they are fakes [...]? And who knew about this? Robert Burns certainly. Hogg likewise, who cheerfully passed off his own compositions as genuine specimens of antiquity (4).

Galloway notes that realism and Campbell (1984 [1933]) writing some seventy years earlier contrasted the artificiality of the Anglophone tradition with the stark directness of the Gaelic verses composed at the time. Yet it is "the fakes" that are "cheerfully passed off" to this day. In his introduction to *Highland Songs of the Forty-Five* Campbell sets out the motivations of the poets. He is scathing of Hume Brown's observations in his *History* (1908) as to the motivations of the Highlanders. He quotes Hume Brown that the "dominating idea in the mind of the average Highlander was that he was engaged on a Highland raid on a large scale' and observes:

> It would be interesting to know where Professor Hume Brown obtained the insight into the mind of the average middle- eighteenth-century Highlander that would qualify him to make this sweeping assertion. [...] his statement [...] owes its [...] genesis to [...] the influence of anti-Gaelic propaganda. In its unenlightened aspect

> it was represented by the dread of English mothers that the Prince's followers would devour their children alive (1984, 1933: xix).

It may be that Hume Brown was simply repeating general perceptions as to Highland motivations. In the same article in the September 1881 issue of *The Highlander* MacKay criticises historians' view that the Highlander could only be actuated by "his love for plunder and bloodshed". He tells us that these words are taken from an essay published by the St Andrews Society of Glasgow in 1847 entitled 'The Jacobite episode in Scottish history and its relative literature' (87) . Despite Campbell's efforts to bring the Gaelic perspective to the attention of the Anglophone world, Gordon Donaldson in his history (1974) repeats the Hume-Brown's trope. He states:

> Highland interventions came yet again in Jacobite risings of 1715 and 1745. It was partly for economic reasons that Montrose, Dundee and the Pretenders made an appeal to the Highland clans, who saw their campaigns as opportunities for a revival, on a grand scale, of the traditional collection of booty in the Lowlands (165).

This is despite the fact that Mitchison's near-contemporaneous *Scotland* (1970) is able to claim, that the Highlanders "were giving little to the Lowland opinion of them as barbarian" (341). Thus, the almost complete anonymity of native Jacobite protagonists' actions and voices lends support to MacKay's 1881 article in *The Highlander* in which he says that in "treating any incident in Scottish history, where Highlanders are concerned [...] they are presented as 'the Highlanders' which conveys the idea that the whole race was included" (87). Newton also reiterates Campbell's reference to the "cannibal" epithet in the Hanoverian propaganda that demonised Highlanders (2009: 71). It again surfaces in Heffer's (2008) review in the *Daily Telegraph* of Trevor-Roper's *The Invention of Scotland* that Trevor-Roper "is amused that the dress of cannibalistic, savage highlanders should be appropriated by lowlanders as a national costume".

Rob Roy and tropes of the Highlanders

The tropes of Highlander representation also drew on earlier characterisations of Rob Roy MacGregor in the work which first drew him to the attention of an Anglophone readership, *A Highland Rogue,* (1723) probably by Daniel Defoe. In the 1829 introduction to *Rob Roy*, (1818) Scott writes that Rob's character blended "the wild virtues, the subtle policy, and unrestrained license of an American Indian" (1998: 5). McNeil notes that *Burt's Letters from the North of Scotland*, a new edition to which Scott had only recently contributed material, is also a likely source for Scott's understanding (2007: 71). It should be noted that apart from Martin Martin's *A Description Of The Western Isles* of c.1705 (MacLeod, 1994), *Burt's Letters* written between 1724 and 173l and Defoe's *A Tour thro' the Whole of Great Britain, etc.(1724-1727)* are the only sources of this early period that provide any significant observations on the Highlander. *Burt's Letters* however, written as they were by a military officer, cannot be regarded as entirely dispassionate in their description of the Highlander. MacKay (1881) feels they "can, in no way, be accepted as true statements of facts" (82). Such accounts stem primarily from a military surveying/surveillance eye driven by a metropolitan military concern arising from the threat posed by a possible Jacobite rising in the North.

Thus the act of writing on Highlanders at this stage of the external 'gaze' was by those who were not consumers of leisure. Rather they were explorers and military men. We noted earlier that Clyde (1995) has provided a useful compendium and classification of early travellers in Highland Scotland and while their writings are diverse, what unites them all is the external gaze of the metropolitan man. One of the most extreme examples of 'othering' under this external gaze is cited by Clyde (1995) who quotes from a D. K. Murray to recount the words of one anonymous Englishman, observing, probably in the 1730s , men of the Black Watch regiments, and being surprised:

to see these savages [...] at their several meals[…] mutter something in their own gibberish, by way, I suppose, of saying grace, as if they had been so many Christians (151).

Such paganisation under this 'gaze' may well have supplemented the work of travel writing in leading to the essentialising and stereo-typing of their subject, and calls to mind Hunt's (1995) view that:

> The English did not 'learn' their racism from travel narratives. What the narratives did was [...] supply a powerful confirmation of received wisdom via eyewitness 'evidence' from 'typical' and therefore highly credible English travelers. They helped change racism from a rather unsystematic [...] medley of popular beliefs into an elaborately worked out taxonomy that embraced the entire globe; made claims to be scientific; and situated Europeans, and especially the English, at the pinnacle of the racial hierarchy (346).

Martin Martin and his description of the Western Isles

An attempt to address the perceptions generated by such "received wisdom" from English travellers was the spur for the publication of Martin's *A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland* (1703). Martin, a native Gaelic speaker, was convinced of the need for a first-hand account of the society, the culture and the natural history of the Western Isles. His introduction is to isles "but little known or considered [...] even by those under the same government" and anticipates a present-day concern with "the modern itch after the knowledge of foreign places". He observes that it is:

> customary in those of quality to travel young into foreign countries, whilst they are absolute strangers at home; and many of them when they return are only loaded with superficial knowledge as the bare names of famous libraries, stately edifices, fine statues, curious paintings, late fashions, new dishes, new tunes, new dances, painted beauties, and the like (62).

What illuminates the paucity of first-hand accounts of the Highlander is that one hundred and eighty years following its publication, a special edition of two hundred and fifty copies (Macleod, 1994: 15) was printed, it appears, as members' background for the 1884 Napier Commission into the Condition of Crofters and Cottars in the Highlands and Islands.

Pagans, savages and cannibals

Newton (2009) sees, with The Union of the Crowns in 1603 and James VI's efforts to unify his realm, further "othering" examples in literature as the anti-Gaelic rhetoric in official documents has Highlanders "depicted as pagans, savages and cannibals". He explains that "by placing them outside the bounds of humanity they could thus be dealt with in an inhumane manner" (2009: 65). The failed attempt at colonisation of Lewis by the Fife Adventurers was a physical manifestation of James's attitudes to the Gael and had much in common with the Plantation of Ulster some years later. James regarded the need for civilisation as sufficiently important to employ "slauchter, mutilation, fyre-raising, or utheris inconvenieties" (Haswell-Smith, 1996:240-1). Such treatment could also be meted out to 'loyal' clans such as the Campbells: instructions of the Privy Council in 1685 which ordered that all rebels "are to be killed, or disabled ever from fighting again [...].Let the women and children be Transported to remote Isles." Stevenson quotes this instruction, in *Highland Warrior* (1980) to show that "Highlanders were still regarded, through their barbarity, as meriting harsher punishment for their actions than Lowlanders" (292). Apart from "barbarity" the Highland warrior in question, Alasdair MacColla Chiotach, had a new epithet added to those heaped on him by his enemies: an English writer celebrating the 'victory' at Dundee rejoiced in the defeat of "Mac ODonnel, an Irish cannibal" (Stevenson, 1980: 170, fn.7). This linking of barbarity and cannibalism is illuminated by Hulme in *Writing, Travel, and Empire* (2007). He notes how Harrisson's *Savage Civilisation* (1937) plays on the idea common in European cannibal narratives that the taste of human flesh is liable to create an insatiable hunger and provoke unmitigated savagery.

The observations on Scottish crown policies by Armitage in *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire*, (2000) have relevance here. His assessment is that, as with the English crown in Ireland, it:

> couched its claims to authority over its dependencies in the language of civility and barbarism ... [and]... on the divide between Celtic and non Celtic... Scottish colonial policies lay in the attempts [...] to enforce the lowland norms of civility and legality onto its Gaelic provinces ... Scotland's premier colonial theorist, James VI, used just such language [...] in relation to both the Western Isles and Ulster (55).

MacCoinnich (2007) has shown how anti-islander rhetoric that these lands were in the hands of barbarians who impeded the trade of 'civilised' burgesses from Lowland Scotland in the Isles, was orchestrated, the "chorus led by James VI" (15). Accusations of barbarism, made the step of legally stripping the land from the Macleods that much easier. James VI expropriated the Lewis lands in 1598 and granted them to a consortium of nobles and burgesses from the south and east of Scotland, known as the 'Fife adventurers.' Both the king and the planters or settlers from the south hoped to gain from Lewis in different ways; the king and the colonists had a clear agenda of monopolisation of the islands resources to the exclusion of the prior inhabitants (15). The clans "successfully opposed this lowland settlement despite three serious sustained attempts at 'planting' a colony (1598-1607), something that caused James VI a great deal of embarrassment." (16)

Armitage explains that "the origins of Scottish colonial theory" lay in "internal colonialism within the Stewart realm" (56) and that "the Ulster plantation provided a middle ground for the Scots and English alike to harmonise common themes of plantation and 'civilisation' in a potentially pan British enterprise"(58).

Martin MacGregor, another Gaelic speaking writer, addresses in *Mìorun Mòr nan Gall* (2007) the "language of civility and barbarism" in the genesis of the tropes of characterisation and description of the Highlands and their inhabitants. He describes the views of late-medieval Lowland Scottish literati towards the "Highlander as rebel and traitor" down to the end of the sixteenth century that "associate with Gaelic Scots three external characteristics which are inseparable from their behavioural traits". Firstly, their landscape was ugly and unattractive and the medieval mind could readily associate that habitat "with evil and devilry" (19).The Gaels' singular appearance also elicited responses while the language of Gaelic Scots was a critical marker, giving voice to all the key internal characteristics. However, to MacGregor the most fundamental of all the character traits is "barbarity" associated with the prominent theme of Gaels' "natural propensity for violence". He explains that:

> most pervasive of all, is the Gael as man of leisure and 'subsidy junkie' [...] he supports himself by living off others, if necessary through means which contribute to all other aspects of his characterisation: violence, deceit, falsehood and corruption (25).

"Absent in the present"

MacGregor shows that in Scottish historiography by the sixteenth century "orthodoxy had taken root which has gone largely unquestioned ever since. Gaelic Scots were a *sine qua non* for the Scottish past, an irrelevance to the Scottish present" (47). It is this notion of the Highlander as "absent in the present" that colours the Highlander's treatment under the external gaze and his representation in the historiography of Scotland which was the subject of the John Bannerman Lecture delivered by MacGregor on 17th of March, 2011. Given that lack of a historiography of Gaelic Scotland, the "absent in the present" dialectic of the seventeenth century has, according to MacGregor, informed and created a ghetto in which Gaelic culture and history is placed. It has meant that Gaelic history has inherited a number of paradigms. He cites the notion of the 'Highland Line' and the resultant creation

of binary opposites exemplified even today by that between the MacDonalds and the Campbells. This then leads to the Highland Problem and the representation of Highlanders as being 'beyond the pale'. This spatial separation is then exacerbated by the notion that Gaelic Scotland is essentially an integral element of Gaelic Ireland. Moving from the spatial to the temporal, MacGregor is of the view that the culture is seen as monolithic and this perception leads to the notion that Gaelic culture is passive and changes only due to external pressures. This passiveness and conservatism creates a vacuum, a blank canvas leading to a space replete with explanations. This process has led to the phenomenon which suffuses all the texts we have considered in this survey - the representation of the Highlander 'other' by others.

 Appendix 6 provides a chronological tabulation of the respective tropes of representation. This Appendix, attempts a schematic, chronological tabulation of modes of representation to which the highlander has been subjected under the 'gazes' highlighted in this survey. It classifies the gazer as the Subject so that A. A. MacGregor's 1949 view of the islander of the Western Isles is as being an Object and he is represented through the trope of 'subsidy junkie'. The schema takes the reader back to the 1450s and seeks to show that the Scottish State's view of the Highlander was qualified by tropes of the 'other' and in support of that classification there were a number of tropes of barbarism, including 'subsidy-junkie'. The chapter would suggest that the modes of representation exposed in the survey altered little in essential character over time but remained embedded and were instead simply nuanced to suit prevailing attitudes to the Highlander and his landscape as both an object of fear as well as that of desire.

CHAPTER SIX: METHODOLOGY

This study is an autoethnography of a segment of a major industry catering for four million visitors annually. It looks specifically at the experience of the tour guide and the manner in which Gaelic and Highland Scotland is presented under the 'tourist gaze'. It is not a statistically based survey and can only reflect upon the number of phenomena which might have policy implications for the industry.

Anthropology as cultural Critique

Marcus and Fischer (1986) in discussing anthropology as cultural critique (1986) recognised its value in the use of cultural richness for self-reflection and self-growth. However, they cautioned that to achieve this in a modern world of increased interdependence and mutual awareness among cultures requires new styles of sensibility. To them, such explorations in anthropology lay in the move from a simple interest in the description of cultural 'others' to a "more balanced purpose of cultural critique which plays off other cultural realities against our own in order to gain a more adequate knowledge of them all" (x). While they acknowledge that Marxism sustained political economy theory, Wallerstein's capitalist world-system theory (1974), had impacts on social thought, Marcus and Fischer feel that the importance of Wallerstein's theory was "the impetus the debate over it gave to political-economy research" (80-81). They see that where research that is especially influenced by ethnographic methods, the works of Bourdieu (1977) and Sahlins (1976) are commonly invoked. Often used as invocations for novelty and new departures, references to these writers, according to Marcus and Fischer, "are rhetorical signs in political-economy texts" pointing to where "the analytic emphasis is or should be in the concerns of their disciplines" (84).

This analytic emphasis on the "concerns of their disciplines" leads Coffey (1999) to state:

> There is a variety of perspectives and debates in which ethnography, and therefore fieldwork, is positioned. The current 'movements' of (post) feminism, postmodernism and the literary turn form part of the intellectual backdrop (13).

Coffey's view is that detailed and prolonged ethnography work involves the researcher in various sorts of autobiographical practice. The self is shaped by relationships, interactions and experiences which should not be viewed as tangential to the practical and intellectual processes of fieldwork; it cannot be separated out from qualitative fieldwork. In recognising that we are constructed, shaped and challenged by fieldwork, we can become "more attuned to what is actually going on in the specific cultural setting" (158). The biographical work of managing the self in the field has consequences for the ways we come to understand the data we collect and seek to analyse. Fieldwork always proceeds from the known, and the researcher comes to a setting with a constructed and shaped identity, since we bring a disciplinary knowledge and theoretical frameworks and a self which is gendered, sexual, occupational, generational and located in time and space. These complex social processes imply a self-conscious and self-critical approach that resists positivism.

Phipps (2007a:92), in an interview with Buonaventura de Sousa Santos, quotes him as describing positivism as "often the most violent way of taking and gaining knowledge" in that it is involved in "the killing of other knowledges in order to monopolise the whys of understanding the world in narrow ways". Research that seeks, therefore, to unmask the assumptions and considered neutrality of positivist approaches which have sought to standardise research activities within a hegemonic model of knowledge (Foucault, 1970, 1973; Law, 2004), can be achieved by such "more self-conscious and self-critical" approaches.

Fieldwork evinces emotions in that we have feelings about our research setting, peoples and experiences. Thus for Coffey, the emotional connection to fieldwork, to analysis and writing, should be acknowledged, reflected upon, and seen as "a fundamental feature of well-executed research" (158-9). Without an emotional connection to the endeavour, setting or people, research may be poorly executed. The process of fieldwork can be understood as a series of real and virtual conversations and interactions with informants, dialogues that enable us to navigate pathways through the research. Fieldwork and its outcomes develop in the course of these transactions and critically reflecting on these can unfold and enhance the processes and experiences of research. It is central to qualitative research practice that these interactions, and the reflections that develop from them, are recorded and documented. Documentation aids the transformation from personal experience to public and accountable knowledge. Marcus and Fischer (1986) echoed Fabian's examination (1983) of how ethnography has tended to devalue its subjects relative to the West, often in spite of its best intentions, by "premises about time embedded in its rhetoric and categories of thought" (97). For the most part, anthropologists have taken the job of reflecting upon themselves much less seriously than that of probing other cultures and a characteristic of contemporary experiments is "an awareness of the subtle influences of the ethnographer's own culture upon the work of interpreting another culture" (111).

Ethnographic methods

Mavrič and Urry (2009) have the view that observation can efficiently deal with micro-worlds of people's interaction with other people, movement or performances, interaction with the environment and technology. They cite the example of Edensor (2009) exploring the types of performance at the Taj Mahal and of Zukin (2003), who presents a kind of 'self reflective' observation as she analyses her own mobile performances through a narrative of travelling junk. The technique of mobile observation - of 'following people' -

as an observational technique enables one to understand what happens to subjects of research in other sites on or 'offstage' which may be especially useful in tourism research. One technique that builds upon the logic of subtle observation inherent in the work of Marcus and Fischer, Fabian, and Coffey is that of 'autoethnography'.

Autoethnography

An autoethnography, according to several articles in the *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* (2006) seeks to place the processes in the context of peoples' increasing claim to the right to represent their own culture and history, a purpose articulated by Pratt's use of the term 'auto-ethnography' in her critique of European travel writing (2003, 1992) to refer to instances in which "colonized subjects undertake to represent themselves in ways that *engage with* the colonizer's own terms" (7, original emphasis). She continues "[i]f ethnographic texts are a means by which Europeans represent to themselves their (usually subjugated) others, autoethnographic texts are those the others construct in response to or in dialogue with those metropolitan representations." (7)

Thus autoethnography is a form of autobiographical personal narrative that explores the writer's experience of life. It differs from ethnography - a qualitative research method in which a researcher uses participant observation and interviews in order to gain a deeper understanding of a group's culture - in that autoethnography focuses on the writer's subjective experience rather than the beliefs and practices of others. Autoethnography is now becoming more widely used in social research, performance studies, the sociology of new media, novels, journalism, communication, and applied fields such as management studies. Thus, while ethnography is a social science method of qualitative research that describes human social phenomena based on fieldwork, in autoethnography the researcher

becomes the primary participant/subject of the research in the process of writing personal stories and narratives.

Reflexivity

Autoethnography is a reflexive account of one's own experiences situated in culture. In addition to describing and looking critically at one's own experience, an autoethnography is also a cultural accounting. In generating an autoethnographic work, most researchers attempt to realise the ideal of reflexivity, in the sense that the researcher needs to be aware of his or her role as a researcher. In embracing personal thoughts, feelings, stories, and observations as a way of understanding the social context they are studying, researchers are also shedding light on their interaction with that setting by making their emotions and thoughts visible to the reader. It differs from traditional ethnography in that it embraces and foregrounds the researcher's subjectivity rather than perhaps masking it. Autoethnographic methods include writing journals, looking at archival records, whether institutional or personal, and using writing to generate self-cultural understandings. Reporting an autoethnography might take the form of a traditional journal article or scholarly book, a stage performance or a popular press article. Anthropologist Reed-Danahay (1997), for example, stresses that autoethnography is a postmodernist construct:

> The concept of autoethnography […] synthesizes both a postmodern ethnography, in which the realist conventions and objective observer position of standard ethnography have been called into question, and a postmodern autobiography, in which the notion of the coherent, individual self has been similarly called into question. The term has a double sense - referring either to the ethnography of one's own group or to autobiographical writing that has ethnographic interest (2).

Critiques of autoethnography

Some qualitative researchers have expressed their concerns about the worth and validity of autoethnography. Chang (2008) warns autoethnographers of pitfalls that they should avoid

in doing autoethnography: "(1) excessive focus on self in isolation from others; (2) overemphasis on narration rather than analysis and cultural interpretation; (3) exclusive reliance on personal memory and recalling as a data source; (4) negligence of ethical standards regarding others in self-narratives; and (5) inappropriate application of the label autoethnography" (54). I have, I believe, avoided such pitfalls and consider the technique to be a valuable tool for narrative inquiry.

Autoethnography as narrative inquiry

Autoethnography is also narrative inquiry. On one hand, some advocates of narrative inquiry argue for allowing stories to speak for themselves. For Clandinin and Connelly's *Narrative Inquiry* (1989), the challenge lies in the process of moving from field texts to research reports. Whereas the field text contains the stories, a research report involves analysis and interpretation and a researcher must consider the way narrative inquiries are always strongly autobiographical. Thus, "our research interests come out of our own narratives of experience and shape our narrative inquiry plotlines." (121) The benefits of autoethnography are the ways in which research of such a personal nature might give us insight into problems often overlooked in culture - issues such as the nature of identity, race, sexuality, child abuse, eating disorders, life in academia, and the like. In addition to helping the researcher make sense of his or her individual experience, autoethnographies are political in nature in that they engage their readers in important political issues and often ask of them that they assess matters differently.

Application to Highland, Gaelic Scotland

McNeil (2007) notes Buzard's use of the term autoethnography in 'Translation and Tourism' (1995:31) to describe the novel *Waverley* as a paradigmatic example of Scott's

enactment of a fictional 'autoethnography'. McNeil takes issue with labelling the work an autoethnography, since "Scott himself was careful to state several times, his knowledge and use of Gaelic was quite limited" (194, fn.1). However, autoethnography could be seen as having a long Gaelic pedigree. Martin MacGregor, in the John Bannerman lecture delivered on 17th March, 2011, quotes the Gaelic bard *Niall MacMhuirich*, speaking of the Wars of the Three Kingdoms of the 17th century, "I had many stories to write on the events of the times, if I undertook to do so, but what induced me to write even this much was when I saw that those who treated of the affairs of the time had made no mention of the Gael, the men who did all the service". He also notes Martin's concern that, with the fashion for the New World, there was under- appreciation of the Isles and a consequent lack of insight into the area. He also quotes Carmichael writing to Father Alan McDonald in 1905 as being "concerned to do something to refute the prejudices of other writers"

Method of enquiry and links to other research

It is with some temerity that I join such a band. However, the justification for undertaking such a formal study is that it draws upon forty years of extensive training and experience. It is also reflexive in that I seek to understand and interpret some of the thinking implicit in the comments made to me by those I encounter in my role as a BB guide, supplemented by observations and comments made by other BB guides. It, therefore, deals with my experiences and reflects upon 143 encounters during the tourist seasons from 2011 to 2013 and on some fifty instances of the treatment of Gaelic, Highland Scotland in a variety of different situations ranging from formal academic lectures to the popular press.

Description of the work undertaken

The spur for this research was the part-time, two year STGA course during which time I ran two half day seminars on some fifteen Gaelic historical and cultural topics and canvassed my fellow guides at the end of the course to determine their perceptions of its treatment of Gaelic. The questionnaire is included at Appendix 4. The next stage of the preparatory phase of the research was to build a bi-lingual web-site - www.iul-alba.com, prepare a promotional leaflet and to attend trade fairs to canvass companies for work as a BB guide. I worked on a variety of Gaelic projects with the Glasgow-based Gaelic initiative, An Lòchran, Edinburgh Council, InterpretScotland, *Pròiseact nan Ealan*, Lewis Museum, Newbattle College, and Aberdeen College. I also delivered two seminar papers to the 2012 *Rannsachadh na Gàidlhlig* conference as well as delivering a *Roinn na Ceiltis is na Gàidlhlig* research seminar. I attended training events such as, an Edinburgh University and HS Clans Day, a Sacred Landscapes seminar as well as lectures, seminars, and conferences accessed through attendance at the University of Glasgow and Glasgow's *Aye Write* Book Festival. The bulk of my research time has been within the BB guiding milieu and over the three years I have spent approximately 1,500 hours of guiding work with an additional 60 hours during the six mystery shopping trips.

Documentation of the data

The record of the empirical data is thus drawn primarily from two distinct data sets; the auto-ethnography discussion arises from 143 records of personal guiding encounters covering three guiding seasons. The second source is observations from information imparted by driver/guides during six tourist trips taken over 15 days at the end of May 2013. The bulk of the observations recorded are drawn from detailed autoethnographic journals totalling in excess of 100,000 words. The appendices include one ethnographic

journal record (Appendix 1) and one Mystery shopper report (Appendix 2). Where appropriate, I have recorded short interviews with other guides.

The bulk of the encounters have been through one-day coach tours from cruise ships (60%), extended tours (10%), private driver/guide hires (15%) and walking tours (15%). All of the tours have been in English other than two in Gaelic and two where an interpreter mediated the narrative. The encounters with tourists occurred between 29th April 2011 and 12th November 2013. The bulk of the respondents were American, although there were contributions from Swedish, Dutch, Belgian, Italian, French, Spanish, Russians, Canadian, Taiwanese, Egyptians, Eritreans, Omanis, Kuwaitis, English, Irish, Brazilians, Thais, Venezuelans, Venetians, mainland Chinese, Romanians, Javanese, Indians, Koreans, and Australians. The greater proportion of interviewees - some 60% - was female and the majority of those were in the age range 55-75. The bulk of the interviews took place during the principal rest period of lunchtime although a few dialogues were possible at the end of a tour. Edinburgh Castle was the site of many of the interviews although Glasgow's Kelvingrove Museum & Art Gallery also proved fruitful. Significant numbers of contact were made with those seeking photographs but, other than establishing nationality, little addition information could be gained. I was photographed, in all, some two hundred times over the period and had the weather not necessitated wearing a coat which concealed my kilt, that number would have been as much again.

In order to ensure the highest standards of probity, the research was conducted under a set of anthropological guidelines in part drawn from the Council of the American Anthropological Association set of principles to guide ethnographers. The *Principles of Professional Responsibility* cover the need:to consider informants first, to safeguard informants' rights, interests, and sensitivities, to communicate research objectives, to

protect the privacy of informants, to avoid the exploitation of informants and to make reports available to informants.

The report is thus based on observation, interaction and mutual exchange with a range of visitors. I set out, quite explicitly, as a Gaelic autoethnographer intent on introducing visitors to Gaelic, Highland Scotland from the perspective of a Gaelic speaker, to provide a narrative that exposed the visitor to Gaelic language and culture. In other words I set out explicitly to a) stimulate reaction by using a Gaelic introduction irrespective of where I am touring, b) stress a separate Gaelic perspective on most of the main episodes of Scottish history usually marketed to visitors, c) explain the nature of Gaelic culture, d) provide insights to its domestic life, its cultural and economic lifestyle (in order to counterbalance the single essentialist tropes of the Highland warrior - Rob Roy and the Highlands soldier of 'The Thin Red Line'), e) provide a proper context for the iconography of tartan, kilt, battle techniques (through explanation of the distinctive weapons), bagpipe and whisky, f) explain the meaning of place names and why they are named in such a way, g) allow the visitor to hear an unaccompanied Gaelic singer and to explain the meaning of the song, link the song and story to top visual priorities and even, in extremis, sing a song myself. On extended tours, the pattern of narrative content establishes itself with heavy guiding input in the morning and light touch in the afternoon.

Analysis of the Data using NVivo

The data from the observations was analysed using NVivo. NVivo is a qualitative data analysis computer software package designed for qualitative researchers working with very rich text-based and/or multimedia information, in cases where detailed analysis on small or large volumes of data are required. The software package provides a platform for multiple research methods and takes the researcher beyond constant comparison analysis and is the

most commonly used technique in the field. The ability to examine through a different lens by multiple analyses can often give the researcher additional information. This is particularly the case in examining the data for potential triangulation such as identifying when constant comparison analysis is delivering the same results as domain analysis or discourse analysis. Furthermore, once the foundations are in place for constant comparison analysis, utilising the data across a range of research techniques is relatively straightforward. Constant comparison analysis is thus a sound starting point to import, categorise and manage the data while at the same time creating themes. This facility within NVivo enables further analysis, such as taxonomical analysis that allows the researcher to readily understand how respective themes relate to one another. It is then relatively straightforward to identify a series of basal themes and then to validate them in a longitudinal process over the three years of the data gathering. Towards the end of the process a further domain analysis enabled the identification of the aggregated themes of 'invention', elision and erasure.

Links to other research

Within the Scottish context this research has links to work undertaken by Bhandari on the role of tourism in relation to political expressions of nationalism (2012). While his work is of interest in providing a further, although limited, perspective on a particular cadre of tour guides - those employed to provide commentary on Red Buses within the City of Edinburgh - his central tenet that national culture is formed by tourism would not appear to fit well with this current research. Gaelic, Highland Scotland's cultural formations, to judge from the literature survey, had already been in place by the late Medieval period and were characterised by a set of distinct cultural markers some of which were adopted in some measure into Scottish society. By the stage that Thomas Cook's mass tourism became significant in the later 1840s, cultural markers such as tartan and the kilt were

already well embedded in public consciousness about Scotland. The thesis therefore that tourism in some senses created these markers is not readily supported by the evidence.

One further thesis - that by Miles entitled *Battlefield Tourism: Meanings and Interpretation* (2012) - is of more specific interest in that it discussed the only site in Scotland where a substantial investment in a Gaelic component of interpretation has occurred, namely, Culloden, However, the extent of Miles's engagement with Gaelic culture is his understanding that, since his data collection, the site has become more relevant in reinforcing identity "in the connection of Culloden with a wider Highland identity and the resurgence of Highland language (*sic*) and culture" (187). He does not mention Gaelic.

Finally, in Scotland, Morris's thesis on aspects of the slave owning plantation aristocracy of the West Indies, many of whom were Scots, has some bearing in relation to the development of perceptions of the 'other' and the subsequent explicit racism that affected Gaelic, Highland Scotland. His view that transnational theories provide a more useful paradigm and his denial of a possible fruitful postcolonial reading practice has been dealt with in greater detail in Chapter 4.

One work that on first sight appears to take a fruitful approach to the 'tourist gaze' from a Foucauldian knowledge/power perspective - Jorgensen's 'The Construction of Irish Identity onboard County Wicklow Tour Buses' (2003) - does not ultimately take the analysis of that gaze beyond earlier critiques of Urry's typologies, Wang's sociological analysis, *Tourism and Modernity* (2000) or Ooi's (2002) theorizing on 're-centring of culture' under the 'fun' gaze. Her findings, which focus primarily on visitors' reception of driver guides' narratives, are that it "seems unlikely that tourists take on a specific, stable position on a continuum between the touristic gaze, negotiated readings and post-touristic

irony" and that "they seem to incorporate various interpretations when actively negotiating the meaning of Irishness", display a certain tentativeness that is in part, perhaps, associated with the limited research data. While she is correct in suggesting that further research is needed to examine how different tourists engage with various touristic texts on Irish identity, it would seem axiomatic from her earlier discussion on Foucauldian theories that all would display:

> some sort of power and resistance to the discourse they encounter and that all will be found to, at least to a certain extent, actively negotiate their understandings of Ireland and Irishness" (155).

As was pointed out earlier, the next chapter - the description of the autoethnography - details an exercise never before undertaken within Scotland's tourism industry.

CHAPTER SEVEN: THE AUTOETHNOGRAPHY

The Environment and the Process

This auto-ethnography discussion arises from 143 records of guiding encounters covering the guiding seasons from 2011 to 2013 when it is possible for the Gael (me) to be seen and his voice to be heard and thus enable representation, resistance and 'writing-back'. They embody a strong element of reflexity. The final elements of data are drawn from verbatim comments made by lecturers at a *Scottish Clans Day* and a *Sacred Landscapes Day*.

Towards the end of the first season in September 2011 it was possible, through analysis in NVivo, to discern a pattern of representation of Gaelic and Highland Scotland to the 'tourist gaze'. At that stage the themes identified were cultural objectification, 'invented tradition', landscape renaming, and cultural confusion. The first theme of cultural objectification covers a range of phenomena including essentialism, reification and othering. It centres primarily on the representation of the Highland warrior as the only expression of Gaelic culture, with human representations of Highland culture resting almost entirely on a male, martial, model to the total exclusion of other aspects of a normal domestic society particularly rich in the traditional arts of music, story-telling, poetry and song.

'Invented tradition', appeared to have, at that stage of analysis, two aspects. The first was a discourse of the 'invention' of Highland traditions by Scott in 1822 that appeared to have led to a bifurcated manner in which VisitScotland projects the country to the rest of the world. The discourse also suggested the postmodern tourist finds such 'invented tradition' appealing and gazes with wry amusement at a Scottish cultural expression that they believe to be a Victorian construct. The second aspect of the 'invented tradition' theme seemed at

that stage to arise from a complete absence of knowledge of the traditional, landscape narrative of Highland Scotland. As mentioned earlier, a substantial proportion of the Scottish tourism industry is based on a 'milk round' that encompasses Edinburgh, Loch Lomond, Loch Ness, Inverness, Stirling and Edinburgh. Visitors therefore 'gaze' upon a sparsely populated landscape devoid of 'talking points' - TVPs. This situation therefore requires the guide to provide 'fillers' that normally feature items such as clan histories, legends, whisky etc. In the absence of any knowledge of the store of traditional, originally Gaelic, narrative associated with once populated localities leads guides to provide newly invented narratives. Two examples of these new inventions would be the restorative virtues of the cold water pools beneath the bridge at Sligachan, Isle of Skye and the creation myth of *The Five Sisters of Kintail*.

The third theme appeared to arise from further inventions that lead to Landscape Renaming. This is the phenomenon of new names being created despite already existing names. This process made national headlines in March 2011 when the Loch Lomond and Trossachs National Park authority were compelled to withdraw and pulp 3,000 copies of a new map of Loch Lomond. The inclusion of new names such as 'Giro Bay' rather than traditional names had resulted in complaints. An abstract from that map is in Appendix 6. A similar process was discernible within the mountaineering fraternity where bundling of peaks has led to names such as *The Five Sisters of Kintail* or *The Three Sisters of Glencoe* and the reduction of names such as *Buachaille Eite Mòr*, to 'The Boocle'. A related trend was the freighting of the meaning of place names, although broadly correct, with additional emotional connotations never intended by the original namers. Obvious examples are Glasgow as the '*dear* Green Place' and the Trossachs becoming 'The *rugged* Cross-hills'. It was also noted that the whisky industry had branded glens of 'tranquillity', 'eagles', 'wild geese' as well as rivers of 'otters' in place of perfectly normal topographical descriptors. Finally, in the absence of any clear understanding of the meaning of the

Gaelic name, a variety of fanciful explanations were being offered. All of these processes were leading to a muting of the Gaelic landscape and rendering the original inhabitants ever more invisible to the 'tourist gaze'.

The final theme identified by September 2011 is that of Cultural Swamping where the independent Irish and Gaelic strands of an original common culture were merging in a single 'Celtic' expression. Obvious presentations of such synthesis are in the sphere of culture and music. Given that tour operators often twin tours to both Scotland and Ireland, many visitors have difficulty in distinguishing between the two cultures. Many visitors ask whether Gaelic and Irish are the same language and seek to understand Gaelic culture in terms of their perceptions of Irish culture. More obviously this is seen in the deployment of musical themes to provide atmosphere in films most notably *Braveheart, Rob Roy* and, most recently, *Brave*. These films have had an impact in 'still-framing' images of the Scottish Highlands and with the films being shot in both Scotland and Ireland has led to the reinforcing of an impression of a 'crossover' culture, described as 'Celtic', a further distancing of the 'tourist gaze' from an autochthonous narrative on Gaelic, Highland Scotland.

In reflecting back on the initial findings, it is noteworthy that no specific observations on the representation of the language itself are then possible due to the inadequacy of the data. Since then further accumulation of observations suggests that the near invisibility of the language beyond its presence on road-signs reinforces the muting which the process of landscape renaming engenders. The cumulative effect is to intensify the distancing and silencing of the Gael under the 'tourist gaze'.

Since the initial findings in 2011, further data has been collected which substantially confirm the broad thrust of the pattern in which Highland Scotland is re/presented under

the 'tourist gaze'. What now follows is a more detailed description of the autoethnographic observations gathered over the past three tourist seasons. The records follow the earlier broad categorisation in order to provide a degree of systematisation to the effort to describe what the visitors are told, what questions they ask, and what their impressions are.

General Observations

A number of findings arise from a general overview of the data on what people experienced during their trip through Scotland. The visitors' expectations of what they might see is well encapsulated by the list supplied by Leigh Ann from Kansas, USA who gave her son Matt a graduation present of a trip to Scotland. Prior to the trip she sent me their points of interest and wrote that "[t]hey are (not in any particular order) the following: "Pubs and Pints!!! , Stirling Castle, A Scotch Tour (whisky distillery visit), Perth and Family historical sites, Hopetun *(sic)* House, Inverness, Loch Ness - to see Nessie, Culloden Battlefield, Clava Cairns, Argyll, Edinburgh for 2 days, including *The Sheeps Hied* (*sic*) *Inn,* St Giles Cathedral, Greyfriar's Kirk (if you aren't too scared! Scary Boo!), Holyrood House, Edinburgh Castle, Firth of Forth – during low tide to see ships/boats on their side, and Portobello Beach" (80th Journal).

The Journal records suggest that the landscape and countryside is far greener and more beautiful than most expected it to be. As a Canadian woman in her 40s from Toronto said, she had not expected "a place that was wetter with greener and higher hills but with nice people" (7th Journal). There is genuine curiosity and interest in the notion of clanship and family particularly expressed through the interest in family names from North Americans. "The day tour from the cruise ship *Emerald Princess* has a significant emphasis on the part of Americans on surnames such as Frew and Stewart (although with supposed links to the Royal Family) and thus the identification with Scotland" (53rd Journal). This notion of a family connection can be expressed very strongly. "I am met at Greyfriars' Bobby by the

Burnett family of three generations. They are in Edinburgh in transit, being on their way to Crathes Castle which the grandfather had visited on previous occasions and considers it his ancestral home" (90th Journal). The Stuart/Stewart connection finds echoes in a strong interest in the Royal Family. This emerged in St Andrews where "I am sharply aware of the visitors' interest in a royal connection. Here there is an emphasis on localities identified with Prince William and Kate Middleton such as the North Café where they supposedly met for the first time" (26th Journal).

Heritage and history is undoubtedly a significant draw to Scotland and there is a desire for a narrative of our doughty resistance to a larger neighbour. A key aspect of heritage is the dramatic ruined castle; the attraction is illustrated by the fact that a 2010 calendar of Scottish castles which I brought along on a Loch Lomond tour for a party from Northern Ireland simply to illustrate the different types of fortified structure was appropriated by an elderly lady "because 'that's what Scotland means to me' she says" (28th Journal). However, for the majority, there is little sense of a distinction between original fabric and reconstruction with a number of visitors expressing pleasure in a 'real' castle at the heavily restored Eilean Donan Castle. "Jim's younger daughter Ellen is now confidently sporting a tartan cape and quasi-sporran/pouch which she purchased in Glasgow on Sunday evening. Ellen has been aware of the *Highlander* connection and feels that this is "the first real castle she has seen and she feels she has to 'dress the part'" (34th Journal).

Markers of Scotland beyond castles

Highland cattle are as significant a marker of Scotland as castles. "Phil & Cherry Leong from Brunei came on their honeymoon from Paris and London to Loch Ness in the hope of seeing snow, sheep, monsters and mountains. I have been told that their wishes were straightforward 'Other than the castles and whisky, the only request they had was for

landscape. Glencoe would, for sure, make them more than pleased'. On their return home they send me a photograph of Cherry and a Highland cow" (63rd Journal). Sheep are as significant a marker: "between Dingwall and Skye, Nancy a 30-something Canadian has decided that she needs to get a picture of sheep and this emerges as a general desire among the party. This clamour requires Bob, our driver, to find a suitable point to stop the coach, a place where there is as clear, straight stretch of road in order to accommodate other traffic. That is not easy to locate in this part of the world. Serendipitously, however, we come across both a long straight stretch which allows for safe overtaking and also an old ewe sauntering along the road with a black and white lamb. A good third of the party get out of the coach cameras at the ready at which point the old ewe heads for the hills" (34th Journal).

The special interest groups' interest is highlighted by the encounter with fellow guide Alison. She "comes to speak to me about the correct pronunciation of the name of the church of Kilmonivaig. She is taking a tour there for an American *Outlander* fan club group (devotees of the seven book series by Diana Gabaldon). I ask why they come and she says she has never asked but assumes "they are all looking for their Jamie Frazer (the handsome Highland hero of the series)". I ask her to provide me with some feedback. Alison contacts me on the 9th October, 2011 and says: "I spoke to all the ladies on the tour (I have taken about 6 of these tours now and there are very few men on them) about their reason for visiting Scotland. The majority say they do know about Scotland before reading the novel and from their knowledge of Scotland it prompted them to read the book (I am surprised, I think it would be the other way round). A few says it is the tour that appealed to them from the web site and they then read the novel. (She does have a good website; it would make me want to visit Scotland!) They all love the novel although sadly believe its accuracy! Still, if it helps spread the word about our beautiful country that is no bad thing" (50th Journal).

