STILL THE GLOAMING:

THE SUBVERSIVE FEMININE IN THE WORKS OF SIR WALTER SCOTT AND LEWIS GRASSIC GIBBON

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100 years may have passed since the times of *Sunset Song,* but very little has changed in Arbuthnott. Small men with big egos still wield their misbegotten power and wealth to the detriment of others; the wishes of the powerful often outweigh the rights of the vulnerable. Xenophobia, racism, and sexism thrive in the very places that should be safeguarding the legacies of revolutionaries like Lewis Grassic Gibbon. And still, the LAND endures, beautiful and difficult, and far less cruel than the men who rule over it. And so, I dedicate this to "all those poor damn women who went through hell to give the dirty peasants and priests and patriots and poets of civilization easy time and well-cooked food"- Domina Riddoch in *The Thirteenth Disciple* by J. Leslie Mitchell.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Where necessary for clarity, I use the following abbreviations in citations.

Lewis Grassic Gibbon/J. Leslie Mitchell

GH: Gay Hunter

NAU: Nine Against the Unknown

ScSc: Scottish Scene

Sm: Smeddum

SQ: A Scots Quair, including the novels *Sunset Song, Cloud Howe,* and *Grey Granite*

SR: Stained Radiance

TD: The Thirteenth Disciple

Walter Scott

BD: The Black Dwarf

Br: Bride of Lammermoor

OM: Old Mortality

OED: Oxford English Dictionary

SNP: Scottish National Party

ABSTRACT:

This work seeks to introduce a new feminist interpretation of the national and historical projects of Sir Walter Scott and Lewis Grassic Gibbon (J. Leslie Mitchell) by analysing their uses of marginalized cultures, languages, and epistemologies. I explore the way feminine modes of time and language are utilized by both authors to refute the masculine, imperialist notions of "progress" in narratives of Scotland. Both authors use the Feminine to portray visions of Scotland that challenge Scotland's inferior position in the Union. By celebrating feminine disruptions of traditional masculine narratives of progress and emphasizing "native" or non-Anglo-Saxon language and customs, Scott and Mitchell promote a Scottish literary identity that achieves status by utilizing the very "uncivilized" and "irrational" traits that English-centered progress discourses have sought to eliminate or ignore.

INTRODUCTION:

SCOTT, GRASSIC GIBBON, AND THE FEMININE MODE OF RESISTANCE

Irrational, contradictory, hysterical, passive, unrefined, primitive, sensual, submissive, inconstant, monstrous, excessive, illiterate, domestic, subjective, personal, hidden, mysterious, uncultured, unworldly, naive. These typically negative labels are common descriptors for the "inferior" subject: most commonly the female, but also the "savage," the child, the Other in need of paternal civilizing. These adjectives almost always defer to their opposites in a constructed system of meaning where the opposite is more desirable and/or powerful. Yet, the values that make these descriptors negative or undesirable are the values of those in power, the values of those whose own status and power require the subjugation of others.

To be a-rational, to be non-dominating, to be ambivalent, natural, mystical, emotional, sensitive, non-violent, rustic, earnest—reclaiming these devalued ways of being can result in paths to knowledge and power outside of the traditional systems that oppress the supposed periphery. Through a radical reordering of traditional value systems, I seek to produce a new feminist reading of anti-Imperial Scottish identity through the works of Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832) and James Leslie Mitchell (1901-35), better known under his Scots pen name, Lewis Grassic Gibbon.[1] By reassessing the power of the Feminine and native Scottish culture in their works, I suggest a mode of reassessing and re-valuing these authors for more subversive and radical purposes. The assumed inferiority of the Feminine or the Other by those in power provides the very opportunity through which the oppressed may subvert hierarchical traditions and reimagine new ways of being.

The division of gender into numerous associations and implications looks back to the age-old personification of natural forces and elements while also reflecting cultural ideas about physical sexual difference. Many gendered associations have remained intact throughout history, though their value and power fluctuate with the ideologies of any society. Attributes and activities may be considered "Feminine" and "Masculine" independent of either the sex or gender of any subject. Consequently, I argue that writers or characters of any sex and any gender can utilize and perform historically gendered attributes not normally applied to their sex at birth to challenge the dominant ideologies of their times. It is also important to recognize that "Masculine" and "Feminine" indicate constructed associations arising from cultures and ideas and that, in Western thought and literature, they are typically placed within a binary hierarchy. Non-binary genders, sexes, and gendered modalities exist in literature and society, but this work focuses primarily on the conflict between Masculine and Feminine. I therefore ask my readers to understand the Masculine and Feminine as modes of understanding and representing human experience—gendered approaches to organization, narration, action, language, denotation, and connotation--rather than as indicators of biological sex. The two competing modes of Masculine and Feminine have long been connected to the opposing poles of relations of power: dominating vs. subordinated, active vs. passive, force vs. receptivity. Such dueling poles of power have also been expressed as colonizer and colonized, center and periphery, Western and subaltern, dominant and marginalized, imperial and native, me and not-me, tribe and foreigner, and beyond. Though usually employed to describe gendered qualities and status within the traditional hierarchy of a patriarchal society, the "Masculine" and the "Feminine" designation can also encompass sexless concepts, processes, institutions, systems, styles, and forms, as well as more typically gendered subjects and objects. Though sex and gender may seem irrelevant to a

particular inanimate subject, our valuation and categorization of phenomenon often rely on dualistic distinctions that correspond to Western assumptions about sex and gender.

This study, in addition, proposes to connect a "Feminine" mode of writing with subversive interpretations that reclaim national literature authored by white males and turn it, at least somewhat, towards anti-patriarchal, anti-imperialist ends. A rejection of the traditional values of patriarchal civilization and imperialist progress is essential for reading Scottish literature through the lens of the native. This radical rejection, I will show, is basic to Lewis Grassic Gibbon/James Mitchell's socio-cultural reading of the British school of Diffusionism. Yet even Walter Scott, despite his support for contemporary Union government and his famous nostalgia for feudal inequality, uses the materials of the Scottish subaltern and the marginalized female to challenge dominant narratives of progress and imperial civilizing. Like Mitchell, Scott's more conventional sense of history is undermined by his fundamental appreciation for the sensibilities and values of the more 'primitive'—and, I would argue, feminized—past.

Mitchell's much-discussed idea of Diffusionism differs from the standard use of that term by emphasizing a more radical, dissenting ethical position in line with many of Scott's Romantic contemporaries. The archeological and anthropological Diffusionism of twentieth century Britain claims that the innovations and institutions that provide the basis for all civilization can be traced back to a single origin in Ancient Egypt: the advent of agriculture when wandering peoples first discovered the seasonal growth of plants after the rising of the Nile.[2] From this moment, Diffusionists trace the beginning of religion, marriage, economy, government and various other institutions of what would become modern civilization. From Egypt, Diffusionists argue, the foundations of civilization spread to other previously nomadic groups and thus out across the world. The actual archeological basis for such a theory has been largely discredited, and the

supposed diffusion of civilization from Egypt outwards might therefore appear irrelevant to a reading of Scottish literature and nationality, except in specific cases of related literary analysis (such as Douglas Young's *Beyond the Sunset*). Even so, the theory of Diffusionism provided Mitchell with a scientific basis for a radical, deconstructionist philosophy of subversion and rejection. If civilization and its attendant institutions could be traced to a single culture, it would appear that civilization as it has come to be – often highly patriarchal and colonizing -- was not necessarily the natural, universal, innate state of humankind. Thus, Mitchell could construct civilization as often the antithesis of all that is positive in humankind's natural primitive state. For Mitchell, civilization creates and authorizes oppressive states of inequality though society's institutions and their ordering of human experience by hierarchical values. It is this concept, founded upon Diffusionist theories of the development of civilization, that suggests a radical revisioning of value systems which have long served to marginalize and discredit alternate modes of existence. I believe that elements within it are prefigured in some of Scott's works well before they permeate Mitchell's.

The works of Walter Scott and J. Leslie Mitchell, in addition, demonstrate a strong influence from both the literature and ideals of the Romantic era. On the surface, the authors would seem to have little in common, since Scott had all of the economic privilege and professional opportunity that Mitchell so desperately lacked. Scott's political ideals were largely conservative, while Mitchell joined communist and anarchist parties. Still, they are connected by more than being Scottish. Despite the major economic and political differences between the two authors, both shared a particular drive to represent Scotland as a site for challenging and subverting undesirable qualities of the modern age. Their emphasis on positive aspects of a national past, along with an appreciation of the beauty of the natural world, echoes much of

Romantic-era writing in the early nineteenth century.[3] As the editors of *The Age of Romanticism* argue, the violence of the French Revolution heightened a sense of cohesion or national identity and "forced the British to turn inward and discover their own country" (XXXIX). Part of this inward turn also sought remedies for the increasing inequality and destitution that accompanied industrialism and urbanization. The 1790s poetry of William Wordsworth typifies the Romantic era's desire to ennoble rustic, natural life as a reaction against the urbanization, and increased urban poverty, of industrialism in Britain (XLIII). Scott not only reviewed his contemporaries' works, but also formed more personal relationships with authors such as Wordsworth. He and Scott maintained a friendship of thirty years with visits and lively correspondence. Lord Byron, half Scottish, exchanged letters and gifts with Scott, and they took turns reviewing and criticizing each other's work. Coleridge's *Christabel* set the pattern for Scott's meter in "Lay of the Last Minstrel," as Scott acknowledges in his introduction to the edition of 1830. A keen critic and correspondent of many English Romantic poets, Scott transformed Romantic and Gothic trends of his English contemporaries via, I would argue, "Feminine" means to highlight the unique Scottish culture and populations put at risk through assimilation into the British Empire. Mitchell, though more concerned with the works of his own contemporaries, makes multiple references to the works of the Romantic poets. Mitchell's first novel *Stained Radiance* (1930) takes its name from stanza 52 of Percy Bysshe Shelley's *Adonais* which he quotes in the epigraph: "Life, like a dome of many-coloured glass / Stains the white radiance of Eternity" (11). Book II of *Three Go Back* (1932) uses an epigraph from Shelley's "The Triumph of Life," and a reference to Samuel Taylor Coleridge's *Kubla Khan* appears in *Gay Hunter* (1934) "as one of her gayest memories" (14).The title *Songs of Limbo* of the collection of his mostly unpublished poetry recall William Blake's *Songs of Innocence and of Experience* and includes a poem called

"The Romanticist" (published in 2001 in the anthology *Smeddum)*. Though often overlooked by scholars in connection with Mitchell, the aesthetics and radical politics of the Romantics clearly influenced his techniques for engaging in a renewal of the past (Shirley 91). Scott certainly deployed Romance and romanticism with less cynicism than the modernist Mitchell, but both writers evince an interest in renewing the romantic and heroic human spirit from the past. It should come as no surprise, then, that both writers use their work to return to the past and explore the values and ideas of previous civilizations.

My argument, I am happy to admit, is deeply influenced by modern Cultural Studies. Since its advent, this combination of disciplines as a formal school of analysis has long recognized that Western world orders and values have privileged the beliefs and experiences of a largely male, largely white, middle and upper-class elite. The struggles between the powerful and the disempowered, the dominant and the subordinate, the "good" and "bad", the winning side and the losing side: each of these has been exposed by Cultural Studies as a struggle between the inside (the center) and the outside (the periphery). Progressive activism, underwritten by this perspective, to ameliorate conditions of inequality often focuses on either expanding the qualifying territory of the center (e.g., calls to expand Sex Education to include information on LGBTQIA+ concerns) or equipping the marginalized with tools to compete within the dominant system (e.g., prison programs that provide job training and specialized certification). Though such modes attempt to address issues of inequality and have helped marginalized peoples access a higher quality of life, neither entirely reject the value of a center, the value of being finally on the "inside." Dick Hebdige suggests another route of countering oppressive cultural dominance: a subculture may enact a refusal and a rejection of hegemony through transforming and

corrupting the signs of dominant culture. He reads the "profane aesthetic" of the British punk scene and the Rastafarian style of Reggae as two such transformations of signs (28; 36). In order to destabilize, reverse, or destroy a hierarchical system, it is necessary for authors to work within the modalities or language of that system even when opposing the system. Yet, like the punks and the Rastas, writers may transform the signs and styles of dominant culture to pervert or challenge the previous meaning of these signs. Mitchell, for example, portrays the primitive as peaceful and cooperative and the modern man as violent and competitive as a way of subverting imperialistic notions of progress. Scott highlights the specific features of marginalized Scottish populations to counterbalance the effects of anglicization following increasing incorporation within the British Union. Though ultimately neither writer constructs a truly equal society, both use degraded characteristics of Scottish culture to subvert the Masculine, English ideal of civilization.

In both his life and his texts, Scott could not reject the systems of inequality that led to the privilege that allowed him to imagine and romanticize alternate modes of existence. His success with an English readership, his education in letters, his profession in law, and his reputation with the British government were the very benefits of Imperialistic civilization that permitted and financed his forays into the periphery. Mitchell too, despite his deep condemnation of progress and civilization, sought relief from the poverty and dogmatism of Scotland's rural farming communities by participating in the imperial enterprise when he joined the Royal Air Force. Though both authors use fiction and writing to investigate and challenge traditional narratives of positive progress, neither can escape the real-world pull of the Empire's center even as they propose future utopias. Yet, by challenging positive narratives of progress and marking what is lost in the civilizing processes, both authors construct narratives of a particularly Scottish

identity that enact resistance to the British center. Scott, by romanticizing the past and investing in marginalized culture, creates a space within his fiction where the reader can transcend temporal limitations and imagine the lives at the periphery. Mitchell's characters constantly interrogate the values of civilization and, though unable to successfully initiate a utopic state, fully articulate the process of de-investing from imperial civilization and searching for plausible alternatives. Working from within different centers at their different times, these authors depict a resisting Scot that can, to the extent that he or she arouses belief in readers, incite Scottish subversions of the British state. Surely, it is no coincidence that Grassic Gibbon's *Sunset Song* (1932*)* is the favorite novel of Nicola Sturgeon, the First Minister of Scotland today. [4] In Grassic Gibbon's novel of rural Scotland, Sturgeon can indeed find the very tenets of socialism, feminism, indigenous pride, and progressive tolerance that constitute the Scottish National Party's resistance to Westminster values in the 21st century. As the SNP works toward an independent Scotland, they have implemented multiple policies to redress the inequalities favored by the patriarchal, conservative, elitist British state. The SNP has committed to denuclearization efforts, green energy, free sanitary products for all students; they actively oppose the privatization of the National Health Service (NHS), support increasing refugee and immigrant populations in Scotland, and have financed increased indigenous teaching in schools. They are currently in the process of eliminating anti-trans rhetoric from gender-critical "feminists" within their own party. SNP's official vision statement articulates their search for an anti-imperialist, utopic nation based on equality and compassion: "The SNP is committed to making Scotland the nation we know it can be. Our vision is of a prosperous country where everyone gets the chance to fulfil their potential. We want a fair society where no-one is left behind" (SNP, "Our Vision"). The SNP's vision for a specifically Scottish utopian society is

surely indebted to constructions of national resistance to the British imperial nation in earlier literary constructions of Scottish identity. For all their participation in British institutions, Scott's and Mitchell's contribution to Scottish resistance cannot be ignored. Through their Scottish tales, both authors articulate Feminine modes of resistance to the traditional valuations of British anglicization and imperial progress that have emerged, in the 21st century, as founding principles for Scotland's elected government.

In Mitchell's *The Thirteenth Disciple* (1931), Malcolm Maudsley asks fellow Scot Domina Riddoch, "What are we going to do about it? What's our job to help its beginning again in this collapse of civilization?" (178). The "it" is beguilingly unnamed here but references concepts and feelings from a previous conversation in which this character has referred to "the Adventure" (178). The "it" seems to refer to Mitchell's utopic, perhaps impossible, solution to the "disease" of civilization: a mode of living and experiencing that, for all its innate naturalness and purity from outside corruption, has been condemned as "savage" since the advent of agriculture. Malcolm's need to "do something about it" suggests that the "it" is also a problem or an unfinished action that needs the intervention of humans. Mitchell's short story "The Road" (1929) offers a slightly more concrete description of the utopic adventure: "Somewhere, attainable by a mystic Road, was an amazing, essayable happiness, life free and eager, life in the sunlight beyond the prisons of fear and cruelty" (*Smeddum* 258). In the conversation between Domina and Malcolm, we see two different modes of attempting to bring about the utopic condition: the Feminine and the Masculine, represented in this conversation by a woman and a man, respectively.

When Mitchell's Malcolm Maudsley asks Domina what they are to do about the Adventure, her first response is to do nothing, "except heave a brick now and then at the bleary bards still squatting in the carrion-caves of civilization" (*TD* 178). It should come as no surprise that Malcom feels "as though she had struck him in the face" (178). After all, it is Domina that has led him to the epiphany that civilization was a particular poison and that there once existed a better life. However, he can only imagine an active response to the problem. When pushed, Domina imagines a personal and non-combative response: "All those mothers of mine--I'm going to live the lives they were cheated, collect and spend the wages that you defrauded them" (179). The endurance and submission to the events of time suggested by Domina's response does not allow for the great, monumental change Malcolm wishes to initiate. While Domina allows change to happen as it will, while she lives subjective past lives in her own private future and encourages other women to do the same, Malcolm believes he must create a great, public action. He seeks not only to find the answer to the intolerableness of modern civilization, but to force that answer upon others. The typical male seeks to make concrete progress, to force humanity into a timeline of his accomplishments. At the end of the novel, Malcolm's need to make sense out of chaos, to find the objective truth in subjective mystery and prove once and for all the existence of a Golden Age on earth, drives him on a suicide mission to find and report upon a lost Mayan city. He dies after a brief glimpse of the City of the Sun, leaving only his journal, a subjective artifact, as proof of the great event. The last page of the novel even permits the possibility that Malcom did not record his revelation at all, since the pages lay "smashed and torn and stained with blood" (252). His attempt to force progress and create a great awakening firmly rooted in his own accomplishment fails. All that is left is his word, possibly, that the City of the Sun existed and revealed itself. Though his journal has dates for previous events, the revelation

of the great mystery happens during a no-time: Malcolm has lain fevered and injured in the cave for too long to recall precise dates. His fever, the lack of precise information, and the "straying pencil on an impossible page" all call into question the reality of his subjective experience (252). Here, in the frustrating mystery of the last page, Mitchell redirects us to a Feminine endurance of mystery. We are asked to set the dated time, finite time, of Malcolm's earlier entries over against the mythic no-time of the appearance of the City of the Sun, the no-time of true revelation. The final sentence in the novel, a parenthetical one, ends Malcolm's timeline while reminding the reader of the nature of stories, that they can end and begin again. The final line reads "(And this is the end of Malcom Maudslay's saga.)" (252). The parenthetical, like a whispered aside, softens the finality of a last page. The term saga, rather than life, reminds the reader that this is a story rather than a reality and thus can be restarted by returning to its beginning or a new beginning of another story. Malcolm's death at the end of a naive, suicidal journey into the wilds of South America during wet season sends us straight back to the first sentence of the novel: "One of his earliest memories was of how, at the age of five, he set out to commit suicide" (1). The saga has come full circle; the mystery remains intact and eternal. As readers, we are to accept both objective suspicion of the lack of concrete evidence, a "Masculine" demand, and the proof of subjective experience, a "Feminine" proclivity like one of Domina's. Rather than force form out of mystery and chaos, we are asked to accept the possibility of existence and non-existence simultaneously.

Domina, for her part, asserts that it is time to "resume again that adventure the Old Stone Age men were out on when they lost and forgot it in the herding of cattle" (169). The adventure she references, according to the Diffusionist themes throughout most of Mitchell/Grassic Gibbon's works, is a mostly unstructured exploration of the wonders of the natural world and

pre-civilization life. Though the word "adventure" implies dramatic action and movement, the Feminine mode of utopic adventure has no final goal. Like imperialists before him, Malcolm's Masculine conception of progress focuses on an endgame, a future certainty, an achievement that blunders blindly past the personal and subjective to bring all humanity under the same yoke. The Feminine response, Domina's "job" to help bring forward the utopic new Golden Age existence, rejects the Masculine historical forward action. Instead, her response is to participate in circulatory, personal time, to act individually by activating a subjunctive past.

> All those mothers of mine--I'm going to live the lives they were cheated, collect and spend the wages that you defrauded them… Why, my own mother's, her mother's, *her* mother's, and so on back to the early Neolithic--all those poor damn women who went through hell to give the dirty peasants and priests and patriots and poets of civilization easy time and well-cooked food and all the crazy satisfactions of lust and torture and sadism which were yours. I'm going to live every unenjoyed life of those starved mothers of mine who were killed and eaten in cannibal rituals, starved to death, beaten to death, crippled in crinolines and ghastly codes, robbed of fun and sunshine and the glory of being fools and disreputable for over six thousand years. . . And I'm going to get every woman to do the same! (179).

Malcolm's "I" exists to become the salvation of men, the subject that creates monumental action, the male god that saves the world. Domina's "I," more intensely personal and subjective, seeks to become universal by merging broadly with the "I"s of every woman before her. She wants to get every woman to participate in the "glory of being fools" by living "every unenjoyed life" of their mothers. While Malcolm seeks to repeat a new version of liberal imperialism by

proscribing a way of life for the benefit of all, Domina seeks only to guide those already on the periphery of "all" toward a personalized *jouissance*. The ghost lives of past women are called back into being to be changed and re-lived by contemporary women. The present meets the past, frees it from patriarchal violence, and brings it newly into a utopic present. Every individual woman who lives the lives of her mothers enters a new space where experience is shared with all generations of women. By entering this mode of existence, the individual woman becomes part of a universal female legion. Domina does not articulate a particular action she will take to either live the adventure or get women to do the same. Instead, change takes place through the actual living itself, through experiencing the phenomena, plunging diffusively and receptively into the past that lies behind and within the present, rather than constructing the phenomenon. In *The Thirteenth Disciple,* men are to save the world by force and individual action; women will save the world by being and by self-expansion.

Though he is less explicitly reformist and feminist than Mitchell, Scott also suggests an alternative way of being that rejects dominant imperialist and patriarchal systems. Outside of the main romantic plot, Scott's female characters are often outsiders, existing on the periphery of Scott's fictional communities and in the periphery of the main narrative arc. Scott had a tendency to dwell on subplots and minor characters that took his fancy. The "Author of Waverly" writes "there is a demon who seats himself on the feather of my pen when I begin to write, and leads it astray from the purpose. Characters expand under my hand, incidents are multiplied . . . When I light on such a character as Bailie Jarvie, or Dalgetty, my imagination becomes clearer at every step" (*FN* 10). Many of these expanded characters exist outside of the largely conservative and traditional romantic plots because various "undesirable" traits like age, race, class, and

background have previously disqualified them from being the subjects of Romance. Such characters, whether because of age or illness or station, are never potential romantic interests for Scott's protagonists. However, from their marginalized position in the plots and within the dominant British (English) patriarchy, they actively influence events and pursue their individual routes towards power. Because they will not be forced to assimilate into the dominant system (usually through the marriage plot), they are not required to sacrifice their threatening traits and activities. Special powers, real or contrived, are often granted to these characters through the traits that make them unsuitable for assimilation: madness, age, superstition, supernatural insight, self-sufficiency. Denied the typical power of the male lords, heirs, professionals, students, and soldiers that populate Scott's novels, the peripheral female in several of them utilizes the traits that make her Other to impact actors within the very institutions which deny her entry. Characters such as Norna of Fitful Head (*The Pirate*), Old Alice (*The Bride of Lammermoor)*, Magdalen Graeme (*The Abbot*), Madge Wildfire (*Heart of Midlothian)*, and the White Lady of Avenel (*The Monastery)* influence events because their marginal positions grant them access to the protagonists and to a knowledge of the past and present normally denied to the most marriageable women. Through these characters, Scott demonstrates a level of respect and appreciation for "undesirable" figures marked as unusual in the dominant and conservative social order of the times. Often, Scott combines the marginal status of the female with the marginal status of the non-English or the lower class, effectively doubling the peripheral status of such characters as well as their access to unconventional resources. Moreover, because they are not ultimately required to fit comfortably within the societies determined by the male protagonists' status and identity, these peripheral female characters can utilize their 'undesirable' traits to influence the course of events. In the *Bride of Lammermoor* (1819)*,* a 'Hag' utilizes her age and

the fear and disgust of others to manipulate Lucy Ashton into a state of passivity so that she will accept a forced marriage. Yet, in the end, Aislie's manipulations actually result in Lucy stabbing her unwanted groom on their wedding night, perhaps saving herself from what would have amounted to rape. Though Lucy dies, one could argue that Aislie helped her avoid the worse fate of a forced lifelong commitment. Similarly, in *The Heart of Midlothian* (1818), mad Madge Wildfire uses symptoms of her madness, like breaking into song, and the willful disregard of others for the insane to impart essential 'secret' information to the reader and to Jeanie Deans. Jeanie, herself, though a "good woman" according to gendered social expectations and thus a viable romantic protagonist, consequently remains a subversive force. She rejects the doctrine of female passivity and refuses to accept the normal procedures of institutional law. As I will detail later, Jeanie Deans also functions as a challenge to the assumed superiority of English civilization, since her native Scottishness becomes a tool through which she gains her objective.

Scott's peripheral figures do not usually achieve the conventional happy endings of romance novels; however, the up-front romance-novel plot is also not their narrative arc. Perhaps their impact on events produces their own 'happy ending' based on redemption, achieving happiness for others, or exercising power and agency. Female characters that bridge the border between suitable and unsuitable brides, those desirable but unable or unwilling to assimilate, also do not achieve the traditional happy end (marriage) of the romance plot constructed for the English, male protagonist. However, Scott's narratives suggest that these limited romance plots are not necessarily the desired trajectory for young, attractive females if they wish to uphold their original principals and beliefs. For these characters who place honor and duty above the affections of Scott's protagonists, the most heroic narrative is often to reject the temptation of comfortable happy endings. To be sure, in many of Scott's romances, two young and attractive

women (usually a blonde and brunette) represent possible love matches. Often, the female that conforms more absolutely to the standards of civilization marries the male protagonist, while the less acceptable female chooses an ideal or vocation over potential romance. In *Ivanhoe* (1820), the protagonist ultimately marries the blonde Rowena, the more 'appropriate' choice as she is the descendant of Saxon kings and already conforms easily to a patriarchal English culture. In *Waverley* (1814), the protagonist marries the gold-haired Rose, a pleasant and accomplished Scottish heiress without strong Jacobite claims. The more subversive and therefore less "appropriate" ingenues are dark-haired women from marginalized populations. In *Ivanhoe*, the lovely and passionate Rebecca is a Jewish woman and in *Waverley*, the dark-haired Flora is a staunch Highland Jacobite.

A conservative reading might suggest that these characters serve as a warning to women who resist conservative order. However, from the vantage point of a reader attuned to the importance of the peripheral figure, Rebecca and Flora have agency and have the potential to participate in a society based upon their own principles. These dark-haired women challenge the desirability of the "appropriate" female role within a patriarchy by rejecting the romantic plot and instead pursuing their own ambitions. Moreover, their choice of exile is specifically calculated to protect a marginal or Othered identity. Rebecca leaves England in order to live safely and proudly as an unmarried Jewish woman. She refuses Rowena's suggestion to convert, rejecting the safety and comfort of assimilation in favor of her native faith and culture. Like Rebecca, Flora also plans to leave Great Britain, because imperialist aggression makes it unsafe for her to continue in her native Jacobite identity. Flora, unwilling to forsake her Gaelic heritage, leaves for France where she will enter a Benedictine convent of Scottish nuns. A reader that privileges the view from the conventional social center may see both women's self-imposed

exile as the tragic result of resisting assimilation into the dominant imperialist and patriarchal hierarchy. However, neither woman chooses death or a venture likely to lead to death. Instead they both choose exile and protection among more like-minded individuals where they can pursue higher callings prescribed by their individual identities. Their well-behaved counterparts, Rowena and Rose, are ultimately subsumed into the patriarchal systems that favor their "good" but conventionally restrained husbands: little imagination is required to envision the rest of their lives. The traditional and less remarkable blonde females are the "proper" heroines, as Alexander Welsh explains: "Her role corresponds to that of the passive hero – whom, indeed, she marries at the end . . . Like the passive hero, she suffers in the thick of events but seldom moves them" (71). Welsh concedes that the "dark heroines" are more interesting and more active than the more appropriate, passive female characters; however. he also assumes the conventional argument that Scott's perspective is ultimately anti-romantic and that the traits of Romance have no value in a more modern age – which is not Scott's ultimate stance, as I hope to show. Welsh writes of the subversive heroines that "her energies come up point-blank against reality. She has intellectual passion, but no books; she has political passion, but no cause" (52). Yet in Rebecca's case, she will live the life she chooses, the cause being to take care of her father and live a life according to the traditions of highly respected Jewish religious sisters. Though Flora retires into a convent, she significantly retires into a convent of Scottish nuns in France. Bonnie Prince Charlie had retreated to France for several years before being exiled and fomenting new plans of rebellion from foreign parts. Scott's *Redgauntlet* (1824) even imagines the possibility of a third Jacobite Rebellion in 1765. Thus, though Flora no longer has a military proxy to fight in the cause, it stands to reason that her choice for exile is calculated to keep her close to the cause. An attentive reader, especially those used to novels where exciting women are either subdued or killed off,

can therefore read Scott's "inappropriate" dark heroines as models of agency and resistance. After all, Scott himself did not marry the respectable English archetype. A year after being thrown over by his first love, he met Charlotte Carpenter, a dark-haired orphan from France under the guardianship of Lord Downshire. As a French orphan with little family background, Charlotte was regarded suspiciously by the Scottish elite, though Scott defended her to friends and family alike (Barnaby, "Williamina"). Though never as volatilely romantic as his first relationship with a more "appropriate" woman, his marriage to the enigmatic Charlotte proved deeply fulfilling. Thus, perhaps, the dark-haired outsider female whose non-British heritage makes her an unsuitable match has more of Scott's respect then a conservative reading might allow. If we read exile in Scott as choice rather than destined exclusion, the Othered female gains both freedom and community as she evades the patriarchal imperialist society of Great Britain. Such Scott characters thereby open up for readers other, "Feminine" dimensions of reality and history that the conventional main characters never really comprehend.