While Alison's observations in a sense 'scotches' her own view that the ladies' motivations are romantic, the impact upon the Gabaldon fans' 'gaze' is evident. "The power of these imaginings is brought home to me as we are standing looking across at the ruins of Ruthven Barracks. Beside me stand the Nichols who are spending a week touring to their ancestral home in Skye. I am describing the events in April 1746 immediately before the building's torching after Culloden. Michele is particularly animated. 'Yes, yes', she keeps saying 'this was where Jamie was'. It dawns on me that she is seeing the event entirely through the pages of the book *Outlander* and only comprehends the story of Ruthven, no matter what I say, from the perspective of Gabaldon's hero Jamie Frazer" (106th Journal). Nor is the cairn setting at Clava immune from such musings. "This is the third day of a four day tour of *Outlander* sites for Sarah and her friend from Pittsburgh, USA. Having spent two hours at Culloden, we head down the hill to Clava. There Sarah spots a split stone and immediately climbs into the space between the two halves to be photographed. She explains that 'I am trying to see if I can pass through the time portal in just the same way as Claire did in *Outlander*.' I'm not convinced she is entirely joking" (118th Journal).

To conclude, it has to be acknowledged that attitudes towards our visitors are not impeccable. As one record notes, "Some drivers' attitudes to visitors seems to be a mocking one. Bill relates an occasion on which he was asked to name a loch and simply said 'Oh it's called "Loch na Puddle" or when asked by an American if his Highland name was a good one, claimed to have said to him "Your clan was too intimate with sheep"'(49th Journal) .

These then are broad findings from the autoethnography and the chapter now moves on to consider the more detailed observations as they pertain to the re-presentation of Highland Scotland under the 'tourist gaze'.

Commoditisation

As the research process became more refined it seemed that the term 'commoditisation' would more adequately describe a process that was initially termed 'cultural objectification'. The encapsulation of the term 'cultural objectification' within 'commoditisation' acknowledges the degree to which all cultures are subjected to commoditisation within the global mass tourism industry. The role of the industry in commoditising Scottish culture builds upon earlier processes of national stereotyping. A good example of this is the comment by Agat, a guide at the Blair Atholl distillery, who explains that the recycling of spent barley is part of a characteristic Scottish canniness and care with money (35th Journal) and "Amy, the guide at the Glenfiddich Distillery, gives us the same 'Scots waste nothing' trope in respect of the draff" (71st Journal).

However, in terms of what icons of Highland Scotland are visible to visitors, by far the most powerful image, indeed almost the only one, is that of the kilted Highlander, preferably playing the bagpipes. The busking piper is a ubiquitous sight at all tourist locations and in exchanges with visitors the kilt is of constant, primary interest. There is a real desire to understand the kilt and why it is of significance. Common questions are "Tell me about the uniform.", "Do you wear it often?", "It not cold to wear?", "Is it true that each family had their own tartan?" "Now tell me about the outfit", "Explain the dress" and "What's this pattern, can you wear any one you like?" Most observers express genuine interest, enthusiasm and admiration for the garment. "How do I recognise a Chisholm

tartan - is it the colour or the pattern?" (67th Journal) and "Tell about 'the old and ancient tartan'" (78th Journal).

But the only real clear opportunity for me to expand more on matters of tartan and kilt wearing is in a section in Kelvingrove's *Scottish Identity in Art* gallery. Perhaps this is due to the limitation of the data. I am aware of the substantial presence of tartan and the kilt within the regimental museums at Edinburgh Castle but it passes almost without official comment. Perhaps there are other locations where it is contextualised and presented but I have yet to identify them. The *Scottish Identity in Art* gallery, therefore, gives opportunities for an exposition on 'plaid' as the American often term tartan. "Standing in front of the portrait of Mungo Murray in the gallery, we have a major discussion of the development of tartan and the kilt as we know it today. This is the most animated I have seen the group so far and there is a welter of questions on understanding both the form of the dress and the development of my own tartan, hunting Maclean of Duart" (23rd Journal).

Again a journal entry notes the following. "Having asked a Swedish woman why she thinks it's important to take a picture of me in the kilt she says 'I suppose the kilt is about Scotland'" (2nd Journal). Even when not conducting a group, the interest presents itself: "As I make my way to the underground station a woman asks for permission to be photographed with me. On learning that she is from Brazil I say that her country is beautiful to which she replies "indeed Brazil is beautiful but we do not have your costume" (10th Journal). Even when there is no other comment, it is the main subject. One Russian woman, a golf-widow from a Glasgow conference, regards it as "magnificent dress" (14th Journal). It seems to have wide appeal. "As these photographs are being set up a party of Muslim girls flock around us like starlings in their traditional burkhas insisting also on a picture with me. They were from Oman, Dubai and the Emirates. They were hugely enthusiastic about the tartan and the kilt, seeking to know where they would be

opportunities for them to buy material during their very short three-day visit to Scotland" (25th Journal). Even the Scots themselves applaud the effort. "When we initially enter Longannet Power Station, where the welcoming party is awaiting, I am greeted with the comment 'Glad you made the effort' as the manager believes initially that I am one of the visiting asset managers and not a guide" (7th Journal).

There is also an evident sense of the semiotic significance of tartan and the kilt and the fact that these images are linked to both Scottish traditional and modern music. "The *Eschapees Belles* for the *France 5* programme includes an extended visit to the Piping Centre in Glasgow" (1st Journal). This is also evident from the Journal of 15th July 2011: "I am waiting at Central Station at 7:30 a.m. and I notice a young man dressed in a parka jacket, black kilt and the socks with the red flashes carrying a set of bagpipes heading down Platform Number One. I'm intrigued as to what he is doing and all is revealed when there's a skirl of pipes and I spot four men just off the London sleeper, who it transpires are London fashion designers, being piped up the platform by piper Lorne MacDougall. Lorne is playing *Scotland the Brave*, *Highland Laddie*, etc. He has been hired by them through the Piping Centre and as this is his first assignment he has checked permissions with the stationmaster who confirms that this is quite a common request from visitors coming off the London sleeper".

There seems to be an increasing acceptance of the tartan kilt; "the three Northern Irish women with the surnames of Craig, Johnston and Galbraith who were keen on checking what their tartan might be" (13th Journal). The wearing extends to other nationalities with an example of "an Indian youth strolling along Princes Street in a Royal Stewart tartan kilt" (4th Journal) and the instance of a be-tartaned Chinese bride and groom posing for photographs at *The Hub* - the old Highland Tollbooth (9th Journal). The only opportunity to question the motivations of such expression was the following exchange. "I am heading for

the train back to Glasgow following my *Context* tour of the New Town of Edinburgh. While waiting to buy a ticket, I fall into conversation with a Brazilian couple. The man, Bruno, tells that he had worn the kilt himself at his sister's wedding in Dumfries. He said, 'I wanted to wear the kilt as I always found it beautiful and I asked my brother-in-law if I could wear it as well.' John said to me that 'I'm very pleased, over the moon, in fact, as I want to make you part of my culture.' Bruno subsequently sends me the wedding line-up and his permission to use the picture" (96th Journal).

The full flowering of the dress style, however, remains the military band uniform worn by the majority of pipers at tourist 'hot spots'. At its best (from the visitor's point of view) are soldiers in kilts in the sentry boxes on the Esplanade of Edinburgh Castle, "requests for photographs of me dry up completely as the soldiers become the main attractions. Interestingly, the sentries are not regarded by some as real soldiers. A teenage girl, one of a party of two adults and eight young music students from Tipperary, Eire, points to a kilted black soldier in one of the sentry boxes and says 'a toy soldier'" (13th Journal).

The variety of expression now ranges widely from the martial to the ludic with many variations in between. "The *France Five* film included a visit to a kilt shop where the maker is producing contemporary kilts in leather. This metrosexual approach to the use of the kilt does now seem to have some measure of recognition of the garment as being chic" (1st Journal). This can also be seen at the *Hotel Missone* on George IV Bridge in Edinburgh where the bell-boys sport kilts in hues of pink and grey mimicking the corporate colours of the hotel chain. "Perhaps, the most exotic expression I have so far encountered is that of the God Pan - A Nova Scotia MacDonald who has done a brisk trade on the Royal Mile of Edinburgh this summer, dressed in sheepskin leggings, loincloth with Celtic knot patterns , cloven feet and goat-horns" (12th Journal).

The kilt's presence is anticipated and, if delivered, is applauded but disappointment results if it is withdrawn. "I have decided to 'rest' the kilt and turn up in jacket and trousers much to the disappointment of the party who want to know why I am 'not wearing the outfit'" (30th Journal). When not worn interest is sharply diminished: "[a]s this was a walking tour I have not worn my kilt but have taken a shepherd's crook and this proves to be the single focus of interest in terms of photography" (18th Journal). However, it is also the mark of a profession. "As I am showing Don's party the mountains now called *The Three Sisters of Glencoe*, Connie Campbell says to me 'Oh, I've only just realised it's a uniform.' I say, 'Sorry?' Connie elaborates 'Seeing you standing talking to your colleague I realised that you were both dressed almost identically in kilt, tweed jacket, white shirt and tie. It's the guiding uniform.' I agree with her and explain that we follow a strict dress code with the STGA" (108th Journal). "If I stand outside the Carlton Hotel on North Bridge for more than 5 minutes during the Edinburgh Festival, I am likely to be asked for directions to the Castle or the Palace: A man in a kilt at the time of the Edinburgh Tattoo is a functionary" (36th Journal). The kilt finds its most martial form in the Eilean Donan Castle guides who are in Highland garb brandishing claymores.

At this point it is necessary to acknowledge a certain sexual component described by Chapman thus, "the ready possibility of large-scale exposure of the lower body" (1992: 141). This continued focus is exemplified by an encounter in the coach park at *The Edinburgh Woollen Mill* in Inveraray. "On my way towards the mill I pass a *Rabbie's Tours* minibus. I'm accosted by a young man in a fleece wearing a kilt, short chunky socks and hiking boots. "You can ask him what he wears under it" he says to an American woman in her mid-30s, in joshing tones, and pointing to my kilt. It's immediately obvious that it is a question of the presence or absence of underclothes. Once we have dealt with aspects of Highland dress, I ask her if it's significant. She says "yep, I suppose it is the tartan and the kilt that is authentic Scotland. Certainly it is what all the tourism promotion

tells us." "Ah, but for me it's a magnificent natural landscape" says an English male, forty- something, standing beside her (2nd Journal).

Others are more physical in their enquiries. "As I am with Don's party in the Glencoe lay-by, a German coach draws. The resident bagpiper hefts his instrument and begins to play *Oh Cruel was the Snow*, Alasdair MacDonald's hackneyed modern elegy to The Massacre of 1692. Douglas, a veteran BB Guide who has been escorting the German party of about forty mainly late middle-aged couples over the last five days, comes over for a chat. As we chat we are approached by a single German woman who speaks to Douglas. He seems guarded with her and I catch snatches of their conversation. The issue seems to be the cold weather and, although dry, a cold October wind is whipping at our kilts. Suddenly the woman bends down and places her hand on my knee. I take a pace back from her and Douglas speaks brusquely to her. Apparently she wishes to check the temperature of my skin. After a few more exchanges she moves away to join her own group. Douglas apologises for her behaviour and explains that 'she has been trying to get her hand up my kilt all week.' He heads off to start herding his group back onto the coach" (108th Journal). On the other hand, it is necessary to caution against automatic assumptions about visitor's interests as the 56th Journal shows. "The Indonesians are fascinated with the kilt and want to know if it is only worn in Scotland and whether it's cold to wear it. One woman asks "Is the myth that the Highlanders…" and I break in and say, "No, of course it depends entirely upon one's own personal predilection whether you wear underwear under it or not". I notice that she is puzzled and ask her what it was she was thinking about and she says that she understood that "there was a myth that each Highland tribe had its own pattern. Was this correct?" I reassure her that it is indeed so and reflect that I have failed to take the proper ethnographic role and assumed that the question would be on something that was central to my mind and not to hers (56th Journal).

Invented Traditions

This story of the kilt's 'invention' is a thread with runs persistently through the kilt and tartan discourse and the notion of an 'invented' image is present in the 'tourist gaze' of some of the visitors. "We are having a snack lunch in the story-telling centre in Edinburgh following the *Andante*: *Archaeology in Scotland* city tour. The subject turns to tartan: A retired female lecturer in Medieval History says "I read that the tartan was invented and that the kilt was made by an Englishman. No, I didn't read it in Trevor Roper's book; I picked it up in some magazine. I wonder what the herd on the High Street makes of it all - all the shops selling tartan knickknacks....We are, after all, a fairly specialised group'"(3rd Journal). It can surface in almost any location. "The thirty-one Americans are mainly couples from the Swan Hellenic's *Minerva* on a half-day trip to the National Trust for Scotland's (NTS) gardens at Arduaine, just south of Oban. The group disperses through the garden and I fall in with a middle aged couple from the Mid-West. The husband looks sardonically at the kilt and says "I read in a magazine or book, book, I think, that the kilt was invented" (78th Journal). The same sardonic tone is evident in the comment by an Englishman during *Andante's Archaeology in Scotland* introduction to Edinburgh "You must be tired of all the tartan and shortbread stuff" (68th Journal)? However, that direct reference to 'invention' is one of only two occasions when the issue is raised by visitors independently of any exposure to the 'invented tradition' in the narrative presented within Scotland.

Since the *Scottish Identity in Art* gallery also suggests tartan's invention during *The King's Jaunt* of 1822, this does make one visitor confused. "Over a cup of coffee at the Kelvingrove I am asked by an American male in his 50s from Colorado, "Was the tartan invented recently because we thought we saw them wearing tartan in *Braveheart*" (5th Journal). This of course presents complications because the discourse within the gallery

exhibition is that of the 'invented tradition' of the tartan kilt we see today. Of even greater difficulty is the matter of the question of how authentic the uses of tartan in Mel Gibson's film actually are. Complication heaped on complication. Yet if the discussion were taking place in front of the fine c.1683 portrait by Wright of a tartan-clad Mungo, it would be realistic to think that a path might be woven through the mine-field. However, there are additional undertows of artificiality tugging at the image of the kilted Highlander.

'Celts'

I am standing by the Butter-tun at the top of the Lawnmarket in Edinburgh, shepherding the *Crown Princess* party across the busy junction, away from the Castle, when one of the group, an Englishwoman in her 40s, states in an almost off-hand manner, "Oh, the Celts did not exist. It's all invented." As I avoid using the term 'Celt', except in a specifically archaeological context, I can't work out why she has said this to me" (11th Journal). Her point, of course, is that of a valid academic view that suggests that it would be inappropriate to identify a single Celtic cultural continuum from Barra to Bohemia or from Spanish Galicia to Turkish Galicia. I have no difficulty with that but with today's slipshod application of the term 'Celtic' to any aspect of Gaelic culture, I am no longer certain whether we are speaking archaeologically or culturally. The possibility that the apparent inter-changeability word for 'Gael/Celt' etc in other languages perhaps encouraging a general use of the term 'Celtic' struck me as I was accompanying a party of seventeen Dutch and Belgians off Swan Hellenic's *The Athena* for a morning's ramble on Kerrera. "The group seemed to appreciate particularly my ability to be able to find a Gaelic word to identify a species of plant or a bird. However this leaves me wondering whether there is a clearly settled words for the language 'Gaelic' and 'the Gaels', in Dutch and Belgian" (45th Journal)? Ultimately the term 'Celtic' might probably most appropriately and

uncontroversially be used in a linguistic context to designate a group of closely related languages within the wider Indo-European family.

The notion of 'Celtic' warrior' is a further character trait of the kilted Highlander; his martial abilities. "While in Edinburgh Castle with a group from the *Costa Magica* I overhear an *HS* guide telling a group that 'Thirty Highlanders slaughtered three hundred Englishmen when the castle was taken and demolished by Bruce.' There is no evidence for this tale, characteristic of the essentialist trope of barbarism.   And yet, the authoritative account of the ruse employed by William Francis in the taking of the Castle (Barrow, 1988:196) is a far more amusing one than that recounted by the guide" (44th Journal). This trope of the fighting prowess of the Highlander is given added charge by suggesting that his culture has ancient antecedents. As part of the U. of E.OLL service and in partnership with HS, a day-long course entitled *The Scottish Clans* was delivered by Stuart McHardy. The joining instructions for the event held on Saturday 9th October 2010 at Edinburgh Castle's Education Suite informed the paying participants that:

> The unique social and political system of the Highland clans is a subject of great historical debate and of interest to both residents and visitors to Scotland. Many romantic notions exist concerning the history of the clans and this course seeks to offer a more realistic view of the subject, acknowledging the romance, but emphasising the factual evidence (U. of E. OLL. brochure details).

The seven women, including one Italian and four men who attend, are advised that the content of the course would cover the origins and structure of the clans and clans in History. The joining notes indicated that by the end of the course, students should be able to access primary and secondary sources and analyse different and sometimes conflicting views of the past and critically adjudge the historical process and its contemporary relevance.

The lecturer commences by saying that "This is a fun day. I will not be taking it too seriously. It is an area of history subject of much debate and the standard view is drawn from Lynch (*Scotland, A New History*, 1991). But it's a matter of interpretation and speculation. I will throw things in that are basically untrue just to see if you are still awake." We learn that, "[v]ery little is known about the Scottish clans and my own research has been a guerrilla war for the last seven years. The word 'clan' is derived from *a'clann* meaning 'children' but fundamentally a tribe. Tribes were not white Anglo-Saxon Protestants but clans were tribes". In addition, the clan was "a warrior tribal society whose parallels can be found in Africa, Borneo, and Kenya where there are pastoral societies. The more cattle one had the higher one's status, a situation that was common in Eurasia in the Iron Age. The system lasted in Scotland to the eighteenth century. However, women were stopped from being warriors because it was too vicious". McHardy does "not agree with Lynch that it was a feudal system: there were no peasants in Highland clans. It was an egalitarian system and 'broken men' could join other clans".

Our lecturer's view is that "[t]he first clan confederation was in the year 80 AD - the Caledonian Confederation. Its leader Calgacus was at the head because he was the best fighter. His name comes from the Gaelic word *calg* that means 'bristly guy' which denoted his character". McHardy's analysis is that "the roots of the clan system go back two thousand years and also back to the Bronze Age, to 1600 BC. Their *clachans* were about half a dozen houses and the sites had been in constant occupation since the Bronze Age". Dio Cassius is quoted to the effect that "the Caledonians were democratic and fond of plundering of which there are countless examples in the next 2,300 years. The clans rise in 1745 in order to raid and gain spoils of war".

In moving towards the early modern period we learn that "the Caledonians become the Picts and this group includes the *Scotti* (Scots). All the archaeology shows that there is no invasion from Ireland". McHardy therefore wants "to kick the whole idea of the Scots

coming from Ireland into touch". "But I'm not getting into linguistics." he says. In discussing Dalriada he explains that Columba is "a thief, warrior and political manipulator". We are told that this is known from the Irish Annals but "there are no annals in Scotland because the English destroyed them. Because of this lack of history you need other sources as models; I make use of storytelling. Story is important in the later clan period with their emphasis on the *ceilidhs*".

In moving on to discuss the clans and land holding, he insists that "the chief is not a feudal landlord. *A'ghaibhle* (meaning unknown) refers to land held by the sword which was the *clay beg* or 'the little sword'. Although the clansmen "used the plaids to stop bullets, as at Killiecrankie", they "tended to take them off and fight naked with their private parts jigging about. This was the origins of the berserker tradition". This meant that it "only took them two seconds to get through a conventional army line of three men deep". Such bravery in battle is, according to our lecturer, related to "the idea of Valhalla and the fact that if one died in battle you went to heaven".

Our lecturer claims that he "is intent on putting forward a Scottish version of events as against an English one". He is questioned by the Italian woman who complains that she is "now completely confused as to what to believe" and asks McHardy where he gets his ideas from. He defends himself by saying that "he is challenging received opinion." In his view "we need a history and the one we have got is rubbish. We now know that the idea of the Scots coming from Ireland is unsustainable".

In summing up his survey of the Scottish clans he reminds us that "the Highlanders in Bonnie Prince Charlie's Army were out to raid. They were not soldiers; they were warriors and a throwback to an earlier time. Walter Scott sanitised the image of the Highland warrior and replaced it with chocolate box stuff. The clan societies today owe more to

Walter Scott than anything else. The modern chiefs are thieves and criminals and are referred to as 'sheepskins' because they hold their land by charter which were originally made from vellum. The ancient chiefs held land as a form of stewardship and modern ones are a bunch of charlatans. They are a pathetic imitation of English aristocracy".

We therefore have a firmly-held view that the eighteenth-century descriptions of Gaelic and Highland Scotland describe a society little changed since the Bronze Age – a span of three and a half thousand years. While it is highly unlikely that this lecturer's views would be shared by academic researchers, they are being promulgated under the joint aegis of the University of Edinburgh and HS. McHardy has also been delivering lectures on Scottish traditional culture to the STGA BB Course since 2010. He was also a contributor to the *Sacred Landscapes*, course held at The Storytelling Centre, Edinburgh in May 2012. In introducing McHardy, Donald Smith, the course leader describes him as an independent thinker, researcher and primarily a 'mythographer'.

In his talk, McHardy tells us that "the ancient Celts had the belief that the world was created by a female force that placed breasts in the landscape to remind mankind of the fact". We are told that "he has been chasing the nine maidens over Scotland". He also identifies "the Paps of Fife and Lothian which are Berwick Law and Arthur's Seat". In focussing on Bennachie he uncovers an ancient landscape filled with the images of this female force. For example "*Ben a chice* (*sic*) comes from *cich* meaning 'breast shape' and this gives us the Pap of Bennachie". He identifies structures on the mountain and informs us that "archaeologists have done us a disservice by describing such sites as huts when they have other, ritualistic, uses. They are the fire sites of *Samhain*". In conclusion he challenges us with the statement: "I could be making all this up. You could say this is fantasy but I am a realist". While McHardy may believe he is a 'realist', his selection of the 'breast' as the only term used in mountain naming, tends to ignore the fact that every

part of the human body was used to describe and name landscape features, names which survive to this day. In doing so he foregrounds one feature where he could have chosen any other such as the *bod* feature that would have 'uncovered' a male-centred world. He is also in danger of concentrating on one narrative of the landscape to the exclusion of the large corpus of tales which were told concerning land features in Highland Scotland. In effect, he has leap-frogged over the bulk of recorded Gaelic traditional material to focus instead on a supposed faint trace of *Gaia*. The discourse on the Highland Clans and their Sacred Landscape may perhaps fit within the continuing process of the 'invention of tradition' in which the absence of autochthonous narrative allows for the creation of fresh myth to fill the vacuum thus created.

Renaming Landscapes

The landscape is of significant appeal to many visitors and in Highland Scotland the bulk of the names that are encountered are in Gaelic. Wherever possible guides will make some effort to name the land and provide an explanation of those names. In this section we describe a number of ways that challenge is addressed.

"On the many occasions I pass through the town of Greenock and the 'Green Oak' shopping centre I explain this is a complete misunderstanding of the meaning of the name of the town since it has no connection with 'an oak' and is more likely to be a Gaelic name referring to what would have been a shingly or sandy shore. I do this as a matter of course, but I feel rather mischievous in debunking the branding of Glengoyne Distillery (the meaning of the place-name is obscure) by suggesting that the meaning of the name has nothing to do with a suggested branding association with wild geese" (6th Journal). I have to do the same in Pitlochry where "Agata begins a presentation by extolling the waters of the 'Otter Burn' which we are told has given the area and this distillery its name of

'Aldour'" (35th Journal). 'Aldour' is a shortening into Scots of the Gaelic *allt odhar* or 'dun-coloured burn'. Much the same distortion occurs in Speyside where "Amy the guide tells us that Glenfiddich means 'Glen of deer' when the name, according to Watson (1926:115) possibly refers to a wooded landscape from Gaelic *fiodh*" (71st Journal). Interestingly Watson (loc. cit.) notes the earlier variant as 'Glen of the Raven', which might not have suited the brand's heavy emphasis on deer antlers.

These explanations are symptomatic of a device used by distillery companies in which they embroider their relatively straightforward topographical descriptor names with additional natural meanings. And yet on occasion a distillery misses the obvious. "Lise from Montreal tells me she has drunk *Chivas Regal* for many years and always thought the word was Spanish" (139[th]Journal). "One of the party asked about *Chivas* whisky. On the website I discover that it was named from an old estate called *Seamhas*, a Gaelic word meaning 'good luck, chance prosperity" (Dwelly, 2001, 1912:797). This name has been bowdlerised in the anglicisation of the name, thus disguising its meaning. In addition when I check related websites, the authoritative guide tells me that "[t]he name derives from the Gaelic seimhas, *(sic)* pronounced 'sheev-as', meaning 'narrow place', and indeed the castle stands by a ford on the river" (28th Journal). (http://www.whiskymag.com/magazine /issue6 /12004944 .html, Retrieved 3 August 2011)

"In preparing for a walking tour of the island of Kerrera, I consult a recently written introduction to the area produced by the Community Council. It has an English explanation of the place names of the island. This includes the assertion that the meaning of Gylen Castle is 'beloved one' based on the Gaelic word '*gaol*' meaning 'beloved'. I immediately smell a rat because the words are not homonymous. The meaning is the more prosaic topographical description 'forked' which is consistent with the craggy topography on which the late 16th century tower house stands" (19th Journal).

Efforts at place meaning can be more qualified: at the National Trust for Scotland - managed property of Pollok House, Glasgow, the volunteer ladies tell the ten *Luxury Vacations* clients "that the original name is in the old Celtic language and we are not sure of the exact meaning. It is likely to mean something like pool, sluggish/moor/bog. It is called that because of the river and the Maxwells came here in 1220. By then the place name had been around for about 100 years before that" (22nd Journal). The meaning of this probable Cumbric name is comprehensible to any Gaelic speaker as 'little pool' which would be entirely appropriate for a location on the River Cart although they would be surprised to be told that the name was less than a thousand years old.

Even when no attempt is made to find an English equivalent, the name can suffer assault. "As the coach party disperses in the drizzle among the shops in Inveraray, Stanley and I take shelter in the Tourist Information Centre (TIC). Stanley, a former French teacher, is Glasgow-born and although he has been guiding in Argyll for many years, pronounces the second syllable of the name of Kilchurn Castle, 'churn' as in a milk churn. I give him the correct pronunciation of a hard 'k' sound. He says, 'Oh, but all the guides say it the other way.' At which point the TIC assistant jumps in and states "Sorry, it can be pronounced either way, as the locals around here use both ways of saying it"' (25th Journal). However, sometimes the struggle over naming has some amusing insights. "The Northern Irish were very interested in realising that the same place names occurred in Scotland as in Ireland. As Suzanne said; 'Isn't it amazing they have the same names for the same places!"' (28th Journal) And when working with groups with fluency in other Celtic languages, the insights can be remarkable. "All round Arran I am pointing out names which have cognates in Welsh and the best is at Torrylinn creamery where both elements of the place name are exactly the same in Welsh. This occasions a round of applause from the Welsh-speaking party. Even more intriguingly, while at the north-west tip of the

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island, at Kingsland, I pointed out that the older name had been *Tom a' Ridire* and referred to the Gaelic word for horse riding, *marcachd* . At this Davyth, our driver, almost goes off the road because he exclaims, 'The word is identical in Welsh''' (19th Journal).

The website of Ainmean-Àite na h-Alba, the gazetteer for Gaelic place-names, http://www.gaelicplacenames.org, explains that the name 'Gleneagles' is Gleann Eagas, i.e., *Glen*, G. valley, with the second element obscure although now thought to derive from G *eag* 'notch'. That name is now 'Gleneagles'. Although Gleneagles Hotel no longer explicitly states the spurious meaning, the marketing material still carries an eagle's crest. The suffix has become a prefix at the nearby Baxter's off-road shopping complex at Blackford, 'Eaglesgate'. The distortion continues: an Oldham construction company, looking for an authentic name for their adjacent luxury housing development, held a competition to identify an appropriate name. In the website section called *Country Living*, we are told that the new development, *Iolaire,* has stunning views of the Ochill hills and is just minutes away from the renowned championship golf course of Gleneagles" (www.dewconstruction.com).This 'appropriate' name is the Gaelic word for 'eagle' so all that remains is for the whole glen to be re-name *Gleann na h-Iolaire* and an ancient landscape name will have been completely obliterated by 'invented tradition'.

The process of erasing the original landscapes with new names is compounded by the need to invent new landscape narrative to reflect the new names. This is illustrated by the following Journal entry. 'This day delivers 'invented tradition' in full measure. Heading towards Portree, Skye, Bob, the driver, now has the opportunity to tell the first of his 'traditions'. As we pass the old bridge at Sligachan he explains that those among the party who wish to preserve their eternal youth should completely immerse their heads in one of the pools of cold stream water that lie beneath the arch of the old bridge. When we stop for the photo opportunity at the bridge we join a party of Japanese. While a number of party

bound down the bank and stick their heads under the water, the Japanese who, clearly have not been alerted to this 'tradition', look on with surprise. I ask Bob where he has learned this tradition and he explains that it is quite common currency among the other *Jactravel* guides (others include inviting the visitors to see the fanciful shapes of sleeping warriors in hill formations). He says he has another one and also a good story which he will tell on our way back to Inverness "through the lonely parts".

Once we reach 'the lonely parts', in Glenshiel, Bob begins a long elaborate story on the naming of the *Five Sisters of Kintail* in which two Irish princes are shipwrecked on the shores of Kintail and nursed back to good health by the five daughters of the local king. It is about the girls' squabbles over the two boys, leading to the agreement that the youths will return home to Ireland to fetch the three other brothers so that all five can be united in marriage, the girls' patient wait and despairing consultation with the local witch who agrees to transform them into stone until such time as the youths return. This is the first time I've ever heard this tale and I am intrigued to understand where Bob has learnt it from. Again he says that it is simply part of the general driver and guide lore which has been around for many years. This tale is nowhere to be found in the oral traditions of Kintail. This aptly illustrates the dangers to guides of the imagination of 'the lonely parts'" (34th Journal). One of the many Internet entries for the *Five Sisters of Kintail* has a variant:

> For the Cailleach had turned the crofter's five daughters into the most beautiful of mountains in the land, and to this day […] they stand by the loch waiting for the day when the merchant will return with his sons (http://www.petesy.co.uk/the-five-sisters-of-kintail/ accessed 30/06/2013).

 Even when the original name is in current usage, invented tradition is added. In Issue 2 of the magazine, *Scottish Walks*, Cameron McNeish (2012) speaks of the qualities of the mountain of Ben Ledi and states:

> Few mountains, […] can claim to be God's hill, but […] one particular translation of Ben Ledi was well justified. The modern name comes from the Gaelic, *Beinn Lididh*, which could be the hill of the gentle slope, but the exact derivation is

uncertain. An oft-quoted Statistical Account suggests *Ben le Dia*, the hill of God, and there could be some authenticity in that since an area on the summit ridge has long been associated with the May-day festival of Beltane, the Celtic new year, a version of an ancient Druidic custom which involved a human sacrifice to the sun god Baal.(*Scottish Walks*, Spring 2012: 22)

All of which is consistent with *The Old Statistical Account* folk etymology which Taylor highlights in *The Uses of Place names* (1998: 7-8). Other 'invented traditions' of the landscape enter the narrative by different routes. Close to Killin, there is a junction on the road to Lochearnhead. The area is called Lix Toll. Guides explain that it stands for the Latin L(egio) IX and that it commemorates the loss of the Ninth Roman legion at this spot. The Gaelic place name's meaning is 'place of flagstones' from the word *leac,* a flagstone (Ross, 2011:142) The story is a conflation of a Classicist's blind stab at the meaning of the name and the popular children's story *The Eagle of the Ninth* (1954) by Rosemary Sutcliff. Sutcliff created the story from two elements: the disappearance of the *Legio* IX *Hispana* (The Ninth Legion, Spain) from the historical record, following an expedition north to deal with Caeldonian tribes in AD 117 and the discovery of a wingless Roman eagle in excavations at Silchester. In 1954 the theory that the unit had been wiped out in Britain was widely accepted but this is now disputed. Given the state of archaeological knowledge in 1954, Sutcliff can be forgiven for not allowing the facts to get in the way of a good story. When the actual place name meaning was pointed out to the guide who was acting as mentor to the 2010 cohort of trainees, she responded by saying "Ah, but it makes a good story."

Many BB guides fear the pronunciation and explanation of mountain names (significant TVPs in an 'empty landscape') in particular and simply avoid mentioning them. One guide recently explained to me his difficulty thus: "I pride myself in being a bit of a linguist - languages are my thing - but I have difficulty with some of the mountain names. I have no difficulty with Ben Lomond or Ben Lawers, for example, but I can't pronounce the

others." He was unaware that these names were simply English versions of the original Gaelic names. But the Gaelic language is apparently too difficult for a linguist. Before describing observations in respect of the language, it would be useful to set them in the wider cultural/linguistic context.

Cultural Swamping

I have used the term 'cultural swamping' to deal with a tendency to elide Irish and Gaelic culture. It is perhaps best exemplified as far as music is concerned from the record of the encounter in the Piping Centre in Glasgow where a French TV company is filming a piper. He is asked to explain his interest in bagpipes. He says "It was a bit daft really, the way I got into pipes. My father took me to see the film *Braveheart* when I was seven years old. I heard this amazing music and then saw on the screen a man playing the bagpipes. I said to myself "That's the music for me."" The next thing my father did was to get me a chanter and I got started with the learning. The only problem was that it was not the music that I had heard on *Braveheart.* That turned out to be Irish and what I should have been playing were the uillean pipes. However fourteen years on I know that I might have started learning the wrong instrument but I've certainly learned the right music" (1st Journal). This suggests that there may be elision of Gaelic and Irish music into a 'Celtic' product; and given that the film itself was filmed mainly in Ireland extends the blurring of culture and locality. This confusion with music is also illustrated by the comments of participants in the *Andante: Archaeology in Scotland* Programme one of whom says to me "I don't make any distinction between Irish and Scots". When I quiz him he explains that he has accessed Gaelic through the music of Julie Fowlis. "I thought Scots and Gaelic were the same thing." adds a Northern Englishwoman in her 50s (3rd Journal). For other visitors, the journey to Scotland from Ireland may have an effect. "I am talking to a couple from Appalachia who had spent four days in the southwest of Ireland, an additional visit that had

been 'bundled' with the *Crown Princess* cruise because they loved Celtic music. However, they had only the vaguest sense of the difference between the cultures of Scotland and Ireland" (12thJournal). Or when, "[m]y group is a party of former alumnae of American universities. Members of the party had visited Ireland and are therefore conversant with Irish culture and have an awareness of the Irish language. However, they have no understanding of the connections between Ireland and Scotland. Once aware of the link they were interested in understanding the relationship between the two languages. Others, however, were totally unaware of the existence of a different language in Scotland and were genuinely interested and captivated by the revelation" (8th Journal).

This elision is also compounded by the increasingly prevalent use of 'Celtic' to describe Scottish Gaelic culture. 'Celtic' now acts as a marker, quite apart from music, for varieties of religion, healing, superstition and even magic. The comment by Anne, a BB guide, in discussing clients' needs on the coach, is that "It's always good to bung in a CD of Celtic music". However, the language used in the songs may not necessarily be Gaelic and if it were, would be incapable of translation by all but a tiny minority of guides. Thus the act of accessing 'Celtic' culture pushes the Gael further into the background and exacerbates his invisibility and muteness.

Language

"Despite being advised against doing so by my BB mentor during training, I start in Gaelic and speak for several sentences before turning to English to provide the visitor with an introductory and health and safety instructions. The audience's impression is initial puzzlement and then amused interest. It's clear from the reaction that they had no expectation whatsoever of hearing any language other than English" (2nd Journal). The following record is also illustrative. "I commenced my presentation by speaking in Gaelic.

The initial reaction to the sound of the language is an immediate silence as everybody strains to hear acutely in order to seek to grasp what I'm saying. Once explained that it is Gaelic I am speaking there is a ripple of appreciative "Ohs' through the coach" (4th Journal). Once heard there is a desire to know more. A not untypical comment is 'Where did the language come from' (70th Journal)? It is also clear that there is genuine surprise at hearing a language that sounds utterly unlike English; the evidence is that visitors enjoyed the exercise of learning to say a Gaelic greeting" (35th Journal). This appreciation has been noted by other BB guides whom I have trained to use the terms.

One couple of elderly Midwest Americans who said that they liked the sound of the "old Celtic language in Scotland" and "We enjoy the notion of being counted with Gaelic numbers" (12th Journal) are not untypical even if there is the elision into 'Celtic' in the same comment. Even with an understanding of the difference between Scotland and England there is linguistic confusion between Scots, Gaelic, and Irish. There is confusion as to nomenclature: "Is Scots 'Gaelic' and if not, what is it?" (3rd Journal) "Is Gaelic the same as Irish?" (69th Journal) Ignorance may serve to enhance the experience. This was the case for a couple from Ohio who admitted that "They had a sketchy understanding of Scotland and our expectations were based on a landscape of green mountains and lush vegetation, but we had no expectation that there would be a language called Gaelic" (6th Journal).

Nancy, a Canadian knows by her surname that she is of Scottish extraction but has little evidence of where she belongs and while certain that her experience so far has been what she had expected, "had not had any real inkling that they would hear Gaelic, far less be asked to speak any of it!"(33rd Journal) For Gary Cohen, from Pittsburgh, this is all the more remarkable, "I thought the Gaelic language had died out" (20th Journal). For others it is most alive to them. "Passing by the National Gallery at the Mound in Edinburgh, I met a

MacDonald from Nova Scotia. He thanks me for speaking to him in Gaelic which 'is the first time anybody has spoken to me in the language since my parents in New Scotland'" (13th Journal).

However, if the language is mentioned at all by other guides, it is usually present in a past time. Once we enter the distillery [Tomatin] we are informed by a local woman guide that the word whisky "comes from the Gaelic language which is not spoken here now" 60th Journal). For others its presence is even more remarkable as in the case of Christine, who is a volunteer guide at the Burns Museum. Speaking of the publishing phenomenon that Burns eventually became with his works being translated into some 26 languages, we are told that "these languages include Esperanto and even Gaelic" (32nd Journal). Even when the guide is required to have some knowledge it can become slightly embarrassing. "At The Highland Folk Museum in Newtonmore we are greeted by a 'living history' guide in what we are to understand is eighteenth century dress. She uses the standard greeting of "*Ciamar a tha thu* ?" and when I reply in Gaelic, she exclaims in embarrassment "I'm new here and I have been caught out as "How are you?" are only words I have" (71st Journal). The language's presence is sometimes postponed. "The thirty or so guides are fore-gathered in Bob's *Southern Coaches* briefing bus while Jan, the group leader, gives us our assignments for the day with the *Caribbean Princess* guests touring out from Greenock. Marion says '"Oh, mine involves a stop at Kilchurn Castle" but pronounces the second syllable of the name of, 'churn' as in milk churn. I provide her with the correct pronunciation. Jan overhears the exchange and asks "What was that? Oh, you are talking about Kilchurn's pronunciation… it's not a Gaelic day." Later that day, in Inveraray Castle, the Duke has started autographing the guide book for a queue of awe-struck American women. I already have the Duke's autograph in my own copy. He signs his name in a bold, 'Argyll'. As I get to the head of the queue, I say to him, "Perhaps I could

ask Your Grace to sign the guide book with your Gaelic patronymic, *Mac Cailean Mòr*?”

“Oh, I am sorry”, he replies “I haven’t learnt to do that signature yet” (92nd Journal).

By all accounts it is a difficult language. This is a significant trope; Gaelic is difficult. A Glasgow woman who has been in Japan for 20 years and is fluent in Japanese, proclaimed that Gaelic was difficult to learn and on questioning an American visitor I was told that she had been informed at University in Michigan in 1967 that “Gaelic is the most difficult language in the world” (9th Journal). Tom, from New York, is not quite so despairing. “I have been told that Gaelic is even more difficult than Russian” (116th Journal). This view is persistently recurrent; Mrs Kanner, an *Orient Express* client on a Loch Lomond tour, says somewhat tentatively “I hear Gaelic is a difficult language.” I ask her what she means and am told that the spellings are complicated. I explain that there are writing rules which, once understood, are perfectly logical. “Ah”, she says “our tour guide on Skye did not explain that” (114th Journal).

“At Stirling Castle I asked if there was an audio guide in Gaelic since there was no sign to indicate that such a facility existed. The HS staff member is more than pleased to provide me with one and asks that I give her feedback on how I found the guide. I duly listen to the guide which was a direct Gaelic translation of the English material with no effort to provide any local Gaelic culture. I did however confirm my enjoyment of the commentary to the staff member who provided me with the equipment and was informed by her that the project had been very challenging because it was ‘very difficult to translate English into Gaelic accurately’ and “that they had been very concerned that it was the correct Gaelic”’ (9th Journal). Or, if difficult, it is simply elided over. “The Eilean Donan guide makes reference to a motto extolling the Castle owners’ hospitable qualities which can be seen carved above the entry into the keep. The inscription is in Gaelic and reads *Cho fad’s a bhios Macrath a stigh, cha bhi Frisealach a muigh*, meaning ‘As long as there is a

Macrae inside, there will never be a Fraser outside', referring to a bond of kinship between the two clans . The English is quoted by the guide who tells us that "the inscription is in the older tongue" (34th Journal).