Consequently, though writing about a century apart, in very different economic and social positions, Mitchell and Scott deploy a particularly Feminine resistance to the status quo. Both of these male Scottish authors share similar concepts of how Feminine Otherness creates a subversive, powerful, and distinct perspective on change and Scottish history. Moreover, this shared understanding also leads both authors to utilize the "degraded" or "feminized" forms of concepts and representation as a way of, at least at times, challenging the value of a largely English and imperialist narrative of progress. The Empire and most historical invasions are represented as masculine achievements, led by men with male armies to penetrate a foreign body and force it into submission; the object of this phallic domination is placed in the position of the

traditionally Feminine, whether or not it has any specific sex or gender. Cemented through millennia of culture and representation, the Feminine and native forms of action, language, culture, values, and ideas were as ingrained for Scott as they are for Mitchell. Their deployment of largely Feminine epistemological modes demonstrates the persistence of particular gendered associations across the supposed progress and reform of thousands of years. In what follows, I propose to show how this apparently marginalized Feminine dimension in the novels of these two authors manifests an alternative dimension of being and time that they set over against dominant and patriarchal ones. In chapter one, I survey the ancient and historical roots of Western cultural constructions of gender and the Other to produce a set of associations and characteristics that appear within in the works of Scott and Mitchell as signals of a subversive, Feminine mode. Chapter two explores how both authors engage the cycling and repeating patterns of Feminine Time to renew Scottish traditions and values as a counterbalance to the assimilating pressure of imperialistic progress. The third chapter transitions to the history and status of Scotland's minority languages. By representing Scots and Gaelic as viable, expressive languages of Scotland, Scott and Mitchell reintroduce native languages into a predominantly English literary culture, thereby signaling the validity and value of degraded or marginalized signs. Following on from my analysis of Scott and Mitchell's use of native languages, the fourth chapter explores how speech and oral tradition utilize Feminine Time and Feminine language to embody a timeless, shared resistance to a Masculine, Anglo-centric ideal of civilization. By rehabilitating degraded signs of Scottish identity, both authors produce representations of Scotland that assert the nation's value in its own right.

CHAPTER 1: THE FEMININE, HISTORY, AND COLONIZATION

THE ANCIENT FEMININE AND ITS DEGENERATION

Often, when one speaks of the Feminine and the Masculine, the first response is to recall various characters in literature and explore how they model or challenge femininity and masculinity. "Femininity," however, has a much wider and deeper history: over the last several centuries, it has been the term applied to a woman's performance of specific traits and behaviors that have historically been found in a population that is the opposite of and secondary to a certain dominant maleness. Yet femininity, as a concept that has held particular power for a long time and has come under critical scrutiny with the advancement of gender equality, is in many ways a corruption and intentional perversion of the ancient, sacred concept of the divine Feminine. Femininity, the "behaviour or qualities regarded as characteristic of a woman," was rarely used with this meaning until the late 18th century (OED). A catch-all for the qualities that are regarded as typical and usually desirable in women, it defers to the authority of an external power, whether it be male, society, or imposed self-regulation, to "regard" or determine what qualifies as quintessential womanly conduct. By the 18th century, in accordance with changing ideals of the Enlightenment period, the concept of femininity dictated that the zenith of Feminine was refinement, grace, beauty, accomplishment, modesty, and "taste".[5] Even those more complex female protagonists offered by female authors such as the Brontës and Jane Austin are usually rewarded, ultimately, for learning to approximate the societal ideal of femininity while limiting rebellion or subversion to private thought and indirect, peripheral action. And while some female characters may explicitly rebel against the dictates of femininity or the "good woman," they rarely escape the censure of the author or achieve a happy ending—even though in many female-authored works, we may also question the happiness of the fates of even the

"good" females. Charlotte Brontë's Jane Eyre in the 1847 novel that bears her name, for example, wins a husband and an estate, but both have been ravaged by fire, and she seems fated to become a caretaker of both at a relatively young age.

The traits and demands of ideal femininity, then, actually function as a check or control against many broader, ancient associations of the Feminine. While the ideal of femininity may mold a female into a desirable consort in a patriarchal society, it exalts the woman only by devaluing, rejecting, or subjugating the very traits that make the ancient Feminine powerful and thus threatening. This ancient precursor appears in the most powerful women of myth and history: confident and self-determining Lilith (*The Alphabet of Ben Sira*, 800-1000 AD), the avenging and fecund mother of Grendel (*Beowulf* c. 1000*)*, disobedient Antigone (*Antigone* by Sophocles, c. 441 BC), and sensual Morgana le Fey (*Le Morte d'Arthur* by Thomas Malory, 1485 and *Sir Gawaine and The Green Knight*, ca. 1375-1400).[6] The very attributes which define these powerful female figures of Western myth and history must be condemned and expunged in the more recent ideal of femininity precisely because they provide a source of power that can oppose and challenge patriarchal power. After all, both of the cultural constructs of the female gender -- disempowered femininity and the more omnipotent Feminine -- emerged from perceived sexual differences. The menstrual cycle and the fluctuating female body in pregnancy/childbirth suggest a cyclical, repeating, or oscillating movement inherent to the female. The circular or spiral shapes of a female's genitals also suggest circles and spirals in contrast to the phallic line.[7] Luce Irigaray describes the psycho-sexual implications of the meeting or touching of the labia as both a multiplicity and a self-sufficient constant movement: "Within herself, she is already two--but not divisible into one . . . she enters into a ceaseless exchange of herself with the other without any possibility of identifying either" (24; 31). In ideas

of the divine Feminine, as I now want to show, the ouroboric and seasonal rhythms present in the female body emerge as an association of the female with the most powerful forces of life and death. In patriarchal femininity, by contrast, these same rhythms came to suggest a particular weakness in the female body that made women susceptible to hysteria and controlled by "base" matter. I believe that the subversive Feminine levels in the novels of Scott and Mitchell look back to and partially restore the attributes of the once-divine Feminine, whose mythology has a long and complex history.

In order to understand some of the earliest ideas about sexual difference and its cultural significance, archeologists and anthropologists have attempted to decode the meanings of relics of representational art and evidence of ancient social practices. These decodings have to be examined with caution, however. While archeological science (archaeometry) may be able to offer relatively objective data on dating and composition, hermeneutic conclusions are vulnerable to the same unconscious biases as interpretations of literature and modern art. As scientist and feminist author Catherine Blackledge has discovered, "Science can be as subjective as any other discipline, and that in order to understand scientific theories (about female anatomy) you have to look at the culture that created them" (5). She argues that patriarchal culture and ideology can drive incorrect scientific conclusions, using the example of the "vagina-as-malformed-penis" theory from Renaissance anatomists who "had to stay in step with what the authorities of the day told them" (5). Cultural bias is also apparent in the sciences of archeology and history. Archeological studies produced during periods of strong patriarchal power tend to produce male-dominated interpretations of evidence. In these histories, the default position is that the subject of archeological findings is male unless proven otherwise or related to a

presumably and generally inferior “feminine” practice. Moreover, the female is assumed to be a passive or secondary participant in society, just as female genitalia were thought to have “no controlling part to play in reproduction” for centuries of medical research (3). Even now, the gendering of skeletal remains according to cultural assumptions has led to a number of mistakes and revisions of our understanding of historical peoples. The patriarchal biases of archaeological study mean that the traditional understanding of the ancient history of humankind, including the more “primitive” or original constructions of gender, requires the intervention of feminist narratives that correct the historical record.

In 2013, patriarchal bias led archeologists to announce the discovery of an unsealed tomb of an Etruscan Prince in Italy whose remains and lance were found laid alongside his wife. Originally, the team’s leading archeologist, Allesandro Mandolesi from the University of Turin, determined that the “two [stone] platforms [were] probably for a couple, especially if you consider the objects. The point of an iron spear is male...while other objects such as a jewelry box are female" (qtd. in Weingarten). However, bone analysis revealed that the “prince” was female and the “wife” was male. After these findings, Mandolesi concluded that the spear had been placed in the woman’s hands as a marital symbol of unity, rather than a reference to status or lifestyle. Archaeologist and author Judith Weingarten therefore criticizes Mandolesi’s interpretation. She argues that written evidence from ancient Greek and Roman texts suggest that Etruscan women had an “exceptionally emancipated status” but “the thought doesn't even arise [for Mandolesi] that the spear might be a symbol of her power and authority rather than the weapon of a warrior.” A similar case of biased gendering in relation to what we call “grave goods” has led to a century of mistaken identity concerning Sweden’s Birka warrior.[8] Bone analysis in 2014 and a DNA study in 2017 have revealed that the buried Viking warrior was

female, radically challenging long held assumptions about the status of women in Viking society. Yet again, some archeologists and historians caution against revising our historical understanding, suggesting more complex and tenuous hypotheses for the presence of a female skeleton buried as a warrior. Still entrenched in patriarchal bias, many archeology and history scholars continue to discredit and downplay feminist interpretations of ancient female relics and Feminine symbols. Hypotheses regarding more matriarchal, goddess-based cultures often seem to fail evidentiary tests that were never required for the default, patriarchal counterpart. While thought male, it was obvious that the Birka grave belonged to a great warrior and the Etruscan Sphere represented status; when the bodies were proven female, Occam's Razor no longer applied and the usual arguments of physical placement, tomb content, and comparative examples were no longer sufficient. To uncover the associations of basic primal symbols and ideas, we cannot dismiss or discount the feminist interpretations of archeology, or we risk overlooking and erasing the strong Feminine presence in ancient motifs.

To define a Feminine mode of Western perception and understanding – the basis, I argue, for Scott and Mitchell's representation of a non-assimilating Scotland -- we must trace the progression of representation of the Feminine through prehistoric Western culture prior to the height of ancient civilization in the classic Grecian period. The transformation (including the depreciation) of female symbolism and deities from the prehistoric to the classical periods shows some early shifts in cultural constructs of gender. While many of the ancient links between the female and a particular phenomenon or topic survive into modern times, the value of those links and the power(s) they grant have not always persisted. This shift of worldview from a matriarchal to patriarchal orientation has resulted in a semi-permanent patriarchal *zeitgeist* in the Western hemisphere that, though challenged over the last few decades by new theories and social

justice activism, remains entrenched in public and private attitudes toward women and non-conforming Others. The process of assimilating cultures with native matriarchal worldviews into the advancing patriarchal societies of the Indo-Europeans very much resembles the process by which the early Christian church converted and assimilated pagans. The early church Christianized pagan symbols and celebrations by utilizing the same signs (dates, images, rituals) but attaching new significations to them; the most obvious example is the dating of Christmas to coincide with Winter Solstice and Yule celebrations.[9] So too did invading or advancing patriarchal Indo-European cultures incorporate the signs and symbols of native matriarchal tradition into patriarchal mythology while subverting their original signification and power. Thus, many of the traits ascribed by patriarchal societies to the Feminine are, in fact, depreciated remnants of ancient matriarchal worship. By tracing the depreciation of the Feminine domain through the assimilation of her symbols and myths into patriarchal mythologies, we can uncover and resurrect the original powerful foundations of the Feminine and place them in relation to modern understandings of time, nation, and language. When authors utilize indigenous and matriarchal materials and techniques in their narratives, as I think Scott and Mitchell/Gibbon do, these traditionally marginalized and discredited "Feminine" practices create a secondary or subversive narrative that challenges what may seem like traditional patriarchal plots or values.

In her influential works on ancient goddess worship, archaeologist and historian Marija Gimbutas combats the dominance of patriarchal assumptions in ancient archaeology by offering feminist pictorial interpretations of the artifacts from prehistoric Old Europe. These recovered meanings endure, despite major cultural shifts, Gimbutas finds, in the iconography of Greek mythology and the subsequent art and culture of the former territories of the Roman Empire. It is some of these mythic associations of the Feminine that are replayed by Mitchell and Scott as

they look back through a long history beginning in ancient pre-historical Europe. While some of Gimbutas' female-centric conclusions have drawn criticism, especially her argument that matriarchal societies of Old Europe were largely peaceful, her other conclusions regarding the female as the primary prehistoric divinity are less problematic. Though we cannot completely verify her conjectures about specific practices and beliefs regarding gender, Gimbutas' work provides compelling evidence of the prominence of certain aesthetic and conceptual associations of the Feminine. Furthermore, the sheer quantity of prehistoric sculptures and carvings of the female form seem to provide clear evidence of ideologies that focused on women almost to the complete exclusion of men. As Catherine Blackledge notes, over 200 "Venus figurines" (or naked female figures usually emphasizing the vagina) have been found across Old Europe and Northern Asia, dating as far back as 30,000 BCE. Only a few male figurines have been found and they only date back to around 5000 BCE. She concludes that "For around twenty-two thousand years it seems men didn't carry much weight in the Upper Paleolithic art scene" (40). While dominant narratives of prehistoric life still ground themselves in the patriarchal biases of their interpreters, Gimbutas' work, among others, shows that male dominance in ideology and worship, so prominent in traditions of phallic worship, were not always native to the Old Europe.

In Western culture then and since, the Feminine has long been linked to the female reproductive role, even before populations understood the mechanics of sexual reproduction. From self-sufficient life-generator to passive receptive vessel to abject incubator and life-support system, Western culture associates the Feminine, both sacred and secular, with the origin of life and the life cycles of the material world. These primordial associations, based largely on the reproductive system and the shapes of the female body, have developed and mutated into specifically gendered connections of the female with sensuality, chaos, materialism, a-rationality,

multiplicity, timelessness, and endemism. Stripped of the positive values set by native Old European matriarchal culture, these associations have become the female traits that more modern patriarchal societies found threatening, repugnant, and base. In her seminal work countering that view, *The Language of the Goddess*, lauded by myth and literature academic Joseph Campbell, Gimbutas uses the earliest figurative sculptures and pictorial designs from the European paleolithic period (30,000 to 10,000 B.C.) to the end of the European Neolithic era (c. 3,000 BC) to piece together prehistoric belief in the Great Goddess. Gimbutas describes the ancient sacred Feminine as "the creative principle, Source and Giver of All" (*Language* 9). From the earliest representations of this figure, Gimbutas traces the depreciation and eventual suppression of the powerful, autonomous Great Goddess of Old Europe by the advancing patriarchal Indo-European cultures that would eventually dominate in most of the Western hemisphere. Gimbutas uses changes in the apparent status and function of female deities to mark how a patriarchal and martial proto-Indo-European culture gradually subsumed a matriarchal, peaceful Old European culture through the appropriation of visual symbols and the demotion of the Great Goddess into multiple, smaller deities. However, despite changes in status and function, the female archetype, it turns out, has retained many of her original associations, qualities, and connotations, and, perhaps not surprisingly, these have been used to both subjugate and empower women across millennia of evolving attitudes toward gender. Gimbutas' work on the earliest understandings of gender and sexual difference demonstrates that the patriarchal hierarchy of gender is not only *not* inherent in biological sex, but it is also not a primordial, natural, or native cultural construct. In fact, many of the associations that would ultimately lead to misogynistic criticism—that the female is inconsistent, passive, subjective, crazy, carnal, etc., —originate as positive attributes of ancient female deities.

In prehistoric Old European ideology, the native Feminine mode, an all-encompassing creative mode, was not confined to its position with and against the functions of a male element. Gimbutas summarizes the core functions of the prehistoric Great Goddess as "life-giving, death-wielding, regeneration and renewal . . . [her incarnations] were mainly life creators, not Venuses or beauties, and most definitely not wives of male gods … They impersonate Life, Death, and Generation; they are more than fertility and motherhood" (*Language* 316). In the earliest cultural constructs of the sacred female, we discover very positive links between the Feminine and the earth, primordial chaos, the native/indigenous, multiplicity, life, death, cyclical movement, immortality, and infinity. Gimbutas' conclusions are based, in part, on the prominence of key designs across much pottery and art, and their assumed symbolic meaning is detailed in her book *The Goddesses and Gods of Old Europe*. These ideograms include the meander, the V, the zigzag, the chevron, the cross, the encircled cross, the egg, the snake, and the crescent (*Goddesses* 89). All of these symbols, she argues, relate either to origin myths or to the vegetal life cycle. The most ancient Old European representations of the origin of life and the world involve primordial eggs, snakes, and water. According to Gimbutas' pictorial motifs, the primordial egg, sometimes laid by the Bird Goddess and sometimes appearing alone, is not in need of fertilization; it already contains the germ or seed of life and creation. The egg is accompanied by water which contains "the mystery of life" (95) either because the Bird Goddess nests in water or because the egg is nourished by water. Long before humans understood sexual reproductive processes, they understood that water was the most essential requirement for life, whether animal or vegetable, and that water seemed to be linked to the female reproductive body. Life abounds where there is water, whether it is the salt water of the sea, the fresh water in bogs and streams, or the water-like amniotic fluid surrounding a fetus. The pictograms of the

wave and the stream noted by Gimbutas meander appear in repeating patterns, signifying a rhythm of constant change and of cyclical movement. While ancient people may have not understood the mechanics of evaporation and condensation, the movement of water in nature itself, its alternation between different forms and seasonal variabilities, would have suggested cyclical associations. Through water's role in nurturing life and its continuous movements and patterns, it enacts the divine Feminine's connection to generation/fecundity, climate, and cyclical patterns in ancient mythology and its descendants.

The snake, either as tail-biter or skin-shedder, also appeared in pre-historic times as a symbol for renewal and infinity. In Old Europe, the serpent was portrayed in its relation to the immortal, regenerating, cyclical traits of the Great Goddess and the sacred Feminine. The snake that sometimes coils around the egg or around various body parts, has often been interpreted as a symbol of phallic power in patriarchal histories. However, in ancient representation, the snake is almost always portrayed in a coiling or spiraling posture, contrasting with the erect and linear forms associated with the phallus. Gimbutas argues that, rather than representing a divine phallic force, "the snake was the vehicle of immortality" and "its presence was a guarantee that nature's enigmatic cycle would be maintained" (*Goddesses* 95). Beyond its coiling, spiraling, or meandering form, the snake also evokes both cyclic and infinite/immortal associations by shedding its skin. As a seemingly newborn snake emerges from the dead husk of its former body, it displays both the life and death aspects of renewing, regenerating Nature. The snake's emergence may have also suggested the female body birthing a child. The egg, or the Bird Goddess with egg-shaped body, is sometimes combined ichnographically with the snake, so that Old Europe worships both Bird and snake Goddess within the broader form of the Great Goddess "whose presence is felt everywhere . . . She rules over the life-giving force of water … she is one

and she is two, sometimes snake, sometimes bird" (112). Gimbutas reads the hybridization of snake and bird as symbolic of the Great Goddess' Divine Ambivalence, a trait that leads to associations of multiplicity, change, and variation in constructions of the Feminine in those days and since.

While assertions about the prominence of matriarchal ideology in Old Europe may depend upon feminist interpretations of basic symbols and patterns, many of the associations suggested in Gimbutas' ideograms appear in the myths and artwork of Ancient Greece. Gimbutas sees remnants of Great Goddess worship in the associations of water with Hera, queen of the Olympian gods, and the Orphic depiction of Nyx (Night) as a black bird who lays the primordial egg. However, when differing cultures meet and mix, signs from one culture may be cannibalized to produce a system of meaning where the earlier relationship between signifier and signified is corrupted or broken. According to Gimbutas, when the myths of patriarchal Indo-European culture met the myths of matriarchal Old European culture, the symbols of the all-powerful Great Goddess were incorporated into the iconography of smaller goddesses. While the female deity of Old Europe could combine the power of primordial origin with reproduction, death, agriculture, the elements, and motherhood, her heirs in the patriarchal Greek pantheon are reduced to more restricted representations. The various non-homogenous qualities of the Old European Great Goddess have been separated and spread across various goddesses like Gaea (the Earth) and Athena (Wisdom and much more) or reappropriated by male gods like Hades and Poseidon.

In the Athena of ancient Greece, Gimbutas reads the bird and snake imagery as vestiges of the Bird and Snake Goddesses, mothers of earth and immortality. According to *The Library*, attributed to Apollodorus, the symbol of the snake is connected to Athena through Erichthonius,

a king of Athens. In this myth, when Hephaestus attempted to rape Athena and ejaculated upon her leg, she wiped it off with a piece of wool and dropped it to the ground. This discard became a baby, Erichthonius, which Athena secreted away in a chest with a terrifying serpent so that it could become immortal. When the image of the snake is placed upon Athena's shield, the snake becomes part of the iconography of a War goddess. The pairing of motherhood and war, Gimbutas suggests, is a natural development from Indo-European aggressions into matriarchal societies: "the protectress of a city naturally became engaged in war" to protect the child-like inhabitants (*Goddesses* 149). In Greek mythology, Athena is born without a mother, straight from Zeus' head, which may be why, in a society that highly values masculinity, she is permitted a more active, violent character than her peers. Yet the ancient connotations of snake and bird imagery remind us of important traits of the sacred Feminine that Athena has helped carry into more modern gender constructions: infinite or immortal time in the cyclical movement of birth, regeneration, and renewal; the creative, generative spark of life; and the maternal protection of the young or the weak. However, as a symbol of such a powerful female force, the snake had to be contained or subjugated so that it might not challenge the power of men and male gods. When the snake is conjoined to the female, the female becomes abject or monstrous--as demonstrated by the Gorgon and Drakaina monsters in the ancient Greek mythology that has come down to us.

This mythology therefore includes a more multi-faceted, active, and autonomous Feminine level than much of the art and literature of Europe's Judeo-Christian traditions; however, it has also heavily contributed to the long process of reducing women to specific limited functions within a patriarchal society. In Gimbutas' account of the ancient native religions of Old Europe, the Great Goddess was both multiple and singular, sometimes a single whole entity, sometimes separated in Bird and Snake Goddesses. She is Life-giver and the face

of death, creation and destruction. Furthermore, her multiple forms sometimes incorporated male elements, signified by phallic sculptural and pictorial details, within a dominantly Feminine icon. However, in these multiple, sometimes ambivalent, appearances of divine power, the Great Goddess of Old Europe had no rival male counterpart. In the polytheistic Greek pantheon, the female deity became the mirror or foil to a male god, usually in a subordinate position. This degraded status is especially apparent in the myths of the Olympians. As wife, consort, daughter, sister, or follower, Olympian female goddesses often figure as the landscape upon which male gods and mortal men can inscribe their desires and actions. Hence rape and unwanted sexual advances are a particularly common theme in the myths of Gods and Heroes. However, such female deities were not without power and agency. Hesiod, a Greek poet active between 750-650 BC, produced the first (extant) narrative of Greek mythical cosmogony. His surviving *Theogony* details the origin of the universe and expands upon several female deities, detailing how their actions led to key events in the development of the universe.

Much of Hesiod's genealogy characterizes various female deities by their physical attractions or children, but his portrayal of Earth (Gaea) accords more agency and power to the primordial Mother. Hesiod's account of the beginning of the universe begins with the parthenogenetic (or virgin/unmated) births of the primordial deities. H. G. Evelyn-White's classic translation records that "verily at the first Chaos came to be, but next wide-bosomed Earth," followed by Tartarus and Eros (*Hesiod* l. 116 - 118). Later in the translation, Evelyn-White uses female pronouns when referring to Earth; however, no pronoun is used for Chaos, the first primordial deity. Arum Park summarizes the origin in Hesiod's universe through the emergence of sexes: "[It] begins with the spontaneous appearance of the four entities Chaos, Gaea, Tartarus, and Eros: first a sexually indeterminate figure, then a female and a male,

followed by the embodiment of sex and reproduction, Eros himself" (266). Chaos, both a sort of deity and the substance from which the Universe is borne, is a neuter noun, a sexless God, while the other primordial deities are intentionally sexed, the first of which is female. Initially, Hesiod does not appear to differ greatly from the Origin myths Gimbutas assigns to the native Old European societies. Neither origin myth requires sexual difference and sexual reproduction for the creation of the first elements. Earth arrives out of Chaos: the primordial egg comes into being. The first sexed element in both is female, since Earth is female in Hesiod and the primordial egg is either laid by or gives birth to the Great Goddess. In both, the female is the principal sex connected to the beginning of the universe; however, Hesiod's work quickly shifts focus from celebrating the creative forces to recording the consequences of the creation. While Gimbutas' collection of artifacts demonstrates the prehistoric population's fixation on creation and origin, Hesiod's *Theogony* suggests a culture focused on lineage and successive generations sired by male figures. Though Hesiod records both male and female parents, this new preoccupation with male-oriented lineage in the Western origin myth reflects the patriarchal influence of Indo-European cultures. In a matriarchal society focused on creation and birth, monogamy would seem to impose unnecessary constraints on a societies' ability to reproduce and thrive. Without enforced monogamy, or modern knowledge of genetics and sexual reproduction, paternity would be unknowable and relatively inconsequential--one reason why perhaps, as Blackledge had argued, the male received very little attention in the prehistoric era of art, in which female reproductive organs were emphasized. In the early recorded myths of the Ancient Greeks and Romans, attention to paternal lineage appears primarily through the inheritance of powers or domains from deities and an instigation to conflict and violence. Much

later, however, in Judeo-Christian cultures, a focus on paternal lineage would manifest itself as a way to control the behavior of women and ensure their dependence on male relatives.

In the beginning of Hesiod's *Theogony*, even so, the primordial Earth seems a close approximation of the native Great Goddess tradition where the ultimate life-generating force is a female, capable of sexless reproduction, arriving out of a formless, matterless universe. Gimbutas refers to a belief-system prior to Hesiod's when she claims that "the Indo-European Earth-Mother . . . is the impalpable sacred earth-spirit and is not in herself a creative principle; only through the interaction of the male sky-God does she become pregnant" (196). But in the *Theogony*, the transition of Earth from a self-sufficient Creator to one half of a reproductive process occurs only after the birth of the major primordial elements that make up the universe. Earth does not mate with Uranus (Heaven) until she first gives birth to sky, land, and sea: "And Earth first bare starry Heaven equal to herself, to cover her on every side, … And she brought forth long Hills … also the fruitless deep . . . without sweet union of love" (*Hesiod* l. 126-132). If there were not the addition of "equal to herself," Hesiod's theogony might seem to be setting up a matriarchal Earth mother mythology very similar to the native Old European traditions, where the female deity is the supreme, omnipotent creative force to whom all others are beholden. However, by giving the child equal status to the parent, Hesiod avoids disempowering the primary paternal figure. Uranus is not a primordial deity but, apparently, he is the equal of the one who created him. Earth's other self-created children seem to have little further part in the creation of the world, functioning instead as primordial but derivative elements. Gimbutas derives some of her claims from the section "The Castration of Uranus" in the *Theogony*, which follows quickly from the birth of the primordial gods. It describes Gaea primarily as mate and mother when she births the various individual deities and creatures that make up the first semi-

dependent "children" of the Greek origin myths. Through mating with male Gods, first with Uranus and then, upon his castration, with Pontus and Tartarus, the Earth mother is much more fertile than she is as an unmated Creator: Gaea bares the twelve titans, three cyclops, and three hecatoncheires to Uranus, five sea deities to Pontus, and Typhon to Tartarus. Nearly all of the important deities in Greek mythology are descendants of Gaea's union with Uranus, the "All-Father " who is explicitly undiminished by his birth from a female even though he is Earth's son. Thus, Gaea's greatest contribution to the universe is a consequence of her excess fertility when stimulated by male elements. However, it must be acknowledged that the oldest Greek literature did not regulate the female to a passive or '*in potentia*' role in reproductive processes, although later philosophy would. Rather, the Great Goddess' reproductive disempowerment in the earliest Greek literature at first took the form of shared power and responsibility. However, while the mother may have still had reproductive power in Greek myth, the male deities ultimately controlled more of the events that supposedly shaped life on earth.

Outside of her function as breeder, Gaea is able to influence some events on earth through her revenge upon her husband/child Uranus. Uranus' birth from a female, from Gaea, rather than from Chaos does not emasculate or figuratively castrate him (ensuring that mortal man is not threatened by his origin in a female body). However, he is castrated at Gaea's urging for acting as a "bad" father. He imprisons his hundred-handed sons within Earth because he hated them "from the first" and "would not suffer them to come up into the light" (*Hesiod* l. 155; 158). To punish him, Gaea convinces Cronus to attack Uranus while he "spread[s] himself full upon her" (l. 178). In this instance, we see the archetypal female influencing events through a peripheral or marginal position rather than direct action: her son acts upon the universe while her body is exploited to trap the wrongdoer. Even castration does not entirely disempower Uranus,

however, since his blood fertilizes the Earth and produces the Erinyes (Furies), Giants, and Melinae (tree nymphs), while his cast-off genitals form a seafoam which become the goddess of love, Aphrodite. Again, the Feminine is associated with water, and much artwork and literature depicts Aphrodite, the ultimate female object of desire, in connection with water or Poseidon. In Hesiod's *Theogony*, though, the origin of Aphrodite suggests that the desirable female is primarily a product of the phallus. It is the literal genitals of the All-Father that initiate and create the ideal female from the sea. In Homer's *Iliad*, Aphrodite is born of Zeus and Dione. As George Depue Hadzsits argues, "Dione" – who is sometimes the mother of Aphrodite and at other times a synonym for her -- was most likely affiliated with water and reproduction and therefore "powerfully suggests the same complex of ideas" as Aphrodite's origin in Hesiod's *Theogony* (50). Much as Uranus is the primary paternal figure of the old gods, Zeus is the primary paternal figure of the Olympian age. The name "Dione" translates as the Feminine "divine one," or female counterpart of Zeus, thereby cementing her primary function as the maternal material for Zeus' ideal female. The similarities between Homer and Hesiod clearly include a desire to place female fertility within the jurisdiction of a male authority. Additionally, seeing as most scholars accept how much Aphrodite owes her origin to Near Eastern goddesses, the stressed patriarchal presence in her Greek origin stories may have also been a method of naturalizing the assimilated all-powerful Goddess.

The divine Feminine in the role of All-Mother or Mother Earth, then, deteriorated in gradual stages as reproductive and sexual theories reflected evolving patriarchal cultural and economic institutions. From her height of power as the native Great Goddess of prehistoric Old Europe, Gaea becomes first partner then passive vessel. The literature of 9th or 8th century BCE indicates that the first stage of disempowering the divine Feminine decentralized the female's

position in the origin of life. From the sole Creator and center of all things, All-Mother became a partner to a male force in creating life. However, neither Homer nor Hesiod seem entirely certain about the roles of the male and female in reproduction, since feminized elements like water and wind sometimes impregnate female bodies. The greater disempowering of the female element, however, appeared in the centuries that followed the earliest Greek myths. In Aristotle's writings of the 4th century BCE, we witness the status of the Feminine so degraded that the woman's reproductive organs only provide nourishment while "the male semen produces the form and impetus from which an embryo grows" (Horowitz 185). As Charlotte Witt and Lisa Shapiro explain in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy,* Aristotle's theory of hylomorphism, or "being" as derived from "form" and "matter," situates male essence (form) as superior to female essence (matter). To be sure, the connection between female and "matter" is surely an inheritance of older traditions of the female primordial force. However, Aristotle constructs this primordial material as essentially passive, undeveloped, and therefore inferior. Male "form" was required to make anything valuable out of the unevolved female material; moreover, it is the active Masculine essence that determines the shape, nature, and function of an organisms' "being." Aristotle's (mis)understanding of sexual difference, most clearly articulated in the collections of texts called *The Generation of Animals* (384 -322 BC), had far-reaching influence in subsequent centuries because so many of his writings survived and were translated. For Aristotle, and later Galen, fire was considered the highest element and the gendered status of forms of matter, objects or bodies, depended upon their portion of heat and dryness. Water, being cool and wet, became the lowest ranking element. Women supposedly lacked the heat required to push out their genitalia, making the female a failed or deformed male (according to Book I of *Generation of Animals)*. Blackledge refers to the hierarchy of status in the elements of

Aristotelian and Galenic theories as "arbitrary" (81). However, given the power anciently associated with water and with the female origin of life, the base status of the female element is anything but arbitrary. What is more threatening to the masculine ego than its origin in a female body, an origin over which they have no control within a space utterly foreign? Thus Aristotle and Galen, and much of the medieval period, assigned an inferior status to what most threatened them. The sexual difference that once made the female the most powerful divine now made her a failed counterfeit of man.

In much of Europe, Christianity helped to reinforce the philosophical and medical degradation of the female body and Feminine essence. However, recent scholarship in the history of women in Christianity has revealed that the earliest forms of Christianity may not have been as sexist and patriarchal as its variations from the Middle Ages onward. One example is the Sheila-na-gig, which has been found on many ancient ruins of church buildings throughout the United Kingdom. Now seen as a sort of grotesque, this figure, inscribed often above doorways, features a female with her legs akimbo, revealing an emphasized vagina. Whether the carvings and building were remnants of pre-Christian beliefs converted by early Christians or whether the earliest churches still permitted the veneration and fear of the divine female reproductive power, they suggest that more matriarchal values endured in the native populations of Britain despite the 'civilizing' of them by the Roman church. Karen King, Harvard University's Hollis Professor of Divinity, notes that the earliest "church" meetings often took place in homes, the woman's domain, and that Paul's letters commend female acquaintances for their missionary work and leadership. According to King, Christian misogyny was more a consequence of later reworking than an aspect of the original histories: in those later versions, "every variety of ancient Christianity that advocated the legitimacy of women's leadership was eventually declared

heretical, and evidence of women's early leadership roles was erased or suppressed" ("Women"). With the erasure of female-oriented histories and texts, the female came to occupy two contrary roles in the Judeo-Christian tradition: virgin and whore. The "good woman" was, of course, the virgin mother of Jesus who conceived in the ultimate act of passive cooperation with a male God. Though she went on to have other children through Joseph, the Virgin moniker stuck, and it was through this construction, divorcing femininity from sexual intercourse, that she was worshipped. Her supposed foil, Mary Magdalene, came to be the byword for the shameful woman. Despite the evidence of the Gospels, most of the history of Christianity views Mary Magdalene not as an apostle and aid but as the lowest of Jesus' associates. King documents this Mary's fall in status through a misidentification that was followed by textual conflations beginning in the fourth century where Mary is associated with an unnamed sinner who washes the feet of Jesus. She concludes that "once this initial, erroneous identification was secured, Mary Magdalene could be associated with every unnamed sinful woman in the gospels," including the adulteress in John 8:1-11 and the Syrophoenician woman with her five and more "husbands" in John 4:7-30. Mary the apostle, prophet, and teacher had become Mary the repentant "whore." The opposition of the good virgin and the bad whore, however, did not begin with the New Testament. The story of "Original Sin" in Genesis places these two opposing identities within the single figure of Eve.[10] Before she is tempted by the snake, Eve is innocent in her nakedness and lives within the grace of God. Before her fall, she is the good, clean female living passively and peacefully in God's bounty. This female is even given autonomy and choice, however much the choice is instigated or encouraged by the snake. But the snake that had once represented rebirth and fertility becomes associated with Sin and opposition to God. In the Garden of Eden, Eve is permitted to act upon her own desires, and her desire is for knowledge.

Eve's great sin is to choose to educate herself. After she "sins" and eats the forbidden fruit, an image used frequently enough in sexual euphemism, she then seduces Adam into sinning with her. As a warning to women, therefore, Eve's Fall instructs us to be wary of our own desires and choices and never to act independently of God and male authority. As a warning to men, Eve represents the danger of seductive women. As Blackledge notes, the fathers of the early Christian church in Europe instructed the population that it was Eve's fall "and her wicked sexual ways that were to blame for humankind's original fall from grace" (59). Eve's role as the first mother can never redeem her original sin and her children are marked out for sin and tragedy. The "good mother" of Christianity is not the first mother from whom earthly life first springs; the "good mother" is the sinless and passive Virgin Mary, a vessel for God's creation rather than a creator of life herself. And it is the life she passively receives and births that brings humanity into eternity, as it is the Son whose sacrifice allows humans to find an eternal afterlife with God. Thus, the most famous stories of the Christian tradition further degrade and appropriate two of the primary powers of the ancient Feminine: the female creative force and her connection to infinite time.

Since its first decline at the hands of advancing Indo-European populations, Feminine power has been appropriated, erased, or slandered in order to prop up the patriarchal values of dominant western civilizations. Moments of resistance can be found throughout the literature of Europe, from the story of the Scottish warrior woman Scáthach in the Ulster cycles to the essays of Mary Wollstonecraft to Angela Carter's feminist fairy tales. However, as Maryanne Cline Horowitz argues, Aristotle's "biological sexism" has influenced how humans attach values to gendered concepts for two millennia. This influence, and the resulting inferior position of the female and the Feminine-associated ideas, has yet to be fully expunged from political, economic,

and socio-cultural discourses. Even some modern ecological theories, though obviously linked to traditions of Mother Earth, still rely on the patriarchal values of gendered connotations made so popular by Aristotelian philosophy. James Lovelock's *Gaia: A New Look at Life on Earth* configures the ancient female Earth Mother as a metaphor for a self-regulating ecological system and uses the ancient simile of the egg for incipient life. Yet he also describes the function of the egg (and water) as material nourishment for life and argues that in his concept of Gaia, "man [is] a part of, or partner in, a very democratic entity" (137). Though his Gaia theory suggests that the Earth takes an active role in its many processes, this role primarily consists of either continual primordial rhythms or its regulating reaction to human interference. Again. even at this late date, the influence of Aristotle's hylomorphism is strong. Dynamic action belongs to the "man" (Lovelock's default human in 1979) while the female entity "Gaia" affects events either through her original essence or a male-induced reaction. In his 2009 book on Gaia, Lovelock figures the human relationship to Gaia as a marriage. Since same-sex marriage was not legal nationally in the UK or the US until 5-6 years after the book's publication, and the institution of marriage has long been criticized for its patriarchal foundations, Lovelock's metaphor subjects Gaia to a patriarchal, dependent relationship to Man. Even the powerful female Earth is still checked and defined by her romantic/sexual responsibility to the male. While Lovelock's works reintroduced the female earth-goddess to secular ideologies, the relationship he constructs between the default "man" and the female divine demonstrates the longevity of cultural constructions of gender inherited from Ancient Greek mythology, with only some vestiges left over from an even more primal matriarchal mythology.

Our ability to interpret signs through a feminist perspective -- whether it be Gimbutas' pictorial motifs, Blackledge's study of the vagina, Horowitz' criticism of Aristotle, King's

church history, or my own reading of male-authored Scottish works -- is indebted to a large degree to continental feminist philosophers from the twentieth century. Simone de Beauvoir, in particular, articulates the sense of an embodied, gendered Otherness which underscores much continental feminism as well as my own reading of difference in Masculine and Feminine modalities. In her first philosophic essay "Pyrrhus and Cinéas" (1944), Beauvoir begins with an investigation into the relationship between the self and others, looking for a way to reconcile the inherent freedom and singularity of the inner self with our experience in the world interacting with other free individuals. She writes: "if I was only a thing myself, indeed nothing would concern me; if I shut myself in, the other is also shut off to me" ("Selections" 137). Individual human worth, she argues, is dependent to some degree upon others insomuch that they must carry on the projects or ambitions which had given our lives worth. She argues that "I need [others], for once that I have surpassed my own goals, my acts will fall back upon themselves inert and useless if they are not carried forward by new projects" (141). And so she asks: for whom should one work, to whom should one look to carry forward projects into the future? Her famous feminist work, *The Second Sex* (1947), seems to answer this question by asking "what destiny awaits our younger sisters, and in which direction should we point them?" (41). Beauvoir seeks to pass on her projects to the next generation of women, but questions how to direct them to find greater liberation. Beauvoir seeks answers in key aspects of biological sexual difference and how men have exploited these differences to subjugate women. Through writing *The Second Sex*, Beauvoir seems to imply the necessity for a female community of feminists to carry on the project of female liberation. After all, she writes that "women feel more spontaneous solidarity with each other than men do" and "women's mutual understanding lies in the fact that they identify with each other" (657). The potential power of women's shared identification would

seem a viable challenge to patriarchal oppression. Here we hear the echoes (though diminished by Beauvoir's emphasis on heterosexual fulfillment) of the infinite self-identification or the shared collectivity of Domina Riddoch in *the Thirteenth Disciple*. Beauvoir looks to pass on to "our younger sisters" the continued project of achieving equality, while Domina wants to live the free lives denied to all the women before her. In both, we see a particularly Feminine sense of a collective identity that defies the boundaries of time and clan, one that looks back to the cyclical mutuality embodied in the life-giver Goddess of very ancient thought.

In *The Second Sex*, Beauvoir especially emphasizes the embodied experience of the female as foundational to identity and to our understanding of the world. Moreover, she contends that the activities of the female body, sexual reproduction, are essential to how men view women. In ancient agrarian societies, she argues, women were venerated because men saw that they produced and nourished children in ways that mirrored the desirable activity of agricultural land: "Nature as a whole seems like a mother to him; the earth is woman and the woman is inhabited by the same obscure forces as the earth" (108). Within the context of ancient agrarian societies, Beauvoir even, albeit briefly, explores gendered approaches to time. Beauvoir admits that "man's project is not to repeat himself in time: it is to reign over the instant and to forge the future" (105). He does this, she argues, by defying the dependence of his project/ambition on Natural time and instead approaching agriculture from the position of a worker where "time can be conquered like space" (116). If the forces of the earth, namely the cycling of seasons and mysterious production of life, also inhabit women, then women's time must also be like earth's. Man, Beauvoir argues, is terrified by the mystic power of Woman-Earth and wishes to subjugate these alien forces to his will; so man begins to assert his superiority through violence to the individual female (113-114). Beauvoir articulates a key difference in men and women's

approaches to time: women appear to mimic or collaborate with the underlying forces of nature that produce "supernatural gifts" and "mysterious emanations," while men resent their seeming subjugation to these forces (107- 108). Man then constructs time as the "reign of Homo Faber": time dictated by the action and will of man.

Beauvoir contends that the original sexual differences in males and females ultimately contribute to, but do not completely cause, the social and psychological conditions that "make" gender: "One is not born but rather becomes a woman" (337). Though Beauvoir's emphasis on the biological female body could suggest the biological essentialism which denies the validity of trans and non-binary experiences, she also argues that "woman is defined neither by her hormones nor by mysterious instincts but by the way she grasps… her body and her relation to the world" (848). That relation, as the "second sex" suggests, is dictated by her Othered status in a patriarchal culture. Thus, we may extend Beauvoir's definition of woman: while embodied sexual difference may have initiated early distinctions between Feminine and Masculine and created the conditions of oppression, it is our experience of those conditions out in the world under pressure from a culture dominated by patriarchy that constitutes a gendered identity. From that viewpoint, it is the experience of oppression, of Othering by the patriarchy, which defines the Feminine rather than the bodily functions and genitals that originally produced a sense of difference. If a key quality of the Feminine is the experience of subjugation and subordination, then sexless subjects or modes (like writing, time, structure, and language) that can experience oppression and express this oppression through Othering may also be considered Feminine.

One further landmark piece of continental feminist philosophy also helps us in understanding how ancient ideas of the Feminine have come to influence feminist interpretations of texts anticipated by the Feminine levels in Scott and Mitchell. Hélène Cixous' "The Laugh of

Medusa" (1975, translated 1976), describes *écriture féminine*, a style of writing that allows women to use their bodies, and embodied experience, to resist patriarchal oppression. Cixous' description of Feminine writing visualizes a particular Feminine sense of space and movement in space (time) that opposes the traditional phallic structure that relies on organization and logic. She writes "we the labyrinths . . . we extend ourselves without ever reaching an end; we never hold back our thoughts, our signs, our writing; and we're not afraid of lacking. . . and we expire without running out of breath, we are everywhere" (878). Cixous's extending, unending female "grows and multiplies . . . woman couldn't care less about the fear of decapitation (or castra-tion), adventuring, without the masculine temerity, into anonymity, which she can merge with without annihilating herself" (888). She is both singular and multiple for "if she is a whole, it's a whole composed of parts that are wholes . . . a moving, limitlessly changing ensemble, a cosmos tirelessly traversed by Eros, an immense astral space not organized around any one sun that's any more of a star than the others . . . Her libido is cosmic, just as her unconscious is worldwide" (889). The perspective of Cixous' Feminine is infinitely multiple, like the Great Goddess was thought to be, a cosmic body in constant motion and constant change. And because of her limitlessly changing ensemble where she meets other women, herself and not herself, "she goes and passes into infinity . . . she doesn't defend herself against these unknown women whom she's surprised at becoming, but derives pleasure from this gift of alterability" (889). This multiple and alterable aspect of the Feminine, echoing very ancient myths, is precisely what allows women, in Cixous' view, to challenge the phallocentric value systems of patriarchal society that have authored history. A woman opposes the masculine sense of history and time because "woman un-thinks the unifying, regulating history that homogenizes and channels forces . . . in woman, personal his-tory blends together with the history of all women, as well as

national and world history" (882). It might seem as though Cixous leaves behind the single individual woman whose bodily experience and desire is supposed to dictate *écriture féminine*. However, we should recall that this essay begins with her appreciation of "the infinite richness of [women's] individual constitutions" and her desire that a woman "would write and proclaim this unique empire" in her individual extension of it (876.) True, she instructs women to "write your self. Your body must be heard" (880). But here the Feminine perspective radiates backwards and forward through a cosmic infinity while also lingering within the cavity of the individual body. The Feminine is both limitless (All-Mother, Earth, Creation) and intimately local within the individual unconscious and the individual body. Because a woman's own time or history merges with that of all women, she contains the universal, potentially infinite, time of the universe, of nature, as well as the personal, corporeal time of human mortality. These associations with the female can also describe what is traditionally considered Feminine in writing: an endlessness, a discursivity, a flourishing without limit, a repeating and cycling. Though Cixous requires that women write of women, and men of men, she also states that it is up to the individual where one's masculinity and femininity lay (877). It is then possible that some male writers, especially when treating something already Other in the dominant culture, might employ the qualities of a limitless, multiple, embodied Feminine mode to oppose a phallic perspective.

As I will show in the works of Walter Scott and J. Leslie Mitchell (Lewis Grassic Gibbon), these age-old and recent interpretations of the Feminine can be drawn out of their narratives of Scotland to reveal how they produce a sense of national identity that challenges the value of imperialist, patriarchal culture. To sum up, then, I want to argue for the following regarding the Feminine in readings of Scottish literature:

1. The Feminine and Masculine are modes: particular ways of doing, experiencing, or expressing things. They relate to culturally-constructed ideas of gender, based to some degree on biological sexual difference, but they do not denote the sex or gender of a person practicing a mode.

2. The Feminine is inherently associated with life cycles: the life cycles of human reproduction (embodied) and the climate and vegetation cycles of nature (cosmic).

    i. These associations emphasize the interior, private experience of the individual body (female or otherwise) and a universal connection with cosmic forces.

    ii. These associations link the Feminine with life, death, renewal, regeneration.

    iii. The cyclical movement in these associations, along with shapes of female genitals, link the Feminine to spatial patterns of repeating and cycling which then suggest non-linear experiences of time.

3. The Feminine represents the position of Other in patriarchal societies and cultures.

    i. The Other has been devalued, and devaluation can include subjugation, suppression, assimilation, marginalization, etc.

    ii. The Feminine as Other, embodied and cosmic, is both individual (singular) and collective (multiple).

iii. Because the Other is kept in the margins of power, they may wield markers of their difference outside of regulating institutions. These markers of Otherness are Feminine.

iv. The wielding of Feminine, Othered markers of identity is an act of subversion, a rejection of the superiority of the dominant standard.

A Feminine Nation and Postcolonial Existence

For Scottish writers such as Scott and Mitchell/Grassic Gibbon, the condition and temporality of femininity is bound up with Scotland having long been colonized, placed in the subjugated "Feminine" position, and having more recently renewed efforts to attain a more postcolonial status. One of the problems facing any critique along postcolonial lines, however, is determining which situations, and what people, actually qualify as postcolonial. The first problem is how a people or a country can ever really be *post*-colonial when the English language continues to increase globally under the pretense of being the "universal" language for business, tourism, and academics.[11] In Scotland, the recovery of native languages, Scots and Gaelic, is still a controversial issue.[12] One of the reasons that the people of Scotland continue to be divided on the issue of national languages is Scotland's problematic status within the British Empire. Before Scotland or England were formed into proper nations, the Roman Empire began distinguishing between the southern parts of the isle, which proved more receptive to romanization, and the northern areas which were "unfriendly" (Silver). A document from the 4th century listing the tribes of the northern part of the isle, the peoples that would be known as the Picts, is entitled "Gentes barbarae quae pullulaverunt sub imperatoribus" or "The Barbarian Nations that sprang

up under the [Roman] Emperors" (Riese). As Benjamin Hudson points out, "the tract shows Roman bigotry (a barbarian was a barbarian regardless of antiquity or achievements)" (15). This early demarcation between the two halves of the isle during the Roman occupation of it had as much to do with conquering "othered" populations as it did with differences in geography. In fact, it was the south's assimilation of Roman culture that helped produce the cultural differences that would manifest as southern contempt for the barbaric north. Hudson describes the difference between the civilized South and the primitive North: "Anyone who traveled the length of Britain at the end of the third century . . . would have been aware of a contrast . . .South of [Hadrian's] wall were wide, paved roads that connected towns with markets, houses, government offices,. . . North of the wall were a few paths" (19).

Prior to the building of Hadrian's Wall, after all, the Emperor Claudius' invasion of Britain in the first century A.D. resulted in the romanization of the Ancient Britons south of the Stanegate road which ran between modern-day Corbridge and Carlisle. As the northernmost Roman road, Stanegate signified the border between conquered and unconquered land. In 79 AD, the Roman general Agricola began pushing the Roman empire farther North, with the famous battle of Mons Graupius probably taking place in Aberdeenshire.[13] In 97 AD, Agricola's son-in-law Tacitus recorded Agricola's account of the battle and his remembrance of the Caledonian leader Calgacus. This Roman account describes the Caledonian as "one outstanding among their many leaders for his valour and nobility" (Tacitus 21). Moreover, the speech recorded by Tacitus in *Agricola and Germany* (98 AD) is highly intelligent and eloquent, demonstrating a strong grasp of recent history and politics (21-23). Whether or not Calgacus made such a speech or Agricola even met the man, the historical record clearly portrays the Northern tribes as an adversary worthy of battle. In fact, the speech makes a very convincing argument against

imperialist assimilation, forced or otherwise. In his speech to his men, Calgacus calls his Caledonians "the noblest in all Britain, who dwell in her innermost sanctuary and do not look across at any subject shores" (21). Here the remoteness of the North is not a source of primitiveness or uncultured savagery, but rather a defense against "the defilement of tyranny" (22). The people of the North are "the last people on earth, and the last to be free" and, according to Calgacus, the hope upon which an enslaved isle depends. He strips the imperial process of any flattering propaganda: "They plunder, they butcher, they ravish, and call it by the lying name of "empire". They make a desert and call it "peace" (22). Accurately rendered by Tacitus or not, Calgacus' speech is an insightful, impassioned critique of Roman imperialism and belies later claims that the North was a barbaric nation in need of civilizing. However, by the time the biography of Hadrian was written, about 250 years after Tacitus' history, Roman and British attitudes to the North began to reflect a more disparaging attitude. The anonymous author of "The Life of Hadrian" in *Historia Augusta* writes that Hadrian visited Britain and built his wall in 122 AD in order to "to separate the [northern] barbarians from the Romans" (Magie 35).

Scotland's position within British imperial activity, to be sure, is relatively unique. Ancient Scotland had no single racial identity: angles, celts, Normans, Vikings, and Picts fought each other and intermarried, producing multiple ancient cultures.[14] The competing cultures of "indigenous" peoples and settler communities throughout pre-historic Scotland, throughout the Roman invasion of Britain and the early Middle Ages, means that no single culture or ethnic group truly makes up the indigenous people of pre-Empire Scotland. The figure of the indigenous Scot, as object of early English experiments in colonization and empire-building, is a composite construction imposed on various Scottish populations. Even more confusingly, the make-up of the "indigenous Scot" shifts depending upon the geographic allegiances of those who

create the representation. The Gaelic Scot of the Highlands has little in common with the Anglo Scot of the lowlands; the Scot of the Shetland and Orkney islands takes in far more Norse influence than the neolithic Scot of the Outer Hebrides. The multiple languages found across medieval Scottish texts consequently bear witness to the mixed heritage of Scotland. Scotland currently claims three languages as native to it: English, Scots, and Scottish Gaelic. The appearance of other languages such as Latin, French, and Norse in medieval texts and ancient archeological sites also show the incredible heteroglossia in Scotland's ethnic heritage.

From the Wars of Independence in the 13th and 14th centuries, perhaps because of this inchoate multiplicity, England has historically positioned Scotland not as a political equal, but as a rogue subject or unwilling bride. In 1290, following the death of the Maid of Norway, the heir to King Alexander III of Scotland and the Guardians (or Regents) of Scotland petitioned Edward the I of England to help decide between multiple claims to the throne. Instead, he exploited the opportunity to demand that the claimants admit his overlordship or risk losing lands in England to his army. Ultimately he named John Baliol king. When Baliol took the throne, Edward immediately began to dictate Scottish law and tax. One of Edward's tactics to subjugate the outraged population was to strip Scotland of the most important symbols of its sovereign identity: the Stone of Destiny (the coronation seat of ancient Scottish Kings) and St. Margaret's Rood (a holy relic).[15] Both pieces were then used to demoralize the Scottish nation. The great coronation stone was turned into a seat for "Edward's Chair" where successive monarchs of England were crowned. The retitled "Black Rood" was used in English pageantry to display England's devotion to Christian morals. While the rood was never recovered, the stone was formally returned to Scotland nearly 700 years later in 1996. A year later, Scotland voted for a

devolved parliament, signally a growing dissatisfaction with Westminster's total governmental control over the northern nation.

Similar tactics of forcing subjugation and assimilation by destroying native customs was used to great effect in the 18th century after the Jacobite rebellion, when Gaelic language and dress were forbidden and children were forced to learn English in schools. When the British Empire sought to colonize parts of Africa and America, Scotland, as part of the British Empire, were subjected to the same imperialist tactics. Throughout much of the time of the British Empire, Scottish shipping, medicine, and education sectors surpassed their English counterparts, securing Scotland a privileged position. The results, to some extent, were positive for Scotland, at least up to a point. Imperialism provided Scots with an opportunity to increase their own national reputation through superior skill and infrastructure in specialties like medicine and shipping. As historian John MacKenzie clearly elucidates in "Essay and Reflection: On Scotland and the Empire," many in Scotland seized upon the opportunity for economic and political involvement made possible by the expansion of the British onto foreign soil. MacKenzie tracks the various ways in which Scotland participated in and benefited from British imperialism, including the disproportionately large number of Scots involved in the East India Company and the Calvinist missionary projects within South Africa. Mackenzie writes, "if Scots surgeons were everywhere in the East India Company service, so were Scots captains through the Company's shipping interests" (718). An article from the *Spectator* in 1928 bears further witness to the positive globalization of Scottish culture through Imperial emigration: "If there is one country above all others, which has impressed itself on the world by ignoring the narrow tenets of nationalism, it is Scotland. Wherever one goes one finds Scotsmen. It is a poor town, in any part

of the Globe, that cannot produce Scots enough to celebrate St. Andrew's Day and the Burns Anniversary" ("Scotland and the Empire" 856).

The particularities of Scottish identity helped construct the new forms of Victorian Imperialism practiced in Africa through the establishment of particularly Scottish institutions. Scottish systems of education had remained intact throughout the Union and maintained a reputation for excellence. Thus, based on examples collected from by G.S. Pryde's works on Scottish educational influence, MacKenzie writes, "the founding of universities [throughout the Empire] was based more on the Scottish than the English prototype" (736). Scotland provided another avenue of gentle civilizing through the work and philosophies of David Livingston. Livingston was a successful model for the Imperial missionary precisely because of his Scottish character: "[He] united the virtues of Highlander and Lowlander...the keen imagination, high spirit, chivalry, and mysticism of the North combined with the dour, grit, the practicality, perseverance, stern Calvinism, and hatred of oppression of the South" (735). It was these Scottish characteristics that helped Livingston develop a sympathetic, paternal form of imperialistic relations with the indigenous Africans. Because of his Scottish heritage, Livingston "understood their oral traditions, their historic and didactic tales, and their concern with ancestors and heroic exploits. Above all, he understood the bond between Africans and their chiefs" (735). His advocacy for a pro-indigenous, abolitionist form of imperialism privileged Christianity, commerce and civilization over conquest. Livingston's appreciation of indigenous culture helped transform early aggressive, resource-focused imperialism into the (supposedly) gentle or benevolent paternal imperialism that remains most active to this day.

Despite the many Scots who participated and helped construct Imperial enterprise, however, the success of the British Empire and the opportunities it could produce depended upon the further subjugation and assimilation of the "Celtic fringe":

> Patriotism superseded local nationalism and confirmed the Hanoverian Line [of English kings]. The Celtic fringe had to be absorbed by the Anglo-Saxon heartland to create a complimentary economic system, enhance the population available for the Imperial enterprise, and ensure that the danger of foreign invasion was reduced or eliminated. (MacKenzie 715)

The Imperial assimilation of Scottish culture, begun during England's first attempt to conquer and absorb Scotland hundreds of years before, was expanded even more during the Victorian period. The particularities of Celtic Scottish culture that enabled successful imperialism, from Scottish education policies to an appreciation of oral cultural foundations, were often and gradually absorbed or co-opted by the hegemonic order to become a set of universal British Imperialist best practices.

As the authors of *The Empire Writes Back* (1989) concede, certain formulations of post-colonial theory are therefore particularly apt for dealing with Scotland's problematic relationship to British Imperialism. Max Dorsinville's approach focuses on the dynamics of domination and the difficulties of, as well as all the efforts towards, distinguishing between colonizer and colonized (Ashcroft et. al 31-32). Many commonwealth countries, he writes, may reject the implication that they have been dominated by the English and, indeed, have dominated and oppressed others in turn (32). However, the dominating-dominated relationship most often produces such symptoms as the loss of native languages and the imposition of foreign cultural traditions. While any positioning of Scotland within a system of Imperialism must take into

account Scotland's participation in the "dominating" culture, Scotland occupies the space of the dominated in the effect of colonization on language and oral tradition. The dynamics of domination are also bound up with and parallel to the dynamics of gender relationships in a patriarchal system. It is no coincidence that language and literature describing imperialism often use a romantic relationship to represent a colonial relationship. England's incursions into Scotland in the 16th century were called the "Rough Wooing," where England occupies the space of the forceful, dominating suitor and Scotland the resisting but vulnerable – and feminized -- love interest. The conjugal metaphor for the British Union was a common feature of National tales such as Lady Morgan's *The Wild Irish Girl* (1806) and Walter Scott's *Waverley*. When the Union came into effect on May 1, 1707, the bells at St. Giles Cathedral in Edinburgh rang out the tune "Why am I so Sad on this my Wedding Day."[16]

Postcolonialism and feminism can thus be considered very much in relationship to each other, being separate anthro-centric entities that are nevertheless quite parallel. Within oppressive patriarchal, imperialist contexts, the female is very like the native, a similarity highlighted by historic constructions of European exploration. Accordingly, Anne McClintock describes sites of imperialistic expansion as "porno-tropics" in the imagination of European explorers with the masculine explorer "penetrating" a mysterious, feminized world (23). Such a parallel is sometimes problematic since it universalizes the experience of oppression and removes the specific characteristics of racial and sexual oppression. However, as I have discussed in Gimbutas' accounts of the native matriarchal populations of Old Europe, in Beauvoir's analysis of gendered oppression, and in British marriage metaphors, native or indigenous populations may be linked to Feminine associations due to their subjugated status in patriarchal, imperialist cultures. Oppression is never really identity-neutral. The action of

oppression, like the action of exploration in McClintock's account, is Masculine: the syntax of act and result, of aggression to subjugation, places those oppressed into the passive, Feminine position of direct object. The Feminine, seemingly passive position of the colonized, however, provides both the impetus and the materials necessary for successful subversion. With or against their will, the oppressed appear to conform in order to survive dominant patriarchal rule: they speak English, they wear English costume, in public they conform to English law. Even so, this appearance of assimilation masks a tendency in national literature towards subversive strategies that "reveal both the configurations of domination and the imaginative and creative responses to this condition" (Ashcroft et. al 32). It is from this seemingly passive position that true subversion is most effective. If force and action are the tools of the Masculine oppressor, then feigned conformity and the mask of passive endurance are initial tools of the Feminine resistance. Historically, Feminine resistance in a colonized society has often taken the form of domestic or private languages, customs, and actions. No longer under the scrutiny of the patriarchal imperialist public body, native populations in private spaces or on native lands can reject, and have rejected, the supposed superiority of the dominating imperialist culture by speaking the "the mother tongue" or their "home language" and by enacting the customs and traditions that had been passed down through generations of informal home and female-based education.

Imperial patriarchal centers of power are consequently threatened by the unknowability of the Other's experiences. As Cixous and Beauvoir demonstrate, knowledge obtained through internal, rather than external, means, such as emotions, intuition, and insight defy external regulation and so threaten the order and clarity so prized by "rational" societies. Moreover, anything that poses a viable alternative to the official perspective of the center provides means for rejecting the center's superiority and any dependence upon them. Organizational structures

that challenge or provide an alternative to the authorized government, like egalitarian communes or Scottish clan systems, suggest viable alternatives and reject the superiority of dominant forms -- and so must be dismissed or expunged. Ultimately, the works of Walter Scott and J. Leslie Mitchell/Lewis Grassic Gibbon testify to the continued duration of ancient gender associations and their transformations in modern patriarchal contexts. Both authors employ the Feminine themes of cyclical time and non-linear movement, embodiment, and Otherness and subjugation to signal a particularly Scottish quality of resistance. Cyclical time is embedded in the very structure of some novels by both authors and in the genres they both develop speculative fiction, historical fiction, Romance and the Gothic. Mystical, supernatural, or mysterious insights, as I will show in the readings that soon follow, generally emerge out of non-rational connections between the body and the Natural world. Information is passed through methods closed to the interloping English male: through gossip, native languages, shared traditions, and family legends. On the surface, the characters and cultures that utilize Feminine modes suffer from the prejudices of those with authority in the dominant, usually male, imperialist social structures. However, we cannot judge the ultimate value of disruptive or subversive modes by the standards of conservative and traditional success. Rather, in both writers' works, we discover that alternatives exist to the status quo: though subversion may not lead to ultimate happiness for a particular character, it may ultimately have value for both the individual and wider society.