"The *Crown Princess* is again in Greenock and on this occasion I get a lift from Marion, who qualified in 1993. Once she learns that I have Gaelic she says to me "I want to go to classes, not to learn the language fully but just to have a few words of Gaelic. But sadly I don't have the head for languages" (5th Journal). To guides with linguistic skills it still presents apparent complexities. "Flavia who is a native Italian tells me in impeccable colloquial English that "I have only two words of Gaelic but I wouldn't want to repeat them." I ask her if it wouldn't be *pog mo thòin* by any chance? Flavia assents and I respond by telling her that simply means 'kiss my backside'. "Oh", says Flavia, "I thought it meant much worse than that" (43rd Journal). Generally the language is viewed with some amusement. I am on Oban Pier awaiting a party of mainly American couples coming off the Swan Hellenic's *Minerva*. While I am speaking to the *Loch Shiel Coaches* driver who is a native Gaelic speaker, Chris, one of the non-BB local guides comes across and says with a wry smile "Oh, you are speaking that strange language" (78[th]Journal). His attitude could be considered a little more positive than another fellow guide in her 60's who tells me at the Intercruises end of season party that "Gaelic is so difficult and the spelling doesn't make any sense" (53rd Journal). However, the effort can lead to feelings of resentment. Alan and I are having a chat in the cafe in Greenock while we await the coaches to take the *Caribbean Princess* guests from Greenock to the Tattoo in Edinburgh. Alan asks me the meaning of a word and as I am explaining it to him, Alison another BB guide overhears us and states savagely, '"I hate Gaelic, hate it! It's impossible to learn" (97th Journal).

Perhaps the muteness of the language is not helped by literature such as *Thomas Cook Travellers*, *Scottish Highlands 2009* in which Gauldie states that:

> Much of the original Gaelic culture was lost so many songs are preserved by emigrants such as the Nova Scotia born singer Mary MacDonald (1848 -1948). Highland music and songs survived but sometimes in a sadly debased form peddled by kilted crooners such as Harry Lauder and Andy Stewart" (20).

This erroneous description of death and resurrection further marginalises the language and perhaps contributes to the notion that Gaelic has died out as an every-day language.

Apart from guidebooks, many visitors can readily make associative connections with landscape names. The comment by an American couple on a day's coach tour off the *Grand Princess*, berthed at Greenock, "We have a Ben Lomond in the US" is not untypical (67th Journal). For most visitors looking through a coach window, however, their first and only exposure to Gaelic is on the increasing number of road signs in Gaelic and English. A Northern French couple at Inveraray village expressed the view that "the Gaelic road signs provide another interesting aspect to this lovely country" (25th Journal). However, the opportunities of their getting a sense of the reason why *An Gearasdan* is now 'Fort William' might be moderate but the prospect of rendering *Ceann Loch Cille Chiarain* as 'Campbeltown' could be more remote when an Anglophone guide is 'translating' the landscape.

Knowledge from other media

The fact that many visitors do have a degree of knowledge of film does have an impact as in the case of "the group who had been visiting Inverness and the battlefield of Culloden. They have picked up narrative from *Braveheart* and asked me 'Was William Wallace in Edinburgh Castle?" (57th Journal) Yet the persistent questions asked of a guide are "How much of *Braveheart* was true and who was the character in Liam Neason's film *Rob Roy?*" (73rd Journal) There are additional confused associations. I am driving Alex Kong, from

Kuala Lumpur, along Loch Lomond side. Although he has spent four years in Bristol, he is a bit hazy on geography. He asks me "Where in Scotland was *Lord of the Rings* filmed?" (93rd Journal) This confusion with New Zealand also encompasses the Gaelic language: Dwayne amuses me by asking "Is Gaelic the language they use in the *Lord of the Rings* films we saw back home in Vancouver" (70th Journal).

Narrative Knowledge

There are serious levels of mis-understanding or ignorance among driver and guides. At about Dumbarton the West Coast Motor's service bus driver begins to give an informal guide to the history and scenery of Argyllshire. He informs my fellow travellers that "the name for Loch Awe comes from the Scots word for 'bonnie'" and that "the Castle of Kilchurn was built by the Breadalbanes - name for a Campbell - don't know if it is Gaelic, but it means Campbell." By the time we get to Connell we discover that "*The Stone of Destiny* was kept in Dunstaffnage until 1951 when it was taken to Westminster so that Elizabeth could be crowned Queen of Scots as well as England." This version of Scottish history and Gaelic culture is met with largely appreciative mutters (18th Journal).

At locations obvious opportunities to tell a Gaelic narrative are missed. Ashleigh a guide at Glenlivet does not mention Gaelic, not even when she explains about whisky being 'water of life' (71st Journal). At Eilean Donan, the *Highlander* castle, according to our room guide, the castle's history commences, paradoxically, with its destruction in 1719 during that abortive Jacobite rising and concludes with its restoration by MacRae-Gillstrap. No mention is made of the local tradition that the master builder he employed, a local man called MacRae, was provided with the template for the restoration through a dream. Nor sadly is there any reference to the fact that a recent donation to the collection has been the sword which was once owned by the great MacRae poet who wrote *Tha mi sgith san*

fhògairt seo. It sits forlornly in a rarely visited side room and there is no reference whatsoever to his virtues as a local poet (33rd Journal).

Even when there is an effort undertaken to deliver a narrative which takes a more Gaelic-centred approach, the effort can be vitiated by error. This is the case with Gylen Castle, Kerrera, vivid example of a romantic ruin perched above a remote location. Here the interpretation boards erroneously describe the massacre of the garrison in 1647, a conflation of this location with actual events at Dunavery Castle on the Mull of Kintyre (17th Journal).

The NTS at Culloden Visitor Centre provides a living history presentation. The actor has been working at Culloden for many years. Today he assumes no character as such but simply describes his accoutrements and his Brown Bess musket and then he contrasts his armaments with that of a barefooted Highland peasant from, as he says anachronistically 'the croft'. The presentation of Highland weaponry is not really anything more than that which we are already experienced at Eilean Donan castle. Given the substantial amount of Gaelic material now available, made possible by a *Bòrd na Gàidhlig* grant of almost £400,000, more might have been possible in shifting off themes based on the essentialist trope of Highland warrior (35th Journal entry). This feeling of an underlying essentialism is exacerbated in a subsequent visit: the guide at Culloden is now dressed as one of Lord John Drummond's men and is thus in blue French uniform. This performer tells us that "Our troop had to tackle the siege of Stirling Castle alone because the Highlanders did not want to get their hands dirty." I think to myself how this supposedly contemporary account contrasts with the diary entry of the Maclean tacksman who died at Culloden leaving a vivid record of his men struggling to man-handle field cannon over swollen rivers in January 1746 (71st Journal).

However, the perceived unrelenting bloodiness of Scottish history is a challenge for some guides. Eddie Leaner is a guide who has visited Scotland for many years with *Trafalgar Tours*. Such is his experience that he was invited to give some of the STGA's guides a week's course of training on Tour Managing throughout the British Isles and Ireland. In discussing Fort William's attractions, he says "And now I will let you into a little secret, I will tell you where the *Harry Potter* train is parked." All the trainee BB guides know that a major draw for visitors to Scotland is a trip on the steam train journey from Fort William to Mallaig which Harry takes to Hogwarts School across the Glenfinnan viaduct. The tutor continues, "Look out for the sign saying 'Old Inverlochy Castle', it's just another ruined castle, and you'll find the train in a siding there." I challenge him on the 'just another ruined castle' remark and explain that the siding is on the Inverlochy battle site. I elaborate about the creation of new narratives and the myth of *The Five Sisters of Kintail*. His response to me is "It's the only nice story to tell, all the other stories are about bloody battles and massacres" (62nd Journal).

Is there perhaps a danger in over-emphasising the gore of an event such as the 1645 battle at Inverlochy? "We are on day two of Nic Davis' graduation present of a trip to Scotland to travel on the *Harry Potter* train. We are early for the scheduled departure, so head for Inverlochy Castle for twenty minutes scrambling over the ruins. I tell the tale of the Royalist victory where over 1,500 men died on the field. I recount the tradition of Alasdair Mac Colla personally beheading the Campbell leader Auchinbreck but offering him the choice of that fate or hanging, occasioning the doomed mans' reply *Dà dhiu gun aon roghainn* - two evils and no choice. It is perhaps too much information as Nic's father responds almost involuntarily "What a bloody, sorry, I mean blood-soaked, history!" (85th Journal)

There are instances when the history they hear leads to challenging observations for the guide. We are bowling through Speyside along the road to Rothiemurchus and Kathy from Maine, US, is sitting beside me in the front of the people-carrier. Bill and the rest in the back have tired of talking whiskies and have fallen silent. After a short silence, Kathy, who seems generally rather taciturn turns to me and says "Not sure how to phrase this, but do you think the Scots have a gene that makes them more quarrelsome and liable to fight?" This leaves me wondering about the balance of older to modern narrative and the challenges of attempting to present a comprehensive and comprehensible history of the country (72nd Journal).

On the other hand, it is important for the guest's enjoyment to guard against the danger of turning the tour into a mobile lecture as Desmond Gupta, the *Star Travel* representative reminded me. I ask him what interests Indians in visiting Scotland and he tells me that "they are not interested in history - they have plenty of their own. However they like hearing about battles, so give them plenty of that. And, of course, they like to know about the kilt and the tartan" (60th Journal).

Finally there is the perception of relations between Highland and Lowland which have not surfaced to any major degree. Might this be because as a Gael I am unlikely to have any comment made to me directly? Tantalisingly there is the comment by a couple from Southern California. The woman says rather tentatively that she understands that "Highlanders have a low opinion of the Lowlands" and I have to explain to her considerable surprise that it is actually the other way around (4th Journal). This view also emerges at the *Aye Write* Festival on 12th March, 2011. The occasion is a talk by Allan Burnett, author of newly published *Blind Ossian's Fingal*. He explains that part of the difficulty for MacPherson was that "Gaelic was too alien from English" ignoring the close interrelationships between the languages over the centuries and reinforces the 'too difficult

language' trope we saw earlier. In warming to his thesis he raises the notion of the inverted snobbery of the Highlanders and their conception of the dualism of Highland as 'good' and English as 'bad'. Furthermore it is perhaps the case that the oppositional and mildly anti-English discourse which pervades so much of the presentation of Scotland to tourists may well be of some relevance since it leaves no space for more nuanced notions of 'difference'.

However, the Manichean overtones of the Highland/Lowland divide can perhaps be overstated. Nancy & David, from Bethesda, USA, are clients of *Context'*s Edinburgh tour. Despite the focus on Classical architecture, the Highland Clearances come up. Nancy is quite clear about them and reminds David that their American guide on their earlier trip to Scotland has explained that the events were a "deliberate pogrom carried out in the Highlands so that the people would no longer be a threat" (96th Journal).

These exchanges remind me that my task as a Gaelic guide is not to set up an oppositional narrative for our guest but rather ensure that the stories that are told in the landscape, particularly north of the Forth and Clyde rivers, reflect the historic presence of Gaelic-speaking communities. Therefore, when I am asked to explain my guiding unique selling point, I stress the need for a perspective that takes account of a Gaelic voice. This is a voice which is likely to speak with a different tone and with emphasis on different facts. The challenge is to achieve a degree of polyvocality. To date, the opportunities for this directed polyvocalic approach have been limited. From the limited data arising from work with a Glasgow Gaelic company *An Lòchran* developing Gaelic guiding in that city, the narrative focus immediately shifts to poets, singers and musicians. During the pilot run of a Gaelic-language tour around Glasgow in 2011, I noted that ; What is particularly striking is the degree of emphasis upon cultural aspects of the city, particularly music and song that would not normally be addressed by a comparable tour in English (46th Journal).

Horror vacui

However, there are challenges for guides who move off-piste. Being 'off the beaten track' can cause difficulties for a sustained narrative. On the road from the Dingwall junction to Strome Ferry, I have a limited narrative for this huge 'emptied' area and the feeling persists until we reach Strome Castle where I can begin to introduce the Lordship of the Isles and the great castles that were part of that hegemony. I reflect that it is this sort of *horror vacui* which leads guides and others to develop fanciful narratives on the shapes of mountains resembling sleeping warriors or similar leaps of imagination"(34th Journal). It may perhaps be that guides become comfortable with a fixed route and routine. "When the road between Oban and Connel had been blocked by a traffic accident the tour goes via Lochgilphead and Kilmartin, a BB guide of many year's experience goes into a mild panic since he confesses to knowing nothing about the area from Inverary to Oban along the west coast route (49th Journal). While we traversed this landscape (North Connell to Ballachulish), rich in Gaelic narrative associated with Fingalian legend and reputedly the location of the first shots fired in the '45, I am reminded of comment made by a BB guide who graduated some eight years ago and said of this road "That road through Appin gives me the pips: after you have dealt with James of the Glen there is nothing left to say" (50th Journal)

Even when on the 'beaten track' from Edinburgh/ Glasgow to Inverness and back again, guides struggle to sustain a narrative. As part of preparations for a day seminar on Gaelic Scotland for the STGA BB candidates, held at the University of Edinburgh on the 2[nd]June 2013, the twenty one participants were asked to complete a short anonymous questionnaire containing twenty questions. The questionnaire is included at Appendix 4B. The students, now commencing their second year of study, returned twenty completed papers – one was

incapable of answering any of the questions. One candidate answered only 15% of the questions correctly and the highest score of correct answers was 55%. Eight of the candidates achieved a correct score of 40%. The areas where most knowledge was evident were related to the Lordship of the Isles, the Highland Clearances and the National Mod. In response to the question "Gaelic was once spoken throughout what is now known as Scotland. True or false", one responded that it was "false; not spoken of south of the Highland line." All sixteen of the candidates gave broadly the same answer. Seventeen candidates rendered the answer to the meaning of Glasgow as 'dear green place' demonstrating the ubiquity of the modern addition of 'dear'. Additional comments included; "Surprised I have little knowledge of our national language!" Another added that Gaelic was "the ancient language of Scotland, provides us with an insight into a past language and culture." However, one candidate wrote "Since Gaelic was not originally a written language, there is not a culture of literature. The language survives mainly in songs and place names." One trainee guide believes that "Gaelic has no verb 'to be', while another understood the word 'Mod' to mean the 'Ministry of Defence'.

Based on this admittedly small snap-shot of candidates' knowledge and bearing in mind that apart from two days of lectures delivered to the 2010 cohort of students, hitherto no Gaelic training has been included in the BB course, it is possibly the case that for Highland Scotland, most BB guides have 'nothing left to say' beyond the kilt, Culloden and the Clearances.

However, that charge should not be directed against the STGA alone. "Two students from New York State who had spent some time in Scotland and have taken the opportunity of joining a *Timberbush* mini bus journey to Inverness expressed disappointment and felt they learned very little about the culture and history of Scotland. They stated that half of the

descriptions and explanations were based on whisky and there was no reference

whatsoever to the Gaelic language (29th Journal).

The next chapter will consider the treatment of Gaelic and Highland Scotland at the hands

of driver/ guides who have yet to benefit from the training provided by the STGA.

CHAPTER EIGHT: THE MYSTERY SHOPPER REPORT

Introduction

The spur for this examination of a small segment of the day tour industry, described in Chapter 3, was an observation, just described, by two students in the 29th Journal. I felt that there would be value in supplementing the autoethnographic observations by placing myself in the position of a visitor travelling through the Highland landscape between Glasgow/Edinburgh and Loch Ness-side. This chapter, therefore, records findings drawn from six trips taken on minibuses operated by four of the more prominent operators offering day-long tours to Loch Ness. Two of the trips were taken from Glasgow to Loch Ness and the same two companies were used for trips to the same destination from Edinburgh. The fifth and sixth trips were taken from Edinburgh using the services of two other companies. The six journeys totalled over 3,300 kilometres. The resulting records collected during 45 hours of driving time include observations and verbatim statements made by driver/guides. The actual speech output from which the quotations are drawn is estimated at approximately ten hours given a general music to speech ratio of 75:25 on these trips.

The record also follows the broad categorisation of cultural objectification, 'invented' traditions, landscape re-inscription and cultural swamping deployed in the auto-ethnographic observations described in the preceding chapter. The chapter commences with general observations on how the surveyed companies operated their services to Loch Ness before moving on to describe the manner in which Highland Scotland is re/presented to this segment of the nation's mass tourism industry. For clarification, all themes covered by the driver/guides are dealt with in the discussion: there is no additional narrative on Gaelic beyond the instances cited.

To begin with, in their general promotion to prospective travellers, the companies all use websites. In making an online booking for a journey from Glasgow to Loch Ness with Company A the tourist is assured, by the company, of a journey that will take him to the 'Bonnie, Bonnie Banks' of Loch Lomond, through 'Rob Roy MacGregor country' into 'desolate Rannoch Moor' and 'haunting Glen Coe, otherwise known as the Glen of Weeping'. All six tours offer 'an optional visit to Urquhart Castle' and the chance to 'enjoy a cruise on the loch'. The guest will enjoy the services of an experienced tour host'. Company B's tour is '[o]ne of our most popular one day tours from Glasgow, through the 'unique, dramatic landscape of Rannoch' to 'majestic Glencoe, one of Scotland's most haunting glens', In order to emphasise the additional attractions a photo of a Highland cow has been added to the website. Here we learn that that 'Loch Ness is most famous for its sightings of the Loch Ness Monster, affectionately known as 'Nessie'. The visitor returns south to Edinburgh via *Monarch of the Glen* country. This particular company emphasises that 'the services of a professional driver/guide really does make a big difference to your trip'.

Company B's tour is also "one of the most popular one day tours from Edinburgh." The traveller visits "the Rob Roy Country of Clans MacGregor and Campbell". He will "pause in Glencoe, to soak up the atmosphere in this haunting glen". Afterwards he may spend approximately 2 hours at Loch Ness, where he can "choose to take a wonderful 5 star Jacobite loch cruise and explore the ruins of Urquhart Castle". The traveller is encouraged to take this tour by a testimonial from Kaiyung, Singapore. It reads "This is a must-go tour...the entire journey was filled with fun and laughter...and it enlightens the knowledge of Scottish highlands for all visitors".

Company C's tour from Edinburgh "is the perfect way to see Scotland and search for the famous Loch Ness monster". This tour passes by "Doune Castle - a photo opportunity for *Monty Python & the Holy Grail* fans". The journey continues to "famous Glen Coe where 'the notorious massacre of the MacDonald Clan was carried out amidst this beautiful and dramatic scenery". The visitor may also "recognise this part of the Highlands, used in the movie *Skyfall* and *Harry Potter* and *The Prisoner of Azkaban*". Ultimately he "arrives in Fort Augustus on the banks of legendary Loch Ness" where at "the world's most mysterious stretch of water, you will have time to monster hunt by boat or from the shores of the loch itself". The return leg of the tour to Edinburgh takes the visitor "through Glen Spean and alongside Loch Laggan where the BBC television series *Monarch of the Glen* was filmed".

From Edinburgh, Company D takes the traveller to "infamous Loch Ness where you can go monster spotting!" The journey is through "eerie Glencoe, the 'Weeping Glen". As with the other trips, there is an early evening stop in Pitlochry which is described as a "quaint Highland village".

Why Loch Ness?

The tour to Loch Ness-side has been specifically chosen since it represents what might be described as the 'milk round', which is that circuit from either Glasgow or Edinburgh encompassing a visit to Loch Ness and Inverness, returning down the central spine of Scotland on the A9 and is offered by practically every coach company catering for the mass tourism trade in Scotland. It was only possible to select six tours with four companies, but had time and resources been available, this journey, could have been taken many times over. That being the case, the visitor joins a procession of minibuses and midi coaches heading northwards. While the major companies use differing departure points in

Edinburgh, the preferred pickup and drop off location in Glasgow for most of the minibus tour operators is George Square and almost all use the same locations *en route*. Thus at the standard 'tea and pee' halt - a maximum 30 minute comfort and refreshment stop for example at Kilmahog, there are six coaches in the car park, three belonging to *Haggis*, and one each for *Scotline*, *Allens* and *Timberbush*. This inevitably places pressure on the catering facilities and the visitor is perforce required to join a long queue and constantly check his wristwatch.

Having chosen his tour, the traveller travels in a range of vehicles from a 16- seater Mercedes Sprinter, to a large Mercedes with 44 seats. His companions are multi-national. On journey 1, the largest contingent was the group of seven Indians, two couples with their three children, a couple from Hawaii, an American girl from St Louis, two Australians. The oldest tourist is perhaps no more than 50 years of age. Journey 2 is made with a full complement of twenty-eight people, but since there has been no time for introductions, the nationality of the guests is uncertain. To judge by the languages being spoken there would appear to be perhaps a dozen Germans on board along with a group of five Canadians and an Icelandic couple. On journey 3 there are three coaches leaving for Loch Ness from Edinburgh. The group comprises two Americans couples, a Chinese-American, two Indian men, two girls from Boston, two Swedes, two young Lebanese men and a Frenchman. A similar range of nationalities is evident on Journey 4 with Indians, Italians, Germans, Brazilians, Americans, Norwegians and Chinese present. Journey 4's driver guide was the first and only one, to be dressed in the kilt. Americans, Chinese, Swedes, Germans, Australians, Mexicans and Canadians are on Journey 5. On journey 6 the company fills a 44 -seater coach to capacity. This is by far the largest group I travelled with and given the size of the group there is no attempt at introductions but a visual survey of the coach shows that there are about a dozen people over 50 years of age and the bulk are mainly in their early 20s and fully a third are Oriental.

Expectations

Given that the focus of this research was to examine the re/presentation of Gaelic and Highland Scotland under the 'tourist gaze', no systematic canvassing of the views of visitors travelling on these long journeys was undertaken. This brief paragraph records a number of observations and comments drawn from the fuller record.

I have a faint suspicion that many are not entirely aware of the distance to be covered and the extent to which it is a marathon day. The joining instructions for all tours ask that we are present by 7:45 am. On journey 1, the minibus has two seats to spare as one couple failed to read the 8 a.m. departure time correctly, assuming it would commence at 9.am. Before I established a routine, I, along with the majority of the visitors, spend some time asleep. I fell asleep at Onich and did not wake up until after Letterfinlay, perhaps some 10 miles of lost landscape narrative, including, unfortunately, Fort William. However since the tour treated practically the whole of the land between Inverness and Blair Atholl as a wilderness lacking in narrative, as Amanda says when we leave Inverness, "there is not much to see on the road South" everyone gets a rest. There was almost no commentary from this point and we arrive in Glasgow at 19:45. Indeed, the guides pride themselves on their endurance feat. "We return to George Square in Glasgow twelve hours later. Amanda advises us that, "having covered 350 km., this is the longest day trip in the United Kingdom".

The guiding

In order to maintain a thread through the observations on guides, each name has been changed to conform to the alphabet so that for Journey I, the guide is <u>A</u>manda, for number 2 it is <u>B</u>ob and so forth.

What immediately strikes a BB guide is that there is no apparent dress code although in some cases the company's logo is on a pullover or fleece. Only on Journey 4, is the guide wearing a kilt, although on Journey 2, a full account of which is available in Appendix. 2, Bob, our driver/guide, explains that "he would normally wear the kilt but the forecast was for rain and therefore has no intention of sitting in a wet kilt".

Journey 1's guide, Amanda, is in her early 40s with a pleasant speaking voice with an accent pattern close to received English. Our driver guide on Journey 2 is a lowland Scot in his mid-40s. Chris, the driver guide for Journey 3, is in his late 20s, and has an accent which is from somewhere in the north-east of Scotland. He says "Oh, Alistair Maclean, and you're from Scotland. You'll probably know your history much better than I do." On Journey 4, there are no English or Scots present and I wonder how our middle-aged guide's narrative, which is delivered in a strong a Scottish accent and at some speed is going to be understood. Generally these tours attract very few Scots or English and Dave claimed never to have had a Welshman aboard. Unfortunately he has an irritating and crude way of attracting his passengers' attention by whistling shrilly into the microphone. It gets progressively more wearing as the day progresses. Eric, guide for Journey 5 is much younger, in his late 20s, and from the North East of Scotland. On Journey 6 our guide, Fred, is a young man in his mid-20s from the Borders with an easily comprehensible accent.

Ground rules

As with any commercial coach travel, the driver/guide is required to take his passengers through a Health and Safety drill that reminds foreign visitors that the wearing of seatbelts are mandatory in the UK. This routine is delivered expertly and smoothly by Amanda. Bob on Journey 2, launches into a lecture on the need for punctuality and time keeping and so focused is he on the grave consequences of turning up late - "you'll be making your own way back to Glasgow because I will not be waiting for you" - that he forgets to mention the legal requirement for the use of seat belts. Bob's fierce focus on time keeping infects his clients with a dread of being late and he thus has us back in Glasgow on schedule at 19.30. On Journey 4, Dave dwells excessively on the tacograph in order to stress the need for good time keeping.

Other attractions

Because of the need for adherence to a strict schedule, the driver/guides do not deviate from the route prescribed. Bob, however, despite his attention to the clock, is unusual in providing additional stops. "It is now 10.15 and we are approaching Kingshouse. Bob slows down the coach and peers towards the hotel and explains, "Ah, they are there" and informs us that this will be one of his "surprise stops". The 'they' in question are a small herd of deer. They are now sufficiently tame to approach the hotel car park to be fed on a mixture of stale bread, broccoli and carrot. Again Bob has a very heavy emphasis on the fact that the deer are wild animals and therefore dangerous. Bob has "christened" the dominant stag 'Buddy'. Further north we press for the boat sailing at 2 p.m. but we have to fit in a Highland cattle visit beforehand. This breed, according to Bob, "has been around since the sixth century", clearly know him and respond to his calls to receive carrots and thus provide photo opportunities for those who wish them.

Top Visual Priorities (TVPs)

As a trained BB Guide I am conscious that no attempt is made to explain what the visitors are seeing - the Top Visual Priorities (TVPs- see Appendix 8) - out of the windows. On departing from George Square along St Vincent Place Amanda immediately begins promoting the city bus tour - the Red Bus - without a mention of any of the impressive Victorian company headquarters buildings. Despite the fact she has mentioned the MacFarlanes there is no attempt to point out the remains of their castle on the island beside the information centre at Inveruglas. By noon Amanda has us at Laggan Lochs where there is no mention of *Blàr na Lèine* or the conspicuous monument at the Well of the Heads.

Bob does somewhat better: by the time we reach the top of St Vincent Street he has mentioned the tobacco barons, Charles Rennie MacIntosh and the one piece of information of any direct relevance in this locality - Alexander 'Greek' Thomson and his magnificent Milton Free Church. However, as he goes past the Scottish Youth Hostel Association hostel at Auchendrennan he explains incorrectly that this was once the seat of the Colquhouns and having thus mentioned them does not explain, two miles further on, the conspicous TVP of the magnificent entrance gates to the actual seat of the family at Ross Dhu. During my own training it was stressed that there is no point in talking about something that cannot be seen. Bob does not follow this rule. Now by the side of Loch Lomond a heavy mist hangs over the scenery down to around 500 feet. "It's a pity you can't see the scenery - it's magnificent" says Bob. Ultimately he is so concerned about the fact that we cannot see Ben Lomond that he cracks a joke about it "being a mist-ry tour". Again, although it is possible to dimly glimpse the ruins of the Macfarlane castle at Inveruglas, no mention is made of it. The promotional material for Company B makes mention of Rob Roy and therefore Bob touches briefly on him but then makes the statement that the Rob Roy associations are primarily with the Trossachs. Bob has not learnt the technique of preparing the visitor for a spectacular sight. We are less than a mile from the *Three Sisters of Glen Coe* viewpoint and yet there is no mention of the Massacre

and the music has now switched to *Amazing Grace* sung by an American soul singer. Passing the site of *Blàr na Lèine* and the Well of the Heads there is no mention of either location since Bob's focus is upon a surprise visit to Highland cattle, Bob's 15 hour day and his Facebook page. Indeed such is the focus on the timetable that the visitor is denied the TVP; Approaching Inverness we pull off to the left in order to cross the Caledonian Canal at Clachnaharry, effectively avoiding the central crossing of the River Ness and thereby saving some 15 minutes time but at some cost to the passengers' view of the Highland capital other than a distant perspective of the castle. Sometimes key locations are missed; On Journey 4, as Dave drives past a large sign for Culloden battlefield, it is not mentioned. Nor is there any mention of Mary Queen of Scots as we pass Loch Leven. On Journey 5 while Eric mentions an expected TVP he fails to indicate its location; We are now entering Fort William which Eric tells us "was the largest of four government forts. We pass the ruins of the supposedly largest fort but they are not pointed out to the guests." Fred on Journey 6 has the same difficulty; "on entering Fort William tells us that the town is "named after William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland after Culloden." He explains that the fort was destroyed but does not point out the structure as we pass it." Fred along with four other driver/guides fails to mention either *Blair na Lèine* or the Well of the Heads at Laggan Locks.

Accuracy

In this record of the statements made by the driver/guides during May 2013, the re/presentation of the Highlands was distorted and their Gaelic culture rendered practically invisible to the 'tourist gaze'. Throughout all six journeys the accuracy of general information about Scotland was at times questionable. Amanda on Journey 1, for example, explained that "the major difference now between the two areas is the size of the population with most of the population in the Lowlands and only some 250,000 in the

Highlands and as a result "has a better air quality which leads to whiter sheep". The summer population of sheep is claimed by Amanda to be between 11 to 12 million almost tripling the estimated population. The size of the sheep population was "a result of the Clearances which were 19th century evictions for the sake of sheep and this was one of the periods of Scottish history when many people left the country." Further north, the conical shape of Ben Dorain was explained as being the result of an extinct volcano rather than glaciations. We passed through Inverness, advised by Amanda that "most of it was destroyed by the last Jacobite rising".

On Journey 2 Bob tells us as we pull into the viewpoint above Loch Tulla that "we are now at 3,000 feet above sea level more than twice the actual elevation. At Fort Augustus he states that it "it is still possible to see the two towers that are all that remains of the old Fort" pointing out the two mid-19th century towers of the Benedictine monastery, constructed one hundred fifty years later. Bob explains that Fort William was "named for the fact that William of Orange was based there when he was in Scotland." Fort Augustus, according to Bob, "was named after the first German leader of Scotland who came up to 'Kilwhimin' - *Cill Chumain* - and renamed it Fort Augustus". Bob points out the flight of locks leading into Loch Ness and tells us that "Thomas Telford invented the canal lock."

Chris on Journey 3 tells us that "Edinburgh Castle was built from the 800s," which late date would invalidate any connection with *The Gododdin*. Dave tells us on Journey 4 that "of Scotland 6 million people only 10% live in the Highlands". Neither figure is correct and in the case of the Highlands suggests a population density of twice the actuality. He also tells us there "are 1.5 million deer in Scotland of which 350,000 are red deer and there are plans for a cull of half a million." This is exactly the same cull figure as quoted by Bob the other Company B driver. Dave also claims that 'The Boocle' –*Buachaille Eite Mòr* - is "so dangerous a mountain that it kills between 15 and 30 people per year." Approaching

Fort William we are advised by Dave that "the town has mediaeval walls but they were destroyed 260 years ago so they could not be used." By whom these non-existent walls were to be used is not divulged. Dave also transposes the Highland Boundary Fault (HBF) - "the site where three continents collided 420 million years ago" (McKirdy, 2007: 92) on a line running from Arran in the South west to Arbroath in the North east (Gillen, 2003: 73) - to the Great Glen where he explains to us that "the rocks to the west are the same as those in Newfoundland while those to the east are some 20 million years younger and connected to England and France." Eric tells us, as we pass Doune Castle, that "the wife of James II was Norwegian and the castle was given to her as a hunting lodge." This may perhaps be an echo of the fact that the James III's wife was Danish. Unusually according to Eric, "Loch Ness has salt water at the bottom separated from the freshwater above by a geothermal layer." We are also told, erroneously, that "the abbey at Fort Augustus was designed by Peter Paul Pugin (Ruben's?) whose father designed Big Ben and the Houses of Parliament". Nor are his contemporary facts sound; he claims that The Garden of Remembrance at The Commando Memorial, above Spean Bridge contains bodies and "is for local men mostly from the Fort William area." Fred's historical facts are also suspect since he advises us that "the Picts left a few cave paintings," (rather than rock carvings). His mention of 'The Soldier's Leap' at Killiecrankie being 5.5 metres across is a distance which is at variance with Chris's '23 feet wide' statement.

Hard 'Highland Line' Geology

There is a general consistency in the way in which Gaelic Scotland is portrayed as being physically separated from the rest of the country. Amanda, although generally a conscientious purveyor of information has a view of the geological divide that is characteristic of all the guides. On Journey 1 we have a discussion of the Highlands which are described as beginning at the HBF. This leads to the notion that there is a division

based on hard geology which creates the Highlands and the Lowlands with differing history, culture and language. At the Balloch roundabout Amanda announces that "the boring bit of the journey is now over and we are entering the Highlands" and again focuses on the HBF although we are still 3 miles south of it."

On Journey 2 we have reached the Balloch roundabout where yesterday the Highlands began but instead Bob is telling us more jokes. Now by the side of Loch Lomond the geography of Scotland is described as being divided between the Highlands, the Central Belt and the Lowlands, with no mention of the Borders. On the journeys from Edinburgh, approaching the Firth of Forth, Chris points across towards the West and to Loch Katrine and says that "we are heading for the Highlands - a turbulent place". Where the coach departs from Kilmahog and enters the narrow defile at the end of Strathyre he, Dave and Fred each inform us in almost identical language that "we have now reached the Highlands because the land has become much higher".

The Music/voice ratio and relevance to the landscape

All six tours involve 7 ½ hours of driving, often on congested roads, sometimes of indifferent quality, and a tight schedule dictated by the scheduled time of the optional boat trip on Loch Ness. The need for such concentrated driving may be a factor in the extensive use of music. Music is deployed early in the tour; After 10 minutes of speech, Amanda puts on a CD of contemporary Scottish music. This is followed by a contextually appropriate rendition of *The Bonnie, Bonnie Banks of Loch Lomond*, explained as a discussion between two soldiers one of whom is to be executed and the other to be released. Later Amanda plays *Flower of Scotland* and *Scotland the Brave* which latter song is explained as being "about beating almost everyone in battle." The mix is quite varied with one moment Dire Straits' *Brothers in Arms* preceding Capercaillie's version of *The*

Dark Island. In Glencoe Amanda plays us three massacre songs including Alasdair McDonald's *Cruel Was the Snow*. Later in the day the music returns with an eclectic mix of Celtic style music and Cajun style banjo, Cathy Ann MacPhee and Capercaillie.

A suspicion, which was forming on Journey 1, that the companies' policy regarding music played by their guides would appear to be very flexible, is confirmed by Bob who informs us that he will be providing us with his own new compilation of music which he has been preparing over the past two days. We learn that "our music today is to be traditional until lunchtime but after that will be a little more adventurous." "By the Erskine Bridge he commences with the Proclaimers, *500 miles*. By the time we reach the Diageo whisky bonds he explains that the reason why he has played that song is that it features in the film *The Angel's Share*. Beyond the Balloch roundabout the *Mucking of Geordie's Byre* is being played on the uillean pipes, followed by *Merrily kissed the Quaker's Wife*. The sound is remarkably Irish. This changes to the *Bonnie, Bonnie Banks of Loch Lomond* and as we move into the forested areas Bob tells us that Caledonia means simply "forested land, the people having been removed." This is the cue for Dougie MacLean's, *Caledonia*. The Glencoe Massacre does not get its cue music until after we have left the glen and reach Ballachulish Bridge when Alasdair MacDonald starts crooning *Oh Cruel Was the Snow* but as we pass the side road down to the Corran Ferry across to Ardgour the music has become *Mull of Kintyre* which leaves me somewhat mystified until Bob begins the laboured association that it is from the Corran Ferry that you get a ferry to the Island of Mull. None of his visitors seem aware of the confusion of place names and different locations. In the afternoon Bob now announces that the music as promised has changed to Scottish rock and pop artists in Bob's own words "chill-out music from our Celtic waters."

Chris of Company A is somewhat more conservative; as Stirling Castle comes into sight the music shifts to *Scotland the Brave*. There follows a further description of the clans and then *MacPherson's Rant* on the Scottish bagpipes. With Dave on Journey 4, the music is

often very Irish-sounding with uillean pipes and *bòdhran*. He also has, perhaps deliberate, macabre touches: Dave now puts on music to prepare us for our boat trip which turns out to be the theme music for *Titanic* played on the bagpipes. Eric of Company C does not pander to a more 'traditional' style but from the start puts tells us that music will be a mix of Scottish rock. Later in the day I note that the music selection appears to be practically all Paulo Nutini, Eric makes no effort to explain his selection or to tie it into the landscape we are travelling through. At 12.30 he puts on fiddle music by Farquhar MacDonald which he admits is perhaps an acquired taste because, as he says himself, "It is not diddly diddly music. In Scotland you can use that term and people will understand what you mean."

Folkloric history

I have used the term 'folkloric history' in an effort to convey the slightly folksy and mythic nature of much of the narrative. Examples of this would be Amanda's statement on Journey 1 that "The railways brought change in the relationship between the Highlands and the Lowlands in the nineteenth century because before then there was no intercommunication." Or her narrative on Rannoch Moor that "we are seeing heather which was used to thatch houses as the walls of the houses were not strong enough to bear the weight of slate." Later we have 'a classification of water spirits which are graded by altitude with "the bulls being higher up and horses lower down."' Another example would be Bob's commentary which, as we leave Inveruglas explains the presence here of the hydroelectric generating hall since "at this point the road used to flood with water from the hill which problem was cured by channelling it down in pipes and then they decided that they could generate electricity from the power of the water flow." We also learn from Bob about the droving of Highland cattle and the fact that "the inn at Inverarnan was built in 1705 for the drovers." The Inn is apparently haunted and since Bob believes in ghosts this is probably true for him. Chris on Journey 3, for example, explains that "Sir Walter Scott

discovered the Scottish regalia hidden since the 1600s [actually laid aside for posterity in 1707] and his invitation to George IV, who liked dressing up, started the tourist industry."

As we pass through Doune the castle is pointed out by Chris and reference is made to the Doune pistol. A completely spurious connection between the American War of Independence and Doune is that "such pistols were used to fire the first shots of that engagement" [The likely weapon was a British army musket].

Chris explains the clans. He mentions in particular the MacGregors and explains that "Robert the Bruce was the first to ban the name of MacGregor so that they became known as the *Children of the Mist* and specialised in cattle rieving". [Actually after the battle of Glen Fruin in 1603["One of the principal characters was Rob Roy MacGregor who was pardoned by the king but then subsequently died of blood poisoning following a duel with a novice swordsman in which he allowed his arm to be pricked by his opponent's dirty blade." Chris also adds additional 'new' details to the landscape. Leaving *The Three Sisters* viewpoint and passing down Glencoe, the little shepherd's cottage at Achatriochatan on the left-hand side of the road at the Clachaig Inn junction is pointed out as the site of the original village but "all traces have disappeared since the stone has been recycled". Tales are also recycled; "Approaching the Ballachulish Bridge we are asked to note the gravestones in the graveyard are made of slate and it is explained to us "that the custom of the slate company was to provide the retiring employees with a gravestone much in the same way as other companies provided a gold watch." Other guides also claim this as fact.

Chris in Fort William makes a stab at pronouncing *Fàilte do'n Ghearasdan* and explains that "the Gaelic speakers refused to call the town "Fort William"", which statement assumed that they could. At the head of Loch Lochy we have a hugely detailed description of *Blàr na Lèine* and the fact that "because it was such a hot July day in the early 1600s the

combatants stopped the battle halfway through to throw off their plaids and have a dip in the loch". The location of the battle has now shifted to the north end of Loch Lochy. Passing the tree-obscured Linlithgow Palace we are told by Dave that "it was burnt after being used as a barracks by the English following the Battle of Culloden in 1746 where the English massacred the Scots." Passing Stirling Castle he claims that "the Romans built fortifications on Edinburgh and Stirling Castle Rocks." This imaginative approach extends beyond historical features to include the natural habitat; The Rhododendron is now in full bloom particularly the purple *ponticum* and Dave explains that the popularity of this flower is due to the fact "that Queen Victoria travelled to India a lot and liked the Rhododendron. This meant that a lot of people wanted to bring the cuttings back from India." The Stone of Destiny is subject to royal interest according to Chris since it "kept being moved about the country to stop it falling into King Edward's hands. The knowledge of the Stone's whereabouts died with Angus Òg of Islay who was Lord of the Isles although the title did not exist at that time." However, Chris misses a further royal mention in the tale of the *King's Jaunt* of 1822 because "Sir Walter Scott is the main reason that we have tartan all over the Royal Mile. He set up a huge pipe band. Bagpipes were used as a war cry and tartan had been made illegal. Scott turned it into a 'purple heather' story."

Fred, at Doune, refers to *Monty Python* and the fact that "the castle was subsequently gifted to Clan Mackenzie." We have a description of the pistol making industry and that spurious tale of the first shots of the American War of Independence. He also explains that the phrase 'armed to the teeth' actually comes from the name of the river Teith as there was a prohibition on the bearing of arms beyond the boundary of the river and into the village of Doune. When on Journey 6 we pass the burial spot of 'The Wolf of Badenoch' at Dunkeld we are given the undocumented information that "he was father to 700 children." Fred also serves up the fairly standard myth of how the thistle, [a Stewart family cipher which first appeared on coinage in the 1470's] became the emblem of Scotland in 1263.