CHAPTER 2: FEMININE TIME

As I discussed in chapter one, the female body, and its experience of itself, is essential to cultural constructs of the Feminine and to feminist theory. The same is true of the dimension of time. Cultural constructions of female or Feminine Time emphasize the correspondence between the reproductive cycles and forces of the female body and the natural world. In Simone de Beauvoir's account, the female body takes on magical properties precisely because of this link: "the farmer admires the mystery of fertilization that burgeons in the furrows and in the maternal womb" (108). De Beauvoir argues that this "magic conjuration" of life leads to a maternal right of land "characterized by a true assimilation of woman to the land; in each, through its avatars, the permanence of life is achieved, life that is essentially generation" (108) Primitive agricultural man seeks to act upon nature, to conquer it and improve it for his survival. Masculine time corresponds to subduing the world to his will in order to produce results, like crops or goods, within his set timeframe (103). Anne Schaef describes the difference between Feminine and Masculine time in relation to systems of understanding the world: "In the White Male System, time is perceived as numbers on the clock. . . In the Female System . . . time is perceived as a process, a series of passages, or a series of interlocking cycles which may or may not have anything to do with the numbers on the clock" (100). Female time, as linked to the reproductive forces of nature and the processes of the female body, becomes infinite or eternal as the cycles of life, death, and regeneration, in both the cosmic and the individual body, repeat without end.

Western notions of Masculine Time appear to have evolved through the appropriation and patriarchal transformation of Old European origin myths. As Marija Gimbutas demonstrates,

‘Time’ was once intimately related to the Great Goddess who controlled the seasons, Nature, and the passage of all living things through life, death, and regeneration. When the patriarchal civilizations of the Mediterranean regions began to replace the Goddess-centered populations of Old Europe, time became the domain of a male god, as evident in the Hieronyman Orphic theogony. Even so, this male figure of time bears remarkable similarities to the Great Goddess: Chronos (Time) was a male figure of eternity without beginning or end. The serpentine figures of Chronos (Time) and Annake (Inevitability) encircled and split the primordial egg, producing ordered life from the fecund potential of chaos (West 179). After creating a physical universe ordered by earth, sea, and sky, they circled the heavens, causing rotation and movement which resulted in the passage of time. In this early conceit, Time is already male despite the fact that Chronos himself is timeless, eternal, unchanging. However, it is only when he and his consort act upon the material world that he produces distinctively Masculine time. As de Beauvoir argues, man focuses on “acts that transcend his animal condition . . . Through such actions he tests his own power; he posits ends and projects paths to them: he realizes himself as existent” (105). The original matter of time is the unordered being of the male god himself. However, this male personification of Feminine Time began to lose his primordial, unordered attributes as he became associated through his name with another figure of mythology. Chronos of the Orphic tradition was sometimes associated with Kronus of Greek antiquity (Saturn in Latin) who devoured his sons. In *De Natura Deorum* (year of composition or first publication?), Cicero explains the compression of these different figures into a singular identity:

> By Saturn again they denoted that being who maintains the course and revolution of seasons and periods of time, the deity actually so designated in Greek, for Saturn's Greek name is Kronos, which is the same as chronos, a space of time.

> The Latin designation 'Saturn' on the other hand is due to the fact that he is 'saturated' or 'satiated with years' (anni); the fable is that he was in the habit of devouring his sons — meaning that Time devours the ages and gorges himself insatiably with the years that are past. (187)

In the association of the timeless Chronos with the cannibalistic Kronus/Saturn, time changes from eternal and cyclical to progressing and linear, a moving-on that devours the past once it has occurred. Saturn's act of eating his children figures man experiencing time as an act of violent consumption. Saturn distinguishes his subjecthood by killing those that might share in or challenge his identity; the drive that animates him is to destroy the other, to consume the other in order to outlast everything else. Centered on the gaining of individual power, it is an apt metaphor for most patriarchal systems of government and economy. Masculine time is inherently competitive in its pursuit of mastery and progress: it competes against the times preceding it of a single man, of a single society, of other men, and of other societies.

The default perception of time has largely remained this linear and Masculine one in Western belief-systems. Aristotle's reductivist or relativist concept of time, presented in *Physics IV,* where time only exists in relation to change or events happening, imagines time as a set of measured temporal relations (Coope 364). Time for him is defined by the countable spaces between events and across the duration of events; it becomes a countable, measurable order tracking change in the universe. Time in this sense might be drawn as a series of segments, from one point to another, spanning the space between changes. One change leads to another, and time is the straight line between these changes. As one would assume with Aristotle, this configuration privileges reason over experience and assumes the possibility of objective measurement. Platonic time, which supposes an ideal form of time independent of events, lends

itself to a more Feminine spatial analogy in that time is a "container" for events (Emery). Like the womb, Platonic time provides a space in which activity may or may not happen; it is a space rather than a series of movements or actions. Platonic time would thus seem to correspond to a more Feminine conception of time that seems both passive and *in potentia*. Yet Platonic time is mostly concerned with the existence of static ideal forms, which means, as a topology, it fails just as much as Aristotelian time does to record cycling, embodied female time.

The industrial revolution, with its emphasis on mechanics, efficiency, and highly organized systems, required a relatively universal device for measuring and coordinating time: thus, in 1847, Greenwich Mean Time (GMT) was created to coordinate British transport industries. This development in the measurement of time led to further linear time-measurement standards developed and agreed upon internationally.[17] Even though standardized time measurement certainly seems to quantify time effectively; time units are ultimately a construction based on the relative position of the earth and sun. This practical or operational time of GMT, though it is often accepted as the key measure of temporality, does not necessarily express the true nature of time nor cover the human experience of time. The "true" scientific nature of time does not greatly impact cultural, literary perceptions of time. Rather, it is the human experience of felt time and the human experience of time as constructed by speakers or characters that appear, through various forms, in written works.

Linear, Masculine time, nonetheless, dominates Western cultures that focus on order, achievement, and action of the individual subject. In the century, as Western society moved away from religious and political absolutism that reduced truth to a single (divine) authority and began to focus on the more accessible authorities of reason or empiricism as foundations for

reality, the experiences and pursuits of men dominated ideas about subjectivity. Even as new forms of literature like the novel proposed to explore subjectivity from both male and female perspectives, narratives of female life were built upon the default masculine concepts of the subject in time and space. The traditional narrative has a beginning, middle, and end and is marked by things happening across measurable units of time. The subject defeats the beginning in order to arrive at the end whereby the beginning becomes the past, becomes history. Novels such as Sterne's *Tristram Shandy (1759)* and Joyce's *Finnegans Wake* (1939) are noteworthy precisely because they defy the dominant Masculine temporal narrative. The traditional novel's construction of narrative progress is made explicit by the existence of an author, pagination, and chapters. The grammar, syntax, and verb tenses of language even construct a certain temporal narrative progress: the verb always places the subject within a temporal setting. If the verb is past tense or present, it places the subject in a definitive temporal location. Past tense is already history, while present tense becomes history as soon as the sentence is complete. Present progressive (or continuous), where the action has no defined "before" or "after" but exists in unspecified duration, rarely occurs in written narratives, precisely because it is the mode closest to a-temporality, eternity, or a more Feminine monumental time. Notably, there is no verb tense in English for the temporality of repetition: an act may have endless duration in the present or past progressive, but it does not repeat. In the grammar of English, repetition or cycle is not a temporal act itself but rather an adverb, a description of a past action. Standard speech, one of the most crucial representations of subjectivity, usually pressures the subject into a Masculine or linear temporal mode where a subject accomplishes an action within a specific measurement of time.

In modern life, it seems essential that time has a universal, objective, measurable (Masculine) trajectory. Entrenched in modern Western economic systems, it seems impossible to imagine a life not dictated by business hours, working schedules, and coordinated meetings. This seeming impossibility only reinforces the dominance of this Masculine construction of time. Hence the "time" entry in the *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosoph*y: "It's natural to think that time can be represented by a line" (Emery). But how can a thought about time be natural if it is not first experienced in the body? Body experience is surely as natural, if not more so, than the processes that result in thought. Time experienced in the body is viscerally subjective and cannot be measured by reason. Moreover, embodied, Feminine Time does not necessarily require a female body. The sense of cycling that Feminine Time derives from female reproduction is, in fact, the larger process of all bodies. Bodies do not obey linear time as neatly as a simple birth-to-death perspective might suggest. Cells constantly cycle through various stages, and human death can even be the result of growth, the birthing of new mutant cells, rather than an absolute end stage. In fact, the most commonly used cell line in scientific research is an immortal cell line called HeLa, harvested without consent from Henrietta Lacks' cancerous cervical tumor (Skoot). In a laboratory setting, these cells continue to divide and multiply indefinitely.

Death, and the processes after, moreover, are as essential to the shape of Feminine Time as they are to life itself. From its life and growth in nature, the Feminine obtains part of its sense of time, but as Gimbutas argues, the "Mother Goddess" was also the "wielder of the destructive powers" (*Goddesses* 152). The other side of life, of beginning and growth, is death and decay, the results of life and growth of natural bodies and thus an essential aspect of the Feminine. Death and decay help provide the returning, renewing, or cycling back movement in Feminine Time. In death, as a natural body decays, seeming to return back to the basic inanimate matter of

all things. This "return to nature" in death has been represented in different societies by a range of death practices, the most obvious being burial within an earthen grave, mound, or container that mimics the womb.[18] Gimbutas describes the arrangement of bodies in burial pots in Old Europe: "Babies and children squeezed into egg-shaped *pithoi* for burial [in] a natural fetal position. A *pithos* was a womb as was the grave pit from which the child or adults could be born again" (159). Even in the Judeo-Christian tradition, death of the body was configured as a return to the materials of creation. Genesis 3:19 instructs "thou [shall] return unto the ground; for out of it wast thou taken: for dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return" (*Authorized King James Bible*). Death completes the cycle while simultaneously beginning it anew: the body decays into matter that provides the essential nourishment for life. The corpse, as a complex and thriving ecosystem, is eventually broken down into energy that maggots and other parasites and bacteria can then transfer to the soil, thereby enriching plant and animal life ("What Happens"). Though corporeal decay does not feature as frequently as forward linear motion in mythology or literature, we do see the continuation of life after death in various non-scientific forms. Religious traditions of afterlives and reincarnations and supernatural traditions of hauntings and the undead emphasize the non-finality of human death. In all of these representations of a form of human immortality, we see a return to life, a renewal, regeneration, or revivification that rejects the finality implied by Masculine, linear time and its Saturnian devouring of the past after it happens.

If embodied time provides one clear challenge to Masculine time, disembodied time provides another. Time in dreams, time in the unconscious, time in memory, time in *deja vu*, time in trance: all of these experiences of time challenge any attempt at objective and strictly linear measurement. Disembodied time, whether founded upon emotions like enjoyment and

anticipation or on the wrenching of the conscious from the subconscious in moments like trance and dreams, suggests a sort of time-travel in which the mind can experience time outside of the measured external world. This sense of disembodied time has often found itself expressed as a semi-supernatural phenomenon: a haunting, a divine inspiration, a nightmare, a premonition. Outside of the demands of modern capitalism, humans frequently seek out and experience this sort of Feminine Time in both embodied and disembodied forms.

In her highly influential essay "Women's Time" (1979), Julia Kristeva describes how women's time is produced by privileging "the space that generates the human species" rather than the personal identity of a woman (190). For her "female subjectivity seems to offer [time] a specific concept of measurement that essentially retains *repetition* and *eternity* out of the many modalities that appear throughout the history of civilization" (191). This female time can be "experienced as extra-subjective and cosmic… a source of resplendent visions and unnameable *jouissance*" (191). Jouissance, for the purposes of my work, may be best understood as a feminist reclaiming of that which has been used to make us Other: a reclaiming of Freudian hysteria, of madness and sorcery and excess, as a shared source of power that breaks free from patriarchal oppression. It is this orgiastic, transcendent feminine jouissance that underlies what Sandra Gilbert calls Hélène Cixous' "tarantella of theory" for female liberation in *The Newly Born Woman* (Gilbert X). Feminine Time, a producer of jouissance, clashes with the time of modern civilization and the syntax of European speech. Speech, Kristeva argues, is a masculine temporal order: "The symbolic order - the order of verbal communication, the paternal order of genealogy - is a temporal order. For the speaking animal, it is the clock of objective time; it provides the reference point, and, consequently, all possibilities of measurement, by distinguishing between a before, a now and an after" ("About Chinese Women" 153). However, Kristeva also

acknowledges the possibility of challenging the linear temporal order through changes to representation. She writes of attempts to "break the code, to shatter language, to find a specific discourse closer to the body and to emotion" (200). By mimicking the cycles and repetitions of the female body, particular genres and forms of writing could challenge and subvert the dominant, Masculine structure of time and representation. Concurrently, attention to the body as a way of knowing time and knowing the world also produces a sense of Feminine Time.

In what form, outside of patriarchal reproduction, can Feminine Time express itself? Kristeva's description of a female society functions just as well as a description of Feminine literature or Feminine representation of time "in which all real or fantasized possibilities for *jouissance* take refuge. Against the socio-symbolic contract, both sacrificial and frustrating, this counter-society can be harmonious, without prohibitions, free and fulfilling. . . the counter-society remains the only refuge for fulfillment since it is precisely an a-topia, a place outside the law, utopia's floodgate" ("Women's Time" 202). Kristeva's extra-subjective female time, linked so intimately to the body but also to universal and supernatural forces, also produces a Feminine Time that includes "the massive presence of a monumental temporality, without cleavage or escape . . . all encompassing and infinite like imaginary space" (191). Once again, however, it is important to note that while the female body may have initiated the original differences between Feminine and Masculine, a female body is not necessary to experience or express Feminine Time. A *felt* awareness of the individual body can lead to a *felt* awareness of the "presence" of a larger, cosmic time. Undefined by reason and perhaps even unnameable, the subversive jouissance of Feminine Time can appear in various forms, including the production of art.

Fiction, as an art form, represents a mix of Feminine and Masculine time. It usually implies a linear, Masculine reading order sustained for a quantifiable amount of time; however,

fiction is a creative act and not inherently constrained by any particular temporality. Furthermore, fiction always has Feminine potential because it is both multiple (read and experienced by many) and singular (able to free itself from a forced standardized experience), located in a specific time (of writing, of publishing, of reading) and outside of that time (historical and speculative genres, the different times of production and reading), capable of expanding and shrinking time. Still, novels that attempt to structure themselves along a Feminine Time are usually considered Other--experimental, peripheral--to the definition of a traditional novel, even when they are a canonized classic like Laurence Sterne's *Tristram Shandy* or James Joyce's *Ulysses.* More traditionally structured novels can employ representations of Feminine Time, though, by disrupting linear time through memory, prophecy, hauntings, revivifications, time-travel, and seasonal cycles. Crucially, given the dominance of Masculine Time and the institutional order Masculine Time enforces, the appearance of Feminine Time in a narrative signals a possible disruption and subversion of all traditional hierarchies of dominance and exclusion. In Walter Scott's work, both in his written texts and his many projects and interests, Feminine Time appears as supernatural power, as simultaneous and ever-multiplying truths, as artistic reanimation of past feelings and beliefs, and as a Gothic attitude toward history. In Mitchell's work, especially in the pieces that feature female protagonists, cyclical and embodied time dominate the narrative structure, the author's political vision, and the characters' experiences of reality and epiphany.

Feminine Time and Sir Walter Scott

Though scholarly interest in a bifurcated understanding of time and the experience of time gained the greatest traction in the twentieth century, the eighteenth century saw a vigorous

debate about the nature of time influenced greatly by the focus on reason and progress in Enlightenment philosophy. The emphasis on reason and order (in both the more moderate, religious branches and the more radical, reforming branches of Enlightenment philosophy) supported a progressive or Masculine conception of time: a history ordered by "objective" and temporally finite events. As a student at Edinburgh University in 1789, before beginning his formal courses in Law, Scott studied moral philosophy under Dugald Stewart and universal history under Alexander Fraser Tytler. The tutelage of both professors helped Scott engage with and challenge the dominant progressive attitude towards time and social history through poetry and fiction (Barnaby "School and University"). From Tytler, Scott gained a healthy skepticism about institutional and generalized narratives of history. As a result, Scott's historical novels and poems are often founded upon individual tales, frequently based on oral traditions, rather than on official historical record. As I discuss later, Scott encountered many of these individual, subjective histories by traveling through the countryside, by horseback and on long walks, and visiting with locals in their homes and on their farms. His experience of individual histories, then, involved engaging his own body in physical pursuit of sources and accessing tales within a locality important to the tale or the tale teller. By discovering tales embodied by particular speakers in their native spaces, and by engaging bodily in the act of preserving memory, Scott's historical project depends in part on an embodied experience that approaches Kristeva's sense of Feminine Time. His high valuing of certain ideals from the past, meanwhile, may have been sparked by Dugald Stewart. Stewart emphasized man's relation to society and argued for the possibility of advancement and progress through the adoption of long-standing universal ideals and the elimination of irrational customs (Barnaby). Still, Scott's embrace of this view was not total. While Stewart's emphasis on "universal, trans-historical values" would find expression in

Scott's positive valuation and recreation of ancient national heroism, Stewart's insistence on the benefits of eliminating superfluous traditions and institutions did not sit well with some of Scott's sources: the Borders youth brought up in an outmoded culture. Rather than denigrating or ignoring past traditions, then, Scott worked throughout his life to recreate the past for a modern audience; in essence, bringing the dead to life again in something like the cyclical return of Feminine Time.

Scott's approach to time, especially to the past and to history, also developed, in part, out of British antiquarian culture. The antiquarian practices of the eighteenth century both reacted against and supported Enlightenment ideals of progress. On one hand, the collection and preservation of artifacts and relics of the past signaled their current obsolescence, suggesting a gap between older practices and the newer ways associated with progress. In the Masculine perspective on time, the past is never completely retrievable and remnants, like defunct objects, ruins, and outmoded practices, only serve to better signal the extinction of their times. On the other hand,, antiquarians' obsessional practices of physically collecting objects and visiting ruins also engaged their body and emotions in their projects, serving to diminish the objective distance between the collector and object, thereby serving to justify nostalgia. From the viewpoint of philosophic historians, this subjugation of reason to emotion made antiquaries seem "like children or senescent elders . . . ludicrous, playful, fantastic" (Manning 58). They could be seen as "'affectionating' the past, in which the recovery of family 'relics,' local landmarks, and memorabilia evoked sentimental and proprietorial responses, often of a very personal nature" (63). Such criticism reveals the prejudice of a Masculine approach to time: by privileging the objective over the evocative, the rational over felt experience, the philosophical historian rejects all potential to reanimate the past or to engage in the renewal that is inherent in Feminine Time.

Antiquarians, by "playing" in history and engaging in embodied, emotional reactions actually participate in keeping the past from slipping into an alien, irretrievable state. The eighteenth century's interest in the past inspired artistic returns to and recreations of the past. Writers such as James MacPherson could counterfeit relics of older national cultures, passing off their own modern writings for authentic past fragments. Novels such as Thomas Leland's Gothic adventure *Longsword* (1762), set in the 13th century, and Sophia Lee's Gothic, sentimental, epistolary novel *The Recess (1783-85),* set at the end of the 16th century, began to recreate historical events and persons. When Walter Scott entered the literary scene at the very end of the 18th century, authors were already invoking and reenacting the cyclical, repeating movements of Feminine Time to defy finite closures and to reanimate the dying past.

Emerging from this debate over what antiquarians should emphasize, the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth saw fiction take up and expand on the question of time, and within that theme, conceptions of experience and being. Before Scott wrote *Waverley*, the novel had already seen many fluctuations and experiments in style, content, and form, including various experiments in historical fiction. Scott's enduring fame as the founder of the historical novel is due, in part, to his ability to combine the most successful aspects of trends in the novel with older traditions of Romance and folklore. Scott's innovation was not so much the combination of historical facts with exciting fiction, but his amalgamation of style, technique, and content from a wide variety of traditions and genres. The predecessors of Scott as an historical novelist, such as Leland and Lee, use historical settings but fail to create deeper historical experiences because they lack the physical details, character complexity, and cultural specificity of a particular society at a particular time. In vocabulary, expression, and syntax, the language of narration does not differ from the language of dialogue, since both Lee and Leland

rely on sentimental expressions characteristic of the eighteenth-century novel. The first major incident in Leland's *Longsword* is the sentimental and improbably-timed reunion of Sir Randolph with the Earl as he disembarks: "They rushed into each other's arms, and clung together in a tumultuous disorder of grief, amazement, and affection" (5). The opening lines of Lee's *The Recess* set the immediate expectations for an eighteenth century, rather than 16th century, sensibility:

> After a long and painful journey through life, with a heart exhausted by afflictions, and eyes which can no longer supply tears to lament them, I turn my every thought toward that grave on the verge of which I hover. Oh! why then, too generous friend, require me to live over my misfortunes? . . . let but this feeble frame be covered with the dust from which it sprung, and no trace of my ever having existed would remain! (7)

In short, if the reader replaced the names of characters and places, these tales resemble their non-historical contemporaries. These precedents may have encouraged Scott to combine the historical with the artistic, but both his novels and long poems emphasize a historical and cultural specificity absent in early historical fictions.

Though it is Scott's more Gothic works that present his fullest use of Feminine Time, Scott's impact on literary representations of time can be traced to his first novel, *Waverley* (1814). Just before Scott published it, Maria Edgeworth and Jane Porter experimented with the historical novel genre that Scott would be credited with inventing. Some critics have argued against their inclusion in the historical fiction canon by imposing limits on what was and continues to be a shifting and flexible genre: the form of Edgeworth's *Castle Rackrent* (1800) may be more national sketch than historical novel and Porter's *Scottish Chiefs* (1810) and

Thaddeus of Warsaw (1803) may be too sentimental and Romantic. Yet there is good evidence to suggest that Scott's historical project was influenced by these female writers and their use of fiction to return to, recreate, and reanimate a national past. True, Scott later wrote that he had started work on the Jacobite fiction that would become *Waverley* in 1805, because of which some scholars have suggested that he backdated it to "pre-empt rather than respond to a literary mode" already established by female writers like Porter, Edgeworth, and Lady Morgan (Barnaby "Scott the Novelist"). But actually, in his 1829 General Preface, Scott credits Edgeworth with demonstrating that the English reading public would enjoy learning about regional cultures in his preface to *Waverley* (388). At the same time, in the introductory chapter, Scott disparages potential novels of manners that feature recent history: "A tale of manners, to be interesting, must either refer to antiquity so great as to have become venerable, or it must bear a vivid reflection of those scenes which are passing daily before our eyes, and are interesting from their novelty" (8). Though clearly indebted to previous works of the "national tale," he distances his own work from them by insisting that *Waverley* will be a work about men rather than manners. His claims are at times contradicted the evidence of the novel and his own collections. *Waverley* is not a novel overly concerned by the intricacies of character motivation or development, since Edward Waverley functions more as voyeur than proper protagonist. Still, *Waverley*, like Scott's other Romances, presents the author and reader with the opportunity to view history alive again. As a Romance concerned with history and regional customs, *Waverley* was truly set up by Porter's works. Porter claimed that it was her *Thaddeus of Warsaw* that inspired Scott's own take on history and national crisis. Porter's obituary in *The Gentleman's Magazine* records "it is known that Sir Walter Scott admitted to George IV, one day in the library at Carlton Palace, that the 'Scottish Chiefs' was the parent in his mind of the Waverley Novels" (Urban 221). Ian

Dennis records that Scott's dislike of Porter's Wallace in the *Scottish Chiefs* may have been "because he felt he recognized only too well the desires which had produced such a portrait, that they embarrassed him with their crude parody of his own feelings" (12). While it is true that Porter sometimes sacrifices sentiment for history, Scott cannot be cleared of a similar charge, seeing as *Waverley's* emotional climaxes center on Romantic tropes of heroism and sacrifice rather than a more objective and Masculine recording of history and realism.

On the surface, in refusing to acknowledge his debt to the overtly Feminine works of Porter and in attributing Edgeworth's influence to a rising taste for national tales rather than for inspiring a project of historical reanimation, Scott seems to endorse a patriarchal contempt for the Feminine. Perhaps a condition of his public reputation, Scott's apparent erasure of the importance of his female predecessors would seem to support Ina Ferris' arguments that Scott's fiction was an attempt to masculinize, and thus redeem, the Romance from its corrupted Feminine status.[19] When we read Scott's most explicit assertions about women and their nature, and when we consider his "good" female characters (those archetypes of the marriageable ingenue), we find little evidence of a what we would now call feminist impulse. Yet beyond the explicit misogyny, in the margins of patriarchal plots and in the modes of experience, Scott's works produce a strong challenge to the authority of patriarchal, hierarchical, and Masculine representations of time itself as he found them in formal histories.

György Lukacs claims that Walter Scott's *Waverley* of 1814 was the first true historical novel, distinct from earlier history-themed works, because it produces an "artistically faithful image of a concrete historical epoch" and derives "the individuality of characters from the historical peculiarity of their age" (19). Though Scott's preferred reading and his most explicit influences were Romances, ballads, and Anglo-German Gothic literature, Lukacs instead

chooses to emphasize Scott's "intensive knowledge and detailed study" of eighteenth-century realism (31). He writes that "Scott's historical novel is the direct continuation of the great realistic social novel of the eighteenth century" (31). In doing so, Lukacs distances Scott's historical work from earlier "history writings" (and from Porter's) by reading it as contrary to Romance and, in some degree, contrary to the more fantastic impulses of imagination and fiction. Yet it is precisely the immersive quality of fiction and the imagination's ability to make a written world seem real that differentiates historical fiction from facts and reports. Lukacs' definition of the genre becomes somewhat paradoxical: a truly historical fiction is one that recreates an authentic past, recreating a historical consciousness to be experienced by a modern reader. To be truly historical, a fiction must do what a pure progress-based experience of time would make impossible: it must ignore the influence of the time in which it is written and instead reanimate what is supposedly past. Lukacs' chapter on Scott repeatedly characterizes Scott's genius as the ability to make the reader experience the past. He writes that "Scott makes history live" and that he "give[s] living human embodiment to historical-social types" (53; 35). Yet, he also goes on to describe how Scott defends a linear or progress-based view of history (with complications) and undercuts the reanimation of the past with the knowledge that it *is* historical. On one hand, then, the story must deceive the reader, convincing us of its credibility as a representation of a living and breathing past. On the other hand, its revivification of what is past must also assure us that it is truly in the past to feel authentic. Despite Lukacs' obvious patriarchal attitudes, his argument ends up implying that the genius of Scott's historical writing is its ability to reproduce the felt, lived experience of an older time for a present reader. For Lukacs, what distinguishes Scott as a genius, as the founder of the historical novel, is precisely what I would call his use of Feminine Time.

When it comes to Scott's more Gothic historical novels and poetry, in fact, this argument also holds because the power of peripheral cultures and ideas often becomes the defining counterargument of the text's surface ideology in those cases. In his chapter "Scottish Gothic" for *The Cambridge Companion to Scottish Literature*, David Punter helpfully distinguishes the Scottish tradition of the Gothic, and by extension Scott's historical Gothic Romances, from the English tradition. The "particular inflections" that form this native literature are distinct, he argues, because of the ways in which the Gothic presents and mediates history (133). While the English Gothic is traditionally viewed as ultimately conservative, distorting and mythologizing "accurate" history to reaffirm progress and modern politics, Punter reminds the reader that formal history, as linked to factual truth, objectivity, and progress, is the purview of those in power: the "dominant perspective" (133). In other words, formal history is the product of the prejudices of Masculine Time. Scottish Gothic, Punter rightly shows, because of Scotland's position in the Union and the multiplicity of cultures and allegiances in Scotland, necessarily includes representations of history that challenge dominant ideologies. In this way too, Scottish Gothic is inherently Feminine as an alternative to formal history; moreover, it deploys Feminine Time through a variety of time-traveling supernatural figures and its resuscitation of past fears and prejudices. In Scott's texts, his allegiance to a nation on the periphery of power is especially strong in his use of Feminine Time to reanimate the past and recreate historical experience.

It is no coincidence that the "founder" of the historical novel's earliest training in story and the literary arts was heavily Gothic. Yet Scott handles the Gothic differently than many of his predecessors writing in that mode. The English Gothic, as Scott encountered it at the end of the 18th century, seemed particularly concerned with the threat the past might pose to their modern, Protestant, Enlightenment values. Catholic superstition threatens the reason and good

sense of Ann Radcliffe's heroine in *The Mysteries of Udolpho* (1794). In Mathew Lewis' *The Monk* (1796), hallmarks of the Catholic religion like ritual, the fetishization of the Virgin, and vows of celibacy lead to the corruption of the church's representatives. In both, the Catholic faith corresponds to a harmful past epistemology that threatens the "good sense" or good natures of the characters within. Scott, however, avoids such a neat identification of the past with harmful or threatening beliefs, especially when he attempts to recapture the heroic spirit of ages past. The ideas and figures that Scott reanimates from the past, like heroic Jacobites and wandering minstrels, renew and reanimate a distinct national identity from those older times. The effect of Scott's communication with the past is still felt in Scotland today: the popularity of *Waverley* helped regenerate and revive Highland culture and produced a hugely successful tourism market despite – or perhaps because of -- the way this novel seems to suggest that culture's passing. Arguments about the modern British Union and Scotland's independence referendums utilize a sense of national identity tied to ancient social values that came to international attention through the popularity of his works. Modern fantasy literature and Celtic revivalism are equally indebted to the author's necromantic revivification of ancient tradition in ways that suggest Kristeva's concept of Feminine Time.

Lukacs' insistence that "Scott's main tendency . . . is to represent and defend progress" (53), then, minimizes and ignores the ever-present attempts in both his writing and his personal life to do the opposite. Such a limited reading of Scott's history project ignores his use of cyclical Feminine Time in his more Gothic texts; it reframes his obsession with remnants, traces, and fragments of the past as either the nostalgia of an antiquarian (Manning) or as the male project to reign over time (Beauvoir). But if time, in Scott's works, is unrecoverable and progress is absolute, why do some of the prophecies in them hold true? If Scott truly believed that time

was merely progress and the past was dead, why did he spend enormous sums recreating a baronial castle for his day-to-day use at Abbotsford? At Abbotsford, he lived the past as a felt, embodied experience amongst the coats of arms, suits of armor, secret passageways, and whimsical reproductions of older architecture.

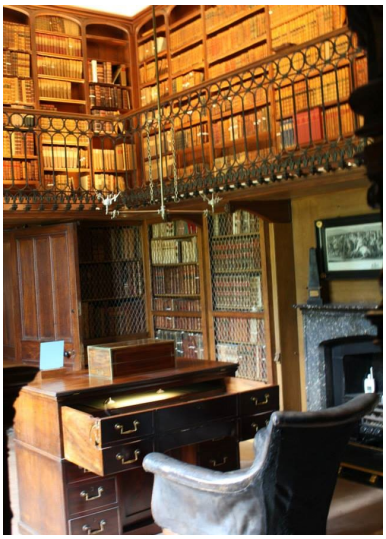

Fig. 1 (view from secret room)

Fig. 2 (arms and plaster gargoyle)

Fig. 3 (Entrance hall with discarded panelling from Dunfermline Abbey, bronze cast of King Robert the Bruce's skull, suits of armor, shields and coats of arms from Borderer families)

Scott's domestic, as well as his literary evocation of the past is, despite all the male accoutrements in his house, an earnest attempt to live within the fertile, non-linear repetitions and cycles of subjective, Feminine Time. Though the "Author of Waverley" often veils and even condemns the time-traveling intentions of the private Scott, his repeated invocations of Gothic and antiquarian means of returning to the past clearly demonstrate his desire to see the past in a cyclical way. Time and again in his literature, the past returns as a force that checks, challenges, and subverts Masculine progress and the absolutism of patriarchal hierarchy.

Scott did not develop the desire to reanimate the past and relive other times as merely a literary technique: rather, this engagement with Feminine Time seems to predate Scott's earliest publications. His letters to friend William Clerk and to Charlotte showcase strong, non-ironical, high emotions and an imagination fully capable of resurrecting the long dead. In a letter to Clerk dated 26 August 1791, Scott describes his trip to Northumberland where he has been delighted to be surrounded by "places renowned by the feats of former days . . . many another scene of blood."[20] He has ridden through Flodden edge and describes to Clerk, in great detail and animation, his reimagining of the battle of Flodden that had crossed that very hill, stream, and field nearly 300 years before. From the description, it is clear that Scott has imagined the facts and movements of ancient battle as reported by Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie over the very ground upon which he rode and walked. Here his reanimation of the ancient battle is not purely born of imagination as he experiences the setting directly with his body. By combining the recall of his mind and work of his imagination with the details and physical presence of his body in that specific location, Scott experiences a sense of Feminine Time where he can simultaneously occupy the time of the present and the time of the past.

Scott's earliest understanding of time and history turn out to bear little resemblance to linear, progressive history. Scott's Scotland, just like the works he would produce, seethed with supposedly "past" threats and personalities; history was embedded in every building, river, and square of land. The past was never far from mind or body when family names and local settings and ruins carried direct connections to the past. The intimate connections between place and past were especially prevalent at the Borders which ultimately served as the setting for many of his future works. At eighteen months, Scott was sent to live with his grandparents at Sandyknowe after contracting a fever and becoming lame in the right leg. Though he returned to Edinburgh for school, he visited the Borders frequently throughout his life, ultimately purchasing and rebuilding his own personal estate just ten miles from Sandyknowe. Smailholm Tower, Sandyknowe, Kelso, and the surrounding Borders areas provide the historical settings and events for much of Scott's work. Among his poems prior to his becoming a novelist, "The Eve of St. John" (1799) and the third canto of *Marmion* (1808) are set at Smailholm: "that mountain tower / Which charm'd my fancy's wakening hour" (Introduction 3.158-159). A likely model for Wolf's Crag in *The Bride of Lammermoor* (1819), the great ruined tower of Smailholm and the nearby farm formed the primary setting in Walter Scott's childhood. The tower dates back to the 15th century, but the entire Sandyknowe estate was owned by the Scott family from 1645 ("Smailholm Tower"). It was at this family farm, in the shadow of "that shatter'd tower / The mightiest work of human power" (*Marmion,* Introduction 3.178-179), that Scott claims to have experienced his first consciousness of existence, remembering "distinctly that my situation and appearance were a little whimsical" (Lockhart 8). Notably, his first awareness of self is tied specifically to his body in the physical setting of his personal, familial history. To imagine the past come alive again, Scott only needed to view his surroundings and recall the family stories he

had heard at Sandyknowe. History was an intimate, embodied, near thing for one who grew up retracing and reliving the paths of his ancestors. When Scott wandered the estate and explored Smailholm tower, he was physically trodding the exact same steps as his ancestors, figures from the past that were the subject of storytelling among the family in Sandyknowe and Kelso. Because the past was physically and immediately present in settings that were directly connected to his own life, and to the generations that had come before, Scott grew up engaged in a version of Feminine Time.

In 1799, when Scott published for the first time, he was entering upon a national literary scene that he would later describe as "being at a remarkably low ebb" (*Minstrelsy IV* 35). Before he turned to novels, Scott translated, edited, and wrote poetry, most of which partook of the period's fascination with the Gothic supernatural. His English translations of "Der Wilde Jäger" and "Lenore" by Gottfried August Bürger led to a two-year collaboration and "apprenticeship" with Gothic novelist M. G. Lewis, resulting in Ballantyne's first attempt at literary printing: a twelve-copy run of *An Apology for Tales of Terror* (1799). Lewis' collection, which included three original Scott poems "The Fire King," "Glenfinlas," and "The Eve of St. John," was not published until late November of 1800 under the new title *Tales of Wonder.* During this period, Scott was impressed with Lewis' Gothic sensation *The Monk*, and in particular the poetry within it. In his "Essay on Imitations of the Ancient Ballad," Scott wrote that the supernatural had the ability to appeal to "certain powerful emotions very widely and deeply sown amongst the human race" (*Minstrelsy* vol. IV*,* 72). This "appeal" becomes an animating force when he suggests that Lewis' German aesthetic might be "employed as a formidable auxiliary to renewing the spirit of our own, upon the same system as when medical persons attempt, by the transfusion of blood, to pass into the veins of an aged and exhausted patient, the vivacity of the circulation and liveliness

of sensation which distinguish a young subject" (44-45). This "transfusion" of essence is a Gothic trope that was just starting to appear in Samuel Taylor Coleridge's privately circulated "Christabel" (written 1797-1800, published 1816) and would most famously be revived in Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* (1818), which Scott reviewed, and in Gothic-vampire works highlighted by John Polidori's *The Vampyre* (1819). In this way of thinking, which Scott clearly adopts, the vital essence, whether it be blood, an aesthetic, or an alchemical secret, can resurrect, animate, or enliven the dead or failing body. Scott's metaphor of a transfusion of blood suggests a particular corporeal, and thus Feminine, essence of literary affect paralleling the emphasis on the female body of the title character and her reaching out to recontact a dead mother and a receding past in "Christabel" (Hogle 22-26). The low ebb of spirit, the dying or near-dead patient, is not revivified through arguments of reason and philosophy, but through blood, the essence of life made tangible, the main source of which is maternal, despite Victor Frankenstein's attempt to avoid that fact.

Scott's impulse to reanimate the past, to renew the spirit, is in part indebted to the more literal necromancy present in his early Gothic poems and translations. Gottfried August Bürger's "Lenore" (1774), translated by Scott into "William and Helen" and a major influence on "Christabel," tells the tale of a young woman who laments the absence of her lover. William returns, having been resurrected from the grave, and lures her to a lethal bridal bed. Scott's own creation "The Eve of St. John" deals with another lover called forth from his grave. Sir Richard Cunningham appears in his lover's bower to mete out justice for their adultery and his own murder. The reanimated corpse brands her, rebukes her husband, and the poem ends with the lady and the Baron serving the church as nun and monk. "The Gray Brother," a Scott original from his time at Lasswade Cottage (1798-1804), suggests another occurrence of a reanimated

corpse. The poem details how a pilgrim, banished from mass by the Pope, returns to his native land and finds himself in the ruins of a church he had burnt to the ground with the congregation inside. A "Grey Brother" awaits him in the incongruous place, but, rather than allowing him to confess, the fragment ends abruptly as the Grey Brother places on the pilgrim's neck "an ice-cold hand" (*Minstrelsy* vol. I, 229). The detail of the brother's "ice-cold" skin, when combined with the fragment's abrupt stoppage and the ruined location of their meeting, clearly implies that the Brother is some sort of undead supernatural agent, perhaps the murdered abbot, resurrected or animated to mete out the pilgrim's punishment. Explicitly in these early poems, and implicitly through his historical fiction, Scott explores possibilities of some sort of life or existence after death. Whether in some supernatural form that haunts the living or as living again on the page and within the imagination, death and the passage of time do not necessarily produce an absolute, finite end. Through literature that evokes the renewing, cycling, repeating form of Feminine Time, the past can be experienced again, and people may live again beyond death. Scott's off-and-on rejection of finite ends and linear time was also justified by religious belief: In the first volume of the *Minstrelsy,* he describes this supernatural tradition as "the just and noble sentiment, implanted in our bosoms by the Deity . . . that we shall not slumber for ever" (xcvii). He writes that "we feel . . . we shall not wholely die" and "the same scenes, the same passions, shall delight and actuate the disembodied spirit, which affected it while in its tenement of clay" (xcvii). Even at this early date, Scott admits that such supernatural superstitions exist *despite* reason and the "disregarded testimony" of experience (XCVIII). The reanimated and rejuvenated spirit, as proof of the essential regenerating, renewing form of Feminine Time, therefore appears often in Scott's works. Certainly in Scott's poetry, the reanimated spirit or body is intimately connected to and rejuvenated by its past and the emotion the past still evokes; by extension, the

reanimated past as presented through art can inspire emotion and ideas that can then affect modern events.

While working with M.G. Lewis, Scott began to form a narrative perspective that would use what he saw as the best of the past and the best of the present to resurrect, in effect, the ancient heroic spirit of national history. Scott found fault with Lewis' inclusion of satire to "throw some gaiety into his lighter pieces, after the manner of the French writers" (*Minstrelsy* vol. IV, 74). For Scott, this strain of humor mocked and derided the very relics of the past that so inspired him: what "had been at first received as simple and natural, was now sneered at as puerile and extravagant" (74). As Scott began to publish his own projects, including his collection of ballads and his original poems, he approached the supernatural and Gothic in his work from a more generous and nationalist attitude. Rather than mock ancient traditions and beliefs with modern ridicule and skepticism, Scott attempted to recreate, for the reader, the experiences of doubt and superstition authentic to the period of the taleteller. By approaching the supernatural from an historical consciousness, his text could inspire the same tenor of emotion that had inspired heroic deeds in the past. Freed from "the pedantry of the unities" too, Gothic works could "[soar] to the highest pitch of poetic sublimity" (39). In Scott's works, the bard or the storyteller is often removed from the period of the supernatural tale. As such figures reflect on the past and imagine the historical consciousness of the tale's period, the reader also reflects upon the period of the bard or storyteller and imagines their consciousness. Thus, through emotional effect and imagination, the past that is already historical to the narrator is resurrected for each generation of a tale's audience. Scott's early "German-mad" period, like that of many contemporaries, sprung out of the increased popularity of the Gothic tale and the cultural renunciation of French influence in the violent aftermath of the French Revolution. Central,

however, to Scott's early writing impulses was a desire to recreate and re-experience the high emotions, tensions, and drama that had always thrilled him in the historic tales from his youth. In "Essay on Imitations of the Ancient Ballad," Scott reflects on his youth's interest in "a race of poets who had the … lofty ambition to spurn the flaming boundaries of the universe, and investigate 'the realms of chaos and old night'" (39). The affective quality of Gothic literature, its ability to evoke emotions in the reader by pulling the reader far back to a recurrent past while the tale's frame and the reader are still in the present, supplied Scott with an avenue to resurrect the intensity of historical national spirit. Not surprisingly, by the time Scott took it up, after all, the Gothic was a largely Feminine genre, given the influential novels since Walpole's *The Castle of Otranto* (1764) by Clara Reeve, Sophia Lee, Charlotte Smith, and especially Ann Radcliffe. Fiona Robertson notes that for most critics "Scott's place in [the history of fiction] is suitably chivalric, his role being to rescue the novel from a creeping feminization which was particularly noticeable in the production and consumption of Gothic" (14). In her exploration of Scott's "inbuilt plurality" and his "exhumation" of an "undead past," Robertson highlights some of Scott's Gothic tendencies that problematize singular, Masculine interpretations of his texts (117; 264). Though not explicitly interested in time, Robertson's work elucidates the ways in which Scott employs the Gothic to challenge historicity.

The Lay of the Last Minstrel

Scott's long poems offer particularly good instances of how he used all such influences to combine a seemingly Masculine narrative with undercurrents and episodes of Feminine Time. *The Lay of the Last Minstrel* (1805), for example, uses the legend of Michael Scott's Black Book to demonstrate how a more historic or authentic approach to the supernatural in Gothic art can

revivify the valuable traditions and sentiments of earlier ages. Much Scott scholarship has already explored the strange and complex *Lay of the Last Minstrel* in the context of book culture and reading at the turn of the century.[21] By advancing Scott's attitudes towards ballad imitation and his work in the *Minstrelsy* which, like Thomas Percy, refused a strict authentic history in favor of 'improvements' that would return the experience of ancient balladry, *The Lay* as ballad imitation rejects any concrete sense of a dead or absolutely passed past. Simon Dentith uses a double figure of Scott-as-Philosophical Historian (indebted to theories of stadial progress) and Scott-as-Antiquarian (and gleeful collector and imitator) to read the poem as further proof of Scott's ambivalence in the face of competing views of history and genre. He writes: "Scott seeks to achieve two potentially contradictory aims [in *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*]: to dramatise a moment of historical transition, when the social order or 'manners' which sustained minstrelsy definitively passed away; and to claim the authority of that bardic tradition in the present moment, a claim that naturally pushes him to eliding the historical distance he has been at pains to establish" (43). These two contradictory claims might also be read as two distinct writing personas: Walter Scott, the "enlightened and rational skeptic," is at constant odds with Walter Scott, the '"Ghost-Raiser" (Gamer 92). While the "ambivalent Scott" argument, used by others as well as Dentith, safely covers the wide spectrum of Scott's differing attitudes, the "Ghost Raiser" Scott personae evident in "The Lay" endorses Feminine temporality by using patterns of renewal and reanimation and by portraying fluctuating, embodied measurements of time.

On the surface, *The Lay* presents two stories: a Romance and an elegy for the dying custom of minstrelsy. The Romance consists of lovers parted by a feud between border clans and reunited by the magically-aided rescue of a young heir from English captivity. The Romance contains multiple nested stories and multiple types of minstrelsy: the tales consist of historic

events referenced through landscape (Nature's minstrelsy), multiple subplots, allusions to past feuds and relative lineages, the stories recited by the three bards at the conclusion, and the "Hymn for the Dead." The Romance also displays the integral functions of ancient minstrelsy in politics, war, ritual, and leisure. The elegiac frame narrative, however, explicitly mourns the decay of minstrelsy's important status in the lifetime of the "last" Minstrel (the 1600's). This explicit comparison over the ancient and "contemporary" status of minstrelsy would seem to demonstrate the linearity of time and a traditional progressive view of history, though in this circumstance "progress" is also decay. However, a surface argument for linear time fails to acknowledge the reanimation and regeneration that happens in the frame narrative and within times of the Romance (late 1500s), all reinforced by Scott's ballad imitation (drafted in 1802). In *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*, Scott uses Romantic and Gothic elements to generate non-linear Feminine Time where the past can be resurrected—both literally (the resurrection of Michael Scott within the Romance) and figuratively (the minstrel tradition)—and thereby renew Scottish nationalism.

According to Scott's brief preface after the dedication to the Earl of Dalkeith, *The Lay* was "intended to illustrate the customs and manners which anciently prevailed on the Borders of England and Scotland." While the minstrel's lay does indeed illustrate past traditions of combat, patronage, superstition, religion, and hospitality, Scott's framing description of the minstrel's circumstances places special emphasis on the ancient custom of minstrelsy, its apparent diminished utility in the minstrel's own era, and by inference, its extinct status by the time of publication. Scott, as usual, undercuts the explicit declarations of the poem's narration with action and effect. After the explicit signaling in the title and prefatory page that the poem will function as type of "living history" museum, an exhibit simulating the past, Scott introduces his

primary artifact: “The Minstrel was infirm and old / His wither'd cheek, and tresses gray / Seem'd to have known a better day” (Introduction, p. 3). Here, we see time as measured through the body: the age of the minstrel is not measured by years or a particular era, but by his physical condition. This embodied time presents the first suggestion of Feminine Time, which sees the body move in one figuration from life to death to regeneration. At this moment, the Minstrel is closer to the death stage of the life cycle, but, as we see later, his body will soon experience renewal and reanimation. Scott proceeds to lament the changes of minstrel status experienced by this last relic: the “old manners gone” include riding expensive mounts, being “courted and caressed” by nobility, given high status within the great halls, and performing for kings (4). Now, “a stranger filled the Stuarts' throne,” and the once-respected tradition of minstrelsy has declined into a state similar to vagrancy and begging (4). The art, like his body, is under threat of decay as “his trembling hand had lost the ease” of tuning his harp and he struggles to recall all of the songs that he once knew (7). Beyond the elegiac declarations of the introduction and the descriptions of the minstrel’s physical deterioration, Scott emphasizes the depreciation of the minstrel profession by highlighting its high status in an older culture during the sixteenth-century border feuds.

The Lay’s portrayal of sixteenth-century minstrelsy establishes the political value of the profession in contrast to its degraded status as mere entertainment. In Canto IV, the reader is introduced to the militaristic function of the minstrel. Scott writes, “Lord Dacre's bill-men were at hand . . . And minstrels, as they marched in order / Played ‘Noble Lord Dacre, he dwells on the Border’" (106). Similarly, minstrels announce the arrival of Lord Howard’s men. In this Canto, minstrels both announce the arrival of armies on to the field of battle and incite clan pride and courage. In Canto V, the minstrel describes the songs for the dead while Musgrave’s corpse

is borne from the field. Death, as we recall from Gimbutas' work on the Great Goddess of Old Europe, was an essential aspect of the divine Feminine. Just as the Great Goddess created, she also commanded death and used death to return the body to the material that would bear life anew. The minstrel, who creates art that records the lives of many, is also involved in death, in the passing of life into the next phase, whether that be a religious afterlife or the fame of legend. The songs of both minstrels and priests mark the passing:

> Before, at times, upon the gale,
>
> Was heard the Minstrel s plaintive wail;
>
> Behind, four priests, in sable stole;
>
> Sung requiem for the warrior's soul . . . (155)

Scott repeats the association between religious and minstrel music in Canto VI. The Last Minstrel describes the ancient forebears of his that accompanied war bands as "the jovial priests of mirth and war" (163). Scott's pairing of these two professions emphasizes the high status of ancient minstrelsy. Though secular, minstrelsy was trusted with many of the same sacred functions as the army's priests. If the minstrel is a secular priest, then perhaps his lay or ballad is a secular prayer or hymn. The introduction of the three minstrel ballads in Canto VI exhibits yet another important function of the ancient minstrel. After the martial conflict, when the feuding clans unite to turn back England's troops, the clans' new peace is further unified by the marriage of Cranstoun and Margaret. The once-enemy clans retire to Branksome hall where the minstrels, "alike for feast and fight prepared" (163), now change over from songs of battle and death to greeting and celebration. Medieval marriage, of course, is a preparatory step for the creation of new heirs to continue the line. Thus the minstrel here participates in the rituals that will

eventually lead to new life, once again demonstrating the patterns of Feminine Time. It is particularly noteworthy that the minstrel's life-making work comes after his funereal responsibilities, showing that the minstrel as an agent of Feminine Time endures through the end of one cycle and into the beginning of the next.

In the penultimate section of *The Lay,* we once again find Scott's argument about the nature of a nation's spirit. Without the vital essence of the ancient minstrel's art, the heroic national spirit embodied previously by the hardy Border chiefs cannot return:

> The pilgrims enter but
>
> Gone was their glory, sunk their pride,
>
> Forgotten their renown;
>
> Silent and slow, like ghosts they glide
>
> To the high altar's hallow'd side (190)

The pilgrimage has deprived the men of the heroism and high spirits central to the Romance. The ghost-like figures are fittingly accompanied by the inscribed "Hymn for the Dead". Once again, the last minstrel's lay moves along the cycles of Feminine Time as he returns again to death. With the hymn replacing the minstrel's song, the heroic Borderer becomes the enfeebled penitent. Yet, even in the "Hymn for the Dead", Scott reminds us that nothing truly ends and that the past may not be truly gone. The Hymn references the day of Judgment when the dead will "wake from clay" (195). Here, even within the patriarchal traditions of Christianity, we see an expression of Feminine Time. The Last Judgment, referenced in most of the Gospels, states that the dead will be brought back to life to face God's judgment of their mortal lives, after which

some will be punished and some will be rewarded. God, having taken the place and powers of the Great Goddess, wields the forces of life, death, and renewal. Again, though, we read of bodily concerns. Traditionally, the resurrection of the dead, like the resurrection of Jesus, means the body is reanimated with the soul: the body is recomposed from its decay in earth. Essentially, the Hymn of the Dead ends with the embodied cycle of life, death, and renewal: the very foundation of Feminine Time. Read as a metaphor for the heroic spirit of the past, Scott's "Hymn for the Dead" actually indicates that a rejuvenation of the ancient spirit and culture of the past – the time of the Great Feminine before its repression -- is indeed possible.

The literal reanimation of Michael Scott in Scott's *Lay* also alerts us to the potential for renewal of the customs and spirits of the past. Michael Scott was a historical figure born in the 12th century in the Borders of Scotland. Though historians doubt his assertions, Scott also claims a family connection to this famous magician. In a letter to Miss Jessie Smith, Scott writes "If I had the power of my namesake Michael Scott, I would certainly whisk you on a dragon's wing back to Ashetiel" (d. 11 Aug. 1807). In his notes to *The Lay,* Scott provides more details of the public figure and notes that he has used "poetical anachronism" to place Michael at a later period (234). Scott goes on to provide a relatively long description of tales and sources about Michael, including references to his magical books, various necromantic practices, and supernatural legends about his activities in the Borders. When Deloraine takes Michael's book and believes the corpse frowns, Scott includes a note to validate Deloraine's vision by virtue of a source tale. He writes

> William of Deloraine might be strengthened in this belief by the well-known story of the Cid Ruy Diaz. When the body of that famous Christian champion was lying in state, a certain malicious Jew stole into the chamber to pull him by the beard;

> but he had no sooner touched the formidable whiskers, than the corpse started up, and half unsheathed his sword. (243)

In this note, as in his descriptions of the legends of Michael Scott, Scott refuses to ridicule reanimation. Furthermore, his descriptions of historical sources for the supernatural legends of necromancy and reanimation do not differ greatly from his source descriptions. Because rejuvenation is the chief metaphor for the potential function of his imitative art, Scott refuses to relegate Gothic reanimation and necromancy to defunct, irretrievable superstitions. Rather, reanimation as an artistic practice and as a metaphor for the renewal offered by Feminine Time exposes Scott's inherent sense that the past can return and that a recourse to what we now see as Feminine Time produces an opportunity to promote distinct aspects of Scottish culture.

Outside of Michael Scott's necromantic associations and his reanimation within the Romance, Scott also employs the idea of reanimation to revitalize the languishing minstrel. The minstrel, as a figure from an outmoded past who no longer retains power and status in society, is a feminized Other. The fact that his frequent audience is also Other, females in a patriarchal society, is explicitly one reason that he receives such empathetic treatment. Though the iron door of the keep had "never closed . . . /Against the desolate and poor," the Duchess intervenes in the normal process of feeding and sheltering the poor, bidding her pages to instruct the menials to "tend the old man well" (5). Scott explicitly connects this unusual attention to shared experience, yet another hallmark trait of the Feminine, by writing that she acted this way "For she had known adversity," though of a different kind (5), suggesting that the fate of the minstrel and a fate of women are primordially intertwined. The minstrel is apparently close to death, on the brink of expiring. Throughout the poem, the minstrel's tune fails and he must rest. The pauses in performance seem to be related to his old age and poor health, as in Canto I when he describes

“how old age, and wandering long / Had done his hand and harp some wrong” (30). In Canto II, the last minstrel even looks forward to death as “His tuneful brethren all were dead / And he, neglected and oppressed /Wish'd to be with them, and at rest” (3). Scott frequently references the bard’s aged appearance and stooping postures as an indication of embodied time. Of course, the poem also implies that the bard’s infirmity may be part of the performance, enacted to gain more hospitality. At the end of Canto I, while the bard excuses his failing tune with age, Scott also writes that “He seemed to seek, in every eye / If they approved his minstrelsy” (30). Only after “each, in due degree / Gave praises to his melody” does the Bard begin his tale again (31). At the end of Canto II, the bard again seems to pause due to infirmity: “the Minstrel's voice began to fail” (60). Yet, this second faltering is quickly remedied by hospitality: “Full slyly smiled the observant page / And gave the wither'd hand of age / A goblet crown'd with mighty wine” (60). After a long drink of the fine wine, the bard begins again. Wine, usually a dark red, acts like a transfusion of blood and reanimates the failing Minstrel which, we now realize, is a fundamentally *maternal* reanimation.

The faltering, infirm, aged minstrel is also revived by the revival of the art itself and the old customs and traditions associated with minstrelsy: the vitality of the past replaces the rigor mortis of the present. At first, the ancient muse seems forgotten, past, and irretrievable: “Amid the strings his fingers stray'd / And an uncertain warbling made / And oft he shook his hoary head” (8). Yet, with the resurrection of the art, the muse returns and his body begins to rejuvenate:

> When he caught the measure wild,
>
> The old man raised his face, and smiled;

And lightened up his faded eye,

With all a poet's ecstasy! (8)

Like the metaphorical transfusion, both praise and wine "Swelled his old veins, and cheered his soul" and resulted in "A lighter, livelier prelude ran / Ere thus his tale again began" (61). The audience's praise at the end of the fourth canto makes the art of resurrection explicit when Scott writes that "Of chiefs, who under their grey stone / So long had slept . . . this old man's verse/ Could call them from their marble hearse" (123-124). At the end of Canto V, the bard is so restored that his aged fingers fly so well over the harp's strings that the harp's music brings the death march of the story into the room. His reanimation, the restoration of his body to a seemingly younger state, is embodied evidence of the renewing, non-progressive forces of Feminine Time

With each successive canto, the Minstrel and his art become more revived until the last canto breaks the earlier pattern of recitation and reception. We may expect the end of Canto VI to relate the immediate response of the Duchess to the end of the minstrel's tale. Instead, the very last strains of the poem are set as if in a past progressive tense, relating what happens to the minstrel afterwards as a continuing set of activities. This strange break of narrative pattern and time is a response to the climax, not of the plot, but of art's reanimation. Canto VI explodes into a multiplicity of minstrels and tales, so that the 16th, 17th, and 19th century audiences all listen jointly to the tales of Albert Graeme, Fitzraver, Harold, and the "Hymn for the Dead" of the holy fathers. The immediacy and presence in this last canto are shared amongst different types of minstrels and universal themes of love and death. In this polytextual moment, the aged bard has become so fully revived that he seems to disappear as a distinct individual and instead becomes the different minstrels and the holy fathers. Similarly, the minstrel's art has transcended the

temporality of its performance and become both the poems of the past and Scott's poem, all while the frame narrative begins to disappear beneath the weight of the multiple songs. The disappearance of the individual into a multiple or universal identity, and the simultaneous experience of the event from audiences in different times, suggest the universalism and the monumental temporality of Feminine Time as described by Kristeva and Cixous. The Feminine transcends the individual action to connect out into the world beyond the limits of ego or discrete time. So too does the minstrel's lay transcend his individual character and extend out to the times of each of the text's audience, fictional and real.

After Canto VI's polyvocal performance, Scott relates the ultimate and enduring response of the Duchess to the minstrel. The minstrel's earlier unvoiced requests for praise and wine, though partially obscured by his seeming infirmity, are part of the tradition of the minstrel arts, especially when a minstrel is not permanently attached to a household. As Scott notes in his proscript to *Waverley*, hospitality is one of the key Scottish values that he fears is in decline. It is also, fundamentally, a value concerned with the health and longevity of the physical body. As Kang-Yen Chiu notes, the theme of hospitality is pervasive in Scott's works. Moreover, "through the illustration of various acts of hospitality in particular, Scott's novels voice their serious concern over the underprivileged, subdued, or alienated identities in history" (1). As a widow in the sixteenth century, the Duchess does not have all of the power and influence that her rank and wealth would secure had she a male counterpart. However, she can enact her will through the avenues that remain open to women which include hospitality and patronage. Scott tells us the times had changed so much that the last minstrel "begged his bread from door to door / And timed, to please a peasant's ear / The harp, a king had loved to hear" (4). At this keep, however, the minstrel is granted food, wine, and an audience. By granting him an audience of noble

women for his performance and providing fine fare, the Duchess renews the minstrel's high status of the past, revivifying the important virtue of Scottish hospitality. At the very end of the poem, the reader discovers that the Duchess has also renewed a final element of the ancient bardic tradition: a patron's permanent favor. Rather than wandering as a beggar or performing as a musician, the minstrel has secured himself a hut "close beneath proud Newark's tower" where he entertains the wandering traveler (193). Because the minstrel ends the poem continuing his traditions in comfort due to the renewed national customs of patronage under the auspices of both a woman and a group of women, we understand that past virtues and traditions may indeed be restored to modern times. Thus the "progress" of modernity, may be checked by the embodied reanimation of national tradition made possible by the non-linearity of Feminine Time.

Through the restored custom of patronage, the conclusion of *The Lay* presents an argument not only for the value of the sixteenth-century minstrel, but for Scott's art as well. Frequently throughout his reflections upon his youthful motivations, Scott mentions the vanity of a young man seeking approval for his work and his own failures in obtaining large subscriptions for printing. When *The Lay* was published, Scott dedicated it to Charles the Earl of Dalkeith, the eldest son of Scott's patron, the Duke of Buccleuch. *The Lay* creates a lineage of Buccleuch patronage which positions Scott as the modern minstrel, the heir of the tradition he resurrects through his imitative ballads. By their fictional support of the minstrel within the text, and their actual support of Scott, the Buccleuch family helps rescue more than just a poet/author from poverty; their patronage of traditional Scottish arts also rescues Scotland and Scotland's past from oblivion.

Just as the last minstrel keeps the traditions and legends of the past alive through his song though the conditions of his profession have changed, so does Scott keep those same traditions

and legends alive through the affective quality of his poetry and its imitative form. By restoring old traditions and old tales to new life, both artists invoke Feminine Time to reanimate distinct, valuable traits of Scottish identity. Scott's success with national tales and the interest he inspired in ballads and local traditions have turned out to have immeasurable influences on the revival of oral traditions and storytelling in the latter half of the 20th century. Now, in the twenty-first century, the traditions and cultures once degraded and neglected are in full revival. His *Minstrelsy* and the source tales and legends in his historical fiction turned Scotland into a primary research and tourism destination for enthusiasts of folk traditions and "Celtic" supernatural. Scotland now boasts an annual week-long international storytelling festival in Edinburgh (distinct from the literary festival in September) while smaller folk festivals and professional storytelling clubs are a regular feature of the rural counties. Storytelling, in the form of oral tales and folk music, has become such a popular draw in Scotland in recent decades that the University of Aberdeen established the Elphinstone Institute for Ethnology, Folklore, and Ethnomusicology in 1995 and VisitScotland has designated 2022 to be the year of the storyteller. Scott's success would ensure that the his minstrel would not be the final monument to

> Ancient deeds, so long forgot;
>
> Of feuds, whose memory was not;
>
> Of forests, now laid waste and bare;
>
> Of towers, which harbor now the hare;
>
> Of manners, long since chang'd and gone,
>
> (123)

The Bride of Lammermoor

Widely considered the most tragic and Gothic of Scott's novels, *The Bride* combines the localized historical impulse of *Waverley* with the Romantic imagination of Scott's earlier poetry. Modern editors have shown how Scott constantly alludes to specific historical information including eighteenth-century Scots law, post-Union political figures, and multiple Jacobite conflicts. The Magnum Opus edition relates the historical inspiration for the tale: the betrothal of Janet Dalrymple to David Dunbar in the seventeenth century. However, the historically accurate facts of the story recede from focus as Scott's romantic imagination reconstructs the superstitious consciousness of the period. Scott employs the Gothic supernatural to resurrect familiar figures from this period's national imagination: witches, prophets, and ghostly ancestors. Using prophecies and omens, *The Bride of Lammermoor* reveals the failure of progressive time to prevent the past from returning and communicating with the present. Moreover, by rejecting an absolute, objective explanation of supernatural events, while at the same time feigning strong skepticism, Scott seduces his modern readers into the historical consciousness of the period, enabling them to share in the terror and doubt of his characters. Scott uses supernatural figures that seem to defy death to invoke Feminine Time through the continuation of existence beyond the boundaries of life. Omens and prophecies perform a necromantic communication between generations suggesting that knowledge and traditions of the past may be shared across time, creating a Feminine shared experience. Ultimately, Scott's readers transcend their own individual time to participate in the feelings and sentiments of a historical population. thereby experiencing a powerful alternative to Masculine, progressive time.