According to Fred, "The Vikings, prior to the Battle of Largs, had decided to carry out a raid on the camp of the MacDonalds of Skye but as they approached barefoot they trod on thistles which caused them to cry out and this gave their position away." We also learn from Fred that "In 1296 the Knights of St. John were guarding the Stone of Destiny and it was then taken to London and cut into shape to fit into the throne."   His view of the '45 is also a little skewed as we learn that "the clan chiefs placed one son on each side of the Jacobite conflict in order to keep their options open. Bonnie Prince Charlie captured Edinburgh Castle in September 1745 and then went to Linlithgow Palace where the fountain flowed with wine." Neither is true.

At Lix Toll Fred explained this name as the Roman numerals for 59 which is either because we are 59 miles away from Glasgow [which distance is correct] or "the more mythic, magical one" is that it "was part of Caledonia where there was the Roman Ninth Legion that was scouting around the territory and were caught, killed and eaten by the Picts who are quite cannibalistic."   On other occasions the guide simply invents past events to generate amusement. We are passing Blair Drummond Safari Park and Dave explains that "they used to feed English to the lions but they had to stop because of the lions were getting too scrawny: they were spitting out the English because they were too bitter to eat."

Massacre stories

Because one of the promised tour highlights is Massacre of Glencoe, all the guides are required to give an account of the events. This leads to some variation. "We are confidently told by Amanda that "the Highlanders rebelled in1689 because they were Catholic" and that "The Massacre led directly to the loss of Scottish independence in 1707 and also led to the Jacobite Rebellions."

Bob tells us about the Massacre but the tale moves immediately to sectarianism - "religion is a big problem… going to football you take your life...There's bloodshed... I'm a Celtic supporter [and probably Catholic?] myself. It was religion and James the Sixth, his father and Charles, his grandfather, were executed for the way they ran the country. So William and James fought at Killiecrankie and William lost and that made him have a grudge against the Catholic Highlanders who won the battle for James. But in 1690 at the Boyne the Dutchman was jubilant". Bob continues that "William made everyone sign an Oath of Allegiance but MacDonald went to Inverlochy [Fort William)[instead of going to Fort William [Inveraray[. The late signing was an excuse for William to get his revenge for Killicrankie. The Massacre was led by the Duke of Argyll and 38 clansmen and Jacobites were killed." On Journey 3 Chris launches into it an incredibly detailed context for the Massacre of Glencoe. We learn that "William of Orange promoted Protestant expansionism against the Catholics" and that Dalrymple, the Earl of Stair "hated the Highland clans because they were a block on progress". The result of the Massacre was that "the other clans were prepared to sign the Oath of Allegiance." [All the others had signed before the Massacre.] The deed was "particularly abhorrent because it was deemed as 'Murder under Trust' and King William of Orange himself had signed the order."

Dave explains very simply that the Massacre was between the Campbells and MacDonalds and was carried out by the Duke of Argyll because he was ordered by "King William of England." On Journey 4, Eric commences a detailed explanation of the Massacre by saying that "it is all to do with Scottish history - lots of killing." Later Eric is back on to the Massacre story and "the Declaration of Arbroath [he meant The Oath of Allegiance] had to be signed. Although MacIain is late he does something which no Highland chief would ever do, he goes down on his hands and knees and begs to be allowed to sign the Oath." Eric continues "When Robert Campbell of Glen Lyon turns up with his troops MacIain admits them and puts them up in lieu of unpaid taxes." Eric attributes a

particularly murderous streak to Robert Campbell, since he "personally kills MacIain, his wife and his children." Despite the gore however, "this is not a clan dispute although MacIain had stolen the goods and cattle of Glen Lyon some months previously which had left that glen's inhabitants for dead." This led to the first public inquiry over the issue of the violation of Highland hospitality and Killing under Trust, the punishment for which, Eric assures us "was hanging, drawing and quartering." However "because the King's signature was at the bottom of the order nothing was done to punish the perpetrators."

Again on Journey 6 Catholicism is used to introduce the Massacre. Fred explains that "there was a Hanoverian King ruling England following the exile of Catholic James VII to France. The Jacobites were mainly Highlanders. William goes berserk and decides to make an example of the MacDonalds." "The ancient law of Highland hospitality means that you must supply it, even your mortal enemy, with food and lodgings." "MacIain's wife had her throat slit. There is "a saying '*As long as there is one tree standing in the Glen, the MacDonalds will not forgive the Campbells'*. So every year the MacDonalds plant trees in the Glen".

We have now completed the general observations and this chapter now of moves on to describe the manner in which Gaelic and Highland Scotland is re/presented to this segment of the nation's mass tourism industry. The categorisations applied to the earlier autoethnography are used to provide a degree of systematisation to the range of observations and quotations recorded.

Commoditisation

As we noted earlier, the term commoditisation encompasses a range of differing processes which serve to render the inhabitants and cultural landscapes of Highland largely invisible

to the 'tourist gaze'. While, as we will see the trope of the martial Highland warrior is central to the narrative used by the six observed driver guides, that trope is set within a number of essentialisms about Gaelic and Highland society in general.

According to all of the guides, Gaelic and Highland Scotland commences to the north of the 'Highland Line'. 'Eric explains that "there are many Highland lines, for example for whisky, and that there are administrative boundaries but it's just when the land gets high and there were different ways of life. In the Lowlands there were towns and in the Highlands there was the clan system." He explains that it was "not strictly speaking a family system and although it's not fair to use the word, it was tribal. The two areas did not like each other." Eric deals with the essentialist characterisations in a jokey fashion so that "the Highlanders were warlike, hairy, ginger-haired and wore skirts. The Lowlanders by contrast were a bit puny and not much good at fighting." There is no mention of Gaelic.

Almost inadvertently, some of the guides' unguarded comments extend backwards this intractable division between Highland and Lowland Scotland; we have reached Callander on Journey 6 and pass a sign for *The Roman Camp Restaurant* this provides Fred with a visual cue to mention the Antonine Wall (138 AD) and the fact that "the Romans were opposed by the Picts [Caledoni] who were sun worshippers and a pagan and ferocious people." He equates the situation in Roman Britain and the fact of the Romans were unable to take control of Scotland as being reminiscent of the *King of Thrones* series in which the barbarian people exist beyond the wall. "Some would argue" he says "that it is like that today - barbarian people beyond the wall."

Discussion of that society starts almost axiomatically with a consideration of the nature of the clan system. Amanda, having firmly tied that society to the north of the HBF continued by explaining that "the clan is the Scottish word for children" and that "the chief

was the local king." The clans "were always fighting each other with the MacGregors and the MacFarlanes always fighting the Colquhouns. They made money from raising cattle and stealing them from other people as well." Rob Roy is used to act as a cynosure for this society. Fred starts the tale of Rob Roy and we learn that he [died 173] was "a famous cattle thief in the nineteenth century" but that "his cattle raids were more of a game than anything else. He developed the concept of blackmail, the name which means a 'black rent' and the term 'black' comes from the black colour of the cattle. He died from an infected wound because of his duel with a minor. They kept their swords dirty so that the wounds would become infected."

In seeking to identify recognisable comparative characters, the guides compound the problem of essentialism. We are driving up the side of Loch Lubnaig when Dave mentions Rob Roy and compares him to Ned Kelly or Jesse James. Later Dave tells us that "before 1707 our biggest enemy was the English. The second was the clan system. Then the land owners changed the landholding system to leasehold to prevent their heirs selling the land and moving to London and they brought in the sheep and shepherds."

Such essentialism also results in historical events suffering from stereotyping. On the way south past Killiecrankie, Chris describes the Battle of Killiecrankie and *The Soldier's Leap* which he tells us is 23 feet wide. Although he expresses some doubts about it himself he can understand that it is believable because "if I was being chased by 300 ginger-haired hairy Highlanders brandishing claymores, I would make that jump." Such battle techniques are also treated anachronistically. Thus at the junction at Spean Bridge, Chris mentions the Battle of Mullroy which he correctly describes as the last clan battle but then says that "it was the last battle fought with bow and arrow", bringing the use forward by at least half a century. Such primitivist essentialism is reinforced at the Glen Nevis Edinburgh Woollen Mill where the visitors are further illuminated by the contextual murals on the cafeteria

walls. There is little space in the narrative beyond that of the Highland warrior. Bob, however, points to another trope by explaining that the minister who inspired the cutting of the Pulpit Rock on Loch Lomondside "was Reverend Proudfoot but he had problems with part of his congregation who spent the bulk of the service behind the Rock and his back drinking whisky."

'Invention of tradition'

Amanda is the only guide to deal directly with the 'invention' of the kilt in 1822. She tells us that "Prior to 1822 the kilt had no bright colours. Sir Walter Scott invented it in 1822 when he had George IV dressed up in a toga. The kilt therefore is a relatively modern invention." For other guides discussion of the accuracy of the film *Braveheart* provides a surrogate. As we pass Stirling Castle we learn about the Wars of Independence and Bannockburn, largely from the film *Braveheart.* According to Bob the only major inaccuracy in the film was the face painting and the fact that "tartan only came around in the days of the clans." However, since he had not actually told us when those days were, we are left uncertain as to its antiquity. Dave, Bob's Company B colleague, also makes reference to the film *Braveheart* and says that it is wrong because "kilts only came onto the scene some 350 to 400 years ago and the only reason that they are used in the film was to distinguish the Scottish kilt wearers from the English."

In terms of the invention of new landscape traditions associated with mountains we have some fleeting evidence. At *The Three Sisters* viewpoint of the head of Glencoe we are told by Amanda that they are so named "for three MacDonald girls who lost their lives in the hills after the Massacre." What is striking is the extent to which the landscape is presented to the 'tourist gaze' and given 'voice' by reference to motion pictures. Travel through the village of Doune invariably excites reference from all the guides to the film *Monty Python*

and the Holy Grail but Eric is also able to add *Neighbours* and *Game of Thrones*, *Series 1 and 2*. This is also the case at Loch Tulla which gives Bob the cue for a reference to the latest James Bond film *Skyfall*, a section of which was filmed on the road just before Kingshouse some 5 miles farther on. But for Eric the landscape is far richer in cinematic terms. By Loch Tulla Eric explains that this scenery has been used in many films including *Restless Natives, James Bond, Harry Potter, Batman, Stardust, Trainspotting* and *Highlander*.

Despite the need for a Massacre narrative in Glencoe, there is still a chance to make reference to its location for the *Harry Potter* movies. On Journey 2 we are heading towards the turn off to the Clachaig Inn and have been informed that the mountains here were in the latest *Harry Potter* movie. Fred also ensures that the location of Hagrid's Hut in Glencoe gets a mention although he laments the fact that it had to be removed because of planning constraints. *Harry Potter* associations are enlisted where none exists. There is a flurry of interest in taking photographs of the viaduct in Glen Ogle which was initially jokingly described by Fred as the Hogwarts School bridge, but he then admits that the viaduct in question is actually in Glenfinnan.

Language – confined within the Highland Boundary Fault (HBF)

Because the Highlands are described as beginning beyond the HBF, although Fred has transposed the HBF further north to the Great Glen, all six guides project the notion of a cultural and linguistic division based on hard geology which creates an environmentally determined Highlands with differing history, culture and language. Amanda's statement on Journey 1 that there was no intercommunication before the nineteenth century also means that there is no narrative of Gaelic and Highland Scotland before reaching the HBF or any south of Blair Atholl. It is particularly poignant that Amanda makes a reasonably

close translation of Blair Atholl as the Gaelic for 'The Plain of New Ireland' but then she states that "The Gaelic speakers were only in the Highlands and none existed beyond this point."

Invisible/ muted/ Gaelic and Gaelic as Scots

Yet on the outskirts of Glasgow, opportunities for explaining the meaning of Gaelic names present themselves, even if we were to accept Amanda's suggestion that the name 'Glasgow' is from the older Cumbric language and had no subsequent existence as the Gaelic *Glaschu*. At Drumchapel, for example, Bob mentions the tenements but does not explain what this Gaelic name means. The guides, in one way or another, render Gaelic largely invisible to the 'tourist gaze' in the landscape. Pronunciation of the names shifts them from Gaelic. At Crianlarich Bob pronounces as 'crin- la - rick'. He and Dave pronounce *Buachaille Eite Mòr* as 'The Boocle' while Fred pronounced it as ' Bickle'. Fred's pronunciation of *Bidean na Beann*, the primary mountain group which now gives us *The Three Sisters of Glencoe* as 'Ben na Bee' is simply a continuation of a process that has already rendered the name as 'Bidean na Bean'.

The process of explaining the names does not necessarily lead to any comprehension that these are Gaelic words. We are treated to Bob's explanation of what some of the place names mean. Thus erroneously, brae means 'field', *auch* means 'river', and Trossachs means 'jagged land'. None of these names are explained as being Gaelic. Fred for example mentions the name *Alba* but does not explain that it is 'Scotland'. Gaelic landscape descriptors are being linguistically appropriated. "We use Scots words to describe the land" explains Eric and "lochs are 'lakes', mountains are 'bens' and "we call our hills 'braes'. Loch is the Scots word for 'a body of water'. Some words in Scots "go back to Bythonic *(sic)* and there are lots of Gaelic words too." In discussing the hard 'ch'

in Scots he makes no reference to the fact that this is a feature of Gaelic. Dave too claims that "Ben is the Scots word for 'a mountain', glen is a Scots word for 'a valley'" and tells us that "the Scots word 'loch' is the same as the German word for a 'hole'. "The only difference is that ours are filled with water." Although the obvious bilingual road signs are pointed out by Bob there is no effort made to explain the meanings of the names. The only other guide to make any direct reference to road signs is Chris who tells us "the bilingual road signs have no relation to where Gaelic is spoken." He explains the reason for their presence is that "somebody took a decision that does not reflect where the Gaelic speaking areas are." We are not told where they are.

Gaelic in song

Songs in the on-board music compilations offer little elucidation to the visitor. Within Amanda's compilation of music is Capercaillie with Karen Matheson singing *Ceud Soraidh Bhuam* but there is no reference to the fact that this is the Gaelic language. When the fact that the song is in Gaelic is mentioned as in the case with Chris's music that commences with traditional fiddling and then *puirt a beul* by Julie Fowlis, he tells us that "we are not going to understand her because she is singing in Gaelic." He does not elaborate further. At Lix Toll, Dave is still playing "his Rob Roy music", as he terms it, when an Irish jig is followed by a nameless girl singing the Gaelic elegy *Ailean Duinn, o hi, shiùbhlainn leat*. Dave tells us "this is the girl singing the Gaelic. Don't worry if you don't understand it, neither do I. In the Lowlands we didn't have the Gaelic." Even when the visitor has some knowledge of Gaelic song, the process of obliteration proceeds. A German man mentions the music of the Gaelic band, *Run Rig* to Bob and asks him if he has heard of them. "*Run Rig*?" says Bob, "yes *Loch Lomond*, (Their first English 'hit') they sang *Loch Lomond*." "But" says the German, "they sang other things too?", "Yes, yes" says Bob, "yes, *Loch Lomond*." The German gives up. In any case, the task of

attempting to articulate the language is beyond some. When stopped at the *Three Sisters* viewpoint Eric is the first driver guide to say that this name is simply a grouping term for different hills. He then goes on to say that "the names are in Gaelic but I have a real difficulty here; there's no way I can pronounce them." This is his first mention of Gaelic after three and a half hours of travel within a Gaelic landscape.

The effect of this erasure of the language is that it is perfectly possible for our six companies' passengers to take the tour and return unaware of the existence of another language in the landscape they have traversed. The likelihood was strongly suggested by the following exchange I had when Eric stops very briefly at the NTS Glencoe Visitor Centre. Standing beside me and also looking at one of the bilingual interpretation boards, an Indian man points to the Gaelic text and asks me "What language is that?" I explain to him that it is Scottish Gaelic but given his look of complete incomprehension it is clear that he has not grasped Eric's comment at *The Three Sisters* viewpoint as to the language's existence.

When there is discussion of the language, the guides are able to offer a view on its nature. Just north of Tarbet on Loch Lomondside, Amanda mentions Gaelic and explains "It is a very inflexible language and cannot mint new words. However, the government supports it by funding the BBC." According to Chris "It is largely a rural language and does not lend itself to commerce. It is not an easy language to learn as it has a different structure." Fred mentions Gaelic as the old language of Scotland from which the word whisky comes. He tells us that "the Gaelic is the ancient language of Scotland now spoken by only 52,000 people but it is a very difficult language. Indeed Gaelic is a very complicated language to talk, far less to write." However he is going "to go to Skye to learn it at the Gaelic college since his grandmother had Gaelic."

Chris believes that "There are more Gaelic speakers in Nova Scotia than in Scotland", which is perhaps not surprising since we are told that; "Following Culloden there was forced conversion of the Catholics and anyone speaking Gaelic had their tongue cut out" (Amanda), "the Government attempted to ban the speaking of Gaelic for 30 years after Culloden" (Chris) The Disarming Act (1747) "banned the speaking of Gaelic - it was ethnic cleansing- you couldn't be a Highlander" (Fred). Eric tells us that Gaelic was "the language the Highlanders used to speak but it was banned by the King and nearly died out" and "now it is spoken in the islands off the map." (This odd reference to "the islands off the map" is due to the fact that the leaflet provided by the tour company uses an Ordnance Survey- generated map which has excluded the Western Isles). Now that the living language is 'off the map' the next section looks at how its presence in the landscape is re/presented.

Landscape renaming

The effort to explain accurately Gaelic place names is clearly a major challenge. Amanda tells us that" the name 'Glasgow' is from the older Cumbric language meaning 'the dear green place' due to the number of trees originally in the area". The 'firth' word in the name Firth of Clyde is explained as being one of the many words for 'the mouth of the river'. The Romans called Scotland *Caledonia* meaning 'the land of the forest people'. This it was because the land was 70% under trees. Just south of the Black Mount, Loch Ba is explained as the noise the sheep make but no attempt to explain that the name probably refers to 'cattle'. Loch Lochy means 'deep loch' as it is the third deepest after Loch Ness and Loch Morar.'[Watson (1926:50) explains that it refers to the 'black Goddess']

Bob explains that we are approaching our highest mountain, Ben Nevis, which means 'the one with its head in the clouds'. Dave says that "the whisky distillery names Glenfiddich,

Glenmorangie, and Glen Grant all come from the rivers flowing through the valleys."

Approaching Tyndrum, we are advised that the name means either 'the ridge over the house' or 'the hill behind the house.' Passing by Loch Lochy he tells us that "it was so beautiful that they decided to name it twice - Loch Loch." The Moray Firth means "the mouth of the River Moray". When we reach Loch Lochy, Chris explains that "the name does not do it justice. It must have been one of the last to be named." Going past Ben Nevis we are told that the mountain has two nicknames. It can either be 'the one with its head in the clouds' or 'the venomous one' (the latter the correct meaning being named for a river spirit). The second one is dying out and it was called that "because it is not very high and people wanted to climb it. It killed a lot of people." A later name is even more obscure; Eric says "The name Cairngorms means 'Blue Mountains' but we don't know why. It's an old Gaelic name and lost in the mists of time but possibly to do with the heather or the snow."

Fred tells us that Edinburgh also has a Gaelic name, 'Dunedin', "the name means the fort of *Edin*, who was a gorgeous Scottish princess". He acknowledges that this is speculation and says "Don't let the facts get in the way of a good story." Fred, like Eric, explains that "Wallace flees to France and on his return is betrayed by the Earl of Menteith for which reason the Lake of Menteith is named as a badge of his betrayal and to keep the memory fresh." At Lix Toll Fred tells us that "this was part of Caledonia which means 'the wooded land".'He explains that the name Dalwhinnie means 'a meeting place'. He agrees with Bob and Eric that Ben Nevis means either 'hill with its head in the clouds' or 'the venomous mountain'. But for him Loch Lochy is called that "due to the name meaning either 'the dark loch' or, [somewhat more accurately], 'Loch of the Dark Goddess' but then says "this is due to the discolouration by peat as it is not possible to see 10 yards in front of your hand. This is why the lochs are mysterious." Fred is more lyrical than most in his explanations. We learn that "the name Glencoe means 'the weeping valley' because of the

many waterfalls and in memory of what happened on the 13th of February 1692." Finally in Glen Ogle the name of the valley is translated as "'the valley of death' because of the number of rock falls."

Cultural Swamping

In my own encounters with tourists, the language and culture of Gaelic and Highland Scotland is foregrounded in the landscape, particularly north of the rivers Forth and Clyde. This leads to questions of linguistic and cultural similarity between Scotland and Ireland.

On the minibus, since there is a no attempt to bring out the language and culture and since there is no mention of a connection with Ireland, the question does not arise.

The next part of the thesis discusses the above information.

CHAPTER NINE: 'INVENTION'

Introduction

The following three chapters are on 'invention', elision and erasure. The 'invention' chapter will look in greater detail at the discourse of 'Invention of tradition' as it relates to the kilt. The following chapter uses the term 'elision' to cover the related aspects of Gaelic and Irish elision. It examines the impact such elision has had upon notions of the Gaelic language, then considers how Highland history is elided into Scottish history and the tropes of essentialism used to support that move. It considers how the culture is encapsulated as a more generalised 'Celtic' offering through elision with Irish imagery. Finally the third chapter considers the manner in which the Gaelic named landscape is under continuing erosion. It is argued that in the absence of an indigenous landscape narrative and arising from the renaming of landscape features, a new 'wilderness' narrative is emerging.

The 'Invention' of the Kilt

We saw that tourism's core processes of 'staged authenticity' and the 'tourist gaze' leads to a refinement, in a 'regime of signs', of a small set of images which are deployed to represent a country. Indigenous cultures have been reduced to easily digestible tropes. In Scotland the process has led to the central semiotic significance of the tartan kilt the ubiquity of which leads to the exclusion of almost all other representations of Gaelic Scotland. That image is the object of study of this chapter.

Cronin argues in *Translation and Identity* that it is more enabling, to define "specificity through and not against multiplicity" and stresses that hybridity is not to devalue but to revalue. Thus to emphasise the multiple origins of a cultural practice, is to resist:

> a moralizing condemnation of particularisms on the grounds that traditions are always bogus, that the supposedly authentic is an elaborate historical trick and that we all know why the Scots were encouraged to wear kilts (2006: 18).

To Cronin, the "withering scepticism" in the work of Anderson (1991) and Hobsbawm (Hobsbawm, for example, concurs with Mill's characterisation of the Scottish Highlander as "the half-savage relic of past times" (34) and with Engels' view of "the Scots highlanders celebrated by Walter Scott - another bunch of terrible cattle-thieves" (41)) is "damaging to a genuine openness of cultures" (18). Such scepticism is exemplified by the discourse on the kilt which sees that imagery as kitsch, emblematic of 'tartanry' and an 'invented tradition' imposed upon the nation. Recent historiography identifies the year 1822 as a seminal date for this Highland 'takeover' and cites the agency of Scott in deliberately exploiting the semiotic power of the tartan kilt for his political ends. Since 1983 the 'invention of tradition', incited by Trevor-Roper, has led to a national discourse which sees the tartan kilt as a late, deliberate, and exploitative invention. Powerful support

is lent to the argument through the enlistment of Macaulay's Chapter 18 of his *History of England* 1848) which addresses the wearing of the kilt within the context of attitudes held by Highlanders and Lowlanders respectively. A subordinate element in the paradigm of the 'tourist gaze' is that the host responds to the panoptic process by resistance, representation and reflexity and it has thus been argued that the Scots have been, in the main, instrumental and certainly complicit in the creation of this new false external image. In spite of a number of authors' 'resistance' to Trevor-Roper's 'invention' essay, a grand narrative has evolved and those who have to mediate the 'tourist gaze' maintain the discourse of 'invention'.

This discourse of 'invention' has now been metonymically transferred to all aspects of Gaelic culture with the result, therefore, that the popular image of the Gaelic Highlands is viewed both as contingent and one which is described as a 'Victorian invention'. Within this process the 'tourist gaze', in part contributes to 'staged authenticity' but is at the same time subverted by that 'invention'.

This chapter will argue that the Gaelic Highlander has no power and is incapable of resistance, representation or reflexity. It will be suggested that despite the fact that he is an enormously powerful semiotic figure, the kilted Highlander acts merely as a cipher for a wider discourse on the nature of modern Scotland. When taken together with the related themes of 'elision' and 'erasure', this chapter contributes to an argument that Highland Scotland, as one of the world's oldest mass tourism sites, might benefit from analysis through postcolonial reading practices.

The Busking Piper

From the autoethnographic record it is evident that in terms of the available, visible icons of Highland Scotland to tourists, the most powerful image is the kilted Highlander, preferably playing the bagpipes. The busking piper is a ubiquitous sight at all tourist locations. Citing Hughes (1995) and McCrone et al. (1995), Prentice and Anderson (2003) state that much of Scottish 'heritage' has been created through an idealised past of 'Highlandism', 'Tartanry' and 'Brigadoonism' and more recently 'Braveheartism'. They note that this tourism product is "doubly false" (8) to the Scottish cities that seek to present contemporary cultural vibrancy. Such vibrancy is, they claim, at variance with the Highland, plus tartan imagery which is often used to promote Scotland overseas, and especially in North America, where the Highland piper is "integral" to the "traditional landscape and heritage" image (17-8). The 'dominant signifier' of Highland Scottish culture thus centres primarily on the representation of the male kilted piper.

The immediate relevance to this discussion is the commonly expressed view that the 'Tartanry/'Highlandism' discourse has resulted in a situation in which aspects of Gaelic culture, such as tartan, the kilt, the bagpiper etc., are seen to stand for Scotland as a whole (Craig, 1996, 2009; Davidson, 2000; Devine, 1994; Kidd, 2002, 1991; Nairn, 1970, 1977). The most recent rendering is that by Bhandari (2012), whose thesis mentioned earlier makes the statement that:

> [M]ountains, tartan, and kilts, bagpipes, castles, Highland dancing, haggis, heather, golf, Balmoral Castle and lochs or lakes are the most prominent Scottish images. The role of tourism in developing some of those images is well recognised (94).

'Tartanry'

It is therefore necessary to attempt some understanding of the genesis and connotations of the term 'tartanry'. To do so, a Foucauldian archaeology was undertaken as part of the literature survey. Immediately evident is the multiplicity of terms deployed to discuss the

'Highland -plus - tartan imagery': 'Highlandism', 'Tartanry' and 'Brigadoonism' are all quoted by Prentice and Anderson. Further terms have been coined: We saw earlier that Basu (2007) reminds us that the terms 'Highlandism' and 'tartanry' are often employed interchangeably but he also employs them differently. In spite of the multiplicity of terms deployed and the confusion as to their meaning, the discourse on 'tartanry' has impacted negatively upon the image of the kilted Highlander. Apart from some sketchy noting of categories of kitsch tourism products in *Scotch Myths*, Grigor's (1982) exploration of Scottish culture and kitsch, originally broadcast in 1982 on Channel 4 TV, and Colin MacArthur's related work on cinema imagery, Scotch *Reels* (1982), no systematic analysis of the phenomenon has ever been undertaken. While there is no space to go into greater detail on the history of the term, it is evident that it was invented by Nairn as part of a political discourse. As McCrone explains, Nairn "has called it the Tartan Monster" (1992:138). Craig in *Out of History* (1996) in discussing MacDiarmid's *A Drunk Man Looks at the Thistle* feels that this tartanry discourse gives "support to the view of Scottish culture as parodic myth". Craig is of the view that this 'intensely destructive view of Scottish culture joined with Nairn's and the *Scotch Myths* analysis', to produce:

> a version of Scotland in which all traditions […] become irrelevant. The intellectual impact of the *Scotch Myths* debate was buttressed […] by analyses of the construction of Scottish 'identity' by Sir Walter Scott in the context of George IV's (in)famous visit to Scotland in 1822 (109).

This notion of 'construction of identity' is of interest to Walton (2009) in discussing the internal colonialism associated with the relationships between the 'Metropolitan' and the 'peripheral' within Western Europe. Here tourist mythologies are created around the inhabitants of 'quaint' fishing villages or 'rustic' country folk or 'primitive' mountain settlements. According to Walton those at whom this orientalising gaze is directed have agency of their own, and can return it with interest as shown in the mocking Mexican references to Cancún as 'Gringolandia' (Deacon, 2001; Torres and Monsoon, 2005). In this

context the Scottish references to primarily English newcomers in rural communities as 'white settlers' would also be comparable.

Agency

This notion of agency, as we noted earlier, is of interest to Glendening in his book *The High Road* (1997)*,* where he notes that the English tourist conceives of Scottish difference largely according to the dictates of English culture and history. He considers Said's insight that "otherness is always historically constituted" (Said, 1989:225) "is helpful" for understanding English travelers' experience of Scotland, "because that country is partially an English fabrication created through a kind of collective social idealism in which desire creates its own reality" (12). Moreover, he does not accept an extension of Said's postcolonial reading techniques to Scotland because the "Scots acted together to produce a formulation that would serve both of their needs" (15). He is of the view that it is "particularly true of Scotland that no social entity is Said's 'wholly silent Other'". Because of "historical complicity between England and Scotland, one should not see in Scotland a simple ideological ground fixed by […] British power/knowledge" (15). Glendening therefore seems to suggest at this point that 'the complicity' of the Scots is shared both by Highlander and Lowlander. The romanticisation of the Highlands is further aided by "the elaboration of superficial symbols of Scottish validity" when "in 1782 Highlanders were again allowed to wear their traditional garb; this marked the first step in the broadcasting of signs and gestures of authenticity (many of them recently evolved)" (227).

We saw that Grenier's *Creating Caledonia* (2005) follows Glendening but again her study is "less an examination of the effects of the tourist gaze upon Scotland", rather "what that gaze reveals about the tourists" (3). She notes that tourism's "imperialistic tendencies were

particularly marked in the Highlands" an area in which "both Lowland (Scottish) and English tourists could agree that Highlanders were 'the Other'". So while she recognises that the "subjugating power of the tourist gaze" effectively erased Highlanders' autonomy (176), she maintains Glendening's earlier position on Highland complicity and reflexity. For Grenier "tourism did often exert imperialist tendencies," but "the discourse of Scotland was nonetheless a dialogue, not a monologue". This is because "Scots actively participated in the creation of their country's tourist identity and thereby claimed a role in defining their country" (5).

Underlying both these views on the supposed 'complicity' of the Highlander 'other' is the discourse on the recently 'evolved signs' and 'gestures of authenticity' and thus of his resistance and reflexivity to the 'tourist gaze' through the 'invention of tradition'. This discourse that underpins Glendening, Grenier and McCrone and, many others' analysis is Trevor-Roper's in *'The Highland Tradition of Scotland'* in Hobsbawm and Ranger's *The Invention of Tradition* (1983). Such has been the impact of this essay that it has lead to the widely held view as expressed by McCrone (1995) that "it is now a commonplace to assert that much of tartanry is Victorian fabrication" (5).

The 'invention of tradition'

This discourse of the 'invention of tradition' or, as Trevor-Roper (1983) expresses it, "a bizarre travesty of Scottish reality" (25) has led to the narrative of a 'Victorian fabrication' of Scottish cultural icons, which coupled with that on tartanry has come, by metonymic extension, to be applied indiscriminately to all Gaelic culture. From the literature survey the majority of writers in the field express the view which is succinctly articulated by Devine's *Clanship to Crofters War,* (1994) that for the visit of King George IV to Edinburgh in 1822 Scott created a "Celtic fantasy" that was "a distortion of the highland

past and present" and was a "seminal event in the acceptance of the kilt as the national dress of Scotland" (88).

In support of this statement, Devine cites a number of sources, Womack (1989), Pittock (1991) and Withers (1992). In 1995 McCrone also quoted Trevor-Roper's 1983 essay. This work and that of Cheape's *Tartan: The Highland Habit* (1991) are used by McCrone (tenuously in the latter's case) to support the claim for 'tartanry's' Victorian fabrication. Trevor-Roper's work sparked the historiography of Scotland's 'invented tradition'. It has remained the primary source on the Highland 'invented tradition' for many authors until, and beyond, with Bhandari (2012), the publication of Ian Brown's *From Tartan to Tartanry* in 2010. Given that essay's pivotal significance it is perhaps necessary to examine in more detail precisely what it says. Trevor-Roper (1983) commences:

> Today, whenever Scotchmen gather together to celebrate their national identity, they assert it openly by certain distinctive national apparatus. They wear the kilt […] This apparatus, to which they ascribe great antiquity, is in fact largely modern […] Indeed, the whole concept of a distinct Highland culture and tradition is a retrospective invention (15).

Trevor-Roper sees the "creation of an independent highland tradition", and the "imposition of that new tradition", with its outward badges, on the whole Scottish nation as "the work of the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries" (16). Trevor-Roper's view is that it "took a full century to clear Scottish history" of the "distorting fabrications" (18). According to his thesis, once:

> the Scottish Highlands had acquired - however fraudulently - an independent ancient culture, the way was open to signalize that independence by peculiar traditions. The tradition which was now established was a peculiarity of dress (18).

He claims that the process of nation-building and the accumulation of the outward signs of tradition, such as the Edwardian creations now associated with the British Royal Family (Cannadine, 1983) were also evident in the Highlands of Scotland. On the face of it, this analysis might be considered as a positive depiction of Highland and Gaelic resistance and

reflexity to the 'tourist gaze' and a form of 'writing back' against the 'imperialist tendencies' noted by Grenier. However to do so, Trevor-Roper has to construct a deliberate 'complicity' between Highland and Lowland Scotland to create *ex novo* the visible outward forms of nationhood, - the tartaned kilt. Trevor-Roper does this by explaining that "the *philibeg* [small kilt]- name and thing - is unknown before the eighteenth century. So far from being a traditional Highland dress, it was invented by an Englishman" (18). However, the result is not nation-building, in the sense that Hobsbawm and Ranger might have understood it, but rather a Nairnite 'distortion'. The pageant produced, in Trevor-Roper's view, "a bizarre travesty of Scottish history" (18). Scott was "imprisoned by his fanatical Celtic friends, carried away by his own romantic Celtic fantasies" (27-8). To add weight to his analysis of the "farce of 1822" (29) Trevor-Roper cites Lord Macaulay whose "historical sense was outraged by the retrospective extension [...] to the civilized races of Scotland" (26) of what, before the Union, "was considered by nine Scotchmen out of ten as the dress of a thief" (Macaulay, Ch. XIII).

The prestige of Trevor-Roper "in pressing this unexamined idea"

Pittock's words (2010: 33) in the above heading to this chapter section indicate the power of Trevor-Roper's dissemination of this "new fantasy" theory. Most commentators have, since Trevor-Roper, taken 'the farce of 1822' as the foundational date for the phenomenon of 'Highlandism' with Devine (1994), in *Clanship to Crofters War*, in speaking of the popularity of tartan and plaid, stating:

> This strange development was part of a wider process […] through which (mostly) imagined and false highland 'traditions' were absorbed by lowland elites to form the symbolic basis of a new Scottish identity. This 'Highlandism' was quite literally the invention of tradition (86).

However, Devine does not acknowledge the postcolonial connotations of the formulation 'Highlandism' which is according to Hesse, drawn from Said's *Orientalism* (2013:178). Again, McCrone (1992), in his sociological study, *Understanding Scotland*, gives credit to Trevor- Roper:

> A form of dress and design which has some real but haphazard significance in the Highlands of Scotland was taken over by lowland population … It may have taken …[the]… master of Peterhouse - home of neo-conservative ideologues - to put it together, but few left-liberal Scottish intellectuals would have dissented from it (184).

This contribution was, according to Kidd's (1994) analysis of the political landscapes in Scottish history, "unintentionally inspirational" (14). Trevor-Roper, "as a Northumbrian was keenly aware of his ancestral duty to harry the Scots" (13) and had, in "debunking the historic myth" prevented the modern Scots from being "shackled to a national identity located in an imaginary Highlands and dressed in kitsch tartanry" (14).

Although making no reference to Trevor-Roper's earlier work, such a view of 1822 and the role of Scott was widely popularised by the journalist Prebble, in his book *The King's Jaunt* (1988). This work claims that the pageantry resulted in "a bogus tartan caricature" and that "Walter Scott's Celtification continued to seduce his countrymen, and thereby prepared them for political and industrial exploitation" (364). Kidd in a review of *The King's Jaunt* at the time of its republication in 2000 acknowledges that "doubts remained about Prebble's departure from scholarly norms" but feels that:

> this work engaged positively with the agenda of academic historians.[...] Neatly juxtaposing the story of the Sutherland estate clearances with the romantic 'Celtification' orchestrated by the tartan tories of the 1820s, Prebble demonstrates how the empty whirl of sentimental patriotism can function as a vehicle for political evasion and obfuscation (2001: 141-142).

Some 30 years on from their publication, therefore, the accounts of Trevor-Roper and Prebble remain the primary sources for commentators on Scotland and its identity: 1822 has attained almost the same semiotic significance as 1314 and the Battle of Bannockburn as a defining moment in Scottish history. To Devine (1994), it has been seen as "a seminal event" (88). Widely quoted, this view of 'invented tradition' has remained largely uncontested and informs non-academic perception of the authenticity of Scotland's cultural tourism. The central role of Scott in the act of 'invention' is also stressed.

However, it is possible to examine more carefully the events surrounding 1822 and Scott's intentions in representing Scotland in his writings as well as his country's reception of George IV. His preparations for the visit were grounded on his solid understanding of Scottish history and culture where he sought to achieve accuracy of depiction. David Richards in *Masks of Difference* (1994) states that Scott "assembled his extensive textual and oral sources with meticulous care" and lists over thirty authors ranging from Gervase of Tilbury to Grimm which he combined "with the materials he garnered from Sinclair's *Statistical Accounts* of Scottish parishes" (127). Gordon has further argued that Scott had a "great compassion" for the Highland "commoners" (1976: 131).This view of his attitude towards Highland and Gaelic society can be supported by Scott's own words. Lumsden in her contribution on perceptions of the Highlands in the Waverley Novels (2007), 'records that in response to Pinkerton's statement, "the Celts of Scotland always are, and continued to be, a dishonoured, timid, filthy, ignorant, and degraded race", Scott argues:

> The Highlanders of Scotland [...] had long inherited a large share of the kindness and respect of their countrymen [...] in a word, the whole nation was disposed - we think justly - to consider them the representatives of the ancient Scots (Scott, vol. XX, 321-22, quoted in Lumsden, 2007: 167).

From Lumsden's reading, Scott, "is reacting against such prejudice, and entering into a dialogue with those perceptions of the Highlands perpetuated by the previous generation. Notably, in doing so [....] he elides Scottish and Highland identities" (167). In *Waverley* (1814), the Highlander Evan Dhu Maccombich is described thus:

> The short kilt, or petticoat, showed his sinewy and clean-made limbs; the goat-skin purse, flanked by the usual defences, a dirk and steel-wrought pistol, hung before him; his bonnet had a short feather [...] a broad sword dangled by his side, a target hung upon his shoulder, and a long Spanish fowling-piece occupied one of his hands (73-74).

Although Evan Dhu Maccombich is a fictional character, Scott's depiction differs little from Defoe's description of a Highland gentleman in Edinburgh in 1706 as "a man in the mountain habit with a broad sword, targett, (targe) a pistol or perhaps two at his girdle, a dagger and staff, walking down the street" (Earle, 1977: 18)

Scott's sense of authenticity

As Hill (2010) argues in *Picturing Scotland through the Waverley Novels*, Scott was very actively involved in the creation of authentic visual interpretations of his fiction. To Scott, authenticity was among the most significant qualities that he demanded of his illustrators since these visual representations, along with his novels, were viewed by the novelist as a key tool in the presentation of national identity. The scrupulous attention Scott paid to the illustrations of his texts can also be found in the way in which he presented Scotland to George IV during the King's visit to Edinburgh in 1822. What Scott, therefore, presented was based upon his own detailed understanding of historical "full highland regalia" (Devine, 1994:88) and Nairn's "differentiae" as well as what his guest most desired to see in Scotland. In a letter of July 22nd 1822 to Macleod of Skye, Scott said:

> The King is coming after all. Arms and men are the best thing we have to show him. Do come and bring half-a-dozen or half-a-score of Clansmen, so as to look like an Island Chief as you are. Highlanders are what he will like best to see, and the masquerade of the Celtic Society will not do without some of the real stuff, to bear it out (Grierson, 1934: 213-14).

George IV and the regal 'tourist gaze'

The quotation shows that George IV already had considerable understanding of what he expected to see; a point which has been stressed by Richard Finlay (2002) who is of the view that Scott set out to ensure " that his majesty was not disappointed and that Scotland lived up to his expectations" (213). Pittock (1991) has also pointed out that George IV "had a bit of a liking for the [Stuart] dynasty [...] and its symbols: indeed the future King wore tartan for the first time in 1789" (88). It seems clear, therefore, that Scott did not set out to create a 'masquerade' but to make manifest the pre-conceptions of this royal visitor and, perhaps, precociously, to create the first example of MacCannell's 'staged authenticity'. Scott was a scrupulous antiquarian, one of the first to write historical novels, and his "digested accuracy and theoretical completeness" was recognised early (Bagehot, 1879: 247).