Because it is a Gothic fiction, *The Bride's* historical accuracy co-exists with an ambivalence toward empiricism, rational skepticism, and moments of supernatural prophecy. For example, Scott's rationalism exists alongside and in equal standing with the Scottish tradition of Second Sight: a "premonitory" vision, sound, or smell that usually foretells of a future misfortune (Parsons 151). Scott, however, is quick to discredit the more malignant and harmful practices of witchcraft. The epistemological uncertainty of the novel produces a more accurate representation of common understanding in the tumultuous Union Era of Scotland, when belief in the Second Sight had not yet disappeared, than a strict historical account could provide. The reader experiences the supernatural within the text as both an antiquated superstition, explained by rational deduction, and as the true force moving the novel towards its prophesied and fatal end. The modern reader cannot easily dismiss all of the supernatural as sensationalism, Catholic superstition, or the barbaric ignorance of past generations. The unrefuted supernatural in *The Bride* primarily functions by taking advantage of Feminine Time: ghosts, omens, and prophecies appear from the past or deliver knowledge of the future, suggesting that both past and future are accessible in the present and a supernatural agent may move between the three. Moreover, the agents of the supernatural are usually figures from the margins of power in the 17th century society of *The Bride.* Women, defunct aristocratic lines, and servants dependent upon dying feudal bonds: it is they who produce the supernatural signs and events that transcend linear time. Thus, the supernatural is doubly Feminine as it manifests Feminine Time through the bodies of Othered figures.

In order to recreate the experience of pre-Enlightenment consciousness for the reader, or to reanimate the past for the present reader indoctrinated with Masculine time assumptions, Scott first acknowledges, and then transcends, modern disillusionment. As author and editor in

introductions and explanatory notes, and as the sometimes-intrusive narrator Peter Pattieson, Scott seems to accept post-Enlightenment prejudice against the supernatural. In *The Bride,* the skeptical post-Enlightenment reader can be comforted by Scott's insistence that rational explanation can be found for the uncanny events of the source tale. Both in narration and in authorial notes, historical belief in witchcraft is explained as being one result of the machinations of the powerful upon the vulnerable. Edgar Ravenswood, the hero of the novel who often seems to echo the reader's skepticism and Scott's own epistemological ambivalence, rejects the supernatural powers of witches. However, he also expresses a sympathy more in line with Scott's discussion of witchcraft in *Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft*. Ravenswood "despise[s] most of the ordinary prejudices about witchcraft" and understands that confessions to witchcraft were extracted "by the fear of death, and the pangs of the most cruel tortures" (*BL* 193). While Ravenswood dismisses the credulity of the population concerning witchcraft as irrational, he recreates the historical horror and distaste for witches through his strong condemnation. Thus, the reader assumes the position of Ravenswood and experiences the feelings and prejudices of a reanimated consciousness, now 300 years past: in bodies physically located in the present, the reader now experiences Ravenswood's own historic skepticism as their own, effectively embodying a jump from one time to another. Scott also creates this same effect with supernatural elements that cannot be fully explained by reason, such as specters and Second Sight. Without the ridicule or reason of a skeptical narrator – and due his or her identification with Ravenswood's skeptical consciousness from a long-past time -- the reader is left to doubt, as the characters do, whether or not the supernatural is a real force within the context of the story. It is this sympathy with the character's thoughts and beliefs that allows the reader to experience the past as if it were the present moment. Scott's recreation of historical consciousness as an

experience for the reader, reanimates past superstition in a modern period, once again evoking the repetitions and cycles of Feminine Time.

Scott's necromantic resurrecting of the national past surfaces in *The Bride* through its repeating employment of prophecy, another heavily traditional supernatural power often called Second Sight in Scotland. The introduction to *The Bride* informs the reader that Dame Margaret foretold that the family would prosper after her death as long as her coffin remained unburied and upright. Scott cites the memoirs of her grandson, John Dalrymple, 2nd Earl of Stair, as evidence of her request. Her prophecy, as published by Dalrymple in 1747, appeared to have proven true by the time Scott wrote *The Bride of Lammermoor.* Scott writes that the Dalrymple family "produced, within the space of two centuries, as many men of talent, civil and military, and of literary, political and professional eminence, as any house in Scotland" (Introduction 335). Scott adds that the family "first rose into distinction in the person of James Dalrymple" who was born in 1619, exactly two hundred years before the first publication of *The Bride of Lammermoor* (335). Thus, according to Scott's own evidence, the rise of the Dalrymple family coincides perfectly with Dame Margaret's prediction. Lady Stair died in 1692, the same year that the eldest son of the family sullied Lord Stair's reputation through his involvement with the Glencoe Massacre. The grandson, who would later go on to professional success in the military and as a diplomat, was only nineteen at the time and hardly provided any assurance that the family would retain its influence in the future. Given their fluctuating reputation and power during the politically unstable period of the early Jacobite rebellions, Dame Margaret's prediction of the future prosperity of her family cannot simply be attributed to belief in the stable continuation of good fortune. Scott explains the uncanny truth of her prophecy by writing that "the talents of this accomplished race were sufficient to have accounted for the dignities which

many members of the family attained, without any supernatural assistance" (336). This explanation does not contain the language of absolute rejection present in Scott's explanation of Dame Margaret's supposed demonic influence. Additionally, Scott follows this assertion with "But their extraordinary prosperity was attended by equally extraordinary family misfortunes" (336). The use of the conjunction and the repeated use of "extraordinary" suggest that such a concurrence of both success and tragedy is not only highly unusual, but that is also suspiciously coincides with the powers of "supernatural assistance." While Scott's straighter historical novels may make the motivations and manners of a nation's population live again, Scott's Gothic histories draws us back to feel the nation's fears and perceptions from an earlier era.

Aislie and Blind Alice, the female figures most associated with prophecy in *The Bride*, are often referred to as both "hags" and "sybils." In Scott's time, "hag" implied both "an ugly, repulsive old woman: often with implication of viciousness or maliciousness" and "a woman supposed to have dealings with Satan and the infernal world" (*OED* 3a; 2). Scott's use of the term may have an even stronger supernatural implication, since he uses "noontide hag" (3.105) in his poem *The Lady of the Lake* (1810) to reference a goblin, employing the original definition of "hag" as "an evil spirit, dæmon, or infernal being, in female form" (*OED* 1a). The multiple associations of the word reveal a succession of historical changes in belief; in Scott's use of "hag," medieval demonic belief is juxtaposed with the Enlightenment's rationalism. Fittingly, "hag" appears in the novel the exact same number of times as "sibyl." A sibyl is defined as "one or other of certain women of antiquity who were reputed to possess powers of prophecy and divination" and "a prophetess; a fortune teller" (*OED* 1; 2). Scott's use of both terms for women of entirely differing characters embodies the suspicions of the historical consciousness concerning women with unnatural powers. Both "hag" and "sybil" mark a character as Other,

and both enact elements of Feminine Time: the "hag" is a crone-like figure, an embodiment of aging and death, while a "sybil" is the corporeal vessel for knowledge of the future. Old Alice, as a remnant of familiar associations from the past, and Aislie, as a remnant of past superstitions, carry the values and traditions of an older age into the present time of the novel.

While Scott does not finally validate Aislie Gourlay's supposed witchcraft, she is permitted to prophesize correctly on more than one occasion. Aislie's wedding day pronouncements that they are "soon to see as braw a burial" and that the new bride's "winding sheet . . . is up as high as her throat already" come true (256; 257). At their most skeptical, readers might assume that this educated guess is based on Aislie's time spent terrorizing Lucy and her knowledge of Lucy's fragile health. But her prophecy regarding Ravenswood's death is less easy to explain. In response to Annie Winnie's exclamation that Ravenswood "wad mak a bonny corpse," Aislie foresees that "hand of women, or of man either, will never straught him—dead-deal will never be laid to his back" (192). Indeed, Ravenswood appears to be swallowed up in the Kelpie quicksand, and no trace of him is ever discovered. We hear no rational explanation for such foreknowledge, Aislie simply says that her information comes "frae a sure hand . . . and frae them that spaed his fortune before the sark gaed ower his head" (192;193). While we might argue that the prophecies regarding Lucy are not a true revelation because Aislie was the primary agent of Lucy's ill health, there is little evidence of rational explanation for her foreknowledge of Ravenswood's disappearance. Instead, her phrase of "them that spaed his fortune" suggests that she is relying upon the ancient prophecy of Thomas the Rhymer, an important figure of national history. This particular association between Aislie's engagement with Feminine Time and Scotland's national history provides the supernatural with greater credibility as well as demonstrating how national customs may cyclically return and defy linear time.

Blind Alice is another figure that Scott uses to embody Scottish tradition while also undercutting our expectations of Romantic nationalism. Alice, the benevolent blind vassal, seems an embodiment of the Scottish phenomena of Second Sight. However, she is in fact English, having become a tenant of the Ravenswood family with her husband many years ago. Her supernatural powers are therefore not necessarily a Scottish inheritance from "barbaric" or "pagan" times, but rather pan-British. And while Scotland is both her literal and spiritual home, and her loyalties remain with the Ravenswood family, Blind Alice nonetheless demonstrates that credulous belief in prophecy is not limited to the peripheral nations of the Empire. She is described as having "some way of looking into your very heart… for it seems as if she saw one change colour, though she has been blind these twenty years" (45). Her uncanny "acuteness of perception" may be a consequence of her blindness; after all, her hearing "has been sharpened by [her] blindness, and [she] can now judge of the slightest sounds" (30; 149). Scott offers a possible rational explanation, but while blindness may increase the sensitivity of the other senses, her ability to see into the "very heart" of a person suggests an extrasensory, supernatural perception. Indeed, this perception seems very like female intuition, an alternate subversive, Feminine "truth" making itself "felt through the fabric of the official version" (Punter 133). Alice's ability to prophesize correctly is even less easy to explain. While we might attribute some of her prophetic power to her knowledge of Ravenswood's feudal ancestors and the legends surrounding the lands now held by Ashton, Scott does not insist upon this explanation. Her prophetic warning that Mermaiden's Well will prove "a place fatal to the race of Ravenswood" comes true when Lucy breaks the engagement (*BL* 152). Ravenswood admits, "Old saws speak truth…Alice spoke well" (187). In the repeated use of the verb "to speak," Scott emphasizes the power of the ancient oral traditions to produce truth and pass on a

communication through generations. Her prophecy to Ashton that he is "on the brink of a precipice" and that a vengeful Ravenswood "may bide his time" derives not from her knowledge of any real conspiracy but is "a warning of another kind" (34; 35; 34). Again, Scott emphasizes prophecy as an alternative means of accessing truth which challenges the supremacy of dominant, objective, Masculine forms of knowledge. History, in the form of familial and local legend, features in all of Alice's prophecies, producing communication across time between ancestor and descendent. Her speech of the future is an embodied form of Feminine Time that allows the past (ancestral history) to exist at the same moment as the present (the time of her speaking) and the future (the time of her foreknowledge), thus a moment of multiple, repeating and entangling, temporalities. Her prophecies refigure a connection to the past, embodied through the organs of speech, which has disappeared in an age where the of feudal aristocracy is in decline. Through Alice's prophecies, Ravenswood's ancestors are permitted influence on the life of their last remaining heir. From different ages in the past, the dead Ravenswoods speak again in the present moment as if a Feminine cycle were recurring.

Omens and portents become another form of permitted prophecy in *The Bride of Lammermoor* that manifests Feminine temporalities. The bull and raven used in this novel are "portentous signs vouchsafed to ready and unready participants in action—and to those bystanders known as readers" (Parsons 243). The bull, as the family crest, is immediately recognizable as symbolic of the ancient family line. The raven, the reader is told, has long been under the protection of the family, and indeed, "raven" serves as the root for the family name. Yet despite their clear symbolic power and his already existent concerns over his inherited legacy of revenge, the Master of Ravenswood fails to read the death of the bull and the raven as prophetic. In these instances, his rationalization of superstition and rejection of portents actually

ensures the fate that he is at pains to reject. By repeated reference, however, the text trains the reader to understand the omens in terms of prophetic power and the fate attached to the family. As the modern audience reads and interprets these portents, they become practitioners of prophecy themselves. Through the various introductory frameworks, the reader is already aware of the tragic ending to come. When the reader confronts these ancient symbols of the Ravenswood family, they engage in the act of prophecy by reading the actions of the animals and the violence enacted on them as symbolic of the certain violence to come. In the reading and acceptance of these supernatural warnings, the reader reproduces the fatalistic and superstitious belief of the more credulous characters of the novel, bringing the national past into a modern setting. Within Scott's broader concept of the function of national art, the very act of active reading and interpreting symbols continues the Scottish tradition of Second Sight, restoring the continuous connection between ancient heroic Scotland and the modern nation.

The ominous figure of the bull first intrudes upon the story as Lord Ashton is planning how to use the disruption at Lord Ravenswood's funeral against the last remaining heir. Scott writes that Ashton, pausing in his work, "chanced, in looking upward, to see the crest of the family for whose heir he was whetting the arrows . . . it was a black bull's head, with the legend, 'I bide my time'" (*BL* 24). It is, of course, no coincidence that Ashton is in the middle of planning a final legal assault on the Ravenswood line when the reader is first introduced to the family motto and the story of successful revenge upon a usurper. Moreover, Scott's particular phrasing of "whetting the arrows" foreshadows a scene at Mermaiden's Well where the youngest Ashton shoots down a raven, another animal associated with the Ravenswood family, with bow and arrow. The omen of the bull, and its legacy of Malisus' revenge, is disturbing enough to prompt Ashton to put aside his indictment of Ravenswood, "reflecting farther on the

consequences of the step he was about to take" (24). Yet when a living bull charges the Lord Keeper and his daughter, he fails to recognize the connection between living, active portent and the symbolic crest. In contrast, the crest's motto is never far from the reader's mind; repeated references to revenge and the reader's certain knowledge of when and how this ancestral revenge will emerge: both imbue the living bull with significant representational power. As symbol, the historical portent functions as sign or omen just as effectively for the reader as it does for Alice, a reader of omens. Scott's description of wild cattle might appear unremarkable, mere rural landscape, had not the subsequent paragraph immediately alerted the reader to the connection between the aristocracy and these descendants of a once ancient and savage species. We learn that wild cattle, "degenerated from the ancient race in size and strength," have been preserved at noble houses as a relic of their fierce ancestors (36). Having been informed earlier that the Ravenswood crest is a bull, the reader immediately associates the declining bovine heirs of an ancient line with Ravenswood, the last heir of a declining aristocratic family. Just as the living cattle are diluted copies of their feared and noble ancestors, retaining only some part of the savage ferocity of their ancestors, Ravenswood is a weakened copy of his ancestors—having neither their wealth nor their affectation of power—who retains the family desire for revenge. The bull charges Ashton as a symbolic act of Ravenswood revenge and as a metaphor for the past appearing in the present to challenge or threaten modernity. The Master of Ravenswood intervenes, placing himself as an obstacle between the legacy of revenge and the object of vengeance. The symbolic, prophetic significance of the event, however, is challenged by the narrator's rationalization. The narrator ascribes the reason for the bull's sudden violence as "stimulated either by the scarlet colour of Miss Ashton's mantle, or by one of those fits of capricious ferocity to which their disposition are liable" (37). As David Brown points out in

Walter Scott and the Historical Imagination, this rational rejection of portentous representation is "not adequate to the incident's symbolic effect in its context" (134). Through the destruction of this symbol, Ravenswood appears to reject the legacy of vengeance by falsely sacrificing his connection to the past. However, the reader knows that this is a momentary respite from a fatalistic, predetermined end; ultimately, revealing the underlying recurrence at the core of Feminine Time, the Ravenswood line is avenged through Lucy's death and the later death of all the Ashton heirs. The family motto, "I bide my time," outlasts Ravenswood's peace-making resolutions. Since he makes himself an obstacle to this indefatigable impetus, he must also suffer its fatal repercussions.

Though not a heraldic animal, the wild raven functions as an important representation of the history and future of the Ravenswood family. These particular birds are all "under the protection of the Lords of Ravenswood," and the connection to the family is made abundantly clear by Edgar's surname: Raven's wood (*BL* 159). The incident of the shooting of the raven violently and abruptly intrudes upon the Romantic plot set in the legendary Mermaiden's Well. Lucy and Ravenswood pledge their love to each other and "as they arose to leave the fountain which had been witness of their mutual engagement, an arrow whistled through the air, and struck a raven" (159). The gamekeeper Norman, employed formerly by the Ravenwood family and thus a type of family guardian from the past, had seen the raven near the couple and "wished it might be for good luck; for the raven is one of the wildest birds that flies" (159). Intimate with old local tradition, the gamekeeper immediately perceives the raven's unusual tameness for its symbolic importance: it has the potential to repair the deep divide between past and present ruling families by helping unite the young lovers. However, the bird quickly becomes a fatal omen when Henry Ashton, the child of the usurping family, kills the protected familiar of the

estate's former owners. The death of the raven foreshadows the unnecessary yet foretold death of Edgar Ravenswood and the Ravenwood line, while the flippancy with which young Ashton treats such an important family symbol reflects the callous treatment of ancient traditions by the modern middle to upper classes. Just as "raven" is the essential feature of Edgar's aristocratic surname, the estate's human tenants, former feudal vassals, are an essential part of the aristocratic patrimonial tradition lost to modern socio-economic change. The usurper has severed this chain of allegiance and interdependence just as Henry, the usurper's son, has broken the Ravenswood's oath of protection to the ravens. The multi-faceted symbolic importance of the raven's death is not lost on the reader: modernity threatens to abolish the heroic spirit of Romance as it neglects the values and traditions that made Scotland's past significant – and yet the Feminine Time within such a spirit will not stay buried.

All of the prophetic omens and supernatural warnings in *The Bride* culminate in the inauspicious Ravenswood family prophecy of Thomas the Rhymer:

> When the last Laird of Ravenswood to Ravenswood shall ride,
>
> And wooe a dead maiden to be his bride,
>
> He shall stable his steed in the Kelpie's flow,
>
> And his name shall be lost for evermoe! (139)

The reader learns of this prophecy from Ravenswood's servant, Caleb Balderstone. A comic figure, Balderstone's chief occupation in the novel is to disguise the financial ruin of the Ravenswood family to outsiders, necessitating many modifications of the truth. With such an unreliable source, it would seem the reader is expected to treat the prophecy as lightly as

Ravenswood does when he replies "I hope I shall chuse a better stable for my horse than the Kelpie's quick-sand" (140). However, Scott informs the reader of this prophecy through an untrustworthy source to counterbalance a nineteenth-century reader's awareness of a real historical prophet that Scott introduces. Unlike his other figures of the supernatural, which are modified forms of Scottish folklore archetypes, True Thomas is lifted straight from Scotland's history. Thomas of Erceldoune was a famed prophet and poet from the thirteenth century and appears throughout recorded Scottish folklore, literature, and in several of Scott's works, including *Letters on Demonology*, *The Minstrelsy*, *Castle Dangerous* and *Sir Tristem*. Scott's contemporary readers would find it harder than a modern reader to dismiss or rationalize a prophecy coming from such a significant and proven historical prophet as his "reputation as a prophet is too great for his words to be contradicted" (Parsons 238). It is also important to remember that "long after the heyday of the Scottish Enlightenment, instances of ghosts, 'visions' and second sight were widespread in Scotland" (Jarvie xii). The legitimacy of prophecy is further affirmed by the fact that the details of Rhymer's prophecy come true. Given that the Ashtons now own the Ravenswood estate, the last heir of Ravenswood does ride to Ravenswood to woo Lucy. When Ravenswood visits her for the last time, Lady Ashton has already arranged her marriage to Bucklaw. Aislie, employed months before to manipulate Lucy into accord with her mother's wishes, has had ample time to work Lucy into the fatal and fevered state of terror which will lead to her death. Consequently, when Ravenswood finally goes to speak with the now doubly-engaged woman, she is already a "dead maiden." Ravenswood recognizes the Kelpie's flow as the "quick-sand betwixt the tower and Wolf's-hope," thus legitimizing the local setting of the prophecy's action (*BL* 139). This is the very quicksand into which Caleb observes Ravenswood enter and Scott writes that "the prophecy at once rushed on Balderstone's mind"

(267). Without any rational disclaimer from the author, the reader is forced to consider this moment and what follows as a fulfillment of the prophecy. Caleb "never saw him pass further" (267). The last to hold the name Ravenswood is "lost for evermoe," as Ravenswood's body is never found. However, as we have seen in Scott's other works and in the ghostly specter of Alice, it remains possible that Ravenswood will return in some form after death. The fact that he has disappeared, and no corpse is discovered, suggests that though he may be "lost" he may not be ended. As an embodiment of the degraded past attempting to navigate existence in a more modern age, it seems possible that the past is not irretrievable, not truly gone. The undercurrent of Feminine Time is not altogether stilled.

Scott's use of prophecy that really proves prophetic points both the importance of native traditions to transgenerational communication and to Scott's more implicit objectives with authorship. Prophecy maintains Scotland's oral tradition in *The Bride* because the purpose of prophecy is to communicate a warning or vision of the future from the position of the past. The prophecies of both Alice and Aislie are produce de-volution when they appear in conversation, bringing literal, embodied communication from the irretrievable past into the modern present but also calling the present back to the past. Though the movement of prophecy is temporally forward-looking, prophecy permits figures of an already defunct past to communicate with the present through intermediary figures that embody the a-rational, unbounded space of Feminine Time. Scott's historical literature oscillates, just as prophecy does, between past and present eras. Just as Ravenswood relives his ancestor's history through the playing out of an ancient prophecy, and as Scott relives local history through the oral tales of his relatives, the reader relives Scottish history through Scott's tales. Thus Scott's use of plausible prophecy is not merely romanticist nostalgia or personal attachment to national fancies; it is, in fact, the very medium through which

Scott is able to negotiate the complex existence of the past in the present and recover the lost shared experiences crucial to the immersive history Scott seeks to create. Furthermore, Scott's ambivalence toward the supernatural requires the reader to take an especially active part in creating and determining the truth or the reality of this fictional world. If the modern reader can convincingly interpret evidence from an older age for meaning, the text has successfully created a viable alternative to linear, progressive, Masculine time. While Scott's Gothic texts may well suggest that some of the past stays in the past, such as the belief in witchcraft and malevolent demons, it also suggests that the Enlightenment era concept of linear time and stadial progress fails to capture Scotland's dynamic and intimate relationship with its history and the reanimating quality inherent in literature from the past.

Feminine Time and Lewis Grassic Gibbon

Just as Scott uses the genres of historical fiction, Romance, and the Gothic to reawaken the past and produce returns, repetitions, and renewals in time, so does Mitchell employ a mix of realism, history, and speculative fiction to represent potential time spirals and the long-term cyclical patterns of human societies. Like Scott, Mitchell was heavily invested in history and published a variety of non-fiction works treating historical subjects and cultures. From ancient Egyptian civilization founded on early agriculture to the highly sophisticated Mayan societies of Mesoamerica to the conquering Roman Empire, Mitchell's research and works emphasize a universal drive of human civilization to enhance individual life through the acquisition of power at the expense of others. The systems, institutions, and customs of civilization evolved, Mitchell argues, out of the accidental invention of agriculture along the Nile and "the urge in men to upbuild for their economic salvation the great fabric of civilisation" (ScSc 20). The spread of the

institutions of civilization, "the beliefs and practices, the diggings and plantings and indignations and shadowy revilements of the Archaic Civilisation" (ScSc 20), evolve from a desire to amass the materials for "amulets against death and misfortune" (NAU 14). The "life-givers" that propelled the spread of civilization and violent conflict over resources were the gems and precious materials associated by color with those things that supported life in ancient times: blood, corn, sun, growing plants (NAU 14). Mitchell sees this same desire to ensure life through acquisition materialize as various forms of slavery in the economies of most civilizations and forms of society; as his letter to Cruikshank details, the slaves of Greece and Egypt are to him like the destitute of modern cities. For Mitchell, humanity repeats age-old patterns of cruelty across the rise and fall of individual societies throughout time. What people term "progress" really seems to describe new ways to enact old horrors. Yet, though society may be doomed to repeat past evils over and over again, Mitchell also seems to find possible salvation in cyclical time. If "nothing endures" in exactly the same form, as both *Gay Hunter* (143) and *Scots Quair* (47; 97; 300; 429) claim, it still may be possible to repeat the earliest patterns of human kind where "Cro-Magnard and Magdalenian man . . . led dangerous and happy lives, generation on generation, in a great artistic flowering of the human spirit in a world slowly recovering from the Ice Age rigours" (NUA 12). In fact, there are those, Mitchell finds, already living or reliving the lives of earliest humankind in the "primitive" societies encountered by explorers in the 18th and 19th centuries: "The Eskimo, the Andaman Islander, the African Pigmy . . . these Natural Men, the Last True Men on earth" ("Diffusionist Heresy" 14;15). Mitchell struggles to posit a way for society as a whole to return to the life of what he sees as a primal Golden Age; his wavering commitments to socialism, communism, and nationalism all evidence a searching for and dissatisfaction with modern paths of reform. Nonetheless, he does not abandon all hope of return;

the "aberrant altruisms and kindlinesses that shine from the darkest periods of history" are, according to Mitchell, "momentary revivals of that ancient sanity which once ruled the world" ("Diffusionist Heresy" 16).

In his English and Scottish works, Mitchell suggests that the revival or return of the ancient Natural life may be more possible for the individual than for civilization as a whole. Mitchell seems to view himself as a type of Golden Age man, despite his strong engagement with the institutions of civilization like the military and literary societies. He calls himself "the sole surviving specimen of Natural Man to be found in these islands" (Letter to Linklater d. 10 Nov. 34). In his fiction, however, he explores the individual, modern Natural Man's return to an uncontaminated life through predominantly female figures like Chris Guthrie in *A Scots Quair*, Domina Riddoch in *The Thirteenth Disciple*, Clair Stranlay in *Three Go Back*, and Gay Hunter in the novel named for him. Through these women, Mitchell explores potential ways of solving "our problem of the moment . . . not the elimination of the beast from our natures, but the elimination of the slave, the head-hunter, the sacrificial priest, the dark-brained peasant and the god-mongering weakling" ("Diffusionist Heresy" 16). While the first two characters feature in realist fiction and must eschew most society to find happiness, Gay and Clair, protagonists of Mitchell's speculative fiction, become part of Golden Age societies through time travel and discover the possibility of achieving "the ancient sanity" on a social or communal level (16).

Mitchell's works within this vision, not surprisingly, tend to favor female attempts at utopian renewal. Some of Mitchell's male characters demonstrate a Feminine alignment to nature and cyclical time and also have the potential to affect a return to the Golden Age for themselves. While these fictional descendants of Natural Man like Long Rob and Ewan Tavendale of *Sunset Song* and Malcolm Maudsley of *The Thirteenth Disciple* appear to

recognize the problem of civilization, Mitchell's male characters usually fail to resist the temptations of their own pride and ambitions. Long Rob and Ewan Tavendale ultimately give in to the social pressure and die in WWI; Maudsley is so determined to uncover the mystery of an ancient Mayan civilization and prove his theory that he dies injured and starving in the jungles, only glimpsing the outline of his destination from afar. Mitchell's female characters are more successful: Chris dies of natural causes while living a peaceful life of her own making, Domina seems to go on living all the lives of the cheated women of history, and Gay Hunter and Clair Stranlay return to their own time with the hope that humanity may yet be redeemed. While none achieve a permanent utopia, since Mitchell could never quite determine a practical solution to the issues plaguing the modern world, his female characters do not finally succumb to the pressures of civilization and do not betray their Golden Age values. Perhaps, as figures already marginalized by civilization due to their gender, Mitchell's female characters are less susceptible to false promises of "progress" from economies and institutions that already disempower them. His female protagonists tend to reject traditional patriarchal expectations as a matter of form, and so, when presented with additional pressure to conform, they seem to find it easier than their male counterparts to follow their own intuition. Thus in Mitchell's works, humanity's chance to actually renew the desirable Golden Age and reject linear, progressive time rests, not in change and great reform, but on the endurance of female resistance.

A Scots Quair

Sunset Song, published in 1932, is Lewis Grassic Gibbon's most important contribution to Scottish heritage and literature. Though it is often referenced and re-published as a single iconic work, *Sunset Song* was planned, from the onset, as the first entry in a trilogy documenting

the life of a Scottish woman. As Ian Munro, Mitchell's first biographer and close correspondent of his widow (Ray Mitchell), has reported, what became *A Scots Quair* made up of three novels was conceived as a whole and "written round the character of a woman, Chris; the work was to be in three parts each complete in itself" (Munro 71). As William Malcolm brings to light, the original contract for Mitchell's first Scots novels under the Scottish pseudonym Grassic Gibbon acknowledges that he shall bring out "three books… novels of not less than 80,000 words in length" (*Lewis Grassic Gibbon* 144). Still, this first novel does function as a stand-alone piece in that it charts the development of a young protagonist into sexual and emotional maturity. It places this development against the background of a historical arc describing rural Scotland's development through industrialization and the urbanizing consequences of social change wrought by WWI. The novel ends with a memorial to the local men who died in the Great War, including the husband of the protagonist. However, this traditional, superficially progressive structure does not actually complete or end the narrative and thematic movement. Rather, as indicated by more subtle structural elements, and by Chris' new relationship with Robert Colquohoun, the minister presiding over the memorial, *Sunset Song* is the beginning of a larger history, one that ultimately privileges patterns of repetition and renewal over conclusion and finitude. Both in its textual structure, and in the change and development of its settings and characters, *Sunset Song* and the entire *Scots Quair* ultimately position action and progress as moments within larger cycles and long-standing patterns of repetition. The trilogy shapes the human time of its characters and societies within the more universal cyclical pattern of natural time: Feminine cycles of fertility, fertilization, gestation, reproduction, and barrenness. As Alison Lumsden points out, the association of the Feminine with nature, and indeed the cyclical time of nature, counters the patriarchal othering of the female within an Anglo-American

tradition of feminism (41). I argue that these associations position Scotland as a powerful Feminine Other that counteracts dominant ideas of Imperialist progress and civilization. While the *Scots Quair* novels depict local Feminine Time through both the biological individual female body and the ecological natural body, *Sunset Song* and its trilogy also enact large-scale Feminine Time, both individual and universal, in this sense.