Trevor-Roper's characterisation of the Highlanders as complicit in the events of 1822, and in effect resisting under the royal tourist gaze, needs also to be subject to the contemporary record. He quotes from Scott's son-in-law Lockhart as to the 'Celtic hallucination' but fails to quote him in full. Lockhart (1906), for all "his disdain of Highland culture" (McNeil, 2007:243, fn.20), is nonetheless moved to state:

> when one reflected how miserably their numbers [of the Highland clans] had of late years been reduced in consequence of the selfish and hard-hearted policy of their landlords, it almost seemed as if there was a cruel mockery in giving so much prominence to their pretensions. But there could be no question that they were picturesque - and their enthusiasm was too sincere not to be catching (421).

Calder in *Revolving Culture* (1994) is of the same opinion. While noting that Prebble contributed powerfully to shifts in the Scots' perception of their own history (96-7), he feels that those present were not "a people entirely consisting of landlords of ancient lineage, loyal Gaelic dupes, and weavers tied to obsolescent artisan traditions"(100-1).

Although many present perceptions of Scott's management of George IV's Visit to Edinburgh are largely negative, it is surely rather difficult to agree with commentators who argue that Scott invented the vogue for the modern tartan kilt, since, as Massie (2010) convincingly argues, tartanry preceded Scott. Moreover, as Trumpener (1997) points out, it is our concept of historical determinism, "a belief in great men who embody and shape their epochs" that foregrounds Scott's special status in this matter (130).

While the event may well have begun the elision of Highland and Lowland semiotics, as Lumsden suggests, Scott did not set out to create a 'hallucination' in 1822. Moreover, the impact of the event seems to have been limited. A survey of general histories of Scotland prior to Trevor-Roper's essay show that they focus largely on the social conditions which led to the Radical War, barely mention George's visit and have no reference of the supposed 'Celtic takeover' of 1822. As Calder (1994) points out, Cockburn's contemporary *Memorials*:

> have nothing to say about the King's Jaunt, but a great deal about the public meeting in December 1820 which had called on the King to dismiss his Tory ministry (101)

Indeed the recent interest in 1822 seems to stem only from 1962 when Dunbar's *History of Highland Dress* mentions the King's visit as only one of a number of factors in the 'evolution' of the kilt (2).Along with a reconsideration of Scott's reputation there has emerged a reassessment of the basis of Trevor-Roper's analysis. Recently Pittock (2010) has stated that:

> [T]he view that tartan was an 'invented', pseudo-Highland Scottish identity, factitiously imposed on a trousered nation by Sir 'Walter Scott, […] has become a commonplace of Scottish cultural commentators. It was, however, the prestige of Lord Dacre as a historian that was critical in pressing this unexamined idea - which advanced claims well beyond debates over the authenticity (33).

Indeed, the primary virtue of the original *feilidh mòr* or belted plaid, over the *feìlidh beag* – small kilt, was that it could be cast off with ease, as amply demonstrated by such a tactic at the battle of Kilsyth in 1645 (Stevenson, 1980: 201) and in the early-eighteenth-century waulking song recorded from a Mrs. Mary Morrison by John Lorne Campbell in Barra:

> *'S truagh, a Rìgh, nach mi 'm breacan*
> *Thug thu dhachaigh o'n fhèill.*
> *'S 'nuair a thilleadh o'n fhrasadh*
> *Bithinn paisgte fo d' sgéith*
> *'S 'nuair a rachadh i fhàsgadh*
> *Bhithinn sgaoilte ri grèin.*

> Alas, Lord, that I am not the tartan you took home from the fair, When you'd return from the shower, I'd be folded under your arm. When it had been wrung out, I'd be spread out in the sun, (quoted by Domhnall Uilleam Stiùbhart, in *Crossing the Highland Line* (2009: 174).

The workers in the forests of Invergarry, therefore, would have been as likely to practice the same habit and would have discarded the belted plaid while undertaking strenuous work and this use of the plaid would tend to confirm the doubts entertained by some of Trevor-Roper's critics.

Since Dunbar's 1962 landmark work and until the publication of Ian Brown's *From Tartan to Tartanry* in 2010, the only significant recent contributions on the tartaned kilt have been Cheape's works, *Tartan, The Highland Habit* (1991) and his *A' lasadh le càrnaid* (2009) ('Flaming with scarlet'). He makes the point in that latter article that both the distinctive dress style and its patterned cloth were long (since at least 1500) associated with Highland and Gaelic culture. In his introduction to *From Tartan to Tartanry*, Brown quotes Marr's observation that, "the deconstruction of the tartan cult is in danger of itself becoming a cult" (1992: 28), and he makes the point that:

> Indeed, the attacks on tartan and tartanry, particularly in the 1970s and 1980s [...] can even be said in their overstated hostility to have inhibited, and even stifled, for a time the potential for fruitful examination of that intellectual and symbolic complexity (10).

Yet Trevor-Roper's work is still regarded as sufficiently significant to merit a posthumous publication of his collected essays on Scottish history, *The Invention of Scotland: Myth and History* (2008). The appearance of this book occasioned a review in which Heffer opines that:

> Best of all, however, is his essay on tartan and the kilt. He is amused that the dress of cannibalistic, savage highlanders should be appropriated by lowlanders as a national costume. While it would be wrong to conclude that the whole Scottish image and culture is based on lies, Trevor-Roper, in this vastly entertaining and highly intelligent book, does lead us some considerable way in that direction (*Daily Telegraph*, 6 June, 2008).

The reference to 'cannibalistic, savage highlanders' is an echo of the Hanoverian propaganda of the 1745 conflict, itself a re-cycling of seventeenth century antecedents (Newton, 2009 and Stevenson, 1980). Nonetheless, as Ashcroft et al.(2005) point out in *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*, "the merging of 'cannibal' and 'primitive' into a virtually synchronous relationship extends to the present day as the pre-eminent sign of the power of 'othering' maintained by imperial discourse" (27). This surfacing of the term 'othering' is a second reason for quoting extensively from Trevor-Roper: in none of the texts consulted in the literature survey is there any reference to his statements on Gaelic and Highland culture despite the trenchant comment by Ferguson on the "absurdity of Trevor-Roper's 'Scotch history'" as a "prolonged sneer". All that Ferguson expresses is long puzzlement that "people have been taken in by that feeble stuff" (2007: 100). However, Pittock's criticism has become more direct:

> not only is it almost absurd to credit that a famous creative writer could engineer a piece of brief theatricality in one town in an age before television and thereby create a national culture; it is equally ridiculous to suppose that an English Quaker industrialist could determine the sartorial priorities of one (2010:34).

The tenacity of the 'invention' myth

At the time of the 'seminal event' of 1822, Stewart of Garth was of the same opinion. In volume 3 of his *History of the Highlands and of the Highland Clans* (1838), Browne

discusses the prohibition on the wearing of the kilt that it was "remarkable how the plaid and the philibeg were resumed at all" (414). This reference to the philibeg i.e. the little kilt, then draws from Browne an acknowledgement of the currency of the "statement that the kilt, or philibeg, is a comparatively modern the invention" to which his response is a long footnote quoting Stewart of Garth. It is worth giving the full quotation:

> The mode of sewing the kilt into plaits, in the same manner as the plaid, is said to have been introduced by an Englishman of the name of Parkinson early in the last century, which has given rise to an opinion entertained by many, that the kilt is modern, and was never known till that period. This opinion is found on a memorandum left by gentlemen whose name is not mentioned, and published in the *Scots Magazine*. To a statement totally unsupported, little credit can of course be attached; and it may surely, with as much reason, be supposed, that breeches were never worn till the present cut and manner of wearing them came into fashion. As the Highlanders had sufficient ingenuity to think of plaiting the plaid it is likely that they would be equally ingenious in forming the kilt; and as it is improbable that an active lightfooted people would go around on all occasions, whether in the house or in the field, encumbered with twelve yards of plaid, (to say nothing of the expense of such a quantity) I am less willing to coincide in the modern opinion founded on such a slight and unauthenticated notice, than in the universal belief of the people, that the philibeg has been part of the garb as far back as tradition reaches (414).

Browne evidently feels sufficiently concerned to prevent the 'invention' myth from gaining currency for he further quotes Stewart:

> Since the publication of the former editions [*The Sketches*] several friends had represented to me that a more decided contradiction ought to be given to the story of Parkinson (*sic*) and his supposed invention of the kilt, which, they say, is totally unfounded. The truth is, the thing is not worth contradicting. If the story were true, which it is not, the whole would amount to this, - that, in the reign of George II, the Highlanders began to wear four yards of cloth instead of twelve, as was the practice in former reigns. This is one of the arguments brought forward by some modern authors, to prove that the Highland garb is of recent introduction (1838: 414).

If it is possible to trace the de-bunking of the 'invention' discourse back to a commentary by the then authority on the kilt, and at a period broadly contemporary with the foundational date of 1822, what was Trevor-Roper's motivation in resurrecting an old canard which he would have known had been effectively skewered in 1838? Furthermore, if one looks beyond the issue of the origin myth of the kilt to examine what Trevor-Roper

has to say about Gaelic Scotland itself, the essentialism of his characterisations could not be described as unobjectionable. For while the primary facts in his research concern the development of the modern-day kilt, there is a wider, more general analysis of Gaelic culture.

Trevor-Roper's essentialist view of Highland Scotland

In order to advance his claim of the kilt's invention *ex novo,* he is required to propose the concomitant construction of a Gaelic *natio*. This he does by the device of deliberately diminishing the integrity and duration of any Highland Gaelic cultural tradition prior to the founding act of 1822. Trevor-Roper reduces all of the Gaelic history and culture to the bald thesis from which the following quotes are drawn *passim* from his paper. His claim is that in 1822 the 'forged' emblems of a 'primitive', 'despised, disorderly savage', and shattered culture of 'predatory, outer barbarians' - 'the outflow of Ireland' - are taken up and exploited by unscrupulous 'forgers' who duped gullible opinion-formers into foisting the 'fantasies' onto the 'civilised races' of lowland Scotland (1983:15-41). In his justification for this characterisation of Gaelic culture, we noted that he quotes Macaulay's description of the kilt as 'the dress of a thief'. This is a clear example of a term being taken out of context, since what Macaulay states five sentences later is that this term was 'a coarse caricature' (that later section of Macaulay's speech is quoted in full in Kelly 2010, 310).

'The Highland Tradition of Scotland' (1983) still serves as a key source document: the influence of Trevor-Roper in the discourse of invented Highland tradition has been profound and lasting. The paper was one of a series of contributions in the influential collection edited in 1983 by Hobsbawm and Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition*. Hobsbawm was an eminent Marxist academic and the magazine *Past Times* which sponsored the conference, from which the papers in *The Invention of Tradition* were taken, was part of the apparatus of the British Communist Party. Unusually this group of left-

wing academics was joined by Trevor-Roper - "a neoconservative" (McCrone, 1992: 184). It is therefore important to gain an understanding of what Trevor-Roper was seeking to achieve in such potentially uncongenial company.

Although Kidd does hint at a possible political interest when he acknowledges that Trevor-Roper was raised to the peerage as Lord Dacre, "for his robust defence of the Union during the later 1970s" (2005: 214), we have an American to thank for fully clarifying Trevor-Roper's motivations. Cater, the American editor of Trevor-Roper's posthumous *The Invention of Scotland*, in 2008, posed the question of what motivated his interest in the discourse of invented tradition in Scottish history at that time (1983). The answer, to Cater:

> can hardly be in doubt. It was the […] spectre of Scottish devolution: […] which threatened, [...] in Roper's opinion, dissolution of the Union of 1707. It is against this background of political contest that we must envisage the initiation and early continuation of this book on the role played by myth in Scottish history (2008: xi).

Cater also usefully explains why Trevor-Roper subsequently shelved his work so that it only saw the light of day after his death in 2003. He explains:

> When the Conservative party [...] won the general election of 1979, the previous government's proposals for Scottish devolution were shelved for an indefinite period. For Trevor-Roper that removed a spur to action (xv).

In the intervening years, however, Trevor-Roper's analysis had taken on an even sharper tone. In a chapter in *The Invention of Scotland* entitled, 'The Coming of the Kilt', he states that:

> [A]uthentic Highland society had almost no history, till it was invented by Hector Boece in the sixteenth century, almost no literature till it was invented by Macpherson in the eighteenth… On the rare occasions when the Celtic tribes of Scotland were noticed by […] Saxons or Normans […] it was merely as savages. When […] King David of Scotland, invaded England in 1138, he was met by a fellow Anglo-Norman baron, […] who remonstrated with him for using native mercenaries: 'Picts' (*sic)* of Galloway. To involve the blacks in customary colonial competitions was not gentlemanly' (2009: 192).

In these above sentences it is possible to discern the metropolitan colonial motivation behind Trevor-Roper's attempted destruction of, in his own mildly pejorative words, 'Scotch' national iconography. Such attacks on culture have been cited by postcolonial authors such as Fanon, in his description of the denigration of indigenous peoples by the French in North Africa (1967, 1968) through to Said's *Orientalism* (1978) as a standard colonial tactic. Nonetheless, perceived Highland inauthenticity remains a significant issue in the discourse on Scottish heritage tourism. The commoditisation of culture is not a new phenomenon and it could be argued that such a process of commoditisation in drawing upon Gaelic Scotland for cultural artefacts for use in the tourism industry may also have contributed to a process of cultural essentialism or objectification in which supposed qualities of individuals are metonymically transferred to all members of the group.

Two aspects to the complicated discourse on Highland Scotland

In a post-modern world, the 'invention of tradition' is itself a common-place. The French film crew's interest (1st Journal) in the New Age manifestations of the Beltane Festival of May Day on Calton Hill is just such one example. Equally, the latest Royal Wedding celebrations added the sports-car drive to a list of traditions whose deliberate Victorian and Edwardian origins is minutely laid bare by Cannadine's companion piece to Trevor Roper's contribution in Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983). This review by Cannadine is rarely referred to or cited. This point has been noted by McKay (1992) who notes that:

> The concept of 'invented tradition' is a useful one, provided it is acknowledged that *all* traditions are historically constructed, and not merely those held dear by non-academics and marginalized nationalities (13).

However, the disproportionate attention given to the Scottish case of 'invention' and the term's exclusive use in Scotland, when the largely neutral term 'imagined communities' is more generally applied to the same phenomena in other countries (Bhandari, 2012), is

surely of some wider interest in discussions on contemporary perceptions of national

formation. We discussed Basu's contribution to the 'tartanry' debate earlier. Basu has also

characterised the Highlands as:

> The region has repeatedly been constructed as the primitive/peripheral /exotic
> 'other' to the hegemonic dominant Scottish Lowlands, England and/ or the
> anglophone British State. This external construction and representation […] may
> be seen in the light of Said's discussion of Orientalism (1978) and gives rise to a
> parallel discourse which has been labelled 'Highlandism' (2007:17-18).

Although Basu does not elaborate on the connection between postcolonialism's

'foundational work' (Moore-Gilbert, 1997) - *Orientalism* - such 'external constructions', it

could be argued, relate to Heffer's metropolitan attitudes noted earlier. We can see

emerging from these works, two aspects to this complicated discourse on Highland

Scotland.

The first is that the Highlands are represented in touristic 'staged authenticity' in locations

from Edinburgh Castle to Glencoe by the kilted male figure to the exclusion of other

Gaelic images. The second, with cultural ramifications beyond the tourism sphere, is that

of the notion of the recent, deliberate invention of the entire scopic regime of Highland

tourism. This research, as outlined in the survey of the literature, seems to show that the

discourse stemmed initially from the rejection by modern poets of the romantic traditions

of the nineteenth century, championed by MacDiarmid and Muir. It is then resurrected and

expanded in scope in the highly charged political environment of the Scottish devolution

debate in 1979 to become permanently enshrined in the discourse of national iconography.

There is a case to be made from a Foucauldian knowledge/power analysis of the texts

concerned that Nairn and Trevor-Roper (each from the extreme polar ends of the political

spectrum), set out to build a discourse that denigrated certain elements of popular Scottish

culture and thereby undermine national self-confidence. Nairn, the most prolific

commentator, labels it as 'tartanry' and presents it as kitsch, thereby further denigrating the

cultural iconography. However, it is Trevor-Roper's suggestion that much of Scottish culture was a Victorian romantic construct which, as Pittock has argued, disseminated the discourse of the 'fraudulent' construction of much of what hitherto had been primarily military iconography that had been adopted by the tourism industry to promote Scotland. This discourse is presented today, most notably by McCrone, and continues to influence the bifurcated manner in which VisitScotland projects the country to the rest of the world. The discourse goes so far as to suggest that the postmodern tourist finds such inauthenticity appealing. It is the case therefore that many English visitors view with wry amusement the visible expressions of Scottish culture which they believe to be a Victorian construct.

The notion of an 'invented' image remains powerfully persistent. Kelly, author of *Scott and Scott-land,* speaking at *Ayewrite* (Glasgow's annual literary festival) on 9 March, 2011, while discussing the 'seminal' date of 1822 claimed completely erroneously that "the last of people in Edinburgh who had been wearing kilts had been trying to kill George's great-grandfather (*sic*)". He went on to say that "It was almost as if he [Scott] had dressed up Prince Harry in an SS uniform – it was that shocking. Suddenly tartan became the Scottish national dress". If this is the considered view of Scottish culture and its debt to Scott, it is perhaps not surprising that Richard Alexander of Cruise Scotland team, in a talk to the STGA in Stirling in the Spring of 2011 stated that VisitScotland's marketing still "wish to move away from tartan".

However, it may be possible with some reflection to suggest that there is now an opportunity to begin to reverse the negative effects of the twin discourses of 'tartanry' and 'invented tradition' that has consigned the Highland form of dress to the realms of kitsch and forgery. Goldie writing in Brown's 2010 *From Tartan to Tartanry* points out that "all cultures have their Kitsch, but most are more relaxed in their attitudes towards it" (2010: 241) and he is of the view that:

> Had MacDiarmid and those critics who followed him shown a greater tolerance of tartanry, had they tried to understand a little more and condemn a little less, then they might have been able to enjoy a more productive relation with the phenomenon and with Scottish popular culture more generally (2010:240).

As Cheape has said in his contribution to the same collection, *Gheibhte breacain càrnaid* ('Scarlet tartans would be got'), he is of the view that:

> [T]he modern denunciation and disavowal of tartan mischievously draws a veil across, and therefore effectively denies, an up-to-date view of certain vital strands in Scottish history and material culture [...] invented traditions constitute an obstacle to an understanding of the past (2010: 29).

Almost exactly the same point is made when McCrone was in the process of perpetuating 'an obstacle to an understanding of the past'. Withers (1992), writing on the historical creation of the Scottish Highlands, concludes:

> that an understanding of the historiographical Highlands can help explain the symbolic fascination of 'Tartanry' […] part of Scottish national identity...[and]… to claim the creation of the Highlands as a set of myths is now[...] part of the very 'facts' of history itself (143) .

Despite such 'resistance' to the 'invention' discourse, the grand narrative remains predominant and has been subjected to intensification through the enlistment of other tropes including cannibalism. This trope leads to a wider consideration of the presence of postcolonial discourse and the vexed question of a Scottish 'colonial' past. Although a majority of commentators (Brown, 2001; Connell, 2003, 2004; McCrone, 1995, Morris, 2012) resist a colonial interpretation for Scotland in its entirety, the notion of the application of postcolonial reading strategies to Highland history and literary representation has continued currency (Armitage, 2000; Gardiner, 1996, 2005, 2011; Hechter, 1975; Fielding, 2008; Makdisi, 1998; Trumpener, 1997). This thesis argues that the absence of evidence of colonial practice in its classical form does not in itself dismiss the existence of essentialism, the maintenance of historical tropes and demeaning of culture through the discourse of 'tartanry 'and 'invention of tradition' in the external discourse on Highland Scotland.

My conclusion is that Highland Scotland, as one of the oldest mass tourism sites, would benefit from postcolonial reading practices in the same manner in which Stroh has demonstrated their value in her examination of Scottish Gaelic poetry. The task remains to counter the inventions and re-assess the nature of the discourse on 'invented tradition'. This chapter, when read in conjunction with the following two chapters on the themes of 'elision' and 'erasure' suggests that there is a strong case to be made for a postcolonial reading of the Scottish tourism industry's attitudes to its iconography as they relate to Gaelic, Highland Scotland.

CHAPTER TEN: ELISION

This chapter addresses three related aspects of the process of elision from which Gaelic

Scotland is impacted adversely under the 'tourist gaze'. The first is that the 'Highland

Line' and the Highland Boundary Fault are elided into a single 'barrier'. Because Gaelic

Scotland's culture, history and language are allegedly coterminous with and confined

within the boundary of the 'Fault', this allows space for environmentally determined

essentialisms. Secondly, Scottish Gaelic cultural expression is elided into that of Ireland

thereby suffering a loss of distinctiveness, leading towards a general 'Celtic' offering.

Additionally the Gaelic language is subject to a discourse which portrays the language as

ancient, mysterious, irrelevant and difficult to learn. Thirdly, the findings suggest that a

general trend exists within Scottish historiography where a history of Gaelic Scotland is

elided into the wider narrative of Scottish/British history and national formation. It

concludes with a discussion on the implications for Gaelic Scotland of the marked

tendency to interpret the landscape as one to be viewed through the camera lens. The

impact of these separate strands of discourse results in a situation that under the 'tourist

gaze' the Highlander is muted/made Irish and becomes a Celtic Warrior. This leads to

further tropes in relation to the nature of Highland warfare and clan being equated with

tribal life. Ultimately what is evident is that the Highlander suffers from a crisis of

representation. The discussion will start with the notion of the 'Highland Line' since this

acts as a powerful mechanism of 'othering'.

The Highland Line: The 'Dusky Barrier' Vitrified

MacGregor et al. (2007) articulate a clear consensus among Scottish historians that a 'Highland/Lowland divide' came into being in the second half of the fourteenth century. But in introducing notions of the inherent 'division' between 'Highlands' and 'Lowlands', and the enduring 'paradox' of the appropriation of 'Highland' images for Scottish nationhood, the editors also issue a challenge. Their view is that:

> The 'division' is, first and foremost, a function of the imagination of particular groups in particular contexts, and the 'paradox' is a rich interplay of genuine interaction and self-aware ambiguity (2007: 8).

The 'Highland Line', given that it was an imaginative construct is a highly fluid concept and the 'dusky barrier' of Scott's *Waverley* (Lumsden, 2007). However, notions of an inherent 'division' have been today concretised into a 'Fault'; a hard geology 450 million years old, so that the 'tourist gaze' surveys a barrier of immutable permanence. This geological anchoring provides for a scopic regime that contains the Highlander 'beyond the pale' and enables the maintenance of a discourse replete with tropes of environmental determinism and essentialism which have characterised Anglophone writings on the Highlands for over five hundred years.

Crossing the Highland Line into Pratt's contact zone

While to the literary romantic imagination and to Scott in particular, it is the 'dusky barrier', a "rich interplay of genuine interaction and self-aware ambiguity" finds expression in the introduction by MacLachlan in *Crossing the Highland Line* (2009). For him it is clear that:

> Scottish writing in the eighteenth century could no longer be thought of as divided by any sort of line, […] between Highlands and Lowlands. Time and again the papers, […] revealed connections and influences between those who wrote in Scots and English and those who wrote in Gaelic (2009: v).

Such an observation leads us to question the Manichean perspective that emerges from the characterisation of Highlander in Bailyn and Morgan's *Strangers in the Realm* (1991), an examination of "the expansion of the European world outward "into a number of alien peripheries, or marchlands" - in this instance, the Scottish Highlands. There is no objection to its general exegesis that a "pervasive trait was English hostility to, or at least disdain for, the peoples they encountered" (18-19). However, to describe, as Eric Richards does, the boundary between the Lowlands and Highlands as "the most resistant and challenging marchlands in Britain, a province so backward that it was often compared with America as a proper zone for colonization" (19), fails to acknowledge the permeability of this zone and the cultural exchanges described in *Crossing the Highland Line* (2009). Nor does it do much to advance a more accurate and balanced discourse on the nature of Highland and Lowland perceptions to suggest that "[t]he Highlands in the Georgian age remained a frontier society, riddled with contradictions. Here was the last home in the British Isles of witchcraft and witch burning, (factually incorrect: see Davidson's (2000:70) statement that the four great witch-hunts "were exclusively Lowland affairs") of inter communal violence and barbarism, of absolute patriarchal autonomy, of a persisting Gaelic civilization, of a local culture enriched by its own isolation" (80).

Eric Richards may in part be referring to prevailing perceptions which led to the tropes of essentialism that were identified within the literature survey. The linking of the HBF to an earlier internal liminal "imaginative geography" that accommodated a shifting Highland Line has anchored it to a physical boundary- a 'Fault' - that has been etched in the landscape for 450 million years. In so doing, the earlier cultural tropes have been transformed into essentialist characterisations underpinned by environmental determinism. Thus the landscape is conducive of a certain hardness which has led to representations of the Highlander as a kilted warrior and to the opinion of some tourists that the Scots were

genetically more disposed to conflict (72nd Journal). A trope, founded on Lowland characterisations of Highland 'barbarity' (MacGregor, 2007) has remarkable tenacity. Alasdair Alpin MacGregor in 1949 felt that "the record of the Western Isles for courage in war-time is well known" but this was due to, "as with most native races, an insensibility to those loftier feelings [...] found in the more civilised members of human society – an insensibility bred of primitive belief and environment renders them courageous and callous in face of danger" (246). That characterisation had altered only slightly by the time, Oliver & Boyd's *Places and People* cast the 'tourist gaze' over the Trossachs and Rob Roy Country. We learn that:

> Beneath an appearance of impassivity the Highland Celt is in fact much more emotional than the Anglo-Saxon; more easily elated and more easily cast down. Traditionally, he attacks obstacles with tremendous dash, but if they do not yield at the first onset he can rarely be persuaded to make a second attempt. The Anglo-Saxon, and the Englishman in particular, never seems to know when he is beaten; that is one of the secrets of his strength. But the Gael does know; and if he fights on it is with the courage of despair (Nairne, 1961: 33).

Thus it is permissible for a recent authoritative historian, whom Said commended for his clear-sighted critique of the discourse of Orientalism (1995: 52) to claim, for the Scottish case, that:

> Despite the talent displayed by the latter-day clansmen for running banks or newspapers, there was much in their earlier story better fitted to foster the poetic than the practical faculties (Kiernan, 1993: 30).

Not only is the Highlander incapable of creating wealth, he is a 'subsidy junkie' one of MacGregor's key Medieval markers (2007: 25) which informed the earlier MacGregor's view of the Western Islanders as a " population which can find so much time for gadding and loafing […] must necessarily become increasingly burdensome to the nation, increasingly dependent on […] public subsidy"(1949: 219). This perspective can be seen today in Durie's comment at the *Lady of the Lake* conference at Balloch in 2010 that investment in Gaelic is "a waste of money". This trope of the sponging Celt's resistant to

economic realities has direct consequence on the next aspect under consideration - the Gaelic language.

The mysterious Gaelic Language

The earlier discussion has exposed the tenacity of the ancient tropes of the 'other' which characterise the Highlander. This extends particularly to his language. In his introduction to *Masks of Difference*, David Richards quotes Renan's observation that:

> In the most ancient languages, the words used to designate foreign peoples are drawn from two sources: either words that signify 'to stammer' 'to mumble' or words that signify 'mute' (1994: 1).

Cronin in *Translation and Identity* (2006) invokes either negative alterity or positive alterity in response to language difference as part of an 'unknown other'. On the one hand, positive alterity can be said to exist where the 'unknown' becomes an invitation to discover the 'otherness' of the language, despite the attendant risk of eroticisation. Negative alterity on the other hand is the association of the unknown with the unwanted, a threat rather than a promise. To Cronin "linguistic opacity" is "threatening, as carrying with it the potential menace of all situations of non-communication; any number of paranoid fantasies" (67) that can be projected on to those lacking ' national linguistic qualifications'. Gaelic's "linguistic opacity" is subjected to further "negative alterity" by the confusion with the language of Ireland.

Elision with Irish

Gaelic's subliminal presence, seen in the literature survey, the empirical data or in aural and visual displays of Scottish tourism, indicates a marker of 'otherness' rather than the key to its culture. This is perhaps the single most salient point that emerges from its

treatment of the companies surveyed in the mystery shopping data. From the autoethnographic journals it is evident that many of our visitors have an understanding of Scottish Gaelic and its culture that is mediated through an earlier Irish visit. As MacGregor (2007) has shown, early commentators recognised the historical connection even if it meant that Gaelic heroes such as *Alasdair Mac Colla Ciotach* was referred to as "an Irisch cannibal" (Stevenson, 1980). Although the Scots migrated from Ireland and the two cultures are close, Scottish and Irish Gaelic were distinct and separate languages from an early period. It might be suggested that such cultural associations will bring strength in numbers. However, since it associates Gaelic with the culture of a separate sovereign state, it is 'too alien', to repeat a view by Burnett, the author of *Blind Fingal* (2011), and its "negative alterity" status may be hardened further.

In addition, the cultural reach of Ireland is in danger of blurring the cultural distinctions between the two nations on either side of *Sruth na Maoile* (North Channel) and leads to an elision into a homogenized 'Celtic' cultural expression. Therefore we have the expressions of a 'Celtic' phenomenon whereby Scottish Gaelic cultural elements are fused with Irish expressions to create hybrids. This is most obviously discernible in festivals such as *Celtic Connections* and Hollywood's latest foray into Scotland -Disney-Pixar's *Brave* in which a promotional song, originally Irish, has been translated into Scottish Gaelic to be performed by a Gaelic singer. Thus with the subliminal presence of Gaelic within the tourism sphere, the historical confusion with Irish, with Wordworth's *The Solitary Reaper* being a clear example of Orientalism, there is a confusion of languages - Erse, Gaelic, and now Scots present to this day. *Brave*'s translation simply reinforces the impact of *Braveheart* and such unconscious blurring perhaps results in the fact that there seems no settled word for the 'Gaelic' language and 'the Gaels' in other European languages (45th Journal). When it does receive recognition, the persistent inattention to detail contributes to the existence of a discourse of an "ancient and 'mysterious' language. Its 'otherness' allows His Grace, the

Duke of Argyll, to riposte to the request for his signature in his Gaelic honorific *Mac Cailean Mòr* by saying "Oh, I haven't learned to do that signature yet" (92nd Journal).

"Can the subaltern speak?"

In *Translation and Identity* (2006) Cronin reminds us that:

> The incomprehensible language of others becomes a further sign, along with dress or food habits or manners of socializing, of their fundamental undesirability. Indeed, in certain instances, the 'lack' of a comprehensible language is interpreted as a lack of humanity itself and the other is rendered inhuman (2006:67).

If language, Cronin continues, "differentiates the animal from the human, then denying the utterances of others the status of language-that-can-be-translated is to reduce them to the condition of animals" (67). Apart from descriptions of the Gaelic Highlander as "barbarian", no other marker is as significant as is his language. And yet in the literature there is practically no discussion of the notion that the 'ancient' language might carry a culture: it is simply a barrier to communication. Indeed, in much of the literature surveyed for this research, Gaelic does not even merit mention. It is described on the first page of Womack's *Improvement and Romance* (1989), "as an ancient and beautiful language"; a statement not unlike modern-day references to Latin and is deeply suggestive of Fabian's non-coeval time. Ferguson's (1998) analysis of Trevor-Roper's attitude towards Ossian and the Gaelic language notes that disinterest. He observes that " its account (1983) of Highland illiteracy and cultural deprivation echoed, albeit without acknowledgement, Samuel Johnson's expose of the cultural poverty of Scottish Gaelic, or 'Erse' as he called it"(183). Indeed this confusion between Irish, Erse and Gaelic persists to the extent that Trumpener's (1997) *Bardic Nationalism* repeats Johnston's error in suggesting that Gaelic and *Erse* are in some fashion separate languages as well as betraying confusion regarding Scots and Scots English. Trumpener says:

> [E]ighteenth-century Scotland remained bilingual in its speech (with large repertoires of poetry and song in Erse/Scots Gaelic and in Scots English) and trilingual (Erse, Scots, and Standard English) in its literary life (73).

Perhaps the most perverse failure to acknowledge the language's cultural significance is in relation to the Ossanic poetry of MacPherson. Kelly's treatment of MacPherson's *Ossian* is as merely ephemeral (2010: 25-29). Thus a BB Guide's recent comment to the effect that "there was a bit of controversy when Ossian published his poems a couple of centuries ago". In spite of the distorting cloak of the authenticity controversy, it is difficult to exaggerate the influence of MacPherson across many art forms. Robert Crawford's *Scotland's Books*, states that it "became one of the most globally influential pieces of Scottish literary production" (312). To answer Spivak's question of the capacity of the 'subaltern' to speak, is to remind ourselves of McLeod's (2000) encapsulation of the dilemma of the muted Highland subaltern is that others are speaking for Him.

"The most difficult language in the world"

This is a significant trope and the observation is the second most salient finding from the mystery shopping exercise: the physical containment beyond the 'dusky barrier' and dismissal of the language's contemporary relevance. The Gaelic descriptors *loch*, *glen*, and *ben* are now described as 'Scots' while Gaelic itself is dismissed as a waste of public money. There is a good deal of negative press about the expense of support for Gaelic and its tone has been the subject of a Witness Statement to the Levison Inquiry (2012). However, it is also characterised as incapable of coining new terms, out-moded, of no value and overtaken by the march of history. It is as if it is the language of, in Richard's words, "the Highlander's symbolic presence […] as a corpse, over which the tide of history's violence sweeps. A victim of the past, who must be seen to have paid for his past, the Highlander is one of history's expendables" (1994: 116). Nonetheless, while these

elements of the discourse on the language are relatively well recongised by scholars, what has emerged from this particular research is the ubiquity of a particularly damaging trope. The remarkably widespread perception of the language's impenetrable complexity is noteworthy.

'Incoherent half-hooting'

What are the factors that might help to explain the almost complete absence of the Gaelic language within the field of Scottish heritage tourism? The overwhelming impression left is that the majority of visitors have a very limited knowledge of the existence of other languages in Scotland. Perhaps the situation is not helped by writers like Gauldie (2009:20) who claims that "Highland music and songs survives but sometimes in a sadly debased form peddled by kilted crooners such as Harry Lauder and Andy Stewart". It is thus perhaps not at all surprising that one encounters the "Oh, I thought it was dead" phenomenon (20th Journal).

From the literature survey it would appear that the Gael is mute or "incoherent" as it was to Dorothy Wordsworth's ears. References to the language are exceptionally rare. The focus is always on tartan and kilted warrior. Even when there is an attempt to deal sympathetically with the language such as Robert Crawford's (2001: 136-7) *The Modern Poet* discussion of Clough's poem *Tober na fuosich*, in which, while he acknowledges the embarrassment on discovering the supposed ribaldry of the words, he fails to recognise that the place name was spurious and the supposed Gaelic toast almost certainly never existed. This somewhat detached attitude percolates into the popular guides so that it is entirely acceptable for Orr, author of the Discovering series - *Argyll, Mull and, Iona*, (1990) to comment without attribution (for which none exists) that King James IV, the last King of Scots who spoke Gaelic, was reported to have said at Dunstaffnage that the western clans

still spoke "the language of savages" (62). Perhaps we have in this last remark a phenomenon of a process of language change and cultural shift that is to Denvir (1997:45) "the second phase of the colonial process, the subjugation of the mind and the spirit after the subjugation of the body", one which is "brought about with the full cooperation, indeed connivance, of certain elements of the colonized group".

"I make no effort to pronounce the name in Gaelic"

Ultimately however, the persistent, deliberate muting illustrates attitudes wider than that facing Gaelic in the field of tourism in Scotland. At a talk in Glasgow University Department of Archaeology on the Lewis Chessman on 19 January, 2011, the lecturer noted the existence of a place name saying "and I make no effort to pronounce the name in Gaelic - 'the house of the old women'". But then, in discussion of Eoropie church in Lewis to which he drew comparison with the cathedral church in Greenland, he both names its Scandinavian name of *Hvalsey* and also pronounces the indigenous name of the town of *Qaqortoq* near which the remains lie. Did he seriously mean to offer the view that Inuit has a better claim to articulation in Scotland than Gaelic?

Comparative evidence from the field

Denvir (2002), indeed, in considering the linguistic implications of mass tourism in the Irish Gaeltacht areas, has been forced to admit that, despite what some people might believe concerning its central relevance to any definition of culture, the language impact of tourism is almost universally ignored in the literature. His view is that it was as if "in an Anglophone world, no language exists other than English" (23). Where the guides do express any interest it is entirely utilitarian: it helps to get an approximate pronunciation of place names, particularly the hills. This is a move which is strongly reminiscent of

Fabian's discussion of earlier anthropological and colonial practice that recommended use of the native language as a *tool*, as a means, to extract information but where:

> no-one considered seriously that the 'usefulness' of the native language might rest on the fact that it draws the researcher into a communicative praxis as a result of which metaphors such as *tool, vehicle, or receptacle* might be difficult to maintain (1983:106, original emphasis).

In the contemporary Scottish tourism industry, the only value given to Gaelic is merely transactional in that it is sometimes there to explain the names of the most obvious TVPs – its mountains. Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o in *Decolonising the mind,* recognises that "written language and orature are the main means by which a particular language transmits the images of the world contained in the culture it carries" (1986: 15). But his particular purview is to remind us that "colonialism's most important area of domination is the mental universe of the colonised, the control, through culture, of how people perceive themselves and their relationship to the world" (16). Thus for Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o this colonial alienation:

> starts with a deliberate disassociation of the language of conceptualisation, of thinking, of formal education, of mental development from the language of daily interaction in the home [...] It is like separating the mind from the body so that they are occupying two unrelated spheres in the same person. On a larger social scale it is like producing a society of bodiless heads and headless bodies (1986:28).

On this analysis therefore it might be argued that under the 'tourist gaze' the only task the kilted bagpiper is called upon to perform is that of blowing into his chanter.

The history-less Highlands

The next phase of this process of elision is that the Highlander is written out of history in the sense that his history acts as a rare *leit motif* for interruption in the progress of Scottish history into which it has been submerged. 360 years ago *Niall MacMhuirich* set down his reasons for writing the only contemporary Gaelic account of the Wars of Montrose since

those who related the events "made no mention of the Gael". We see from the literature survey that general Scottish histories "make no mention of the Gael", which is perhaps an unconscious application of the Marxist approach to history. Miller in a critique of Fanon's writings in *Theories of Africans* sees that even for this early postcolonial writer," "the ethnic forces are consistently reactionary, dupes of the colonizer". The "radical vision of history as subordinated to History" leaves "no room for local knowledge". Thus for Miller, this universalising 'History' leaves the peasant masses "stuck in time, outside of history", and "plunged in the repetition without history of an immobile existence" (1990:50).

A historiography that leaves "no room for local knowledge" was compounded by Craig's analysis of Scotland as itself being 'Out of History' (1996) and Highland Scotland even more. To Craig the "Scottish community is an echo chamber for distant events" and its 'historylessness' has the characteristics usually associated in Scottish writing with "the Celtic world of the Highlands before the 1745 Rising and the Clearances", by which, in a distinct echo of Miller, he explains that this world is:

> entirely divorced from historical process, as yet untouched by narrative; a world whose existence has to be defined in terms of cycles and repetitions (1996:36).

The notion of 'historylessness', however, is not novel in its application to Highland Scotland. David Richards, in a little discussed book, *Masks of Difference* had by 1994 developed the notion of the Highlander as not only being 'out of history' but being consumed as an asset by the onward inexorable march of historical progress. He discusses the Boston-born Copley's painting *The Death of Major Peirson*, to demonstrate that he used the image of the dead, expended, Highlander as a cipher that was instantly recognisable to the gaze of those who had memories of the 1745 rising (1994:116) - a graphic example of that soldier's end for Wolfe's "common good". This notion of 'historylessness' built upon a view articulated by Chapman, MacDonald, and Tonkin that

for a successful self-defining entity to maintain its relevant history there is the corollary condition that "the minority, subnational entities within it simply cannot compete on the same scale". Such entities are "history-less and event-less by comparison. Not only is their history unrecorded or ignored", but also that "it did not happen" (1989: 8-9).

Scottish Gaelic history, therefore, is compared and contrasted with that of the Scottish nation. Perhaps the most explicit theoretical expression within the formal histories is that by Davidson (2000), who sees the existence of the separate Gaelic polity beyond the 'Highland Line' as a principal barrier to Scottish unity prior to 1707. There are sporadic interruptions from this ghetto into a path of progress to civility that was exemplified by Scottish Enlightenment's 'conjectural' history's teleology. Events such as the Lordship of the Isles, The Massacre of Glencoe, The Jacobites, and the Highland Clearances (now safely contained in Sutherland or, at least, only resonating there) act as a threat to the progress of civility. In one sense Gaelic history is present only within the wider Scottish and British historiography by invitation and as such the presence serves simply to act as an illustrative device for a broader discussion of Scottish progress. It is the conclusion of a situation where, as Martin MacGregor said at the Bannerman Lecture in 2011, "the dialectic of the seventeenth century has been with us ever since and informed and created a ghetto in which Gaelic culture and history was placed". Thus the process leads to the denial of a wider Scottish presence for the Gaelic Highlander (a process accentuated by the erasure of place names and which is the subject of the third section of the discussion), and the ghettoisation of his culture in the Western Isles, which, although now is claimed by the area to be the Gaelic heartland, is historically marginal as far as the originary area, Argyll, is concerned.