Sunset Song therefore introduces Chris Guthrie at the age of sixteen or so, "a woman now, near," but the retrogressive structure of each chapter means the reader learns of Chris' story from before conception when her mother was first a child (*SQ* 57). The final novel of the trilogy, *Grey Granite,* concludes with Chris' death as an older woman, a death that fittingly obscures an absolute ending by refocusing on Nature, which thereby recalls the beginning of the trilogy. This beginning presents the two main characters of the trilogy, Chris Guthrie and Nature (or "The Land" as it is called in Mitchell's essay in *Scottish Scene*), in relation to each other. The conclusion of the trilogy repeats this pairing, with Chris' human body returning to the womb of the earth. Though social relationships end in death or separation or distance throughout the trilogy, the human's broader relationship to Nature and the universe changes without ceasing in an infinite pattern of return and renewal. Thus, the broader story of life presented in the trilogy proposes a distinct ontology that rejects the linear concept of time. *Scots Quair* demonstrates that the micro level of cyclical time as embodied by the female protagonist reflects a Feminine Time on the macro levels of Nature and the Universe.

A Scots Quair employs an outwardly progressive structure that first proposes and then rejects a linear and bound temporality. The trilogy deploys the readers' expectations of the traditional plot in Aristotle's *Poetics* against a more experimental repeating or cyclical development of time and narrative progression. [22] Aristotle's idea of an appropriate whole action

or plot segments what might be a continuous or interrelated series of actions into three distinct categories: beginning, middle, and end. These categories impose temporal and spatial qualities on the text and force narrative causality into a linear progression. Aristotle's taxonomic approach to understanding a whole of a text demonstrates his broader bias towards clear and linear structures of classification, a Masculine ontology privileging an order derived by reason (mind) over forms patterned on experience (body) and emotion. However, like fellow British modernists James Joyce and Virginia Woolf, contemporaries Mitchell praises in his essay "Literary Lights," Mitchell continues the novel's tradition of experimenting with temporal limits and structures in both his Scottish and English works. Outwardly, *A Scots Quair*, like many trilogies, seems to present the traditional beginning, middle, and end through the first, second, and third novel. However, especially when the last novel ends with nature seeming to absorb the individual, finite human body into the infinitely cycling body of Nature, alluding to a return to the first actions of the first novel, the trilogy ultimately rejects linear notions of beginning and end.

Grassic Gibbon explicitly structures each novel and the trilogy as a whole to suggest the cyclical temporal movement of nature and Chris' changing experience as she moves through different stages of civilization. Though *A Scots Quair* should be read in its entirety to fully understand Grassic Gibbon's argument about social and natural history, William Malcolm's suggestion that we consider *A Scots Quair* as a single unit "produced, for convenience, in a tripartite form" (*Blasphemer* 129) may lead readers to dismiss the significance of the external divisions. In order to meet reader and bookseller expectations and to secure multiple publication fees, the division of *A Scots Quair* into three novels is both practical and beneficial. However, the significance of a triad (or three parts that make a whole) goes beyond convenience and the traditional conventions of craft.[23] Just as there are three novels in the trilogy, Grassic Gibbon

presents three stages of societal development: a rural, agrarian community; an industrial town or village; and an urban city. Born in Echt, a small agricultural community in Aberdeenshire, Chris spends her youth in the very similar community of Kinraddie.[24] Thus, when she returns to the place of her birth at the very end of the third novel, Chris returns to the stage of social development or civilization of the first novel. The Aristotelian tripartite structure is turned back on itself; the end actually terminates at the beginning, producing a cyclical temporality for the external structure as well as for Chris' experience of social development. It should be noted, here, that Chris chooses to return to the place of her birth as part of her realization that humanity and civilization alienate people from what is healthy, sacred, and fulfilling. For Grassic Gibbon, the linear progressive time of civilization corrupts the natural human spirit, and an individual may choose an exile from society in Feminine Time in an attempt to remedy that contamination.

A Scots Quair is divided into three novels, with each novel introducing Chris to a new setting and a new role: *Sunset Song,* a farmer in rural Kinraddie; *Cloud Howe*, a minister's wife in the village of Segget, *Grey Granite*, a manager of a boarding house in the city. The main story of each of the three novels is split into four chapters, each chapter title belonging to the same overall theme but suggesting a new development. This concept is strongest in the first novel *Sunset Song,* where the chapter titles refer to four stages of agricultural work in their natural sequence: "I. Ploughing," "II. Drilling," "III. Seed-Time," and "IV. Harvest." The four chapters of *Cloud Howe* relate to four types of clouds moving from fair weather to rain: "I. Cirrus," "II. Cumulus," "III. Stratus," "IV. Nimbus." By the third novel, *Grey Granite,* the strategy is all but lost. The four chapters are titled after the minerals Epidote, Sphene, Apatite, and Zircon. Sphene, Apatite, and Zircon can be found in granite, an igneous rock, while Epidote is often found in veins that cut through granite. Little can be inferred about the significance of their particular

order.[25] Broadly, the chapter titles summarize the movement of each novel, though the second and third novels fail to maintain the same level of sequence and signification found in the chapter titles of *Sunset Song*. The agricultural reproductive seasons of *Sunset Song's* chapters document the sexual development of the female protagonist from conception to first widowhood. The amassing clouds of the chapters of *Cloud Howe* signify the growing conflict, or darkness, as Robert's madness and religious fervor increase until his eventual death at the end. The granitic minerals of *Grey Granite's* chapters may suggest a hardening of Chris' human sympathy as she suffers life in the city and ultimately rejects human company.

Despite the weakening of the developmental logic of the chapter titles as the trilogy progresses, however, Grassic Gibbon does maintain a cyclical approach in each chapter to his style of narration. Every chapter of the trilogy begins with Chris paused at a high vantage point reflecting over the events that have passed up to that point in time. The main body of the chapter revisits those events, so that both Chris and the reader are transported backwards in time and progress forward through memory until the present time. Each chapter configures narrative time as cyclical, beginning and ending in a moment of timelessness, or stillness, as the main character reflects on things from each novel's chosen viewpoint. The setting for the present time of each novel, where the narrative begins and ends, also takes the story back to its primal ground by reflecting the level of civilization that each novel portrays. In *Sunset Song*, Chris escapes to the solitude of ancient standing stones. The standing stones are the ancient ruins of the druidic rituals: they represent a more primitive culture, closer to the Golden Age of hunter and gatherer that Mitchell praises throughout his description of early Scotland in "The Antique Scene." The matching setting in *Cloud Howe* is the Kaimes: ruins of fortifications and towers from a more organic civilized era, where a more social population lived and fought together. The "Proem"

tells that Kaimes was built by "Finella's carles" on top of an older Pictish broch (*SQ* 199). Finella was the Pictish wife of the Mormaer of the Mearns, who assassinated King Kenneth for the killing of her son at the end of the 10th century.[26] The Kaimes, then, like the village setting of *Cloud Howe* represents a stage of tightening social organization: the consolidation of small, isolated kin groups into organized civil and military communities. In *Grey Granite*, Chris' place of reflection and retreat are the steps of Windmill Brae. Though the Duncairn of *Grey Granite* is fictional, Windmill Brae is a real location in the city of Aberdeen. The windmill of the name first appeared on city plans in 1661 and was erected in 1678.[27] *Grey Granite* sees Chris return time and again to this vista over an industrial city where "the acrid taste of an ancient smoke" is in her throat and she can hear "the scrunch of a tram wheeling down from the lights of Royal Mile" (358). The steps of Windmill Brae represent a third level of "progress": the modern, industrial city. In this setting, Chris reflects on this third stage of her life with a son grown and no other person to love or look after. The last chapter of *Grey Granite* maintains the flashback, cyclical narrative pattern supremely because the setting has changed back to a hill at the croft of Cairndhu, where she was born. Here, once again out in nature, Chris recounts her rejection of civilization and the social ties that had once bound her. The novel and trilogy end as she sits on top of the hill overlooking the area, "feeling no longer the touch of the rain or hearing the sound of the lapwings going by" (496). Her death is indicated not by human action, but rather by the continuation of nature and the absence of her consciousness, as if she has been absorbed back into the natural world. This last scene places Chris back into the same relation she had with the setting of the first novel: the individual female subject surrounded by and absorbed into the natural world. In death, her body returns to the soil that will produce and nurture new life, continuing on in the endless cycle.

Grassic Gibbon's use of structure to emphasize meaning in a Feminine way is best and most explicitly displayed in *Sunset Song,* where chapter and section titles produce multiple meanings. The Prelude and Epilude are both subtitled "The Unfurrowed Field". As I discuss in Chapter 4, Grassic Gibbon's unusual section titles recall a cyclical movement in the text and underline the cultural importance of song. The subtitles' "Unfurrowed Field" signifies a piece of land marked off from the wild, but without evidence of ploughing. It may be in a nearly wild or rewilded state or it may be an old field left fallow for several seasons to recover. The land has yet to be cultivated for the coming season but ostensibly has been cleared of enough natural obstacles to designate it a field. Here is the land's body *en potentia*, without the immediate work of man or woman.[28] In practical terms, the unfurrowed field is not wilderness where nature's advance has continued unchecked, but rather a body of potential outside the agricultural cycle of growth and harvest. The Epilude's repetition of the prelude's title does not function as a linear beginning and end; the unfurrowed field is not barren or played-out land, but rather the primordial state outside of reproduction. Grassic Gibbon implies that the end is not final but a continuation of movement, one that returns back to the beginning, back to the potential of an unfurrowed field. In both the Prelude and the Epilude, Grassic Gibbon describes changes to the agricultural landscape over time such as the clearing of land, the consolidation of small crofts into larger farms, and the turnover of arable land into pastureland. The use of a subtitle referring to these incidences would indicate permanent change and the effects of progressive, linear time on the land. The return of the image of the unfurrowed field despite the socioeconomic changes evidenced by the text suggests that the enduring land *in potentia* represents something beyond the farms of Kinraddie and the agrarian lifestyle of its inhabitants.

Given that the story framed by these unfurrowed fields documents the sexual development and maturation of its young female protagonist, Chris Guthrie, the subtitles of the paratext can also be read in reference to temporal experience of the female body. The chapters bracketed within the unfurrowed fields document the typical stages in farming arable land: "Ploughing", when the land is overturned and formed into trench or furrows; "Drilling" when seed or fertilizer is placed into the topsoil; "Seed-Time," when the seeds germinate and grow into a mature plant; and "Harvest," when the crop is reaped from the fields. These stages refer literally to the reproductive cycles of the landscape and figuratively to the sexual and emotional development of the protagonist. At first, Chris' progression may appear linear and Masculine, as she seems to evolve further in each chapter. However, female reproductive time ultimately differs from male reproductive time in that the female can only reproduce until menopause. Though males appear to experience a general decline in fertility in middle age, technically a male body can continue to reproduce until disease, dysfunction, or death. The timeline of the reproductive male seems to begin at a point in puberty and continue on until death, while the reproductive timeline of the female returns back to a non-procreative state. The timeline implied by the section titles of *Sunset Song* mirrors the return to an earlier state of female reproductive time. The novel begins and ends with "the Unfurrowed Field," a body outside the timeline of agricultural production. The first "Unfurrowed Field" (the Prelude) contains no mention of Chris Guthrie, but we do learn of the rumor of a new tenant, John Guthrie, coming to farm Blawearie in the year 1911. As we learn in flashback in chapter one, Guthrie arrives with his family including his daughter Chris. In the flashbacks to life before moving to Blawearie, to when Chris is an "unfurrowed field," we learn that she is so sexually naive, despite living on a farm, that she does not understand what her father had "to do" with her mother's pregnancy. Her brother

responds with the farming equivalents that she might understand: “What's a bull to do with a calf, you fool?” (38). Before moving to Kinraddie, Chris is completely uninvolved in sexual, reproductive processes; she is in a state of unawakened potential like the primordial egg of Gimbutas’ and Hesiod’s ancient origin myths discussed previously.

The first chapter, “Ploughing,” presents the first shaping of primordial potential into the beginnings of a sexual or reproductive subject. After Jean gives birth to twins, the family moves to Kinraddie. On their first night there, Chris and her brother Will share a bed for comfort, but Will gets out early in the morning “feared what father would say if he found them lying like that” (42). Having now learned more about sex from the birth of the twins, Chris is less naive about why Will sneaks out of her bed. Her understanding of sex and its broader implications in society, is, however, still quite limited: “Chris thought of that angrily, puzzled and angry . . . was it likely a brother and a sister would do anything if they slept together? And besides, she didn't know how” (42). Will, as the older of the two, is aware enough of societal stigmas about sex to associate shame with their physical closeness. Chris has yet to experience any physical evidence of burgeoning sexuality and approaches the issue of sex from a purely logical point of view. Her first actual sexual contact, evoking both shame and physical arousal, defies a similar logical rebuttal. While walking home from school, Margaret Strachan attempts to “shock her, telling of men and women, what fools they were below their clothes; and how children came and how you should have them” (46). Then the more worldly Marget embraces Chris and kisses her to show her how a boy might grab her and kiss her in harvest time. Though the kiss “is over in a minute,” Chris finds it “quick and shameful, fine for all that, tingling and strange and shameful by turns” (47). The first sexual sensation lasts “long after she parted with Marget” as she “stared down at Peesie's Knapp and blushed again . . . she felt ill every time she looked at father and mother”

(47). Chris' new knowledge of physical pleasure now translates to a new awareness of the sexual desires of others. Her pairing of sexual desire with shame, rather than simply with reproduction, demonstrates that Chris has begun to absorb her father's attitudes about sex and the body. Twice more in the chapter, Chris experiences sexual shame as she views an action or behavior through the eyes of her father. When the local "daft" lad chases her into Pooty's house, Chris feels "sickened and queer" when her father questions her and "his eyes slipped up and down her dress as she spoke" (51). A similar moment happens when she is outside washing in her underclothes with her mother. When her father spies her and yells at her for being "a shameful limmer," Chris immediately gets out "white and ashamed, shame more for father than herself" (56). Here, near the very end of the "Ploughing" chapter, Chris has learned enough to understand that it is not her body nor her actions which deserve shame; rather it is her father's determination to see her as a sexual object that is shameful. She becomes aware of his desire for her; she thinks of the "caged beast peep from her father's eyes as he saw her stand in the tub. Like a fire that burned across the close, it went on and on" (57). She learns from her mother that she will have to confront men, and their desires, on her own, leading Chris to understand, at the chapter's end, that she is now a woman and will have to navigate her changing desires and ambitions. Like the plowed ground of the chapter's title, Chris' naivety or childish innocence has now been broken up and made ready for the next stage of sexual and/or reproductive development. No longer outside the processes as unaffected potential, Chris has changed under contact with sexual others in preparation for her role within the natural reproductive cycle.

The second chapter, "Drilling," places Chris' maturation into an adult with sexual desires within the context of the agricultural process of sowing seeds. "Drilling" is a technique of laying seeds within small holes in topsoil and previous harvest byproducts. Jethro Tull's invention of a

mechanized seed drill in 1701 allowed farmers to sow seeds without greatly disrupting the soil and without the waste of time and seed that hand sowing could cause. All three of Blawearie's main crops, potatoes, corn and barley, typically require about three months from seed to harvest, a period of growth referred to as "Seed-Time" in the following chapter. "Drilling" refers not to the growth and germination of the seed, but rather to the piercing of the soil and the placing of the seed into its furrow. Accordingly, the second chapter sees important events punctuate Chris' life, forcing her into adult female roles within her family and the larger community of Kinraddie. The chapter begins with Jean Guthrie's suicide, making Chris the woman of the house. Pregnant again, as John Guthrie refuses to control his lust, Jean can no longer "thole" the consequences of John's sexual desire, and kills herself, her unborn child, and the two young twins (57). Chris begins the chapter by reflecting upon how her mother's suicide destroyed what was left of her own childhood: "something died in your heart and went down with her to lie in Kinraddie kirkyard--the child in your heart died then, the bairn that believed the hills were made for its play" (58). Mistress Munro confirms "you'll find little time for dreaming and dirt when you're keeping the house at Blawearie" (59). Now as the woman of the house, Chris is exposed to more advanced sexual attention. When they hire a laborer to help with the fields, Chris, as housekeeper, is responsible for preparing his sleeping quarters in the barn. He takes the opportunity "to put out his arm, round her legs before she could move, almost he pulled her down on the hay beside him" (63). He then tells her "you've never lain with a man yet, lass, I can see, and that's a sore waste of hot blood like yours. So mind I'm here if you want me" (63). At first, the offer of actual sexual intercourse makes Chris feel sick, recalling her early sense of shame when her father viewed her as a potential sexual object. Later in the night, though, she begins to consider his offer and her own body with a newly awakened sensual appreciation: "a

strange ache came in her, in her breasts, so that they tingled, and in her throat . . . And she thought of the tink lying there in the barn and how easy it would be to steal down the stairs" (63). She disrobes and turns to view herself in "the long glass that had once stood in mother's room" (63). In the mirror, Chris recognizes the desirability of her own adult body: "She thought herself sweet and cool and fit for that lover who would some day come and kiss her and hold her, so" (64). Significantly, it is her mother's mirror in which she first examines and acknowledges this new woman's body. Having replaced her mother as mistress of the house with Jean's suicide, she now replaces her mother in a cyclical return as the sexual female in the image presented by the mirror. Her newly gained maturity and awareness leads her to hope that the independent adult Chris of the mirror will be more at one with the movements of nature and cycles of time: that Chris may "find voice at last for the whimsies that filled her eyes … and the years that faded and fell, dissolved as a breath…and the Standing Stones up there night after night and day after day by the loch of Blawearie, how around them there gathered things that wept and laughed and lived again in the hours before the dawn" (64).

The sexual desires and awareness of her adult body brought about by the attentions of a seasonal worker are Chris' first experience of "harvest madness," a condition that many in the community appear to experience alongside the harvest season. Grassic Gibbon, however, explicitly links the first "harvest madness" to the seed-sowing stage of the chapter title. He writes that the madness "scored her mind as a long drill scores the crumbling sods of a brown, still May" (64). The "harvest madness" drills or plants the seeds of Chris' eventual sexual activity, and it also introduces Ewan Tavendale as a figure of both potent sexuality and base vulgarity. In the community, Ewan has little status as a poor Highlander hired to work Chae Strachan's farm. When the harvest madness begins, the community's opinion of him lowers still when he is

discovered alone with the old spinster, Sarah Sinclair, that no other man would touch. His marginal status within the community seems justified by his actions and Chris' response to him. When a fire burns down Peesie's Knapp, many of the community gather to save the family's belongings and livestock. After this event, Chris sets off back home in the dark without father or brother and runs into two men also leaving the fire. In the darkness, one grabs her and kisses her: "it was the first time a man had ever kissed her like that, dark and frightening and terrible in the winter road" (77). And although she kicks him away from her in disgust, she ends up thinking about it with a degree of shame and pleasure. In her bed at night, she remembers it "like being chased and bitten by a beast, but worse and with something else in it, as though half she'd liked the beast and the biting and the smell of that sleeve around her neck and that soft, unshaven face against her own" (78). The memory then leads to "an awful dream that made her blush even while she knew she was dreaming" (78). Later in the year, Ewan Tavendale visits Blawearie looking for Will, and Chris entertains him as the mistress of the house. They trade ardent looks, him watching her until she blushes and her noticing that "the neck of his shirt had fallen apart, below it the skin was white as new milk, frothed white it looked, and a drop of sweat stood there where the brown of his tanning and the white of his real skin met" (84). In doing so, she discovers that it was him that kissed her out in the dark, and Will suggests that she was the reason for his visit after all. This flash of sexual passion, however, is forgotten in the remaining action of the chapter, though it is the beginning of the more substantial relationship that develops in "Seed-Time." The rest of the chapter follows Will's sudden leaving of Blawearie to marry Mollie Douglas and the effect this romance has upon John Guthrie and Chris. Will elopes with Mollie Douglas; John Guthrie falls into an apoplectic rage that leaves him bed-ridden and Chris responsible for his care and for the farm. Once more, the consequences of sexual passion force

Chris into taking on further duties. Made housekeeper by her mother's suicide and now nurse by her brother's departure, Chris's new status as the nurturing female corresponds to her developing sexual awareness as an adult woman. These "seeds" of change will "bloom" in the next chapter as she inherits her father's estate and marries Ewan Tavendale.

In "Seed Time", the third chapter of *Sunset Song*, Gibbon continues to pair the development of the female subject with the agricultural cycle to suggest a Feminine alternative to progressive or linear time. In the previous chapter, the seeds of important changes are sown or drilled into the waiting land and into the consciousness of a developing woman. These seeds of sexuality, of agency, and adult responsibility grow and develop in the third chapter into fully-formed branches of Chris' identity. Their growth from tiny seed to full bloom results in Chris' asserting her own independence, marrying Ewan, and managing the Blawearie farmstead herself. The first major event of "Seed Time," also in an organic movement, is the development out of the last event of the previous chapter: the further deterioration of John Guthrie's health and mind and his eventual death. During this period, John calls Chris to his side through a high-pitched whistle "Chris, do this, and Chris, do that it went on from morn till night" (89). His worsening health reveals his sense of ownership or entitlement to her and the lusting "caged beast" she had once caught in his look returns: "father lay with the red in his face and his eye on her, whispering and whispering at her, the harvest in his blood, whispering her to come to him, they'd done it in Old Testament times, whispering You're my flesh and blood, I can do with you what I will" (89). Guthrie's repressed lust and anger surface, revealing not only the reason he had felt so much shame over her young body, but also his sense of absolute patriarchal and paternal authority over her. Chris tells him plainly that she will not come to him and even begins locking the bedroom doors at night. Though she is frightened of what he might do, she no longer acknowledges his

authority, nor does she allow his desires to cause her shame. Thus, when she discovers one morning that Guthrie is dead, she luxuriates in the physicality of her new independence by enjoying the physical pleasures of a good breakfast, a long nap, and the view of her relaxed arms "dimpled and brown, soft-skinned with the play of muscles below them" (90). Her lack of grief makes her a target for malicious gossip in Kinraddie, but his death has ended her acceptance of societal expectations: "It was fair a speak in Kinraddie, her coolness, she knew that well but she didn't care, she was free at last" (90). At his funeral, freed from his control and expectations, she can view him with empathy for the first time in a retrospective, Feminine return to her youth: "She minded the long roads he'd tramped to the kirk with her when she was young, how he'd smiled at her and called her his lass in days before the world's fight and the fight of his own flesh grew over-bitter, and poisoned his love to hate" (95).

John Guthrie's funeral also provides opportunity for another seed to sprout when Ewan comes to take his farewell of Chris. Her new clarity of vision, no longer fettered by others' sense of shame, reveals Ewan in a new light as well. He shakes her hand with both of his "and he didn't look ashamed and shy any more, but as though he was so sorry he'd help her in any way, not only the ways he could" (95). Some time after the funeral, Chris goes to town in order to arrange her inheritance. As his sole heir, she inherits the lease on Blawearie, all of the gear and goods, and 300£ pounds. Though everyone including the community and her lawyer expects her to sell it off for some man to run, she determines to keep her inheritance and run the farm on her own. Yet again, as a single woman unfettered by the opinions and judgements of others, Chris embraces her independence and defies convention by following her own desires in the matter. And because she is now an adult woman unencumbered by outside authority, she may choose her sexual, romantic interest for herself. When she next meets Ewan, even though "she [doesn't]like

him half as she'd done at the funeral," the flimsy attraction of their earlier flirtations has now developed into something more substantial (100). They spend the day together, an impromptu holiday, and visit the solemn ruins of the Whig Vault and sit reflecting in silence by the sea. The quality of their relationship has changed, and so when Ewan asks "Chris, do you like me a bit?", "a nervousness came on her, not that she feared him, she'd known all along she was safe with Ewan as Mollie with Will" (103). She has a strong physical reaction to him now, "her blood ran so clear and with such a fine, sweet song in her veins she must hold her breath and heark to it" and she knows suddenly that "she liked him, loved him as they said in the soppy English books"(103). When they are alone together again after a storm sends Chae and Ewan to Blawearie to help with the livestock, Chris seems to already know what had been hinted at when she compared her safety with him to Mollie with Will. Though they embrace passionately and Chris tells Ewan to wait, she has no fear and no shame about the situation. Rather, she only wishes it to "wait for another night's coming, it was sweet and she wanted it to live and last, not snatch it and fumble it blindly and stupidly" because she already has sensed that they will marry (109). When Ewan comes to call on her and warns her that he cannot marry at the moment without any money saved by, she informs him that she has all the money needed and he would just have to put "his Highland pride in his pouch" (114). Grassic Gibbon makes it clear from their embrace and from Chris' arrangement of the engagement that Chris is in control of the situation. Now a woman, having developed in accordance with seasonal cycles, it is she who determines her sexual activity, arranges her marriage, and manages the running of the Blawearie farm. At New Year, they are married in the barn and not long after she becomes pregnant. Here, once again, Grassic Gibbon explicitly pairs her state with the chapter title and the agricultural cycle of the land. She thinks "no night would she ever be her own again, in her body the seed of

that pleasure she had sown with Ewan burgeoning and growing, dark, in the warmth below her heart" (137). This change in status, both as a female and as a singular subject, happens within her body, unknown and unshared by others. The quintessentially intimate experience of seed germinating and growing beneath the soil cannot be shared by the farmer, for all his work, until the bloom is ready to burst forth into a visible world. So too does Chris keep her pregnancy a secret until the signs are clear. As Chris experiences the universal generative force at work in her own body, she acknowledges the special kinship between women and the land. She links her body, and her mother's body, to the land in agricultural reproduction "this was her rig and furrow, she had brought [Ewan] the unsown field and the tending and reaping was hers, even as with herself when she lay in her own mother's body" (137). At first reading, this change of an unfurrowed field to producing land seems final and permanent for "Chris Guthrie crept out from the place below the beech trees where Chris Tavendale lay and went wandering off into the waiting quiet of the afternoon, Chris Tavendale heard her go, and she came back to Blawearie never again" (137). However, here Chris Guthrie, neither a wife nor a mother, does not die; she only wanders off and does not return to Blawearie. In the last novel of the trilogy, this Chris returns in fact to farm Cairndhu, the land of her birth, without either man or child to complicate her role. Linked clearly to the reproductive seasons of the land, Chris will ultimately follow the natural cycle of Feminine Time, as birth, life, and death follow one after the other until she becomes the basic matter that nourishes new life once again.

The final chapter of *Sunset Song* moves into the "Harvest" stage of agricultural production with Chris experiencing the reaping of the seeds that have grown to fullness in the previous section. The first harvesting of the crop is the birth of Chris' child, young Ewan. When her condition becomes apparent to all, and rumors start that perhaps she and Ewan had not

waited until marriage to lay together, Chris almost wishes it so and that "the baby would have been here by now and not still to come" (*SQ* 144). As the season wears on, the child is "still waiting harvest and stooking and the gathering of stooks . . . it lay with her, warm and shielded, and saw with her the growth and ripening of that autumn's corn, yellow and great, and the harvest moons that came so soon in that year" (144). As they wait for the birth of the child and the crops to ripen for harvest, they learn of a thing antithetical to the natural world, an event likely to pervert the cyclical time of life and land: the outbreak of what will be known as the Great War or WWI.

The effect of the war on the land and culture of Kinraddie reveals itself at the end of the chapter, when this *un*natural reaping of land and life leaves Kinraddie barren. However, before the war truly intrudes upon the population in Kinraddie, both Chris and Ewan are in tune with the cycles of the natural world. Ewan spends his time immersed in the lands and the crops like "a mother with his child he was, the corn his as this seed of his hers, burgeoning and ripening, growing to harvest" (144). Here, though the male does not experience the natural, reproductive cycle within his own body as the female does, he can still follow Feminine Time by attuning himself to the rhythms and seasons of the land. They are so in time with land's cycles that Ewan finishes the harvest at the end of September and the next day brings rain and Chris' first contractions. She is delivered of a healthy baby boy whom they name Ewan like the father he already resembles. Here, again, the war interrupts what should be a quiet time on the farm with the fields harvested and not yet ready for the next sowing and the mother delivered but not yet ready for another pregnancy. A week after Ewan's birth, Chris comes "down to the kitchen and the shining of the October sun . . . into the whisper and murmur of that war that had so excited Chae Strachan . . . For it was on, not a haver only, every soul that came up to look at young

Ewan began to speak of it sooner or later" (147). Kinraddie, by contrast, rejects natural time; instead, "every soul made money and didn't care a damn though the War outlasted their lives; they didn't care though the land was shaved of its timber till the whole bit place would soon be a waste with the wind a-blow over heath and heather where once the corn came green" (156). By choosing economic progress brought about by war over the self-replenishing natural cycles of agriculture, the tenants of Kinraddie break their unspoken contract with the land; they take more from the land than nature can replenish, and they destroy the natural productive cycle that had sustained tenants for hundreds of years. Chae Strachan is one of the first to enlist and returns on leave "so altered you'd hardly believe it, Chae himself, thin, his fine eyes queered and strained somehow. Even his laugh seemed different" (154). Moreover, he discovers that the war has altered the people of Kinraddie: "the folk seemed different, into their bones the War had eaten, they were money-mad or mad with grief for somebody killed or somebody wounded" (156). Nothing suggests that the change or "progress" brought about by participating in a modern, global wartime economy is ultimately beneficial. In fact, only those that ignore the historic moment and remain aligned to the Feminine, agrarian time ultimately endure in contentment and harmony.