Lack of Highland 'historical dynamic'

To Craig it is hardly surprising that Highland Scotland should represent a 'pre-historical' society since he quotes Marx's view of the Gaels as one of "those groups of remnant people, left over from an earlier population, forced back and subjugated by the nation which later became the repository of historical development". However, for Craig the tragedy is that "the repository of historical development", that should have been Lowland Scotland's narration, had itself "no more historical dynamic" than that which was present in "pre-industrial, pre-historical society of the Highlands before the Clearances" (37). To Lloyd the resultant historiography:

> reduces the cultural forms and practices of past and subordinated people to mere reaction, folk-lore, or mythology, and yet depends on them for its own articulation and for its own myth of a finally triumphant progress. Within its frames, pasts that envisaged different futures are detached from any life to come, are fixed in their extinction, furnishing only debris - remnants, whose excavation proves only the inevitability of their passing, their fundamental incapacity to blend into the onward flow of history. On occasion, though, they trouble history's stream with interference, eddies, and counterflows (2003: 46).

Folk-loric Highland history

If there exists currently a superficial, knowledge of any history of the Highlands, far less a distinctive Gaelic history, the problem is exacerbated by an academic position represented by McCrone's description of much of Highland history writing as a "cottage industry", particularly, that associated with the Clearances. He defines that 'cottage industry' as follows:

> Interpreting Highland history has become something of a cottage industry, with, broadly speaking, two opposing views: the orthodox one that Highland history since l745, and particularly the Clearances of people from the land in the eighteenth century was economically necessary if somewhat socially unfortunate, and the radical stance that what happened in the last two hundred years was tantamount to class warfare in which people lost their birth-right (1992: 50).

The orthodoxy of the "cottage-industry" view continues with Macleod quoting Devine as being equally unsympathetic to the efforts of Hunter in the field of Clearance history, Devine saying that Hunter's writings have "not been generally accepted within the mainstream of historical scholarship" (1996: 6). Devine has gone further and characterised such writings as "victim history" (quoted in Morris, 2012: 15).

But the folkloric nature of Highland history is also that of earlier Scottish historiography. Ash (1980) and David Richards (1994) identify the central role of Scott in creating history of this nature. The lack of a Highland Gaelic "historical dynamic" is rectified to the satisfaction of Anglophone Lowland Scotland in the historical romances of Sir Walter Scott. However, since Scott sets out to write 'fiction' his depiction of Highland Scotland has been categorised as 'romantic' invention. Ash (1980) correctly viewed Scott as Scotland's first true historian. However, as David Brown, in *Walter Scott and the historical imagination,* (1979) reminds us that though a novel may deal with the real history and may even be empirically accurate in its details, as Scott painstakingly sought to do (see Richards, 1994), it remains a fictive treatment of history. Brown sees the literary work as a production and if it distanciates history it is not because it transmutes into fantasy but because the significations it works into fiction are already representations of reality rather than a sober effort to attempt to represent reality itself.

Saree Makdisi's reading of *Waverley* in *Romantic Imperialism* (1998) is that Scott's inscription of the Highlands is as a remote and vanishing 'past' by means of a rigid spatial and temporal opposition between the Highland and Lowland and English worlds. The novel "simultaneously acknowledges the historical transformation of the Highlands and negates this transformation, by keeping the Highland space intact as the space of the past. In other words, [*Waverley*] keeps the Highlands alive (in the past) by symbolically killing them (in the present)" (98).

Pittock has also described the "denial of contemporaneity" (1991:87) by which Scott, fusing Jacobitism and the Highlands, consigned both to an outmoded past of "painful division to be superseded by one of imperial unity" (91). McNeil's view of Pittock's analysis of Scott's novels results in a distinctive but inert Highland 'Scottishness', but one that is safely entombed in the past and posing no threat to a synthetic (but progressive) 'Britishness' (2007: 51).

Or in the words of a more prolific modern-day commentator, Fry, who characterises the Highlanders as having a history which is:

> largely one of mistakes, of an almost inerrant instinct for choosing the wrong, the losing side in religion, politics, economics and society generally. Perhaps their ideals were nobler than others', although the record scarcely bears that out. Anyway, they have seldom found means to turn ideals into realities (2005:320).

The persistent conceptualisation of an 'absent' Highland history within the discourse of Scottish national formation echoes and reinforces the notion of the Highlands as 'another country' lacking coeval time. In his discussions on anthropological time, Fabian (1983) sets out to demonstrate that a discourse is developed:

> which construes the Other in terms of distance, spatial and temporal. The Other's empirical presence turns into his theoretical absence, a conjuring trick which is worked with the help of an array of devices that have the common intent and function to keep the Other outside the Time of anthropology (1983: xi).

Much that has been written about Highland Scotland, including the present STGA workbooks and the tourism industry's productions, perpetuates such 'distanciation'. Earlier Anglophone Scottish historians were not well equipped to build upon the work of historians such as Browne (1838), Gregory, (2008[181]) and Maclean (1902), as Campbell's (1933) critique of Hume Brown's characterisation of Highlanders in the '45 pointed out. MacLeod (1996) does draw attention to the fact that there has been much valuable recent revision and the anticipated publication of the Edinburgh University

Press's History of Gaelic Scotland series is to be welcomed. Indeed, Craig has recanted from his original belief in a 'history-less Scotland', stating recently that:

> Many of us […] writing about a Scottish culture […] failed to break through the amnesia in which our generation was engulfed […] [and]… we contributed to the very failure of which we thought we were the victims. Scotland was indeed out of history, but largely because its real history was unexamined (2007:32).

Nonetheless, the overall impression one gains from an examination of much historical writing is that the Highlander appears only fleetingly to interrupt history's progress, a condition succinctly summed up by MacGregor (2007) in relation to Gaelic Scots who, "while they were a *sine qua non* for the Scottish past", are "an irrelevance to the Scottish present. They could not be party to the course of Scottish history …They were present in the past, absent in the present" (47). Fabian uses the phrase "denial of coevalness" (1983:35) to refer specifically to this temporal distancing a practice that was an early feature of Scottish tourism. Brendon in his 1991 study of Cook explains that "amid the obvious appeal of Scotland - its scenery, monuments, people - Cook made much of other, more recherché pleasures. His tours were not just journeys in space but in time" (51).This thesis would argue that what was true for Cook's tours in 1848 is evident today in the manner in which Highland Scotland is portrayed, a portrayal that is sustained by the film industry.

Film

This chapter concludes with a discussion on the implications for Gaelic Scotland of the marked tendency to interpret the space through the camera lens, a process which blurs its historically distinct cultural outlines. This is evident in the music that provides atmosphere in the films *Braveheart* and *Rob Roy*. These films have impacted on present images of the Scottish Highlands and their filming in both Scotland and Ireland has inevitably led to the emergence of a 'crossover' culture, perhaps more appropriately described as 'Celtic'.

Also, given the often twinning or 'bundling' of Scotland and Ireland in tours, it is perhaps not surprising that many of our visitors have difficulty in distinguishing between the two cultures. However, one of the more surprising findings from the 'mystery shopper 'tours was the extent to which the landscape is now anchored only in terms of a film set, whether it be *Monty Python, Harry Potter* or *James Bond*.

Seaton has said that Scotland's tourism development exemplifies how a destination's popularity is often influenced by the way in which it is constructed through the media (1998:1-2). He credits books for Scotland's early rise as a destination and we have seen how such literature, particularly the Waverley novels constructed the Highlander as a muted, figure in a romantic landscape and that landscape painters then erased that figure from the landscape. To the current day, the successors of Scott deploy the same mediated tropes of the romantic Highlander that the novelist is deemed to have generated in 1815. Might film have a role in constructing an alternative image of the Highlander and his landscape under the 'tourist gaze'?

Research into Disneyworld (Ritzer and Liska, 1997) confirms both the dominance and importance of the popular culture and the dual roles of the media in both its distributive and entertainment sense. Tourism, according to Long and Robinson has "facilitated the three-dimensional existence of what were originally two-dimensional media forms with the visual media producing not mass tourism but rather niche forms of tourism based around mass forms of entertainment" (2009: 108). They list an extensive literature to suggest that there is an increasingly close relationship between tourism and the consumption of film and fictional television programmes (108). Such relationships vary between the commonly observed and measured, yet still largely opaque, process of visits which they see as akin to a particular form of popular pilgrimage to actual sites featured in film, to the very creation of tourist destinations through production and location processes

and the creation of mythic places. To them the circulation of imagery is the common denominator whereby prospective tourists are deemed to be drawn to destinations through the assimilation of images of places (Crouch and Lübbren, 2006; Urry, 1990). The concept of film induced 'location' tourism is increasingly explored and focuses generally upon the interlinked issues of motivation (Macionis, 2004), and marketing. In this last area Long and Robinson (2009) acknowledge "important subtexts relating to representation and identity-making" (108).

Frost et al. (2006), in discussing historic films, heritage tourism and destination image, note the increasing interest in how films may shape destination images and resultant tourist expectations. They highlight the focus of this literature as being on fictional films and television which create destination images of either highly attractive scenery or quirky, nostalgic and idyllic rural societies. They note, however, that analysis of the impacts of historic films on destination image and tourism has been limited. They cite a 2003 work that reported on the success of *Braveheart* in promoting Stirling. But its authors, Croy and Walker concluded that although there are many examples from Scotland of screen locations for films and despite significant funding being directed to tourism marketing, the desired results were often not forthcoming. They did note especially that "the effects on the American market were well-known, at least anecdotally" (119- 120).

Thus to Frost et al. this limited largely anecdotal literature suggests that visitors are responding to a destination image based on the heritage and historical associations of a place. However, historic films presenting already known stories are constrained by the audience's existing knowledge and may raise issues of authenticity (249). They quote the historian Rosenstone who argued in *Visions of the Past* that "historical films trouble and disturb professional historians" (1995: 45). In particular, they highlight concern over the

rewriting of history through invented, exaggerated or excised characters and incidents (241).

However, I would argue that the concerns over authenticity which Frost and Rosenstone raise may mask a far more invasive process, by which film imagery substitutes for any reality in the landscape of the 'tourist gaze' particularly in a destination such as Highland Scotland where the competing narrative is so attenuated and detached from location that the celluloid myth has more to offer as a palatable surrogate. This was the evidence from the mystery shopper data. Such might be the case with *Brave* (2012) the American 3D computer-animated fantasy adventure film released by Disney- Pixar. VisitScotland had been sufficiently encouraged by the prospects for enhanced visitation that they invested £12 million in joint marketing with Disney- Pixar. The synopsis of the film reads:

> Since ancient times, stories of epic battles and mystical legends have been passed through the generations across the rugged and mysterious Highlands of Scotland. In *Brave*, a new tale joins the lore" (http://www.disney.co.uk/brave/).

Although it is perhaps too early to assess the impact of this addition to the stable of films such as *Braveheart, Monty Python and The Holy Grail* and *Rob Roy*, the blurb on the "mystical legends of the rugged and mysterious Highlands of Scotland" would tend to suggest that *Brave* will not disrupt the process of romantic imagining that saw a Welsh tourist reading the scenery of Loch Katrine through the fifth canto of *Lady of the Lake* (Clyde, 1980), of the artists' approach to the Highlands discussed by MacLeod (2007) or Gabaldon's romantic swamping of the Gaelic perspective at Ruthven. The landscape of the 'mysterious' Highlands will become the landscape of the film.

The anecdotal tale, uncorroborated, of the American film producers of *Brigadoon* being forced reluctantly to shoot the film in a Hollywood studio rather than in the Scottish landscape because that scenery is not 'Scottish enough' was cited at the height of the onslaught on 'tartanry'. The implication was that such is 'tartanry's' potency that the

actual landscape of Scotland is incapable of sustaining the 'myth' that it has created. In reality, finance dictated the studio's decision: Hollywood was cheaper. There may, however, be an echo of Denvir's (2002: 43) observation that, as with an exact replica Lascaux caves in France, we may have a metaphor for postmodern touristic society with its concept of simulated authenticity, of virtual reality or virtual touring. While he is correct that it is better to seek to retain, rather than be in a position to be obliged to recreate, true authenticity, the technological realities of the post modern global world exemplified by Pixar's *Brave* offer bleak prospects for a sustained narrative rooted in the traditions of the autochthonous community.

Might there be a surrogate in the manner in which the Highland landscape is read? The thesis now discusses this aspect of the re/presentation of the upland areas to the north of the Forth and Clyde rivers.

CHAPTER ELEVEN: ERASURE

Introduction

This thesis has been charting a number of themes such as commoditisation, 'invented traditions', historical presence by invitation, elision with Irish culture and language and the absence of Gaelic tourism usage. This chapter, entitled erasure, considers the manner in which the gradual erasure of Gaelic-named landscapes is leading to new tourism paradigms. In the absence of an indigenous landscape narrative and, arising from the renaming of landscape features, a new narrative of 'wilderness' and 'unspoilt nature' has emerged. Marching in step with this steady re-inscription and reinvention is a process, which has been observed internationally in other milieux such as in mountaineering and diving sites, whereby landscape naming is shaped to provide new meanings. The two processes of whisky marketing and recreational tourism reduce the human landscape of Gaelic Scotland to a 'wilderness' in which the Gaelic presence is being gradually erased in favour of imagery of 'pristine' nature. There are a number of aspects to the phenomenon: Firstly the land is renamed, whether through military mapping, *The Statistical Accounts*, or a National Parks agency, or the abandonment of the original Gaelic name as the assignation of new Gaelic names to features where a perfectly serviceable Gaelic name existed. *Sgurr Alasdair* in the Cullins in Skye being substituted for *Sgurr Sgumain* (MacGregor, 1953: 8) is a salient example. With the coining of new names come new meanings and new traditions. This last process is seen in the collective names for individual mountains as in the case of The Five and Three Sisters of Kintail and Glencoe respectively.

Secondly, the old names are provided with new meanings or in cases where Gaelic names survive but have been altered to provide a totally new meaning in English such as Duck bay [Camsail Bay] or the original names are freighted with additional meanings. Added to this last process is the related phenomenon of the creation of new narratives for old names,

as, for example, in the case of Ben Ledi, Lix, Ben Cruachan, or Freuchie. Thirdly the traditions of tales associated with significant landscapes, is lost in that the older narrative, as at Killiecrankie, is now used simply as an anchor for tropes of essentialism.

My findings suggest that the Highland landscape is largely incapable of being 'read' as a human landscape primarily because its indigenous population has been largely swept away and the space is now largely unnamed. These processes, coupled with a general focus on geology and nature, at the expense of people, it is suggested, contributes to a distortion of the landscape narrative and denial of a rich human cultural experience. It is argued that this is consistent with postcolonial experience in other parts of the globe where re-inscription, translations, new histories and new imaginings and the erasure from memory result in what is in effect a '*terra nullius*' - a blank canvas upon which new narratives may be written. The result is a wilderness, as Gardiner has described it "a *tabula rasa* of bleakness famously beloved of Queen Victoria" (2004: 272). Thus for the sighted but 'deaf' tourists the 'tourist gaze' is upon a pristine wilderness - Cronin's notion of sightseeing with "the sound switched off" writ large. The tourist experience of Scotland is thus impoverished, with the cultural iconography of Scotland cut adrift from any anchor much as it was in Victorian times where the emptied Highland landscape was a theatre of the imagination - Hesse's 'dreamscape'.

A surrogate presence?

Given that the presence of the Highlander within the Highland landscape has been largely obliterated, the question arises as to the extent to which place-names provide a surrogate 'presence' to which the 'tourist gaze' might be drawn? This is certainly the argument as to the value of the study of place-names advanced by Basso, where places and their naming are vital cultural resources for oral cultures. To him, landscapes are "storied" and are

repositories of historical memory and where shorthand labels are given to significant geographic features for the purposes of finding them again. The invention of writing and of mapping allows place-names to be stored and reduces the need for names that have meanings related directly to a particular place (Basso, 1996; Hercus and Simpson, 2002). In the Scottish context, Taylor in *The Uses of Place-Names* (1998) explains that most Highland place-names bear invaluable information about the name-givers and their world and are thus a very valuable linguistic and historical resource. For Taylor "they are a precious part of our culture" (1).

Renaming/re- inscription as an organic process of adaptation

However, Bender's view is that "landscapes are always in process, potentially conflicted, untidy and uneasy" (2001: 3). This is so in Scotland "where at least seven languages have left their mark on Scotland's place-names: Gaelic, Pictish, Norse, Welsh, Scots, English and French" (Taylor, 1998: 2). Organic evolution in the landscape re-inscription is seen in the shift in naming of places such as Edinburgh and Duddingston. Fielding, in *Scotland, the Fictions of Geography* (2005) explains that Scottish linguistic antiquarians had a clear sense of naming as a form of inscription, an originary language in that it defines and clarifies the notion of an earlier 'primitive' local inscription of the landscape which might act as a form of national history (103). But in the early nineteenth century, Fielding explains this was "not a very promising task. Celts were thought either to be ethnically 'other' or a part of a national identity which was now lost". The challenge with "cultures associated with the oral and the impermanent" (7) was to forge a link between ancient national languages and the modern, literate state. But the idea that etymology depends on writing differs markedly from the oral origins of the narrative that emerges from the natural landscapes. None more so than in the process of mapping.

Mapping and the rupture

Berg and Vuolteenaho (2009) have drawn from recent works that point to the hegemonic and contested practices of geographical naming and the key role of naming in the colonial silencing of indigenous cultures. As Azaryahu and Golan (2001) have stated in the case of Palestine:

> The notion of a toponymy as a text becomes clearly apparent in maps.[…] Maps purport to be an objective and definitive representation of the landscape and their authority is conductive to the substantialization of place names as an aspect of the landscape and to rendering a specific toponymy legitimate (181).

Garner's 'Whose New Forest Maps?' (2001) explains that maps claim to represent reality because they describe the land's surface of physical and human features and by explicitly prioritising aspects of the land, they describe cultural values and are systems of representing and encoding cultural knowledge. Maps therefore, for Garner, are a powerful, culturally developed manner of representing the landscape. The map dictates a focus on boundaries, areas, heights and distances, giving pictorial expression to ownership, rights and routes (137-8).

In the Highland context "the substantialization of place names" commences properly with military mapping. In 1747, a military survey of the Highlands designed to facilitate the subjugation of the clans following the '45, laid the roots of Ordnance Survey (OS) but also caused a rupture in the organic process of place-name evolution. While it has to be acknowledged that the OS has contributed greatly to the continued Gaelic presence in the Scottish landscape when the names were generally assiduously collected, Withers (2000) characterises that landscape is now 'authorized' - a process he links to the extension of British colonial power and the mapped expression of that power. Withers notes the political struggle over the names of places in a contemporary context as with Zionist ideologies in Israel's administered territories of Palestine. Thus an interest in the manner

in which the legacies of colonial pasts inform the present, and the questioning of received historical 'truths', "is central to postcolonial writing" (533-4). He sees that discourse as reflecting social power and the ways in which native knowledges, even the natives themselves, are either 'written out' by being excluded, or marginalised in the processes of 'translation' and cartographic representation. His examination of the work of the OS in the nineteenth-century Scottish Highlands explores how the landscape is 'authorized', examines the judgments on the sources of authoritative names but cautions that the OS's mapping of Scotland was never a straightforward process of translation nor the consequence of an external agency inscribing its own power on the land (532).

The idea of mapping as translation associated with the OS's mapping of nineteenth-century Ireland was central to Brian Friel's 'dramatisation' of the cultural encounters between English-speaking cartographers and the Irish-speaking population in his play *Translations* (1980) Historians and others have debated the accuracy of *Translations,* with Andrews (1992) pointing out the inaccuracies in Friel's *Translations* and cautioning against an uncritical acceptance of the work as an historical record. In the 1990s Andrews defended the survey from what he saw as a misrepresentation of it. But in *Civilizing Ireland*, Ó Cadhla has explained the source of the disagreement was the Anglicization or translation of Irish place names. He does not comment on Andrews's assessment that Friel's inventions "were unbelievable if taken literally" (1992: 93) but rather views the survey "as a colonial or state ethnography" (2007: 73). Ó Cadhla suggests that:

> The fact that the category of Irishness is configured within colonialist discourse is often overlooked […] at times due to the strong cocktail of colonial ethnographic discourse allied with the invisible hand of translation that looks, through, and not at, a pre-colonial culture rendered transparent…(2007: 228)

Nonetheless, for Withers the notion of 'authorizing' rather than of 'translation' is a historically more accurate term. In forming "their imaginative geographies", Withers does,

however, acknowledge that the OS was mapping a Gaelic world that had been viewed contemptuously as backward and uncivilised by outside authority since the seventeenth century. Thus the intended map was one expression among many of the unequal ideological construction of subject peoples within a European frame of reference. For Withers the mapping of Gaelic Scotland, in the past "*and to some degree now*, should be thought of as something which is both a means to authority yet something always susceptible to constant modification" (2000: 584, my own emphasis). His paper thus documents the social, linguistic and epistemological processes through which authority and legitimacy were both made in the map. It might be reasonable to conclude therefore that the Loch Lomond and Trossachs National Park's Chief Executive's invoking of Victorian mapping traditions in her defence of the Park's new map containing newly coined names such as 'Giro Bay' resonances with the original OS approach (See Appendix 7).

Sinclair's Old Statistical Account

If the creators of the first maps were in part instrumental in the 'authorising' and modification of Gaelic place-names in Highland Scotland, the process intensified through the innumerable acts of 'translation' during the late eighteenth century compilation of Sinclair's *Old Statistical Account*. There more prestigious languages such as Latin provided meanings that displaced the indigenous Gaelic names (MacBain,1922; Newton 2008; Taylor 1998; Watson 1926). As Taylor has shown, such folk-etymology draws on history (real and pseudo), local lore, and local characters so that "there is hardly a place-name, in Scotland at least, which has escaped its clutches" (1998: 7). Taylor recounts the derivation of the Fife parish-name 'Ballingry' being, according to Thomas Scott (*OSA* Fife, 74), the parish minister in the later eighteenth century, "a compound of the Gaelic word *Bal*, which is a village, and *inri*, being the initials found on those […] on which were inscribed .I.N.R.J. *Jesus Nazarenus Rex Judicorum*, Jesus of Nazareth King of the Jews'

(1998:7- 8). In reality the name probably relates to the fact that there are several springs along the hill slopes above Ballingry (Taylor & Márkus, 2006: 138).

Scott poked fun at this practice in *The Antiquary* (1816), where he has Oldbuck proposing one of his pet theories regarding the location of the final battle between the Romans and the Caledonians which he is convinced took place on his own property. However, Scott himself is not immune: in his introduction to *Rob Roy* and description of the Rout of Glen Fruin of 1603, his feeling for the subject made him state that the glen's name means "sorrow" (1998 [1818]:8). However, Watson (1926) states that the name seems to be connected with the Gaelic word *freoine,* rage, fury (470). Also, given the nature of the questionable etymology of the *Old Statistical Account*'s explanations, the source needs to be treated cautiously. In the 'Renaming Landscapes' section of the Autoethnography chapter, we already noted contemporary practise in the article in Issue 2 of *Scottish Walks* where McNeish speaks of the mountain Ben Ledi and stresses the fanciful meaning of God's Mountain over the more prosaic topographical descriptor.

Vague meanings contribute to the ephemeral nature of the human landscape

If the process of landscape re-inscription has been underway for centuries, the pace of attrition seems to have increased as has the vague and imprecise rendering of place-name's actual meaning. In the summer of 2010 one BB Tourist Guiding Mentor asserted that "all place names ending in 'o' are Pictish" and "the place name Strontian has at least four possible meanings". The first statement belies the facts and the second is symptomatic of a general pattern. Strontian's likely meaning is 'the point at the fairy hill' but today the guide's statement is also the reality in the sense there are probably at least four variant meanings for the place-name now in current use. We also outlined in the 'Renaming Landscapes' section, above, the circular process, where autochthonous language loss at

Gleneagles and subsequent re-inscription with an eagle association has led to the spurious recreation of a new Gaelic landscape at a housing development called 'Iolaire' - the Gaelic for eagle.

Watson states that "in place-names, sanity and scholarship must conjoin; running after the bizarre or fanciful is fatal" (MacBain, 1922: 341). Little has changed over the years. In his foreword to Seton Gordon's *Highways and Byways in the Central Highlands* Watson was again sufficiently concerned to write that: "too often Gaelic words and phrases are mishandled, as would be the case with no other language" (1949: vii).

It has been suggested that the Highlanders themselves have some agency in this naming confusion and two notorious instances are usually cited in defence of this proposition. The first, noted earlier, concerns the embarrassment caused to the mid-Victorian Clough poet who was forced to rename his epic love poem *Tober na fuosich* (*sic*) (1848). That name, supposedly a Gaelic toast to the 'bearded well', appears on Lothian's map of March 1827 (Lothian, 1829) on Loch Ericht-side at a place called before (on Roy's 1747-55 map) and subsequently Dalanlongart - 'the water-meadow of the encampment'. That place is now named Ben Alder Lodge. We can only suspect that someone with a smattering of Gaelic was having a coarse joke at the expense of Lothian's contributors. However, Robert Crawford in *The Modern Poet* (2004:136-7) in which he discusses the incident and the sexual connotations of the name assumes without question the existence of the supposed toast and the place-name.

The second instance concerns the naming of 'Fingal's Cave' and an explicit pecuniary interest by Highlanders is suggested. Grenier's view (2005) is that the Highlanders:

> made use of tourism where they could. It was not Joseph Banks who named
> Fingal's Cave on Staffa; according to Bank's own narrative the local guide told him
> that the cave was named for 'Fhinn MacCoul' (31).

However closer analysis suggests a more complex process that cautions its use as evidence "that Hebrideans recognized the potential in an Ossianic connection" (31). Certainly Baines, in his 1997 survey of naming practices associated with *Ossian*, is of the view that "tourism was itself a colonial activity" (57) and that "Ossian provided the perfect frame for viewing the whole of the land in a gaze of which the colonial aspect was displaced on to supposedly autochthonous heroic history" (55). Baines is unable to prove, however, whether his gazetteer of Ossianic names "constitutes an invention of tradition" (52). The account which Grenier uses as her authority is that of Pennant (1771) who incorporates Sir Joseph Banks' own account of the visit to the cave in which Banks states:

> we asked the name of it, said our guide, the name is *Finhen ;* what is *Finhen*? said we *Finhen MacCoul* –whom the translator of Ossian's works has called Fingal (263).

Grenier has not been well served by her sources since the issue was fully examined by Faujas de Saint Fond in 1784. In his description he explains that "the boiling motion of the water" would account for "the ancient and real name of this cave in the Erse language being, *the melodious cave*." Saint Fond continues:

> [H]e made the most minute enquiries of several persons well skilled in the Erse, Gaelic, or Celtic language […] to know what relation this cave could have to the father of Ossian. And these gentlemen, […] assured me, that the mistake was owing to the name being equivocal. […] The true name of the cave is *an ua vine. An*, the; *ua*, grotto, cave, cavern; vine, melodious […] and some person not very well versed in the Erse language, might have translated to Sir Joseph Banks the words […] the *cave of Fingal* (1906, 1784: 49-50)

Despite the Anglophone imaginings it is possible for a Frenchman "through enquiries of several persons well skilled" in Gaelic to assay the true meaning of *An Uamh Bhinn* and set it out in detail. There is no notion of the commercial motive of Grenier's account. However, these efforts in Gaelic and French have largely failed: the name for Fingal's Cave remains the name and its original meaning is according to the *Scotland in Trust* magazine of Spring of 2011 "still uncertain".

Folk-etymologies of place-names

We have seen from the data that the honest response to enquiry as to a place name's meaning is often "we don't really know what that name means." However, we also see that place names are given new meanings to reflect modern realities, as in the case of the landslips in Glenogle - 'The Valley of Death'. In addition, the older names are supplied with new meanings and the landscape is consciously constructed with new mythologies. We thus have 'invention of tradition' extended to the landscape and its narratives.

I reflect in the data analysis that a *horror vacui* may lead guides and others to develop fanciful narratives such as those on the shapes of mountains resembling sleeping warriors (34th Journal). However, since, as Bruner argues in 'The Narrative Construction of Reality' (1991), "we organize our experience and our memory of human happenings mainly in the form of narrative - stories, excuses, myths, and so on" (4), an empty Gaelic-named landscape presents the guide with challenges to narration. Narrative, to Bruner, is transmitted culturally and constrained by each individual's level of mastery and by a "conglomerate of prosthetic devices, colleagues, and mentors" (loc. cit.). But, as he has it, "because of its tellability", narrative is "necessarily normative". To Bruner, "this founding condition of narrative has led students of the subject, to propose that narrative is centrally concerned with cultural legitimacy". On this view, it is the very context dependence of narrative accounts that permits cultural negotiation which "makes possible such coherence and interdependence as a culture can achieve" (15-6). However, the Anglophone guide in a Gaelic landscape is rarely capable of any effective negotiation.

This more localised aspect of 'invented tradition' thus arises from a complete absence of autochthonous landscape narrative. We noted that a substantial proportion of the Scottish

tourism industry is based on the 'milk round', where visitors gaze upon a landscape which

is largely devoid of obvious TVPs and which therefore requires the guide to provide

'fillers'. *Horror vacui* perhaps accounts for the continued peddling of the mountaineers'

creation myth of The *Five Sisters of Kintail* that clearly contains an amalgam of motifs

including Lot's wife and the Hussite legend of the Black Mountain. The application of an

'invented tradition' onto the convenient bundling of five mountains (each with their own

Gaelic name) by the mountaineering fraternity perhaps sometime in the 1930s/40s, fits

nowhere into the canon of West Highland tales. The web based discourse on the

mountains now carries sardonic comments on the likely authenticity of genuine traditions

associated with the mountains, such as the well-documented battle of Glen Shiel of 1719.

This states that:

> This battle [...] gave the name to the easternmost summit, *Sgurr nan Spainteach*,
> named after the Spanish who took position on its slopes. One legend tells us that
> after they were defeated, a few of them escaped into the mountains and vanished,
> they were never captured after while neither their bodies found, (*sic*) and that from
> this comes the top's name. But, of course, one is not hundred percent sure of this,
> and this kind of stories (*sic*) makes all the charm of Scotland
> (http://www.summitpost. org/five-sisters-of-kintail/600420, accessed 30 August
> 2011)

It would seem that here again, as at 'Fingal's Cave', the Highlander is deemed responsible

for concocting fanciful landscape narrative to add to the 'the charm of Scotland'.

The glens of tranquillity

A related and concomitant problem is the freighting of the meaning of place names, when

they are broadly correct, with emotional connotations which were never intended by the

original namers. Most obvious examples are Glasgow as the 'dear green place' and the

Trossachs becoming 'rugged cross-hills'. Routinely, now, whisky manufacturers substitute

glens of tranquility, wild geese and rivers of otters for the original normal topographical

descriptors. Distillery marketing erases the Gael's traces on the landscape. The whisky industry purveys a natural landscape whether of stags, eagles and wild geese. They are, however, building on earlier imaginings. Alasdair Alpin MacGregor (1953) almost nonchalantly offers the following re-naming suggestion of a supposedly 'un-named peak':

> To the steep rock-faces of so many of the island's [Rum] summits, goats are admirably suited; and for the un-named peak of some 2,475 feet [...] an Oxford mountaineering party suggested the name of *Sgùrr nan Gobhar* , because of the presence upon [...] of so many goats (32-3).

Even authoritative accounts of Scottish landscape compound the 'naturalisation' of the landscape. In *Land of Mountain and Flood* (2007) the academic authors state that the meaning of *Beinn Eighe*, as being "from its Gaelic roots, 'the Mountain above the Wood'" (274). In reality, Watson (1904:232) recognises the Gael's imaginative 'gaze' by explaining that "Beinn Eighe is File Peak, from its serrated outline as seen from Kinlochewe".

Road-signs as authority and legitimacy in the landscape

We saw from the data that where the landscape is 'authorized' as in the case of the new policy on bi-lingual road-signs, opportunities to begin to recover the older landscape are missed. This is more than the issue of the place-name alone and has broader cultural linguistic implications. Hicks (2002) (<http://www.arts.ed.ac.uk/celtic/poileasaidh/ hicksseminar.html> [accessed 14 December 2012]) explains that, for Landry and Bourhis (1997), the linguistic landscape possesses two functions. The first is informational with a basic function serving as a marker of geographical territory inhabited or previously inhabited by a language community.   Hicks also explains how the linguistic landscape might perform a second, symbolic function in that he assumes that the absence or presence of one's own language on public signs has an effect on how one feels as a member of a language group within a bilingual setting. This is akin to the belief that tourism in raising a language's profile will improve its life chances and is consistent with the Gaelic Language

Act's desire for the language to have parity of esteem. A number of local authorities have thus adopted a bilingual road signage policy, as has the national railway company.

Puzey's (2007) 'A Comparative Survey of the Use of Minority Languages in the Road Signage of Norway, Scotland and Italy' states that "Language visibility can be very important for young learners of lesser used languages. Road signs also have an important didactic role in relation to language, in that they may also be among the very first texts children learn to read"(118). As with Hicks, Puzey recognises their primary aim of communicating a given message but they could be more profoundly interpreted, with repercussions for identity and politics.

For most visitors, looking through a coach window their only exposure to Gaelic is via the increasing number of bi-lingual road signs. However, as we have seen from the data, their chances of learning why, for example, *Ceann Loch Cille Chiarain* is 'Campbeltown' are limited. But even this effort to preserve the manifestation of Gaelic names runs into opposition. For example, Roxanne Sorooshian's plea to 'Leave Endangered Languages to Die' (*Sunday Herald*, 19 September 2010) states that "Gaelic is rammed down our throats no matter how far we are from the Highland hinterland. In the depths of suburbia, my local railway station tells me where I am in Gaelic". There is also the case of the Caithness councillor's complain about Gestapo tactics being used by the road authority in its efforts to provide bilingual signs. There history is being re-written to deny there ever was any Gaelic presence (https://www.google.co.uk/webhp?source=search_ app&gws_rd=cr&ei=QOa-UuTBGcX9ygP2iIDYAw#q=Caithness+councill; accessed 28th December 2013).

In the face of such trenchant opposition, the latter local authority, having erected the bilingual road signs, is now confronted with a maintenance issue due to gunfire damage

(http://www.scotsman.com/news/scotland/top-stories/anti-gaelic-gunmen-shoot-road-sign-in-caithness-1-3075913: accessed 28th December 2013).

This misuse of history and the shotgun perhaps reflects the tension between differing perspectives supporting Bender's view of "potentially conflicted, untidy and uneasy" landscapes (1998:25-38). To her, the word 'landscape' was once reserved for "a particular, elitist way of seeing, an imposing/ imposed 'viewpoint". She proceeds to show this was just one sort of landscape which was "appreciated in ways that depended on finely graded and gendered subtleties of class". She contends, moreover, that this class-driven 'view-point' suppresses the landscapes of those 'being viewed' or renders them 'out of sight'" (2001:3). We saw from the literature survey that the human figure in the Highland landscape served simply as an artist's yardstick. But an example of a description of a landscape where the inhabitants are "out of sight" is that by Hogg. Neil MacGregor (2009) tells us that the author's gaze was "with the professional eye of a sheep farmer" and in writing in 1802 he says:

> I took another journey through the eastern parts of the Grampian Hills, penetrating as far as the sources of the Dee, where I beheld large tracts of fine pasture countries (78).

Hogg's 'gaze' elides over the scattered settlements of the inhabitants who struggled to maintain that 'fine pasture land' thus imposing an elitist 'viewpoint'. Bender's observation echoes the work of Pratt's *Imperial Eyes* (1992, [2003]) in analysing nineteenth century travel writing about South Africa and Argentina. To Pratt such works directs that the "eye commands" what falls within its gaze; mountains and valleys "show themselves," "present a picture"; the country "opens up" before the visitor. The result is that, according to Pratt, the 'gaze' of the improving eye creates subsistence habitats as 'empty' landscapes, "meaningful only in terms of a capitalist future and their potential for producing a marketable surplus" (2003: 60). Hunt (1993) points out that such "racist thought sustained

its adherents' belief that acts of appropriation and coercion were all for the best" which they did so by "concocting […] a fictitious intellectual, moral, and generally physical superiority over specified groups of people" (353). She believes that writers of travel literature certainly contributed to this process. However, another aim, and a "far more consciously explicated one, was to introduce their readers to a new epistemology, the 'commercial gaze'" (354).

Of relevance to this discussion on Highland landscape re-inscription under such a 'commercial gaze' is Carter's (1988) examination of the colonial process, by which supposedly undifferentiated Australian space was named. That space is rhetorically constructed as *terra nullius*, and thus becomes transformed into an 'object of knowledge': "something that could be explored and read" (67) and thereby appropriated.

Landscape as 'wilderness'

Because the landscape is constructed as an empty, exploitable pasture land it can also be read by the romantic gaze as a 'sublime' space that is written about and depicted as a 'wilderness'. It becomes a blank space upon which new artistic musings can be inscribed - the latest manifestation of that gaze being created by the film industry. The examination of paintings, drawings and prints of Highland subjects and scenes created between 1760 and 1883 (MacLeod, 2009) reveals an angle which is "too significant to be ignored" (120). She shows that images of the Highlands are heavily weighted towards the depiction of landscape, something which facilitated the evasion of social issues (120). The depiction of ruins as elegiac symbols, inseparable from the Highland landscape, extended a wistful note to perceptions of the region as a whole. Thus depictions of the Highlands across those 123 years largely ignored the presence of Gaels and MacPherson's Ossanic "presentation of the region as a 'beautiful ghost' foreshadowed later perceptions of its people as a dead or

dying race" (151). Landscape was only able to become romantic through associations which "confined its people and its culture to a significance firmly rooted in the past" (153). This is consistent with Grenier's (2005) view that, despite the fascination with Highlanders, tourism:

> focused primarily on encounters with an allegedly wide and empty landscape, a manner of viewing the region which effectively wrote natives off the land (1010-11).

But that landscape was rich in human place-name narratives. Hicks (2002) proposes the addition of a folkloric function to linguistic landscape classification. Such a mythological function results in places in the landscape being named to provide a focal point for stories, sagas and myths that are part of the traditional culture. In the Gaelic context this was called *dindsheanachas* which enabled the landscape to speak. In this way mythological content gives an added 'sense of place' and belonging of the group to its territory. He notes that often the surviving name referring to a deity is all that remains of a culture. Such names help transmission of traditional culture and they help cast a thread back hundreds of years. But we note from our data that the failure to recognise this element within the landscape obliterates the significance of river and loch names.

Dindsheanachas denied

Hicks draws upon Meek for his description of this folkloric function in the landscape. Meek describes the process of *dindsheanachas* in *The Quest for Celtic Christianity* (2000) as more usually the reinterpretation of pre-existing place-names (the bulk of which contains elements describing function and/or landscape) as commemorating an event or series of events, often inspired by the place-name itself. He is able to trace the origins of this tradition the 'lore of famous places', back in the early twelfth century. At the monastery at Deer in Aberdeenshire a scribe wrote the foundation's own origin legend in

Gaelic in the margins of the twelfth century *Book of Deer* (207). Newton explains how a

sense of place and belonging was achieved by the "embedding of the communal history in

the Gaelic notion of landscape" (2009: 97). The density of Gaelic place names on the

landscape allowed for the names of many people and events to be attached to the natural

features of the landscape. Newton continues:

> The irrevocable sense of loss of local lore and communal knowledge has recurred
> in communities across the Highlands since the early 20th century with the passing
> of the last local speakers of Gaelic with an intimate acquaintance with the land
> (97).

Moreover the failure to recognise the significance of *dindsheanachas* in key locations

results in a strictly utilitarian approach to the Highland landscape. None more so than in

the 'Soldier's Leap' in the pass of Killiecrankie We are told by Wikipedia, for example,

that during the Battle of Killiecrankie:

> [T]he government forces […] were completely overwhelmed in only 10 minutes.
> Donald MacBean, one of William III of England's supporters, having lost the
> contest, is said to have cleared the pass, from one bank to the other, at "The
> Soldier's Leap" (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Killiecrankie: accessed 17 May
> 2013)

However, what is not evident to the author of this entry is that the particular 'Soldier's

Leap' is bracketed by two examples drawn of some twenty leaps recorded in guide books

to the Highlands. Seton-Gordon gives an account of the last inter-clan battle at Mulroy in

August 1688, less than a year before the Killiecrankie leap in July 1689:

> [T]he MacIntoshs fled from the field. Their standard-bearer is said to have leaped
> […] across the River Roy at a spot where the most courageous of his enemies did
> not dare attempt to follow (172).

This leaps tradition extends beyond 1689 to encompass Donald Maclaren of Invernenty.

According to Wikipedia, Donald was wounded at Culloden, although he managed to evade

capture. Captured in the Braes of Leny, he was held in the prisons of Stirling and

Canongate in Edinburgh. The website tells us that:

> In August of 1746 he was escorted by guards to Carlisle for his trial and probable execution. While passing The Devil's Beef Tub (Errickstane Brae, near Moffat) he managed to hurl himself over the edge and into the mist making his way to the bottom. This place would later be known by the locals as 'MacLaren's Leap'. (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Clan_MacLaren: accessed 16 June 2013)

Even when these landscapes are recognised as holding a traditional narrative, there is a failure to understand the nature of that cultural device. Thus it is that 'The Soldier's Leap' at Killiecrankie is treated quite literally as a site for essentialisms about Highlanders without any understanding of the tradition of the mythical leap within Gaelic landscape naming processes.

Dindsheanachas as *Lieux de mémoire?*

Some commentators are moved to suggest that a 'playground of the senses' has been created in the Highlands. To Womack, it is an 'empire of the senses' and it is Hesse's 'dreamscape'. To McCrone, all Scotland is "a land of dreamtime" (1995:209). The single sustained consideration of such landscapes from the perspective of the 'tourist gaze' has been that by Basu in two publications, namely his contribution in Bender's *Contested Landscapes* (2001) and in his book *Homecomings* (2007). There is much to commend his analysis of 'roots tourism' in the Badenoch area. For example he clearly articulates that the Highlands have been "constructed as the primitive/peripheral /exotic 'other'" to the hegemonic state (2007:17). He is also the one author who invokes Said to recognise that such construction "may be seen in the light of […] Orientalism that also "gives rise to a parallel discourse which has been labelled 'Highlandism'" (17-8). He is also well aware that there is "a clear disparity between the way Scotland is presented to itself […] and "the concessions made to the 'tartan monster'" even if he has a tendency towards an uncritical dualism in his characterisation of the:

> two dominant contemporary Highlandist discourses: a locally-acceptable/authentic version that emphasises the natural landscape and the faintness of humankind's

incursions into it, and the locally unacceptable/inauthentic version in which the perceived sham of tartanry continues to abound (71).

Nonetheless there can be no serious objection to his observation that the discourse of the Highlands as unspoilt nature is, "another genre of Highlandism, equally ideological as tartanry, but (mis)recognised as being more 'authentic' (231, fn.2)." Basu also notes the "density of place-stories", which demonstrates to him that it is not only in those Antipodean 'exotic' landscapes" where such "remarkable mnemonic and toponymic practices occur or have occurred" (2007: 150-1). To Basu these texts are:

> also indicative of a transformation that has taken place in the way such landscapes are experienced and perceived. In this respect, we may agree with the French historian, Pierre Nora, and say that these landscapes no longer constitute *milieux de mémoire*, 'real environments of memory', but have become complexes of *lieux de mémoire*, 'sites of memory': places where memory 'crystallizes and secretes itself', venerated traces 'of that which has already happened' (Nora, 1989: 7-8; Basu, 2007: 151).

In such *lieux de mémoire* the 'lived-landscape' in which memory, too, is 'alive', permanently evolving (Nora 1989: 8) becomes a 'heritage landscape'. Thus such a landscape is one of "monuments of the past, which venerate the past because it is past" (Basu, 2007:51). Thus it is concretised past memory that resonates in a locality and not a continually evolving dynamic evolution of remembering. However, examination of Nora's theories of place and memory, calls into question Basu's application of the model. Nora's work on the *Lieux de mémoire* of France, for example, the Court of Versailles and Joan of Arc, was designed to study 'national feeling' through the principal *lieux* in which collective memory is rooted, in order to create a vast topology of French symbolism (1996: 2). But to Indra Sengupta (2009: 2) Nora's *lieux* are substantially based on Halbwachs's (1992) notion of 'collective memory':

> The collectively constructed and shared signification of the past; it includes the collective knowledge circulating in a culture, is represented by shared symbols, and is passed on by successive generations (2).

While it may be possible to applaud the number and complexity of the ten authorities, from Basso (1996) and Bourdieu, (1985) to Halbwachs (1992) that Basu marshals for his "heuristic journey" in which the Highlands, may be "conceptualized and understood respectively as networks of *sites of memory, sources of identity and shrines of self*" (2001: 338, original emphasis), it is difficult to discern the evidence for such an edifice.

We need to recognise that what Nora speaks of is an intense national effort of memorialising at key locations to produce a knowledge that is "passed on by successive generations". This research, however, found no evidence of a "collective process of construction" in Gaelic Scotland. While it is possible to discern elements of 'staged authenticity' at the Highland Folk Museum in Newtownmore, one has only to visit the faint traces of the adjacent township of Raitts lying less than and 2 miles north west of the museum, to gain a clear understanding of the erasure from the landscape of any physical presence of a once thriving community. There is no "collective knowledge circulating" at such locations. Rather such sites speak of Spivak's notions of "itineraries of silencing" and of rupture. Basu, in seeking to root his theorising in the recorded reflections of the diaspora, quotes the Canadian writer Maclennan and his *Scotsman's Return* (1961), that "records an uneasy journey where home is found at last ...in Canada" (344). To Basu "it is interesting to note that, while Maclennan's father had no need to travel to the Highlands to know who he was, it seems that Maclennan himself did" (344). However, had Basu read further in that record of Maclennan's visit in the mid-1950s to the ruins of his forebear's former village at *Achadh nan Seileach*, Glen Shiel, he might have gained a different perspective on the reasons that Hugh could find a home only in Canada. At that deserted village, far from being "a site of memory, a source of identity and a shrine of self" - the *lieux de mémoire* which Basu constructs, Maclennan wrote in *Scotsman's Return* "of such sweeps of emptiness" where:

above the sixtieth parallel in Canada you feel that nobody but God has ever been there before you, but in a deserted Highland glen you feel that everyone who ever mattered is dead and gone (1961: 7).

Maclennan is thus articulating a point that this thesis has sought to draw out, that the scenery is no longer capable of being read in a manner that might provide insights into the nature of the one lived-in landscape. Far from providing the energy and resources required for the national effort involved in *lieux de mémoire*, the tourism industry continues to perpetuate the notion of a 'pristine' albeit 'mysterious' 'wilderness' since everyone is gone.

This chapter on 'Erasure' brings to a conclusion the discussion section of the thesis. The next chapter considers the conclusions which might be drawn from the observed phenomena of the 'tourist gaze' on Gaelic Scotland.

CHAPTER TWELVE: CONCLUSIONS

This research has considered the impact of the 'tourist gaze' on Highland, Gaelic Scotland and has specifically examined its characterisation under the three interrelated themes of 'invention', elision and erasure. This thesis will now attempt to place these themes within the wider field of tourism studies, theorising on the nature of the 'tourist gaze' and the potential application of postcolonial reading practices to tourism in the Highlands of Scotland.

As a number of the contributors to the SAGE *Handbook on Tourism* (2009) have pointed out, tourism is a colonial site. This research would tend to support the view that tourism is a valid site for postcolonial reading practices. Given the longevity of tourism in Highland Scotland, one of the earliest locations from mass tourism, it is a fruitful site for such analysis.

No theoretical discussion on the nature of the 'tourist gaze' exists in the Scottish context. Some surrogates exist in the analysis by MacLeod (2009) of artistic representations of the Highlands and oblique references are made by Durie (2012), E. Mairi MacArthur (1993) and Seaton (1998) to the 'tourist gaze'. Furthermore, there is no evidence that the manner in which that gaze has impacted upon the Gaelic Highlander has been of academic interest. Nor does the discourse on the 'gaze' proceed much beyond typologies with little discussion of its implicit 'colonial' nature. Admittedly Urry's Graz speech in advance of publication of the second edition of *The Tourist Gaze* does make reference to Pratt's (1992) *Imperial eyes*, but the allusion is simply to the scopic, 'surveying' nature of the 'gaze' (222). (http://www.humanitiesinstitute.buffalo.edu/docs/urry-globalising-the-tourist-gaze-1.pdf) This, however, is simply the start of Pratt's investigation of the

power/knowledge nexus inherent in imperial optics. Furthermore, in her introduction to the second edition *Imperial eyes* (1992, 2008) she is of the view that:

> many of the conventions and writing strategies … [of]… imperial expansionism occur in travel writing about Europe as well… [since]… related dynamics of power and appropriation are likely to be there as well. The discourses that legitimate bourgeois authority and delegitimate peasant and subsistence lifeways [...] can be expected to do this ideological work within Europe as well as in South Africa or Argentina (12).

Given that tourism is one of the largest social constructs on the planet, this concern with power imbalances would appear to be justified. Therefore, the work of Hollinshead (1999) in this field has been given greater attention and the lead that he has provided in uncovering the postcolonial dimensions to the 'tourist gaze' provides the justification for the placing of considerations of guest-host relationships in the tourism industry within a postcolonial perspective. This is despite the complication that Foucault himself would appear not to have given much consideration to the colonial dimensions of Foucault's *regard*. Said regrets that Foucault may have avoided the field of colonial and postcolonial relationships and Bhabha glossed over that fact that Foucault is addressing the disposition of power in the modem metropolitan west, not the 'archaic scene' of colonial despotism (see Moore-Gilbert, 1997: 99,148). Nonetheless, Gregory in *The Colonial Present* (2004) does note that Foucault's later writings and lectures were by no means indifferent to colonial power (4).

Postcolonialism is now an important field within tourism studies and researchers are alive to the ever present discourses which exist in representation, place formation and narrative. This work is now beginning to survey the nature of neo-colonial relationships and is very aware to the nature of the power-knowledge dimensions of interactions between guest and host locations across the planet. It also recognises the potency of the 'gaze' and thereby places Urry's 'tourist gaze' (and by extension, Foucault's *regard*) firmly within the ambit of any discussion on postcolonialism in any given location.

We enter what is a contested area: the possible extension of postcolonial perspectives to tourism studies in Scotland. We noted earlier that Scotland had an early, precocious exposure to quasi-postcolonial theorising in the shape of Hechter's *Internal Colonialism* (1975). The early promise offered by such work well in advance of Said's *Orientalism*, it could be argued, has never been fully realised. The reasons for the negative reception of Hechter's work and its subsequent neglect were discussed in the earlier chapter on Theoretical Frameworks. This experience, however, may perhaps explain the tentative reception of Said's work in the Scottish academy, in contradistinction to Ireland (See Craig, 2009: 221). Beyond Gardiner, Stroh's work *Uneasy Subjects* (2011) is a rare exception which is of immediate utility to this research. The challenge in this research has been to extend the field of investigation from the field of Gaelic poetry to that of the 'tourist gaze' on Gaelic Scotland. Might the interrelated pathologies of 'invention', 'elision' and 'erasure' combine to point to an underlying "distribution of geopolitical awareness into aesthetic, scholarly, economic, sociological, historical, and philological texts" (1995:11) which to Said's mind characterises the "field of learned study" (49) that is Orientalism?

Said's insights have immediate resonance in the discourse on the kilt. We have seen that it is the primary semiotic device in Scotland's 'realm of signs', a form of dress that for almost 500 years has been the key cultural marker of Highland, Gaelic Scotland. Its potency today has largely obliterated all other aspects of Gaelic culture. That culture was projected internationally through Scott's works. A revisionary process saw that author's historic, high reputation suffer from charges of romantic 'invention'. While Muir (1936) vilified both Scott and Burns equally, it is Scott who is credited with creating a false image of Scotland that is regarded as a romantic fiction, particularly the iconography of the kilted Highlander.

Associated with a "sickening militarism" (Nairn, 1970:40), the kilt was first branded as tawdry kitsch and finally as a deliberately calculated and commercially motivated construct (Trevor-Roper, 1983). A Foucauldian archaeology of knowledge has excavated the roots of a discourse on 'tartanry' that has sought to denigrate the garb and associated fabric as forms of "the myth-consciousness of modern Scotland and its false consciousness, its myths of identity" (loc. cit.) in Scottish national formation. The phenomenon is named using a wide variety of terms with little analysis so that the terms are used indiscriminately to describe a range of varied phenomena from the cult of Queen Victoria on Royal Deeside (Finlay, 1963) to The Tartan Army's visit to Wembley (McCrone, 1992).

The next stage was to condemn the garment itself as a deliberate recent invention. As McCrone et al. (1995) states "it is now a commonplace to assert that much of tartanry is Victorian fabrication" (5). Although it is difficult to discern what was actually created on that 'seminal' date, the dominant paradigm in Scottish tourism is that all the Gaelic cultural forms and icons were invented in 1822 in response to the regal 'tourist gaze'.

This research reveals that an unsubstantiated note that the "philibeg was invented by an Englishman in Scotland, about 60 years ago" (Anon, 1798: 743) was resurrected to re-energise a number of the essentialist tropes about the Highlands. In its insinuation of worthless cultural value, the 'invention of tradition' discourse that was extant at the time of the 1979 referendum debate has echoes of the colonial treatment of native culture.This grand narrative has general currency within Scotland, some recognition in the rest of the UK but rarely noted internationally. Thus the literature on Scottish national formation and the symbols of that consciousness address at considerable length the 'invented' nature of the semiotics of the kilted Highlander. Bhandari (2012) has made the point that nowhere

else is the discourse on national formation described in terms of the vaguely pejorative 'invention of tradition' rather than the neutral term 'imagined communities'. The Highlander is unable to offer resistance and indeed a part of the discourse is to suggest that the 'invention' is part of their response to tourism (Davidson, 2000; Grenier, 2005).

Although Pittock in 2009 identified it as an 'unexamined' idea, over thirty years after its first airing, most commentators on the Scottish tourism scene reject the traditional touristic representations of Scotland as 'invented tradition'. Indeed, in terms of more popular literature, the recent publication of *Scott-land: The Man who invented a Nation* (Kelly, 2010) suggests that the recent work undertaken both by historians and literature scholars has largely escaped the notice of the commentators on images of Scotland. Thus it is acceptable at a discussion at a major literary festival for Kelly to produce the following statements:

> All of the kilt patterns that we now have are ones that they made up…Wrong but romantic [...] another forgery [...] Scott is not repudiated but forgotten [...] the nation that he invented remains an invention... Scots are forever trapped in this rather Borgesian imagination. ...the important fact is that all national identity is an invented product of the imagination and in Scotland we are lucky because we know that they are invented, we know that these things are created by a combination of fiction and culture and myth and commerce and comedy. (A recording of a discussion on the book *Scott and Scott-land* at the *Aye Write* Festival, 9 March 2010)

The persistence of this discourse with little analysis, challenge or attempt to revisit the original premise is consistent with that of Orientalism. Said shows that:

> [A] text purporting to contain knowledge about something actual […] is not easily dismissed. Expertise is attributed to it. The authority of academics, institutions, and governments can accrue to it, surrounding it with still greater prestige than its practical successes warrant. Most important, such texts can *create* not only knowledge but also the very reality they appear to describe. In time such knowledge and reality produce a tradition, or what Michel Foucault calls a discourse, whose material presence or weight, not the originality of a given author, is really responsible for the texts produced out of it. (94, original emphasis)

What provides confirmation, however, is the exposure of the metropolitan, political motivations behind the perpetrator of the 'invention' charge - Trevor-Roper. This is then coupled with the resurrection of the black propaganda of cannibalism levelled against Jacobite Highlanders which is in Ashcroft's view the primary trope in colonial discourse. There is evidence therefore that, in terms of his dress, reconsideration of the treatment of the Gaelic Highlander under the 'tourist gaze' could be substantially energised by a postcolonial reading strategy.

The discussions in the elision chapter and the literature survey would also tend to support the observations by Gregory (2004) that "representations are never merely mirrors held up to the world; they enter fully into its formation" (xiii). In this he follows Said's observation about cultural discourse and exchange within a culture to the effect that "what is commonly circulated by it is not 'truth' but representations" (1992: 22). Since Orientalism "is premised upon exteriority", on the fact that the Orientalist, "makes the Orient speak", describes the Orient, he "renders its mysteries plain for and to the West" (20). And since the Orientalist "is outside the Orient" (21), the principal product is an "exteriority of the representation" governed by of the truism that "if the Orient could represent itself, it would; since it cannot, the representation does the job, for the West, and *faute de mieux*, for the poor Orient" (21). In a large volume of writings (McCrone, 1992), the Highlander has no voice and is represented by others. Despite attempts (Glendening, 1997; Grenier, 2005) to suggest that Gaelic Highlanders were complicit in the events of 1822, the evidence is that they are to be more accurately described as 'dupes' (Lockhart, 1906; Calder, 1994). The analysis indicates, rather, that the Highlander has never had agency and despite efforts at 'writing back', no resistance.

He now remains contained far north of the unfathomably ancient barrier of the HBF, within a cultural ghetto of the North West of Scotland and the Western Isles. Said speaks

of an 'imaginative geography' that to him is the "universal practice of designating in one's mind a familiar space which is "ours" and an unfamiliar space beyond "ours" which is "theirs"" (54). To him these "geographical distinctions *can be* entirely arbitrary" because "imaginative geography of the 'our land-barbarian land' variety does not require that the barbarians acknowledge the distinction". The geographic boundaries accompany the social, ethnic, and cultural ones in expected ways (loc. cit. original emphasis). This encapsulation mirrors MacGregor's "functions of the imagination" associated with the Highland Line. In an effort to recover what he called the performances that were made possible - authorized, articulated - through similarly "imaginative geographies", Gregory uses Foucault in his analysis of the Middle East. *The Colonial Present* (2004) is an attempt to resist "histories punctuated by sharp breaks from one period to another, with their homogenizing sense of Time - always in the singular - and those narratives that celebrate History - always with that imperial capital – as the unambiguous advance of Reason" (xiv-v). He seeks:

> To recover the contemporary formation [...] as an intrinsically colonial modernity requires us to rethink the lazy separations between past, present, and future (7).

The 'lazy separations', evident from the literature survey, in much writing upon the 'other' beyond the 'dusky barrier', echo Gregory's concerns The evidenced treatment of the language is also consistent with Stroh's postcolonial reading of Gaelic poetry. Much of what Gregory says of History's "homogenizing sense of Time" can be applied to the treatment of the Highlander where its mythic creation (Womack, 1989) characterises Basu's (2007) 'imagineerings'' and anticipates (Hesse, 2013) Highland 'dreamscape'. Tuhiwai Smith in *Decolonizing Methodologies* (1999) has written that indigenous peoples, "have often allowed our 'histories' to be told and have then become outsiders as we heard them being retold" (33). This observation reminds us of the potency of the knowledge/ power nexus penetratingly exposed by Foucault which provided the inspiration for Said's *Orientalism* and is evident within much of the discourse on Highlandism in Scotland. The discourse of Highlandism as much as Orientalism is characterised by the fact that

"[U]nderlying all the different units of Orientalist discourse […] whenever the Orient is spoken or written about, is a set of representative figures, or tropes" (Said, 1995: 71).

The final chapter's discussion of erasure does provide considerable evidence which might extend to the possible notion of explicit cultural aggression whereby the re-inscription of land leads to cultural loss and, as such, underpinned colonial land confiscations. This notion of commercial exploitation within Gaelic and Highland Scotland is best seen in the work of Prebble (1982), Hunter (1976) and Eric Richards (2000) in relation to the Highland Clearances and by the writers cited by Clyde (1980) where land is viewed solely as an exploitable resource, most explicitly in Hogg's comments on sheep tracts. Pratt (1992) speaks of the "normalizing, generalizing voice of the ethnographic manners-and-customs portraits" as being "distinct from, but complementary to, the landscape narrator". She posits that "one produces land as landscape and territory, scanning for prospects; the other produces the indigenous inhabitants as bodyscapes, scanned also for prospects". The result is that native peoples are "abstracted away from the landscape", "abstracted away from the history that is being made - a history into which Europeans intend to reinsert them as an exploited labor pool" (63). Pratt's observations on the African context have strong resonances in the Highlands of Scotland, as we shall see, where the commanding 'commercial' gaze surveys economic prospects. Nor are the socio-economic effects dissimilar. Tucker and Akama (2009) state that there was minimal social interaction between pioneer Western travellers and Kenyans during the early twentieth century tourism. They suggest that perhaps the only form of interaction was "a 'master -servant' relationship where Africans were employed mainly to work in "servile positions as gardeners, cleaners, waiters, cooks and guards" (2009: 508). Butler's description of Victorian employment opportunities for native Scottish Highlanders would broadly echo this analysis. He explains that the year 1912 was:

the year in which deer forest acreage reached its maximum of 3.858.000 acres, with 203 forests in existence […] played a major role in the economic and social life of the Highlands and Islands. It is difficult to overestimate the value of the shooting industry in the economy of remote parts of the Highlands. Lodges were built and indoor servants as well as keepers and ghillies [primary meaning being 'boy'] were required […] and for six to eight weeks money became relatively abundant. (Butler, 1985: 385)

We noted that Morris (2012) refers to Devine's characterisation of 'victim or hero' representations where "the processes of collective memory combined with collective amnesia have produced an orthodox genealogy of Scotland's national narrative" (15). Yet it is possible to look at the Highlands not simply as the 'wilderness' it now is but also as a product of a colonial experiment. This colonisation is not classical in its form since as Darling (1947) reminds us:

> The 'Coming of the Sheep', as this colonisation of the Highlands is called, is one of the epic events of Scottish history, though it is one not commonly referred to in history books (61).

Because the land is populated by sheep there is no longer any requirement for place- names and the thinness of the present human population and its loss of Gaelic, result in a continuing reduction in place-name 'load'. This thesis has chartered a process by which the Highland named landscape of Gaelic speakers has gradually been erased through gradual re-inscription of the land as unnamed wilderness in a process which remains active today. It exhibits this effect in both authorised actions, such as The National Park (see Appendix 5), and informal acts. As we have seen, mediators of the 'tourist gaze' contribute to this reinterpretation of the landscape through fanciful descriptions of name meanings that reflect their own Anglophone understandings. However, it should be acknowledged, that not all postcolonial reading practices necessarily answer the continuing folk etymology of new place-name coining in the contemporary period, except in so far as the process may arise where the originally Gaelic- named, and now emptied, landscape is alien to monoglot English speakers.

With the Highlander represented through supposedly spurious, kitsch semiotics and denied a history that is anything other than folkloric, the "rich cultural asset" that place-names are to Taylor is denied any surrogate role. The findings would suggest that the Highland landscape is largely incapable of being 'read' as a human landscape primarily because its indigenous population has been swept away and it is now largely unnamed beyond the Ordnance Survey maps not often widely used in the tourism industry. In addition, the nature conservation bodies have also been accused of seeing the landscape as 'wilderness' and as for VisitScotland, the Highland's 'out-door' appeal requires an empty vista, a trackless, nameless 'wilderness'.

The Gaelic Highlands are a blank space where, in localities that have lost their Gaelic speaking communities, names have been given new interpretations. Because the landscape was constructed as empty romantic space of the 'sublime', written about and depicted in that fashion (MacLeod, 2009), it has become a canvas upon which new musings can be inscribed -the latest being that of the film industry. However, the upland areas of Scotland north of the Forth and Clyde rivers remains a predominantly Gaelic landscape rich in its own narratives of history and place – *dindsheanachas*. Much of this landscape can be celebrated in original music and song. *Dindsheanachas* provides tales and stories about particular place-names, and often explained the origin of the names. Even when these landscapes are recognised as holding a traditional narrative, there is a failure to understand the nature of that cultural device. Thus it is that 'The Soldier's Leap' at Killiecrankie is treated literally as truth without any understanding of the tradition of the mythical leap within Gaelic landscape naming processes. Under the 'tourist gaze' and beneath an invented landscape narrative lie the faintly recognisable, earlier traditions, demonstrating the richness of that landscape palimpsest; the product of our forebears' imagination but a denied reality in the new 'empire of signs'.

The vehicle of the 'tourist gaze' is entirely appropriate for considerations of the muted Highlander in the Scottish tourism landscape. Cronin (2000) recognises that sightseeing is "the world with the sound switched off" (82). Denvir (1995: 127) has identified an attitude in Ireland that he describes as "the *cúpla focal* mentality" where Irish has been "relegated to the level of official ceremony: it was nice to hear those *cúpla focal* spoken from official platforms on St. Patrick's Day". While to him "this dichotomy between official rhetoric and practice", produces a "Gaelic doublethink" the Scottish case would suggest no thought at all.

In the absence of the perspectives that language (or translation) might bring to the visitor, other senses have to be brought into play, the most notable of which is sight. As Womack (1989) has pointed out the "Highlands are no longer just a place where people and animals and plants live; they have been colonised by the empire of signs" (2), and the semiotic significance of Scottish icons such as tartan is clear from the survey of literature on the Highlands.

The research has also demonstrated the value of the philosophy of Foucault and his insights into power/knowledge discourses which are taken up and powerfully utilised by Said. Additionally the insights provided by the work of Spivak, Bhabha, Pratt and Cronin have underpinned the validity of a Saidian perspective on Gaelic, Highland Scotland. This 'Highlandism' discourse, even if the phenomenon is described in a multiplicity of terms, is demonstrated through the persistence of discourses on 'invention' and of essentialisms, centred primarily on the image of the Highland warrior. The Highlander's lack of an autochthonous history results in him being placed outwith the march of History and the trope of his impenetrable speech results in his language being portrayed as an obstacle rather than as the key to his culture. These characterisations are consistent with an anthropologising move similar to that critiqued by Fabian over a generation ago. Such

essentialisms alone would provide a spur for other societies to engage in resistance through 'writing back'. However, the marginal and contingent presence of the Highlander in Scotland's grand narrative and the continued landscape erosion and imposition of new mythic traditions with a 'wilderness' trope simply thrusts the Highlander yet further into the shadows.

The analysis suggests that the aggregate pathologies point to an underlying condition which has its roots in essentialisms and tourism's "appropriating gaze" (Urry, 2005) has been long implicated in tourism in Scotland (Grenier, 2005). It is therefore appropriate to again refer back to the original theoretical underpinnings of Urry's 'tourist gaze', particularly Hollinshead's (1999) uncovering of the primary purpose of Foucauldian analyses, and their manifestation in a current day tourism discourse which leads to an unequal knowledge/ power relationship inherent in 'staged authenticity' and the 'tourist gaze'. Highland Scotland does exhibit Fielding's (2008) "unsettling geography" and as a territory that is "colonised by sheep", it is incapable of being accepted within the cannons of established colonial typologies. A part of the challenge for Highland Scotland is that it is physically and emotionally too close to metropolitan Scotland and international London to be ever comfortably thought of as a site meriting a postcolonial perspective.

Notwithstanding that discomfort, there is an ever more urgent call to examine Highland, Gaelic Scotland in order to achieve a wider understanding that its re/presentation under the 'tourist gaze' is a product of an external discourse. Said's view was that an important consequence of Orientalism's discourse is "the limited vocabulary and imagery that impose themselves" (1995: 60). It is finally "western ignorance which becomes more refined and complex, not some body of positive Western knowledge which increases in size and accuracy" (62). In Highland Scotland, in the absence of either an understanding or a knowledge of the culture and language, the 'tourist gaze' is mediated by others who

are the heirs of a postcolonial discourse, whose antecedents can be traced over five hundred years of Highland and Lowland inter- relationships that maintain sclerotic Manichean binaries which resist an 'interplay" across a 'Highland line' in the 'imaginative geographies" of Anglophone Scotland's collective mind set. For, as Said stated, "Fictions have their own logic and their own dialectic of growth or decline" (62). For Gaelic Scotland those fictions must decline, since, as *Somhairle MacGill-Eain* (2011: 452, Lines 10-12) reflected in '*Tha na beanntan gun bhruidhinn'* 'The Mountains are speechless':

> Tha gach gnàths agus annas
> Bh' air ar cinneadh o thùs
> am balbh-phrìosan a' chaisteil
> agus glaist' anns an dùn.
>
> 'S e'n dall tha gan sireadh
> 'S an iuchair air chall;
> ma chaillear a' Ghàdhlaig
> chan fhuasglar am bann.

(Every custom and delight, our people had since the beginning is dumb in a castle prison, locked up in a fortress. Blind folk are searching for them and the key has been lost: if Gaelic disappears there can never be release.)

CHAPTER THIRTEEN: FOR FUTURE PRACTICE, ON ISSUES BEYOND THE
SCOPE OF THE STUDY AND FUTURE RESEARCH

A set of specific recommendations for immediate local action is appended at Appendix 7.
What follows are issues for wider and more long-term consideration.

Publication

An effort will be made to secure the publication in book form of the results of this research
programme in the hope that some of the issues can be brought to a wider audience.

Gaelic and tourism

Further research as well as action is needed to address the view that Gaelic is the most
difficult language in the world to learn. Until this is tackled, it will undoubtedly be a brake
on the entrance of potential learners but equally will continue to add oxygen to the view
that funding Gaelic initiatives is a waste of public money. We are already aware of the
success of Ulpan in making rapid strides with learners. Might there be some way in which
publicity could be given to the more stellar of the stars coming through that learning
system?

Secondly, some directed research on the aspirations of the Highland diaspora in relation to
clan history and credible narratives should be undertaken to address evident essentialisms
and poor service. The limited research by Basu would suggest an attenuated narrative
which could be relatively readily enhanced by providing would-be roots tourists with
access to better quality information. Given the significance of the North American market
to Scotland and their greater spending power, the diaspora represents a more significant

potential income flow to Scotland than either Gabeldon's books, *Brave* or faith tourism, to take just three examples.

Research on attitudes towards the use of the kilt might also repay effort quite apart from the noted need to disseminate a more balanced account of the development of the modern kilt. Such research might also examine the extent to which the cultural difference represented by the act of donning the kilt might also flow through to a greater sensitivity to and interest in Gaelic culture and language.

What has been striking is the extent to which the history of the upland areas of Scotland north of the Forth and Clyde presented to tourists by guides is essentially folkloric in manner. While the imminent publication of the University of Edinburgh Gaelic History series is to be welcomed, efforts should be made to publish a series of short regional histories of Gaelic in Scotland, not least in the southwest in Galloway which already suffers from tourist neglect.

Academic research should be now undertaken on a number of aspects of Gaelic interpretation. That at Culloden, the most ambitious investment to date, is over six years old and a normal renewal cycle would suggest that visitor managers and education planners will be turning their attention to lessons that have been learnt in order to enhance the present offering. The research should also be extended to the work of HS in Iona in order to address questions of residual essentialisms such as a description of Highland warriors as *Gael Force* and its funerary monuments being representative of a 'mercenary' aristocracy.

A further research area which would merit further examination would be the impact of film upon the process of cultural commoditisation given the surprising evidence of films'

current role in swamping any autochthonous landscape narrative. This last issue may have resonance in New Zealand.

For future research

Throughout this research, what has been striking is the close parallels in experience of the indigenous cultures of New Zealand and Gaelic and Highland Scotland. A study of Maori responses to their positioning in the New Zealand tourism industry is likely to lead to the early identification of possible best practice in seeking to address the actions for change identified above. While comparative studies of Ireland/Iceland/New Zealand should also look at useful models for cultural formations and grand narratives, the reasons for selecting Maori as the site for comparators are that:

Firstly, they are not a sovereign state; secondly , the language has legislatively protected status; thirdly, it has experience of similar language led regeneration; fourthly it sits within the Anglophone ascendancy with a strong Scottish component; fifthly the Maori culture has a remarkably comparable discourse of defeat, development of essentialist traits of noble warrior, (Betich, l986) the imposition of the 1870 Education Act banning language in the classroom (two years in advance of Scotland) and a similar pattern of decline and recovery in respect of the language; sixthly, there is already a strong interest in New Zealand /Scotland's cultural links; seventhly, as a Commonwealth country with a large Scottish diaspora, lessons from this site are less likely to be rejected on the basis of limited relevance, eighthly, there is the existence of strong academic institutions with an interest in this field; and ninthly, there is a reasonable corpus of academic material including papers on the issue of Maori under the 'tourist gaze' such as Kjell Olsen's 'The Maori of Tourist Brochures Representing Indigenousness' (2008) and Maori tourism generally.

It is of particular interest to this thesis that C. Michael Hall in *Tourism, Power and Culture: Anthropological Insights* (2010) notes that "the increased legal standing of indigenous peoples and their culture" is "related to the exercise of power and the capacity to have some issues kept at a high level on the political agenda" (201). He points out that "a variation of non-decision making is the concept of non-implementation in which, although policy is developed or regulation enacted, it is not actually enforced. He cites the example of New Zealand, where successive governments since the early 1990s developed tourism policies that aimed to integrate Maori into tourism policy making as well as assist in the development of Maori tourism products. He notes, however, it was:

> not until the creation of a coalition agreement between the National party and New Zealand First in 1996 that the New Zealand tourism Board had to formally consult with the Maori Ministry over Maori tourism issues (Hall, 2007: 205).

Such an approach might provide some useful pointers in the Scottish context.

Appendix 1: An Ethnographic journal record. This appendix provides more detail of the findings in chapter seven - the Autoethnography.

34th ethnographic Journal entry, 9th August 2011

This is the fourth day of the extended Royal Scottish tour for *Jactravel*. Today our journey will be from Inverness to Skye and back again. As we gather for breakfast Jim, our coach driver, apprises me of the fact that we will be going via Lochcarron and while this is an area I have travelled before I have never actively guided it. This is going to present me with a challenge. Up to the point we leave the Dingwall junction all has gone well but I need to acknowledge to myself that I have a limited narrative for this area. It is here that Jim comes to the rescue and provides me with information as to events which took place along the route. The most memorable one relates to the fact that Sir Winston Churchill was borne up to Garve by train for a meeting with Eisenhower immediately before D-Day. He points out the siding where the meeting train was supposedly parked. I feel to myself that there must be 'an ancient' story which can be told about this locality from the perspective of Gaelic culture. The feeling I have persists with me all the way until we reach Strome Castle where I can begin to introduce the Lordship of the Isles and the great castles that were part of that hegemony. I reflect that it is this sort of *horror vacui* which leads guides and others to develop fanciful narratives on the shapes of mountains resembling sleeping warriors or similar leaps of the imagination.

However, a continuous narrative is not so important to the group for Nancy has decided that she needs to get a picture of a sheep and this emerges as a general desire among the party. This requires Jim to stop the coach as a suitable point where there is as clear, straight stretch of road in order to deal with any other traffic, not easy, in this part of the world. Serendipitously however we come across both a long straight stretch which allows for safe overtaking and also an old ewe sauntering along the road with a black and white lamb

each. A good third of the party get out of the coach cameras ready at which point the old ewe heads for the hills. However Nancy is happy with her shot.

We have been driving steadily against the clock because Jim needs to be at Eilean Donan Castle by 11 a.m. at the latest in order that we secure our slot for the guided tour round this picture postcard castle. We make it just before 11 and I present myself at the kiosk at the bridge to be smartly advised that I need to go to the visitor centre. At five past 11 I ask for my entry tickets for the guided tour to be sniffily chastised that I am running late. The visitor press is such that people are being herded like sheep in order to experience this 'authentic' castle visit. The guide is in Highland garb and brandishes a claymore. His history commences with the destruction of the Castle in 1719 during the abortive Jacobite rising and concludes with its resurrection as part of the £32 million restoration by MacRae-Gillstrap. No mention is made of the local tradition that the Master builder he employed, a local man called MacRae, was provided with the template for the restoration through a dream. Nor sadly is there any reference to the fact that a recent donation to the collection has been the sword which was once owned by a great MacRae poet who wrote "*Tha mi sgith dhe'n an fhògairt seo*". It sits forlornly in a side room which is the rarely visited and there is no reference whatsoever to his virtues as a poet. The only reference the guide makes to Gaelic is that there is a motto extolling the Castle owners' hospitable qualities which can be seen carved above the entry into the keep. Although the inscription is in Gaelic it is quoted by the guide in English with no reference to the language other than the writing is in the 'older tongue'.

James's younger daughter Ellen is now confidently sporting a tartan cape and quasi sporran/pouch which she purchased in Glasgow on Sunday evening ("they kept the shop open for us because we were spending so much"). Ellen has been aware of the *Highlander* connection and feels that this is "the first real castle" she has seen on our journey and she feels she has to "dress for the part". In reality all the other castles she has so far seen have been ruined.

The tide of visitors shows no sign of slackening (the girl at the kiosk says that visitor numbers are up on last year) as we depart for Skye and next stop in Portree for lunch. Leaving Broadford on Skye and heading into the empty landscape of the Red Cullin affords Bob the opportunity to now tell the first of his 'traditions'. As we pass the old bridge at Sligachan he explains that those youths among the party who wish to preserve their eternal youth should completely immerse their heads in one of the pools of cold stream water which lie beneath the arch of the old bridge. I asked him where he has learned this tradition and he explains that it is quite common currency among the other *Jactravel* guides (including inviting the visitors to see the fanciful shapes of sleeping warriors in hill formations). He says he has another one and also a good story which he will tell on our way back to Inverness 'through the lonely parts'.

After lunch in Portree we make our way back towards Sligachan where we stop for a photo opportunity at the bridge along with a party of Japanese. While a number of party bound down the bank and stick their head under the water, the Japanese who clearly have not been alerted to this tradition look on with some surprise. Typically Brent who is a late 50s game -for -anything guy emerges completely drenched but completely into the spirit. I don't have the heart to pick the balloon of this invented tradition.

However I am intrigued by Jim's reference to other stories and make sure that after we have passed Clachan Duich where Doug's MacRae ancestors are almost certainly buried and passed *Lùban an Eòrna* where I can read the small quotation from *The Other Side of Sorrow* (which quotes the Canadian writer MacLennan and his comments on the nature of the wilderness created by the clearances), I give the mike to Jim who first explains that we have just passed the Five Sisters of Kintail (which of course have been pointed out). He then asks if anybody knows the reason why they are known as Five Sisters and when he receives only silence launches into a long elaborate story in which two Irish princes are shipwrecked on the shores of Kintail, nursed back to good health by the five daughters of the local king, about the girls' subsequent squabbles over the two boys leading to the

agreement that the youths will return home to Ireland to bring back the three other brothers so that all five can be united in marriage, the patient wait and ultimate consultation with the local witch who agrees to transform them into stone until such time as the boys return. This is the first time I've ever heard this tale and I am intrigued to understand where Jim has learnt it from. Again he says that it is simply part of the general driver and guide lore which has been around for many years. He then proceeds to tell a more conventional-sounding ghost story about the local king who is in need of ship's new mast, three local witches and a hat which transports people to distant lands, the King's illegitimate use of the hat and his capture by local authorities, his final death wish with the noose of the gallows round his neck, his donning of the hat and the uttering of the magic word which returns home in an instant and with the noose and the gallows tree round his neck thereby providentially providing the required new mast.

By the time we returned to Inverness the rain has again set in but the group don't seem to mind because they have been able to see most of the scenery free from mist.

Today has been one of the richest for me in the culling of new invented tradition tales and has provided me with aspects to the field which prompts me to begin to do more work in this area

Since dinner is not provided on this night, most of the party make arrangements to go to town via taxi. Before he departs downtown Doug comes to me to say that "today has been really special for us and we will definitely go back to Kintail and the clachan place - they will be precious memories".

Appendix 2: One Mystery shopper report .This appendix provides more detail of the findings in chapter eight- the Mystery Shopper Report.

Journey 2 19th May, 2013

I have a sense of déjà vu: the same line-up of minibuses and the same small knot of people awaiting 8 a.m. departure to Loch Ness. Disappointingly, the coach is a 29 seater Mercedes rather than the smaller minibus I had hoped for. The website accessed 17/06/203, tells me to expect:

"Loch Ness, Glencoe & The Highlands

One of our most popular one day tours from Glasgow is our Highland tour to Loch Ness and Glencoe, taking in some of the most dramatic scenery of the Scottish Highlands. Visit Glencoe and enjoy options for a Loch Ness cruise and visit to Urquhart Castle.

From Glasgow we travel north, before making a refreshment stop on the shores of Loch Lomond. Travelling the length of the loch, we climb up into the Highlands, over the unique, dramatic landscape of Rannoch Moor and the Black Mount to majestic Glencoe, one of Scotland's most haunting glens, site of 1692 massacre of the MacDonald clan.

"We went through some amazing areas of Scotland with incredible scenery throughout the Highlands, the cruise along Loch Ness was fantastic." – T. Temple, Australia, travelled January 2013

Continuing via Loch Linnhe, we stop in Fort William area for lunch then continue into the natural beauty of the Great Glen as we pass beneath Britain's highest mountain, Ben Nevis. Travelling on, we admire the Caledonian Canal, and the pretty village of Fort Augustus, enjoying spectacular views of Loch Ness, as we drive along the shoreline to Urquhart Castle. (At this point there is a photo of a Highland Cow courtesy of Trip Advisor.)

Loch Ness, 24 miles long and 700 feet deep is most famous for its sightings of the Loch Ness Monster, affectionately known as 'Nessie'. Spend approximately 2 hours at Loch Ness, where you can choose to take a wonderful 5 star Jacobite loch cruise and explore the ruins of Urquhart Castle and its modern visitor centre.

Passing through Inverness, Capital of the Highlands, we start our return for home, crossing the Grampian Mountains and the woodland scenery of Perthshire, including the Forest of Atholl, with an evening refreshment stop at the Victorian resort town of Pitlochry, en route back to Glasgow.

Our driver guide this morning is Bob. "Alasdair Maclean is very Scottish" he observes as he checks me aboard but he asks no further questions. With all 28 seats full there is no time for pleasantries and introductions so I've no clear idea of the nationality of the guests. To judge by the languages however there would appear to be perhaps a dozen Germans on board. There is also a group of five Canadians. Bob launches into a fierce talk on the need for punctuality and time keeping. So focused is he on the grave consequences of turning up late "you'll be making your own way back to Glasgow because I will not be waiting for you" that he forgets to mention the legal requirement for the wearing of seat belts.

We set off along the same route as that taken by Julia the previous day and by the time we reached the top of St Vincent Street he has mentioned the tobacco barons, Charles Rennie McIntosh and the one piece of information of any direct relevance in this locality -- Alexander Greek Thomson and his magnificent Milton Free Church. Passing St Columba's we have a very early mention of Gaelic and the explanation that because services were in Gaelic in this particular church it is known as the "Highland Cathedral". We begin to learn a lot about Bob: he has done 182 tours to Loch Ness since the first of August last year, although he normally does Loch Lomond and Trossachs and he hints darkly at staffing issues. He tells us that he is having to repeat the journey to Loch Ness in three day's time which "involves 7 ½ hours of driving". He has a particular line in dreadful jokes and has to coax the laughter out of his by now slightly intimidated guests.

We are across the Kingston Bridge without reference to the River Clyde and heading towards the Tunnel at which point we learn that he was a disc jockey until 2010 and will be providing us with his own new compilation of music which he has been preparing over the

past two days. Our music today is to be traditional until lunchtime but after that will be a little more adventurous.

He mentions the name Garscadden and explains that this is not the normal route he would take because he understands that the Erskine Bridge has been shut but he knows the road because this was where he took his driving test in 2010. We are now at, in his own words, "at the back end of the West End" where he begins to map out our journey and what we will be seeing and explains in what is one of his catchphrase is "we'll speak of that later also" but also that he would include some surprise stops. He explains that normally he would wear the kilt but the forecast was for rain and therefore he had no intention of sitting in a wet kilt.

By the time we are at Drumchapel he mentions the tenements but does not explain what the name means but rather dwells on his bus driving experience with "intoxicated Drumchapel people". Passing the Boulevard Hotel he directs our attention to it but ignores the spanking new PFI Roman Catholic secondary school to our left. The Boulevard hotel is significant because he once, 15 years ago, did a gig there as a DJ. We also learn that he lived in Spain four years but that Buenos Aires is his favourite place at the moment although since he intends to travel in the Far East that may change.

As we pass Auchentoshan distillery he mentions his visit there with a group from the French Navy, exclaims that the Erskine Bridge seems to be open after all, although it is surprisingly empty for a Sunday morning. However, he relaxes visibly because this is now the start of his normal route -- crossing the Erskine Bridge from the south to join the main A82 road towards the West. This is a point at which the music goes on, the volume of which is slightly too loud. He commences with the Proclaimers, *500 miles*. By the time we reach the Diageo whisky bonds he explains that the reason why he has played this music is that it is linked to the film *The Angel's Share*.

We now learn that he is a supporter of Celtic football club and that he was once a heavy gambler but no longer so. At Dumbarton Castle he mentions Mary Queen of Scots who we

are informed returned to Scotland when she was widowed and aged 32 (she was actually 19 years of age).

By 8.30 we have reached the Balloch roundabout where yesterday "the Highlands began" but rather Bob is telling us more jokes. As he goes past the Scottish Youth Hostel Association hostel at Auchendrennan he explains that this was once the seat of the Colquhouns and thus having mentioned them does not explain, two miles further on, the very considerable TVP of the magnificent entrance gates to the actual seat of the family at Ross Dhu. The music by this stage is jaunty accordion dance tunes. Now by the side of Loch Lomond the geography of Scotland is described as being divided between the Highlands, the Central Belt and the Lowlands. There is no mention of the Highland Boundary Fault or the Borders. A heavy mist hangs over the scenery down to around 500 feet which annoys Bob because it obscures the view. "It's a pity you can't see the scenery – it's magnificent" is a refrain which Bob will keep up most of the morning.

The music by this stage is the *Mucking of Geordie's Byre* played on the uilleann pipes which is followed by *Merrily kissed the Quaker's Wife*. The overall effect is a remarkably Irish sound. This changes now to the *Bonnie, Bonnie Banks of Loch Lomond* with Bob so focused on the fact that we cannot see Ben Lomond (which gives the Loch its name) that he cracks a joke about it being "a mist-ry tour". No one laughs.

We are passing through a gloomy densely forested section of road and we are treated to an explanation of what some of the place names mean. *Brae* means 'field', *auch* means 'river', and *trossachs* means 'jagged land'. None of these names are explained as being from Gaelic. Today Caledonia means simply 'forested land' the people having been removed. This is the cue for a cover version by Skerryvore of Dougie MacLean's paean to Caledonia. Bob tells us about the artists but does not talk about the music.

We pull into Inveruglas at 8.55 and the entrance to the cafe remains firmly shut. This is a major issue for Bob as they should be open at nine o'clock and in any case the service is slow and poor according to him. He makes a point of telling us that he has phoned the

owner to complain about this quality of service. His impatience to be away by 9.20 means that one American woman has come back on to the coach without the bottle of water she wished to purchase. Bob rushes back to get one. As we leave the reason for the presence here of the generating hall for the hydroelectric scheme is explained by the fact that at this point at the road used to flood with water from the hill which problem was cured by channelling it down in pipes and then they decided that they could generate electricity from power of the water flow. Although it is possible to dimly glimpse the island ruins of the Macfarlane castle, again no mention is made of it. Bob now advises us that we have three options for the boat cruise on Loch Ness for which he will be selling tickets later. Even I am thoroughly confused as to what the options are. The music has become a messy sound of jazzed up pipe tunes.

At the Pulpit Rock traffic lights he explains that they will be ultimately removed through the construction of a new section of road which is to cost £10.5 million. This he considers completely excessive but does not offer an alternative solution to the removal of traffic lights on what is a major trunk road. The minister who inspired the Pulpit Rock is apparently Reverent Proudfoot but he had problems with part of his congregation who spent the bulk of the service behind his back and the Rock drinking whisky. Now we learn about the droving of Highland cattle and the fact that the inn at Inverarnan was built in 1705 for the drovers. The Inn is apparently haunted and since Bob believes in ghosts this is probably true. Brief mention is made of Rob Roy MacGregor but his associations are primarily with the Trossachs.

The music starts again and between here and Crianlarich it is *The Wild Mountain Thyme*. At Crianlarich which he pronounces as crin- la –rick - the long grave of the 'a' being completely obliterated - the bilingual road signs are pointed out but there is no effort made to explain the meanings of the names. By now the music is *Donald where's your trousers*? sung by Andy Stewart.

The Rannoch Moors, now plural, commence before we reach Ben Dorain and the absence of trees is put down to the presence of peat. From this point the music returns to the jazzy pipes until we reach Loch Tulla which is the cue for reference to the latest James Bond film *Skyfall* a section of which is filmed on the road just before Kingshouse some 5 miles farther on. At 9.50 we pull into the viewpoint above Loch Tulla (we are now at 3000 feet above sea level according to Bob) with the advice from Bob that the resident piper, who apparently stays in very swish camper van which is parked adjacently, is not a nice person. Not only is he a terrible piper but he is also prone to throw money back at those who photographed him if he feels that he has not received sufficient remuneration. He is also an Englishman. The car park is almost deserted, low mist and cloud obscure most of the mountain peaks occasioning an Icelandic couple to say that it reminds them of home. Once the necessary photographs have been taken, mainly avoiding the piper, we all clamber aboard the coach. Since it is an early Sunday morning, business is quiet the piper shoulders his instrument and approaches the coach entrance steps. He greets our driver guide in a very friendly manner but mistakenly addresses him as "Sam". Bob remains in the coach so we are all party to the exchange. "Tell me" says Bob, "where are you from?" "Brora" says the piper, in a broad English Midlands accent. "But, where are you really from?" "Brora" insists the piper. "No, no, where are you really from, though?" reiterates Bob. "Oh, I spent a number of years in England, but I'm from Brora" says the piper. The conversation peters out... "No doubt I'll be seeing you around" says our man from Brora and they part in a relatively amicable manner. As he pulls out of the car park, back on to the A82, Bob addresses the coach with the following words "That piper is as Scottish as Adolf Hitler". There is a stunned silence, mercifully masked by more jazzy, scrappy pipe music.

It is now 10.15 and we are approaching Kingshouse. Bob slows down on the coach and peers towards the hotel and explains, "Ah, they are there" and informs us that this will be one of his surprise stops. The 'they' in question are a small herd of deer, eight hinds, one

juvenile male and one dominant stag. They are now sufficiently tame to approach the hotel car park to be fed on a mixture of stale bread, broccoli and carrot. Again Bob has a very heavy emphasis on the health and safety aspects: this is private property and decorum is required and we are not to approach the hotel. The deer are wild animals and therefore dangerous although it is not certain which is more timid; the deer or the Chinese girls trying to feed them.

Bob informs us that the dominant stag is called 'Buddy'. He christened the stag this name, which, perhaps to the interest of the Americans, he states is the Scottish word for 'friend', some 10 weeks ago because he was in a bad place yet the stag was there for him.

Back on the coach, we press on accompanied by more jazzy, scrappy pipe music. The Buachaille is mentioned but without explanation of the name and we are less than a mile from the *Three Sisters* viewpoint and yet there is no mention of the Massacre and the music is now switched to *Amazing Grace* sung by a black American soul singer.

10.40: we pour out off the coach to take in the scenery although much of it remains shrouded in cloud. A slightly less dreadful piper is doing brisk business, posed before the mist covered mountains. Jill from New York, who "makes a career of travelling the world" exclaims that "this is a better than the Himalayas. It's just got so much more atmosphere!"

Back on the coach we are heading towards the turn off to the Clachaig Inn and have been informed that the mountains here were in the latest Harry Potter movie. At last we are told about the Massacre but he moves immediately on to his own religion and sectarianism "religion is a big problem… going to football you take your life..... there's bloodshed... I'm a Celtic supporter myself." "It was religion and James the Sixth, his father and Charles, his grandfather, were executed for the way they ran the country. So William and James fought at Killicrankie and William lost and that made him have a grudge against the Catholic Highlanders who won the battle for James. But in 1690 at the Boyne the Dutchman was jubilant".

"William made everyone sign an oath of allegiance but the MacDonalds went to Inverlochy instead of going to Fort William. The late signing was an excuse for William to get his revenge for Killicrankie. The Massacre was led by the Duke of Argyll and 38 clansmen and Jacobites were killed."

By the time we reach Ballachulish Bridge we are listening to Alasdair MacDonald crooning *Oh Cruel Was the Snow* but as we pass the side road down to the Corran Ferry across to Ardgour the music has become *Mull of Kintyre* which leaves me somewhat mystified until Bob begins the somewhat laboured association since it is from the Corran Ferry that it is possible get a ferry to the island of Mull. None of his guests seemed to be aware of the complete confusion of place names and different locations. Now Bob explains that we are approaching our highest mountain Ben Nevis which means 'with its head in the clouds' and Fort William which was named for the fact that William of Orange was based there when he was in Scotland. Unfortunately we drive straight through the town without a reference to the fragmentary remains of the fort which are clearly visible on our left and pull into the Edinburgh Woollen Mill car park at the entrance to Glen Nevis. It is now 11.20 and at this point Bob, who up until this point has used a whiteboard to write down the time, advises everyone verbally be back on the coach at 14.05 which strikes everyone as an excessively long halt until the revised departure time of '12.05' is reissued with dire warnings of the difficulty of getting back to Glasgow on one's own from here should the coach be missed.

As the bulk of the guests head into the Woollen Mill I head back into town to visit the cemetery and the commemorative arch formerly the entrance to Fort William. I returned at 11.45 with still sufficient time to have a very indifferent plate of soup for the sum of £3.65. I have the time to read some contextual murals on the wall of the cafeteria (I've taken a photograph of the essentialist characterisation of the Highlander). Heading back towards the coach I run into Jill who is highly critical of the quality of food, its price and service at the cafeteria.

By 12.00 we are all back in our seats as the majority of us have been waiting to get back on board. However we do not set off since this is the point at which Bob needs to secure the numbers for the Loch Ness boat trip. The cost of a combined boat trip and visit to Urquhart Castle is £13 per person and since those who demur are advised that there is nothing to do at the Clansmen Hotel this is really the only option. This is a very hard sell and over 80% of the coach cough up the cash. Bob happily takes the cash (no credit cards) and issues the tickets. We head off, passing "another fine car" which appears to be part of a Vintage Rally for such cars as we have passed a good dozen of them to date. Bob makes reference to the whisky bonds at the distillery which he describes as 'huts'. He now announces that music as he promised has changed to Scottish rock and pop artists. We have a mix of Katie Tunstall, Amy McDonald and Paolo Nutini which is "chill out music from our Celtic waters".

Along the side of Loch Lochy he asked us first to note one of three trees standing in the grounds of the hotel the middle one of which was clipped by the Royal Air Force and some 10 feet of its top removed. He then reverts to talking about himself and increasingly the guests are talking to each other. Passing *Blàr na Lèine* and the Well of Heads there is no mention of either as a focus is upon a surprise visit to Highland cattle, Bob's 15 hour day and his Facebook page.

1300 and we drive into Fort Augustus which according to Bob was named after the first German leader of Scotland who came up to 'Kilwhimin' and renamed it Fort Augustus. It is still possible to see the two towers that are all that remains of the old Fort. He points out the two mid-19th century towers of the Benedictine monastery. He points out the flight of locks leading into Loch Ness and tells us that Thomas Telford invented the canal lock.

We press on as the boat sailing is at 2 p.m. and we have to fit in a Highland cattle visit beforehand. This is at Invermorriston which Bob tells us means 'river of waterfalls'. We pull in to the car park for the public toilet and Bob says that this is a 10 minute stop maximum and there are dire warnings for those who might be late – "rules are rules, guys".

The cattle, the breed having been around, according to Bob, since the sixth century, clearly know him and respond to his calls, receiving carrots and in return providing photo opportunities for those who wish them.

1330 and we're back on the road and the music is apparently a cover version by Paolo Nutini of Katie Tunstall's *Rehab*

As we approach the Clansman Hotel on the shores of Loch Ness, and our boat trip sailing point, we are advised that the last sighting of Nessie was 80 years ago. As we get off the coach one of the German party mentions the music of Run Rig to Bob and has he heard of them. "Run Rig", says Bob, "yes *Loch Lomond*, they sang *Loch Lomond*." But says the German, "they sang other things too?", "Yes, yes", says Bob, "yes, *Loch Lomond*." The German gives up.

By now the sun has come out but there is a brisk breeze which means that that the surface of the Loch is likely to be very cold. The 14.30 sailing of the Jacobite catamaran departs promptly crammed full of the bulk of our coach party and most of the contents of five other coaches lined up by the hotel. As the wind is chill I head for the shop cafe avoiding other retail opportunities on the way. This extended lunch break is again chance for me to write up the salient points emerging from Bob's narrative that I have some 20 points where it diverges substantially from my own understandings of the Highlands.

The coach departs punctually at 16.00 with everyone on board, heading towards Inverness. Near the head of the loch Bob points out Aldourie Castle and provides details of the immense cost of hiring the place. Approaching Inverness we pull off to the left in order to cross the Caledonian Canal at Clachnaharry, effectively avoiding the central crossing of the River Ness and thereby saving some 15 minutes time but at some cost to the guests' view of the capital of the Highlands other than a distant perspective of the castle which was according to Bob occupied by Bonnie Prince Charlie. Charlie was according to Bob, saved by Flora MacDonald who took him from the mainland to Skye.

Now that we are on the A9 South the pattern of yesterday is repeated with almost solid music and only a few comments from the driver/guide. The main interest at Blair Castle is the fact that the Duke spends all his time there and that the wife is Eleanor Cadbury who was one of the Cadbury heiresses.

As he has promised, Bob now gives us his view on the forthcoming referendum. From all his comments I would have characterised Bob as intensely patriotic and my automatic assumption was that we were about to be subjected to a fiercely anti-English diatribe in support of the Nationalist party and independence. I could not have been more mistaken, he launches into a trenchant attack on the notion that Scotland could ever exist as a separate nation divorced from the benefits provided by union with its bigger neighbour. I was so dumb struck that I wonder whether or not he is joking but I don't think I've come across anyone before now more serious about his position and willing to defend it in the strongest terms. For me this is a salutary lesson that intense patriotism does not lead to political nationalism.

Bob (who is having marital problems and will not be getting his tea at home tonight) having taken orders for the fish and chip shop in Pitlochry makes a half-hour refreshment and restroom stop at almost 6 p.m. by which time the main street is closing up and the public toilets are closed. However Bob has a contact with the local cafe adjacent to the car park which we are, as his clients, free to use. Although, the order has been phoned ahead well in advance, a Manchurian, now living in Vancouver, is much disgruntled that he had to wait 15 minutes and then had to bolt his food. He's eaten better chips but seems quite content to proceed with the company's following day's offer of a journey to the Trossachs for which his travel agent had signed him up. However he is somewhat surprised to learn from me that our destination is not Edinburgh as his travel agent said but Glasgow. In one sense he is relieved not to have to negotiate a train journey given his evident mobility problems (he has suffered a mild stroke) but it is evident that his travel agent is going to regret the error.

As we pass Stirling Castle and the Wallace Monument we learn about the wars of independence and of Bannockburn largely from a discussion of the accuracy of the film *Braveheart*. According to Bob the only major inaccuracy was the face painting and the fact that "tartan only came around in the days of the clans". However, since he had not actually told us when those days were, we are left uncertain as to the antiquity of this cloth. Bob's ferocious timekeeping has us back in Glasgow by 19.30

Appendix 3: The synopsis of the Leadership in Tourism Group report to the cohort

This short note is a synopsis of a longer review of The Tourism Leadership Group's (TLG) Report prepared for the 2010 BB cohort in June 2011 by Coinneach Maclean. The report, entitled *Towards a strategy for Tourism in Scotland*; *Summary of Outputs of phase 1: June 2011*, was written by consultants and issued by the Scottish Government. However, the original web link http://www.stforum.co.uk/wmslib/TLG_Phase_1_Findings_1_-_24_page_report_-_June_2011.pdf is no longer active.

It supplements the information contained in chapter three- Introduction to the Scottish Tourist Industry.

The key headline points were that:

The value of tourist spend is c. £4.2bn. Spending by non-Scottish tourists accounts for 3.1% of Scottish GDP in the most recent quarter – its high point was 4% in 2003 The spend level by foreign tourists in Q2 2010 was the poorest second quarter for five years in nominal terms –no upturn expected before 2013.

- The UK leisure tourism market constitutes c. 54% of total tourism revenues generated in Scotland. The UK leisure market is increasingly a short break market (average stay 3.6 nights).
- The overseas leisure tourism market is c. 23% of total revenues It sees a longer average stay (average of 8.6 nights in Scotland) but short breaks are increasingly popular.
- UK and overseas business tourism is worth around 21% of revenues (spend per night is twice that of leisure visitors). Scotland is losing its share of the overall UK tourism market.

Comparison of actual performance with those of Scottish Tourism: The Next Decade - A Tourism Framework for Change, March 2006, (TFFC) targets which were:

- Annual volume growth by around 2% per annum to 2015
- Gross tourism revenues to increase by 50% by 2015
- Visitor numbers to increase by 20% by 2015
- Spending per trip to increase by 25% by 2015
- Doubling of business tourism revenues by 2015

Scotland has not succeeded in meeting the growth targets anticipated for the period 2005 to 2009: A decrease in volume and value during the period since the production of the TFFC.

1. TLG INDUSTRY SURVEY (TLGIS)

In a TLGIS (November 2010 and generated 1,555 responses), the overall picture of modest c.1% or 2% real growth. Growth will be low if Scotland's activity is limited to what it is currently doing. A SWOT (Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, Threats) analysis from this consultation reveals the following:

Strengths : The analysis shows that the industry thought that scenery, natural environment, heritage, distinctive destination, culture, whisky, a safe place to visit, sense of place, authenticity and our people all score high - 85 +% .

Weaknesses: It is clear that inconsistency, leadership and the various types of investment lead, followed by investment in product development, little industry collaboration, Investment in skills, complacency about the competition, expensive, and the industry undervalued by government.

Opportunities: The top ranked were; develop the Scottish market; link plans for national and local marketing; position as a High Quality destination; develop the UK market; extend the tourism season; look for new international markets; develop high value niche markets, and build on green credentials.

Threats: the global recession, increasing bureaucracy, competition increasing from overseas destinations, decline in transport links into Scotland, competition increasing from elsewhere in the UK, and, public sector cuts. The theme is about the public sector – infrastructure, support and regulation but the main threat centers on attitudes – people, service, complacency, apathy and innovation.

The most important market remains the UK with the England-originating market dominant. Our main country of origin remains the United States with visitors coming from a number of Western European countries (including Canada) and an increasing number of visitors from other parts of the world. Between 2005 and 2009 the number of overseas visitors remained static at between 2.4 million and 2.7 million.

Many research reports do not consistently measure changes in visitor perceptions from year to year. Instead, the snapshot of what visitors feel about Scotland and its assets is:

- Scotland is an enduring and dramatic country with a strong human element
- A visit is a powerfully rich and enriching personal experience
- Key destination icons include, tartan and bagpipes, castles, scenery, the Scottish accent, walks, whisky, Edinburgh and golf
- It is a country with dramatic landscapes and vibrant cities, strong culture and history, a range of outdoor activities and world-class golf, known for its festivals (particularly Hogmanay), wildlife destination, offering fine food and drink, strong for city and rural breaks, and offering five-star luxury

Scotland is consistently ahead in scenery, outdoor activities, combining city and outdoors. Key findings are that Scotland lags behind England and Ireland significantly in the areas of "great food and drink". Ireland is ahead of Scotland on being "welcoming and friendly" The most recent Scottish Visitor Experience Survey (VES) indicates that "the scenery" and "the number of things to see & do" stand out as the top two reasons for choosing Scotland for both UK and International visitors . Scotland performs less well on Value for Money based on International visitors' perceptions on cost of eating out, unfavourable exchange rate (driven by US visitors), accommodation and the general cost of living.

Competitor areas, British Columbia (Canada), Ireland, New Zealand, Norway, Slovenia, and Wales all witnessed a downturn in overseas receipts in 2008, although only New Zealand had a greater percentage downturn than Scotland

The conclusions from analysis of secondary data are that we are not treating our customers as well as they expect and our reputation is not as strong as it might be.

- The natural aspects of Scotland and the built heritage are unanimously regarded as the aspects of a visit which meet or exceed expectations.
- It has a number of outstanding assets particularly on natural heritage, culture, integrity of the people and the quality of the landscape.
- Quality of food, whisky and retail quality are also high on the list
- The propensity to visit is high with the likelihood of return visits not as high as we might like and it is possible that this is compromised through poor value for money.
- Service consistently arises as an area where visitors' expectations are least met. Some things are still not quite right, primarily "software" aspects of service quality and the basics of food standards and quality
- The customer perception is that it is a good destination but not universally regarded as a great country to visit

Scotland is on the cusp between stagnation and decline in the destination life cycle. Despite the TFFC's strong focus on growth, we have not progressed significantly from 2006. To avoid slipping into decline, action is now required. Decline is not inevitable but growth is unlikely to recover without significant change in Scotland's overall tourism offering. Scotland is a powerful destination, distinctive and differentiated from other competitors in a number of ways – landscape, culture, heritage and its people. Scotland is not a low-cost destination and does not generally compete on price. Our strengths lie in differentiating Scotland from its competitors and offering a high value for money visitor experience.

Appendix 4A: Questionnaire one: course feedback from the STGA cohort of 2010

Following completion of the 2008-10 Edinburgh University Blue Badge Training Course, the STGA Training Committee sought feedback from the students. I conducted a short survey of the programme content along with a fellow student.

Feedback – Executive Summary focussed solely on Course Content

Initial Interviews were successful in clarifying the demands of the course. 70% gave this a top rating. Introductory Course achieved a high approval rating with 62% awarding top rating. Edinburgh University as a training provider was less highly rated with 85% scoring in the mid rating. A number of comments seemed to indicate variable quality of lectures/lecturers and that some subjects were rushed or not dealt with.

Similarly on relative weights and volume of the differing content, over 90% rated their satisfaction as no higher than the middle ranges. "Too much geology – not enough business, marketing, IT and practical training". The most frequently mentioned content topics where content cover was felt by the students to have been lacking were; Skye and Mull, more on social history, traditions and Gaelic culture, modern society, Food and drink and practical help.

Less longwinded academic stuff – courses to be tailored to BB guides' needs, not 1st year degree notes. KISS (Keep it Short and Simple) should be the principle applied. But debate around the extent to which the core academic programme can be modified without breaching the criteria for Higher Education certificates and the SCQF7. Once we know how many "spare" slots we might be dealing with then we can get a sense of what might be inserted.

 Specifics

Geology could be introduced more simply as part of Physical Geography. Art History/ architecture but Architecture is vital – "things we see" and guide about, with Art History as a needed context (Renaissance, Modernism, Celtic Revival etc). Confusion of natural and human landscape; the modules need simpler "what you see" explanations (and start with what we see so much of today i.e. what's the barley for?, EU subsidised fields, forestry in transition etc); cultural traditions of Scotland including the Doric quite apart from Gaelic.; more time for Gaelic in the culture segments and place names certainly important and should have been at the beginning - under "Scotland Today" –tracing the origins of traditions.

The above feedback supplemented a questionnaire designed to ascertain what the cohort of students felt that they needed to learn about Gaelic Scotland. The STGA Gaelic workshop and questionnaire were conducted on 15 January 2010. The 25 aspects were graded and refined down to a smaller set of seven themes which were developed for the Gaelic day on June 2013 (see below).

The STGA Gaelic Workshop and Questionnaire

This workshop has been designed to identify a number of themes that are likely to appeal to guests to Scotland. Please indicate by ticking which of the following aspects were of most interest and merit more detailed information.

1. Language: origins and structure

2. Place name structure
3. The Name of Edinburgh
4. 20 facts about Gaelic in Edinburgh
5. Mountain names
6. Culture and Institutions
7. The Early Church
8. The MacDonald Lordship of the Isles
9. Linn nan Creach
10. Alasdair MacColla and Montrose
11. The Highland Charge
12. The MacGregors
13. Bonnie Prince Charlie
14. Emigration
15. MacPherson's Ossian
16. The Clearances
17. Land Struggle
18. Crofting Legislation
19. The Church
20. 19th and 20th-century Gaelic Scotland
21. The Other World
22. Hospitality
23. Dress
24. Contemporary Scotland
25. Words in Use in English

Please identify any subject which will feel have been missed out or neglected;

1. ……………………………………………………………………………

2. ……………………………………………………………………………

If you wish to make further comments please do so below (your comments will be treated anonymously and will not be attributable without your permission).

If you would like to let me know your name, please write it below.

……………………………………………………………………………………………………

Thank you for participating in this survey.

Appendix 4B: Questionnaire two: 2013 second-year students of STGA training course.

A similar exercise was undertaken in 2013 to provide the cohort of 2012-2014 with a day's course on Gaelic culture - An introduction to Gaelic for the STGA on Sunday 2nd of June 2013. (The cohort of 2010-2012 received none). In order to gauge the levels of knowledge in advance of the inputs, a short questionnaire was conducted.

20 QUESTIONS

This is not a test, is anonymous and designed to stimulate discussion. It is intended to deal with the answers to the questions during the course of the day. Every effort will be made to be as responsive as possible to the aspects of Gaelic that would be of interest to the STGA candidate. In the final session of the day we would hope to address the five top priority topics. Depending on the class feedback these might be the kilt, clans, song, phrases, mountain names, etc.

1. Did Gaelic come from Ireland or were the Scots already in southwest Scotland?

   …………………………………………………………………………………………

2. What was the Lordship of the Isles?

   …………………………………………………………………………………………

3. What is Robert the Bruce's connection to Gaelic

   …………………………………………………………………………………………

4. Who was the last King of Scots to speak Gaelic?

   …………………………………………………………………………………………

5. Gaelic was once spoken throughout what is now known as Scotland, true or false? Where was it not spoken?

   …………………………………………………………………………………………

6. What is the meaning of the name 'Edinburgh'?

    ……………………………………………………………………………………………

7. At what battle did the Highlanders cast off their plaids to fight more easily?

    ……………………………………………………………………………………………

8. What most influential literary Scottish production was published in 1760?

    ……………………………………………………………………………………………

9. What is Erse? How would we use the term today?

    ……………………………………………………………………………………………

10. What is your understanding (if any) of the meaning of the name 'Freuchie' in Fife?

    ……………………………………………………………………………………………

11. What does the name 'Glasgow' mean?

    ……………………………………………………………………………………………

12. What are the animal associations with the whisky names of Glengoyne,

    Glenfiddich, Dewar's at Blair Atholl? Can you think of other names that come

    from animals?

……………………………………………………………………………………………

13. Who was Colkitto and what was his main claim to fame?

……………………………………………………………………………………………

14. Who shot the Red Fox? Was the assassin a real character?

……………………………………………………………………………………………

15. Where, when and where the clearances?

……………………………………………………………………………………………

16. What is a croft?

……………………………………………………………………………………………

17. What does the word 'Mod' mean and who runs it?

……………………………………………………………………………………………

18. What is Bòrd na Gàidhlig?

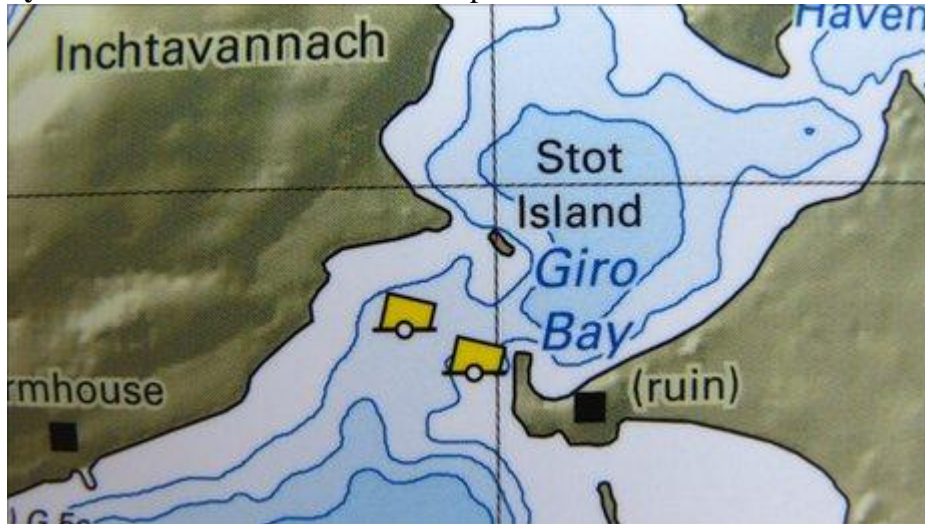……………………………………………………………………………………………

19. 'Fàilte gu Alba' means?

……………………………………………………………………………………………

20. Write down your most important fact(s) about Gaelic, or anything that comes into

your head when you think of it…………………….…………………………

Appendix 5: The re-naming of Loch Lomond

B B C NEWS GLASGOW AND WEST SCOT

9 March 2011 Last updated at 07:48

Loch Lomond National Park sorry for 'Giro Bay' map

By Huw Williams BBC Scotland reporter

The chart featured a place called "Giro

Bosses at a national park have had to destroy 3,000 copies of a new map which featured controversial names including a place called "Giro Bay".

A spokeswoman for Loch Lomond National Park said it was sorry for the "error of judgement".

The map, which had been produced to replace one drawn up in 1861, also named areas after park employees.

The park said a navigational chart without the controversial names would be available within weeks.

It added that the additional costs would be funded from sales of the new edition.

The park revealed it had been "overwhelmed" by public interest in the new chart which was produced following a full survey of the popular visitor attraction.

Local people said the map was "a disgrace" and could have caused confusion and delay in the event of an accident.

Ernie East, who has fished and kept a boat on Loch Lomond for 40 years, told BBC Radio Scotland that local people were "very annoyed" about the situation.

Mr East said calling the bay, on Inchmoan, "Giro Bay" was "derogatory".

He also said that the park authority was being a "megalomaniac" for naming areas after people.

And he said the chart could have caused confusion and delay if there has been an accident on the loch.

Mr East said rocks near Aber Isle, towards the southern end of the loch, have always been known as Aber Rocks. But the new chart christened them Chimmo Rocks.

He believed that "nobody local will really know where they are".

Looking through the chart he also highlighted an area which it names as Cameron's Shallows.

He said: "Nobody's ever heard of [them]."

Controversial names

- Giro Bay
- Chimmo Rocks
- Cameron's Shallows
- Archibald's Abyss
- Jessie's Shallow

"And it's not all that shallow there, to be quite honest."

"The shallow part is about 100 yards further south. We also have a place called Jessie's Shallow just north of Inchfad which is over 45ft or 50ft deep. And the further up you go, you get to Archibald's Abyss. Now this is the deepest part of Loch Lomond. It's 640ft deep. That's been named after one of the rangers." "Why it's been allowed to happen, I don't know."

Map-making tradition

The national park said: "We regret that we made an error in judgement in the initial print run of the new navigational chart for Loch Lomond." A spokeswoman added that "a colloquialism" was included in the chart. She also confirmed that some previously unnamed parts of the loch had been named after cartographers and rangers who had worked together on the mapping project. The spokeswoman explained names given after people was a common map-making tradition but "we appreciate it is felt to be inappropriate in this instance". She added: "We are grateful to local people for drawing this to our attention. As soon as we realised our mistake, immediate action was taken and we withdrew the chart."

Appendix 7: Specific local recommendations

Language habilitation

The current discourse on "Gaelic being the most difficult language in the world" is likely to prove a barrier to potential learners or supporters in the short-term. In some fashion Anglophone Scots need to learn that their own largely lost original 'mother tongue' of Scots is more closely entwined with Gaelic as a cursory glance of any Scots dictionary will demonstrate. The rich interplay between the languages, that once existed, could again do so if people could be reminded of such simple facts that the marketing term 'slogan' is from Gaelic and the Gaelic word for 'sweetheart', *leannan* is from early Anglian.

Space in the grand narratives

Gaelic should be given the parity of esteem for which the Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act 2005 calls. Most immediately both Gaelic language plans for the Highlands and Islands Enterprise and VisitScotland should move from merely domestic concerns in respect of signage, training and correspondence to strategic engagement with Gaelic. Specifically VisitScotland, will now be asked if they have fulfilled one of their Plan outcomes to include in its existing Visitor Experience Survey questions regarding the importance of Gaelic to visitors (2012:33). Highlands and Islands Enterprise have, I understand commissioned (as of 2nd November 2013) a consultancy on the potential use of Gaelic in tourism.

Improved interpretation

Although there is a recently completed report on current usage of Gaelic in interpretation commissioned and partially funded by the InterpretScotland partnership, this field should

gain further attention. This is because the draft report is limited in scope and makes no concrete recommendations. At a practical level organisations seeking forms of public subsidy whether from public bodies such as *Bòrd na Gàidhlig* or Heritage Lottery Fund, should be invited to indicate what steps they will take in reflecting the Gaelic heritage of the locality in which the interpretation is sited. Equally, when interpretation is being refreshed the opportunity should be taken to offer slightly different approaches to the story of Gaelic. This will be immediately beneficial in the case of the *Pictavia* exhibition space in Brechin which currently projects a distorted and diminished presence of Gaelic in Angus.

Training

Both STGA and the companies surveyed during the mystery shopper exercise would benefit from a better exposure to Gaelic's story, most particularly in the case of the latter. It has to be acknowledged that minibus companies are exceptionally reluctant to spend any money on training. However, provided that a core number of trained staff was provided with effective input then their training of others through the 'sitting with auntie' technique (where a new recruit is trained by joining a tour of an experienced guide and picks up information from him/her) could target and remove the worst excesses.

Better Ephemera

Related to the previous point is the need for far better materials either in the form of leaflets issued to potential customers or crib sheets for guides. One that should be produced with a matter of urgency is that which will deal with the canard of the 'invention' of the kilt. Indeed a serious effort should be made to 'blizzard' every single kilt hire company in the country with a short exposition of the falsehoods told in order to set the

story right. Although that leaflet would perhaps be largely in English, the rest would be produced bilingually. Models already exist in the high quality leaflet, *Na Gàidheil an Alba*; *The Gaels and Gaelic in Scotland*, produced by *Bòrd na Gàidhlig* which can be made more widely available at a minimal cost. However, it will also be sensible to consider investment in a series of leaflets which cover the main sections of 'the milk run' to provide an introduction to a language, hierarchy of landscape naming, local traditions, poets and musicians, philanthropists and improvers, great men and women, and, of course, warriors. VisitScotland will be asked if they have fulfilled their plan outcome "to produce a free printed bilingual publication for visitors, to be distributed in our VICs, about the history of Gaelic, setting the Gaelic language into the context of Scotland's culture and heritage." (2012:22)

Impact on BB guides

The STGA has decided, largely on cost grounds, to terminate the contract with Edinburgh University OLL and intends to construct and deliver its own training programme perhaps with accreditation from other institutes of Tertiary education. This presents an opportunity for a significant input on Gaelic. Historically, the STGA were offered a series of eight lectures covering disciplines as varied as landscape and fairies. Aberdeen College is in process of launching a short training course for Green Badge guides enabling accreditation for guiding within Aberdeen city and wider Aberdeenshire and the North-East in general. There has been some input to the course which unfortunately is still of the view that the content on Gaelic is solely on aspects of the language and does not address wider matters of culture and history.

On a tangential course, contact with The Scottish Tourism Alliance is likely to be fruitful as they announced thirty five actions during Scottish Tourism Week (March 2013) of

which the Leadership in Tourism Group (LTG) endorsed eight of them as 'time critical' priority actions for implementation. One of the Priorities for Action announced in May 2013 was that a pilot Guide Training Programme is complete and delivery ready to be rolled out, although no time frame was identified.

College courses

Newcastle College prepared and launched an SQA level 7 course which was entitled Celtic Studies. As part of that course I voluntarily contributed a module on working in heritage industry. As yet I have received no feedback but will monitor progress.

8. Appendix 8: A List of Abbreviations used in this thesis.

BB; Blue Badge Tourist Guides are the official, professional tourist guides of the United Kingdom. They wear a Blue Badge to indicate their professionalism. They are recognised by local tourist bodies throughout the UK and by Visit Britain as Britain's official tourist guides. There are over 2000 Blue Badge guides in England, Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland. The STGA awards the Blue badge to guides who have successfully completed the Edinburgh university course (up to 2014) who are thus qualified to guide anywhere in Scotland.

ERDF; European Regional Development Fund is a fund allocated by the European Union.

GDP; Gross Domestic Product The monetary value of all the finished goods and services produced within a country's borders in a specific time period, though GDP is usually calculated on an annual basis. It includes all of private and public consumption, government outlays, investments and exports less imports that occur within a defined territory.

GVA; Gross value added is a measure in economics of the value of goods and services produced in an area, industry or sector of an economy.

HBF; Highland Boundary Fault. The Fault is a major fault zone that traverses Scotland from Arran and Helensburgh on the west coast to Stonehaven in the east. It separates two distinctly different physiographic and geological terrains: the Highlands from the Lowlands and in most places it is recognisable as a change in topography.

KISS; Keep it Short and Simple: To apply the KISS principle is to keep messages simple and short, or else the tourist will not hear them clearly and will not understand the narrative.

NGLP ; The National Gaelic Language Plan is *Bòrd na Gàidhlig's* 5-year plan for the languages' revitalisation.

LTG; Leadership in Tourism Group From February 2013 re-branded as The Tourism Leadership Group the Group is the refreshed Strategy Steering Group of the STA.

STA ; The Scottish Tourism Alliance was formed in 2012, and is an independent trade body of 225 members comprising trade associations, individual businesses, marketing services and local area tourism groups with an active interest in tourism.

STB; Scottish Tourist Board, now re-branded as VisitScotland, is the national tourism agency. It is an executive non-departmental public body of the Scottish Government. It operates alongside VisitBritain, an organisation with a similar remit for Great Britain as a whole.

STGA; The Scottish Tourist Guides Association was formed 1996 as a membership association for professional tourist guides, and the accrediting body for Blue Badge and Green Badge Guides in Scotland.

SWOT; Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, Threats. A SWOT analysis is a structured planning method used to evaluate the **s**trengths, **w**eaknesses, **o**pportunities, and **t**hreats involved in a project or in a business venture. The analysis can be carried out for a product, place, industry or person.

TFFC; Tourism Framework for Change, a Scottish Government promoted initiative which produced *Scottish Tourism*: *The Next Decade- A Tourism Framework for Change.*

TIC; Tourist Information Offices are located in most major centres to supply services to visitors.

TVP; Top Visual Priority. To a tourist guide a TVP is a sight which must not be missed e.g Stirling Castle, The Wallace Monument etc.

U. of E. OLL.; University of Edinburgh Office of Lifelong Learning is where the University of Edinburgh links into the wider community. The aim of the OLL is to provide education for adults, from those taking their first steps back into learning to professionals updating their skills.

VES; Scotland Visitor Experience Survey. The 2011 VES was conducted for VisitScotland with the aim of updating information held on visitors to Scotland and the survey took place over seasons – with visitors interviewed in 7 areas in 2011 and a further 7 areas in 2012 .

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