As the war stretches on through the years, Chris and Ewan continue the agrarian cycle and remain untainted by the war; she has "young Ewan at her breast, her man beside her, Blawearie theirs and the grain a fine price . . .Maybe there was war and bloodshed and that was awful, but far off also" (152). As one winter, one fallow season, begins to pass, Chris feels the call of the natural cycle within her own body again: "And now she wanted another bairn, Spring was coming, fast and fast, the land smelt of it, the caller sea winds came fresh with the tang that only in Spring they brought, it was nineteen-seventeen. And Chris said in her heart that in April

their baby would be conceived" (160). The kinship between the female body and the cycling seasons of the land sustains Chris against the temptations and pressures brought on by the war. Ewan's connection to the land and life, however, is less strong. Just as she looks at Ewan with plans for conceiving another child, he changes: "when he looked at her no longer was the old look there, but a blank, dark one . . . and he took no notice of young Ewan that ran after him, bairn-like" (161). The war and social expectation win: Ewan had "grown sick of it all, folk laughing and sneering at him for a coward," enlists and sets out for training without speaking with Chris (162). When he stops home after training, six weeks within a war-based society has made him "a man so coarse and cruel that in place of love hate came singing in the heart of Chris . . .he never looked at the parks or stock or took notice of young Ewan" (170). So changed is he, now cut off completely from the rhythms of the land, that he abuses Chris and their old sexual connection is ruined by "horror of his eyes upon her" worse than "his beast-like mauling" (171). While Ewan goes off to war, Chris stays and works the farm, falling back into the natural rhythms that had dictated her life for so long. When one after another the men in her life, Chae, Ewan, Will, and Long Rob, go off to war to die, she turns to the one relationship that has not abandoned her for masculine pride or misplaced patriotism: "She turned to the land, close to it and the smell of it, kind and kind it was, it didn't rise up and torment your heart, you could keep at peace with the land if you gave it your heart and hands, tended it and slaved for it, it was wild and a tyrant, but it was not cruel" (174). We see here a difference between Grassic Gibbon's assessment of a woman's relationship to the land and a man's relationship to it most of the time. John Guthrie was forced to fight against the land's natural yield to produce enough crop to support a large family, and later, to save a substantial heritage.[29] The need to acquire may well have infected Ewan, had he lived, as he had already shown a tendency to want to hurry and

improve upon the natural growth in the fields. Both in *Sunset Song* and in the end of *Grey Granite*, Chris is content to work with the land at the land's own pace and in its own seasons, to "keep peace with it" (*SQ* 174). The female relationship to the land appears co-operative and sustaining. By submitting to the will of the land, to its seasons and its cycles, one can participate in eternity, for "the land would outlast them all, their wars and their Argentines, and the winds come sailing over the Grampians still with their storms and rain and the dew that ripened the crops--long and long after all their little vexings in the evening light were dead and done" (165).

In the Epilude at the end of *Sunset Song*, having buried one husband and not yet married to another, Chris returns to this state of primordial potential outside reproductive cycles. She is once again the "Unfurrowed Field" of both the Prelude and Epilude. On one hand, an unfurrowed field can represent endings, death, and absence. If the plowing or furrowing of a field demonstrates human activity, a field left unplowed may represent the death or absence of those that would have worked it or an ending to a particular way of life. Indeed, Kinraddie experiences both loss and change leaving fields unfurrowed. The trustees who have owned and managed the Kinraddie lands on behalf of the old Kinraddie estate decide to sell up, meaning the local tenants have to purchase their farms or be evicted. The Mutches leave, while the Gordons of Upperhill buy up some of the farms including Old Pooty's when he is taken to the madhouse. The Irishman Ellison buys up Blawearie, among other land, and puts sheep in the parks, as do the Gordons on their various estates, while the Munros build chicken runs all across their fields. Like the Highland clearances of a century earlier, much of the arable farmland is turned over to the rearing of sheep and other livestock by a few wealthy landowners. The money that had come into Kinraddie during the war now serves to displace small tenant farmers and destroy the rural community that had once thrived. At Blawearie, the change wrought by economic "progress"

and development seems to prohibit the natural agricultural cycle so crucial to Chris' identity. Grassic Gibbon writes "that was the way things went in the end . . . sheep baaed and scrunched where once the parks flowed thick with corn, no corn would come at all, they said, since the woods went down" (189). Yet this tragic change, the linear progress of time, only actually applies to human activity within a relatively short human sense of time. In *Sunset Song*, the reader has witnessed the rise and fall of many different forms of human societies, from those that placed the ancient standing stones, to the Picts who built Cospatric a castle, from the feudal communities at Dunnottar to the religious sects of the reformation. Despite all of this human change, the land endures and life endures and even a trace of "the old Pict stock" endures in the "dour folk" that populate the Grampians (17). Trees can be replanted and fields, after a period of fallowness, can recover as Chris discovers at the end of *Grey Granite* when she takes up farming again in the abandoned croft of Cairndhu. After all, change and death are essential parts of the life cycle of all nature: change only appears permanent or linear if one ignores what happens after death. Chris bears witness to the endurance of life after death. In the Epilude, the reader discovers that she is already engaged to the new minister though she is not yet married and has not yet consummated the relationship. Though she is no longer a virgin as she was in the Prelude, she is still a body of potential untouched by this new sexual force. In Chris, as in the land itself, the "unfurrowed field" of the Epilude is that season of waiting before new life, a new cycle, begins.

The novel ends with the minister Robert Colquhoun's sermon on the raising of the memorial for the men who died in WWI. One the one hand, the sermon is a conventional lament for the changing times, for the progress of society that has made rural Scotland and its culture "a desolation". He says:

> With them we may say there died a thing older than themselves, these were the Last of the Peasants, the last of the Old Scots folk…It was the old Scotland that perished then, and we may believe that never again will the old speech and the old songs, the old curses and the old benedictions, rise but with alien effort to our lips. . . the crofter has gone, the man with the house and the steading of his own and the land closer to his heart than the flesh of his body. (193)

And while his speech may seem to echo the author's own sentiments, the text demonstrates that his pronouncement of endings is not wholly correct. He has already heavily romanced the crofter, as most in Kinraddie were tenant farmers like the Guthries and did not own their house nor their land. Each of the men memorialized, Ewan, Chase, Long Rob, and author-proxy James Leslie, abandoned the land of their own free will to fight a distant war. Robert, an educated town boy, also does not speak the "old speech" of the area. On the other hand, others do, and the novel itself utilizes many an old Scots word. The old song the piper plays, too, is itself several centuries old and is already familiar to the reader from Chris' wedding.

Still, in his sermon and his approach to time, Robert hints at his own great ambition that will ultimately force Chris away from the land. He preaches that "beyond [the world that is past] and us there shines a greater hope and a newer world, undreamt when these four died" (193). Robert dreams of changing the world and building a utopia. In *Cloud Howe,* the next *Scots Quair* novel, it is this ambition that moves him and Chris to the town, where he hopes to have an impact on a larger population. The male drive, once again, needs to make a mark, and both his profession and his ambition force Chris away from the land and the natural rhythms of life that had once corresponded to her own body. Divorced from an intimate connection with the fertile land, their marriage produces only a sickly infant that dies right after its birth. Away from the

land, cut off from true natural cyclical time, the female body does not generate life to match the forces of the land. Ultimately, Robert chooses social, human linear time over the cyclical Feminine Time of nature, just as Ewan chose social convention and historical action over the fields and cycling seasons of Blawearie. Like Ewan, Robert dies pursuing his ambition to make an individual impact upon human history. Robert's sermon at the end of *Sunset Song* must be read in context of the entire argument of *Scots' Quair*. Change is constant, men live and die and live again, because all living matter in the universe follows the basic Feminine Time of reproductive cycles. In the story of Chris, Robert will be one more turn of the cycle, one more man that enters and exits Chris' life, as she and the land endure.

The life cycle or reproductive cycle presented within the agricultural processes of *Sunset Song* mirror Chris' longer narrative in the following novels of *Scots Quair.* Each novel seems to correspond to the three life stages of the representative female: maid, mother, crone. Moreover, the three novels portray progressively "developed" lifestyles. As I have already detailed, *Sunset Song* is largely concerned with Chris' childhood and sexual development into adulthood (maid) while living in a traditional agrarian community. *Cloud Howe* presents the move to a more advanced, more centralized society as a deterioration of environment and living conditions and a restriction on Chris' natural inclinations and freedom. *Grey Granite,* the third novel, begins in a city with her "middle-aged," "stiff's an old horse on a Mounth," though she is only 38 (357). The effects of a modern advanced civilization result in greater deprivation, and Chris' only relief is to escape the city in the end. She ultimately rejects all social and familial connections and returns alone to the farm of her birth and her eventual death (as a crone). An embodiment of Feminine Time, Chris finds herself moving in between memories and reflections, re-experiencing the past while simultaneously in the body of the present. Through these memories and through quick

physical trips, Chris also revisits the more primitive landscapes and lifestyles of her past. By repeatedly returning to earlier stages of development, both in terms of her individual experience and a populations' social organization, the texts of *A Scots Quair* always intimate an undercurrent that questions the notion of positive progress. In fact, the third novel in the big city ends with Chris, single once again, returning to an agrarian culture, as far removed from civilization as possible: her "progress," potentially representing a more healthy or desirable progress for humanity, is in fact a return to the beginning of *Sunset Song*.

Cloud Howe, in contrast, presents individual human "progress" as an undesirable assimilation into the corrupted values of a social or civilized body. The novel's setting in the town of Segget represents the movement of Scotland's agrarian populations toward more industrial, capitalist societies. The reader follows Chris as she leaves Blawearie and follows her new husband to a town where he believes he can create more change. By relocating Chris into a society dependent upon the Masculine, linear time of industry, Grassic Gibbon demonstrates that societal "progress" may only benefit the already dominant populations. Segget is a proper village or town with half the population working at the mills and the other half running the businesses required of a large working population. The spinners at the mills are already one level removed from nature, as the wool and flax they process has been reaped by others out in the farmlands. Moreover, as hired workers, they own neither the materials they process nor the results of their work, providing a classic example of capitalist alienation. The more developed or civilized life in Segget is associated with industrial noises, brutish behavior, and unpleasant surroundings. The novel introduces the reader to Segget at the time of Chris' move to town with a rhyme that a "coarse-like tink of a spinner had made: Oh, Segget it's a dirty hole / A kirk without a steeple / A midden-heap at ilka door / And damned uncivil people" (203). The working poor of *Sunset Song*

could achieve some amount of respect and comfortable living by their labor in the land: John Guthrie earns enough to leave a sizable inheritance, Chris and Ewan live comfortably at Blawearie and enjoy the beauty of the natural setting. The working poor of Segget, by contrast, are "looked on as a man would look on a swarm of lice" and live in slums that look like "abandoned byres or pig-sties" to Chris (221). For the poor, progress into a more developed society ironically worsens their environment. As the Segget rhyme indicates, civilization actually seems to "uncivil[ize]" the people.

As Chris moves into town life in Segget and attempts to embrace the role of minister's wife and mother, she becomes separated from the natural world and out of sync with the cyclical time of Nature. Her assimilation into a society based in the Masculine, linear time of industry results in the tightening of patriarchal limitations and a loss of connection with the more universal and cosmic rhythms that had shaped her youth. According to Masculine societal values, Chris has advanced or progressed: she is the wife of a minister, rather than a farmer; he makes more than three times the salary of the farmers in Kinraddie; she lives in town with a maid to do the domestic chores. Because of her roles as the minister's wife and a mother, her life now consists of "books, and her Robert, young Ewan to teach, and set[ting] a smooth cloth on the Manse's table" (208). Her progress into a more advanced society has forced her into a much more limited female role. She no longer owns the family's property nor has knowledge and authority over how they earn a living. Her new status also means she is a target for the cruel gossip that marks much of *Cloud Howe.* Just as she does in *Sunset Song,* Chris seeks out old ruins when she needs solitude and a space for reflection away from others. Her escape from Segget to the ruins of the Kaimes actually exposes her to more gossip, since "the Kaimes was the place where spinners and tinks of that kind would go [and do] things that would leave them

smoking in hell" (225). The Kaimes are the ruins of a castle, an ancient focal point for the social and political activities of a feudal society. Unlike her retreat to the Standing Stones in *Sunset Song*, the Kaimes, as a remnant of a highly social, more primordial society, exposes her to prejudices and expectations of the more "advanced" civilization of Segget. Grassic Gibbon uses these ruins to emphasize the loss of Chris' previous agrarian youth in her attainment of increased social status. Chris climbs the hill towards the Kaimes and "queer and sudden a memory took her--of the hills above the farm in Kinraddie, how sometimes she'd climb to the old Druid stones and stand and remember the world below. . . Chris Colquohoun, who had once been married to Ewan, and before that time was Chris Guthrie . . . she had finished with that life that had been . . . the old, sad dream that was done" (204). Here, in the natural setting of the hills before she reaches the ruins, Chris' fights against the instinct to return to memory and her earlier identities – a moment where the underlying Feminine Time reasserts itself. Chris rejects the cyclical pattern evoked by nature and memory and attempts to focus on the present where she is Chris Colquohoun, the minister's wife. Yet she cannot help but lament that the advancement she experiences as personal lifestyle and status change has also degraded the old agrarian dream. She observes that "the parks that once came rich with corn that Ewan had sown and they both had reaped" have now been turned to sheep pasture, a product that requires less contact between humans and nature (207). Pulled back into memory, she recalls the dream that "Ewan [would] come back and things as before, how they'd work for young Ewan and grow old together, and buy Blawearie and be happy forever" (207). Masculine time, the linear time of progress, makes this dream impossible. Civilization leads to the decline of agrarian communities and the unnatural death of men in war; even such time outside of society will eventually lead to the death of everyone Chris knows. She understands that "she might stand on this hill, she might rot in a

grave, it would matter nothing, the world would go on, young Ewan dead as his father was dead" (207). She recalls the truth "she had seen in these parks . . . the only truth that there was, that only the sky and the seasons endured, slow in their change, the cry of the rain, the whistle of the whins" (207). Nature endures precisely because it heeds the cyclical time of seasons: of growth, decline, decay and renewal.

In the final novel of *A Scots Quair*, Chris Guthrie follows her son Ewan to the city of Duncairn to work and live. Without a home of her own or strong friendships to support her, *Cloud Howe's* town of Segget offers little reason for her to stay, especially when son Ewan accepts an apprenticeship with a steel manufacturer. Though Robert's job paid better than farm work, the cost of their living in town means Chris is left worse off after his death than she was after her father's. When she moves with young Ewan to the city, she helps Ma Cleghorn run the boarding house where she and Ewan live. Like the poor of both rural and urban societies, Chris' subsistence comes at the expense of her body: "Queer to work again in such fashion, use all your body till you ached dead tired, by the time you'd finished the upper floor your hips were filled with a stinging and shooting" (366). Unlike farm work, which had the sun and clean air to recommend it, Chris' manual labor in the city means she "felt like a greasy dish-clout, just, ready to be wrung and hung out to dry (366). Living now according to the schedule of institution and industry, Chris' life is dictated by Masculine, mechanical time; the time and duration of her work is entirely dependent upon the measured time of the economy's workday rather than the autochthonic time of nature. Living in civilization, she now wakes because "at half-past five the clock would go birr! in the narrow long room you had ta'en for yourself, you'd wake with a start and find yourself sprawled in weariness right across the great bed, dark the guff of the early Spring, no cheep of birds here on Windmill Brae, clatter of the clock as it started again with a

hoast and a rasp" (362). The "cheep of birds" recalls her mornings living close to the land as a youth: "you'd waken with the peewits crying across the hills, deep and deep, crying in the heart of you and the smell of the earth in your face, almost you'd cry for that, the beauty of it and the sweetness of the Scottish land and skies" (37). While both lives require difficult manual labor, "getting up and working and going to bed--it had never been anything else in a way," civilized urban life provides no instances of overwhelming beauty and sweetness to alleviate the misery (391). Though masculine, civilized time is progressive, working towards the supposed "advancement" of society through the means of capitalist economy and more structured institutions, it requires routine and stagnancy on the individual level for those populations that must provide the foundation of progress: the working classes. On an individual level, they may not experience advancement or mobility but rather endless cycles of struggle and poverty. Unlike the cycles of Feminine Time, these repetitions and routines do not connect one deeper to the land or the forces of life. *Grey Granite*, as its title suggests, positions the hardness of urban life, the grueling rhythms of industrial and economic progress, as nearly universal experiences for the city dweller. The narrative records the complaints of the typical working class husband: "a man would get up in a Paldy tenement and go along the passage to the W.C., blasted thing crowded . . . five kids to keep, eating off your head—och, why did you live?—never a minute of quiet to yourself, nothing but the girnings of the wife for more silver, the kids half-barefoot, half-fed, oh hell" (369). The struggles of wife in the same situation are even worse. Her life revolves around "what to give the man, fed he must be ere he took the streets to look for that weary job he'd not find … had hit you last night, the bloody brute coming drunk from the pub--a woman couldn't go and hide in booze, forget all the soss and pleither, oh no, she'd to go on till she dropped, weans scraiching, getting thin and like tinks . . . oh God, it made a body sick" (370). As Mitchell

laments in letters to Helen Cruikshank, the suffering of these lower classes for advancement of progress or civilization haunted the author: "Ancient Scotland is never Mary Queen: it's those serfs they kept chained in the Fifeshire mines a hundred years ago. And so on. And so with the moderns: I am so horrified by all our dirty little cruelties and bestialities" (d. 18 Nov. 33). In the routines and cycles of city life, there is no suggestion of renewal or rebirth, no "alter[ing] and turn[ing], back to the earth and the times to be, to a spraying of motes . . .to trees themselves in a burgeoning Spring" (236). Instead, in the tenements of Duncairn, Grassic Gibbon portrays "the midden of corpses" that he likens Glasgow to, with "such conditions as the most bitterly pressed primitive in Tierra del Fuego never visioned" (ScSc 98-99). Thus, when Chris abandons the city, and abandons social relationships to die alone in the croft of Cairndhu, we recognize her rejection of modern civilization as a rejection of finite time and Masculine progress.

At the end of *Grey Granite,* Chris embraces a lifestyle stripped of all the human, social aspects of her accumulated years and lives out her last years in the croft of her birth. At this last stage, Chris represents the crone figure in the female triad or the darker aspect of the Great Goddess defined by Gimbutas as "Life, Death, and Generation . . . more than fertility and motherhood" (*Goddesses* 316). The crone, or death, phase of the female life, like the winter stage of nature when land awaits the coming spring, will ultimately lead round back to life. Thus, Chris' retirement and eventual death in the exact setting of her birth connects the two ends of her human life into an unending cycle. Though her retreat into seclusion on her childhood farm and her death emphasize her solitude, they also return her to the primordial Feminine, where, alone, she is united with all nature. When her third husband, Ake Ogilvie, leaves her because they never could "mix," she discovers that "she'd finished with men or the need for them" and is "eager to be naked, alone and unfriended, facing the last realities with a cool, clear wonder, an unhating

desire" (*SQ* 487). Even her son Ewan is but a distant concern in the end, seeing as he has grown up to chase his own ambition of socialist salvation as surely as Robert had gone out to seek men for his own version of salvation. When Chris moves to Cairndhu, she does not build the social relationships that had once formed a core part of her rural youth. Rather, the folk "knew little of her, she less of them, she had found the last road she wanted and taken it, concerning none and concerned with none" (496). Even the memories of those she had known and loved and hated do not trouble her much, despite her living in the Guthries' old house. Instead of returning memories, she instead sees the land, "enduring, encompassing, the summer hills gurling in summer heat, unceasing the wail of the peesies far off" (496). In her complete solitude at the end of her life, Chris looks to the eternity, not of human souls, but of the natural cycle, to "the day that did not die there but went east, on and on, over all the world till the morning came, the unending morning somewhere on the world" (496). Ultimately, she realizes, the "best deliverance of all" is that the universe is ruled by constant change "whose right hand was Death and whose left hand was Life" (496). This always changing, never ending flow of time "might be stayed by none of the dreams of men, love, hate, compassion, anger or pity, gods or devils or wild crying to the sky" (496). The trilogy ends with the submission of the individual ego, the short-lived human subject, to the endurance of the natural world. Like the beginning of *Sunset Song*, the protagonist is placed within and surrounded by a natural setting. However, because this is the end her life, the final image begins with the feeling human subject and ends with the enduring natural world which she no longer experiences: "She still sat on as one by one the lights went out and the rain came beating the stones about her, and falling all that night while she still sat there, presently feeling no longer the touch of the rain or hearing the sound of the lapwings going by" (496). Here her body might return to "a spraying of motes on a raging wind when the

Howe was happed in its winter storms . . . to the peck and tweet of the birds in the trees, to trees themselves in a burgeoning Spring" (236). Dying in the place of her birth, out on the land where her body might "alter and turn, back to the earth and the times to be", Chris returns to the womb of Earth and to the universal cycles of Feminine Time (236).

GAY HUNTER

Gay Hunter is the story of a young American woman who finds herself transported, along with a fascist Englishman named Ledyard Houghton and his companion Lady Jane, to a far off post-apocalyptic future where human populations have returned to the simple, nature-based lifestyles of prehistory. In the centuries between the global war that ended civilization and this new life of the Folk, Nature reclaims much of what was once England and provides enough for the hunter-gatherer populations to sustain themselves. For Gay, the return of the primitive Golden Age represents a utopian escape from the violence and horrors of modern life during the inter-war period in Britain. For Houghton, the lack of power structures and institutions represent a chance to rebuild civilization upon fascist values, enlisting and enslaving the free Folk to wage war and serve within a hierarchy with the white Englishman at the top. The conflict between Gay's primitive utopia and Houghton's fascist progress reaches a climax in the ruins of London when Houghton and his small following of Folk find weapons of mass destruction from the previous age. In order to preserve the new Golden Age, Gay becomes determined to stop Houghton and destroy the last remaining records and weapons of the previous "civilized" age of the Hierarchies and the enslaved Sub-Men. Gay eventually wakes up back in the 20th century,

having been gone for six weeks, with a new hope that humankind might yet escape the horrors of the Hierarchs by relying on the kindliness inherent to all humans.

Though *Gay Hunter* is one of Mitchell's English works, both written entirely in modern English and set in England, the text fashions the eponymous protagonist as something of a Chris Guthrie proxy. While Gay is an American, her sentiments, connection to nature and time, and epiphanies very much mirror the Scottish Chris Guthrie: both women occupy a distinctly non-English, non-conforming status and represent the possibility of escaping the Masculine and imperial values of progress and modernity. Mitchell first alludes to his Scottish works in the second paragraph of *Gay Hunter*. It begins with "below and around her" and continues with "the unfamiliar moors quivered and moved their cloaks in the coming of the afternoon wind" (3). Both the image of the female amidst the moors and some of the language and phrasing explicitly match the opening of the first chapter of *Sunset Song: "*Below and around where Chris Guthrie lay the June moors whispered and rustled and shook their cloaks" (*SQ* 32). The phrasing is distinctive enough that any reader of his works will immediately recall Chris Guthrie in our first introduction to Gay Hunter. On the next page, Gay hears the cry of the peewit, the iconic bird of *Sunset Song.* Gay's revelation towards the end of the novel that "Nothing endures" (143) echoes the same words as Chris' thoughts in chapters I and III of *Sunset Song,* chapter III of *Cloud Howe*, and chapter II of *Grey Granite.* While Mitchell does not repeat physical attributes in the two women, he does suggest that neither conform to the typical beauty standards of the period. He repeatedly describes Chris as having an athletic, almost masculine figure, while Gay's tall figure is "rather big and archaic… not the Chino-battered-Perso-coseteered figure of the moderns" (4). Part of Gay's distinctly unmodern appearance directly signals her kinship to the ancient peoples of the Golden Age and the Folk she meets in the novel's future of 20,000 years.

She has "good teeth- funny teeth, they met and bit edge to edge as the teeth of the Cro-Magnard men did" (4). While the narratives confirm that both women are appealing or attractive, they also seem to suggest that part of the women's appeal derives from the fact that they do not fit within modern tastes. *Gay Hunter's* explicit allusions to Chris Guthrie and Mitchell's emphasis on the outsider, unmodern qualities of both female figures suggest that a particular, now marginalized female perspective is required in order to realize the desirable return of humanity to its original Nature.

In *Gay Hunter*, just as he does in *Scots Quair,* Mitchell works with two levels of time: the time of the Natural world, including the time-sense of those human beings who retain their original nature, and the time of civilizations, those institutions and hierarchies constructed by humanity for the purpose of social organization. Because *Gay Hunter* transports the protagonist 20,000 years into the future while also retaining records of past civilizations, the novel provides Gay with a broad, almost cosmic view of the timeline of civilizations. Through the device of time travel, the novel expands the usual lifetime limit of a protagonist's perspective, allowing Gay to evaluate the lifetime of many societies and civilizations against the more infinite time of life itself. Through this long view of time, Gay discovers that the concept of linear, progressive time is as false for the temporality of civilizations as it is for nature. To transport Gay to the future, Mitchell employs a time-travel experiment from J.W. Dunne's *An Experiment with Time* (1927). Gay proposes that she and a new acquaintance, Major Ledyard Houghton, officer in the Fascist Defense Corps, attempt Dunne's dream experiment to glimpse the future. Mitchell presents the results of the experiment, not as a singular moment of clairvoyance, but as a journey into a far future that has seen the passage of many cycles of civilization only to now return back to original primitive life. In addition to his dream experiment, Dunne's theory of serial time also

seems to have influenced *Gay Hunter.* Dunne's argument is that time only appears linear because of the fixed subjective perspective of a human observer and that a "superlative general observer" may indeed see past, present, and future as constant and simultaneous. Gay Hunter becomes that "superlative general observer … the personification of all genealogically related life" who, unlike the individual observer, can see "that the universe was, after all, really stretched out in time" and that our linear view of it was a "mentally imposed barrier" (Dunne 208; 54).

While Gay's perception of time and the universe takes on a universal, higher-order quality from the impossible vantage of 20,000 years, she is also deeply situated within her own intimate, individual Feminine experience. Like Domina Riddoch of *The Thirteenth Disciple*, Gay connects herself and her chance at life unfettered by injustice and patriarchy to the generations of women before her. Domina wants to live a new life for all those women of the past who had been cheated, while Gay imagines herself "as though she were all the starved and cheated women of all time who had mated in shame, inadequately, hemmed in by codes and taboos and shames - she was their justification, in her their dim, sad lives found harbour" (*GH* 102). This universal female connection brings the lives of women from all across time together for retroactive healing. Through the links created by cyclical Feminine time, a woman in one point of time may redress and even alleviate the sufferings of a woman in another point of time. Gay experiences time both as an individual, within the sensual female body that understands nature and takes a lover, and as a universal female, as one of the free women of the Golden Age and as the descendent of all the women of history.

When Gay, Houghton, and his friend Lady Jane wake up naked 20,000 years in the future, their differing reactions foretell their function within Mitchell's conflict between the primordial utopian dream and the violence of human progress. After her initial confusion and

terror, Gay finds herself relatively comfortable in her own body. She laughs at the absurdity of a "heroine, nude, discovered by a man, and the modest female covering her face with her hands to hide her identity" (21). Though she "politely" averts her eyes from Houghton's nakedness and "angry embarrassment" (23), she neither blushes nor attempts to cover her own. Rather she is "thankful she's a decent figure under these shy-making circumstances" and feels "absurdly cheered" when she glances down at herself (22; 23). Lady Jane appears in hysterics and requires coddling by Houghton. Later on, Houghton and Lady Jane will dress themselves in woven mats of grass to hide the "shameful" parts of the anatomy (36). When they do and Gay does not, the difference between the three become immediately clear: "Abruptly, the situation had changed. They were two people clad, with responsibilities, and already poise" (36). Like Adam and Eve after falling from Grace, Houghton and Jane are now corrupted by their knowledge of social etiquette and the expectations of civilization. Gay, however, remains naked, sensing that in this new natural world of the future, it is Houghton and Jane that appear unnatural. The progress and civilization to which those two cling no longer serve any viable function in this world. Not only do the grass clothes mark Jane and Houghton out as strangers and increase their discomfort in the heat, but neither Jane's social etiquette nor Houghton's military discipline help them to discover the reality of their situation. Instead, with her awareness of the landscape and her own work as an archeologist uncovering past civilizations, Gay quickly understands what has happened. She recognizes that the hills are actually ruins covered "with a thousand years or so of the blowing of sand and earth on the top of them" from her work in the ancient mounds of Mexico (23). Her enjoyment of the night sky reveals that the moon and stars have changed, suggesting a major leap forward in time. She thinks that "some great change had smitten the earth" to leave it in such a primitive state. Yet this very "change" is itself a repetition, since she remembers "how in

her own far time the earth was said to be still but slowly recovering from the effects of the Fourth Glacial Age" (64). Gay's awareness of and attunement with Natural time, whereby Nature outlasts the quick successions of human activity in order to reclaim landscapes and endure through millennia, provides her with insight that Houghton and Jane lack. When Gay meets the Folk, her attunement to the Natural world and her less "civilized" character allow her to integrate more successfully than her counterparts from the twentieth century.

Gay's particular sensitivity to nature, linked to her awareness of her woman's body, helps her transcend the individual ego and embrace an unbounded view of time and life on earth. She stares at her reflection in a pool while the narrative describes her figure with reference to distinct oddities like her teeth and tan skin. The description appears to echo Gay's own thoughts even as she evaluates her "nice cool eyes" with their peculiar pigmentation, her unfashionable Grecian figure, the shadow of her tanned breasts (4). In appreciating her own traits that do not conform to current beauty standards, Gay already functions as a feminist renunciation of traditional patriarchal values. Her self-reverie is interrupted by the flapping of the iconic peewit. Her attention is called to nature and the landscape where "very readily in such surroundings she could forget herself and her times" (4). The gaze of an individual ego, bound by their own time and body, pulls back for a broader view, a perspective unbound by time or space: Gays sees that "here in the world's spring, the hunters had hunted free and naked through forest and bush, with no dream of that which awaits their kind in the deeps of the future" (5). Her connection to nature allows her to transcend herself and calls forth images of past inhabitants, replaying their lives upon the same ground where she stands. The "superlative general observer" of Dunne's time theory sees the many cycles of lives, of times, across a singular space -- as if, in that moment and in that undeveloped space, time is continually repeating itself or all of time is happening at once.

Gay becomes just such a "superlative general observer" when the past and the present converge in the same space. To be sure, her vision of the past is interrupted by thoughts of the present, the modern civilization "for which men had sold their birthright," and by momentary fears about the nearness of the future, the darkness that signals her need to return home before nightfall (5). On her way back, though, she comes across Houghton, the Englishman who represents all that she abhors about the values of rising fascist societies: "Service, loyalty. Hardness. Hierarchy. The scum in their places again . . . England a nation again" (13). Strangely enough, both are dissatisfied with modern society. For Houghton, the inter-war society of the twenties and thirties has ruined the "discipline and breed and good taste" of the recent, fascist past. For Gay, the modern period consists of "hunger and murder and famine coming on seven-league boots, the beasts and savages of civilisation gathering under the swastika flag" (10). As they travel into the future, their competing ideals result in two opposing reactions to circular time that has returned humanity to a primitive, un-developed way of life. Houghton pursues technology, violence, and a rigidly organized civilization in order to force the new world to progress into the fascist ideal that had ultimately led to their current apocalyptic state. Gay attempts to halt Houghten's advancements in order to secure an eternal primordial state.

Mitchell figures Gay's primitive eternity as distinctly Feminine and natural and Houghten's bad "progress" as highly Masculine in how this novel describes the home bases of each of their new societies. The majority of the Folk have gathered at the great Dam of the Chilterns for their seasonal habitation. Mitchell describes it as a "great Dam once excavated in the heart of the Chilterns by the antique men of a time that had yet been in the future of Gay's twentieth century" (69). Built by men in the past of Gay's present, who are yet part of the future of the 20th century, Mitchell draws attention with this description once again to non-linear

Feminine Time. In Gay's perspective, the Dam is equally past, present, and future. Furthermore, the Dam as the home of the Folk implies a strong connection to female reproductive forces and life generation. With its large round depression into Mother Earth and its channels and passages at the top end, the Dam suggests a female reproductive anatomy. The Dam is a *yonic* counterpart to the Phallic Tower, explicitly named, where Houghton will make his stand. Furthermore, the Dam's essential function is life-giving: "Perhaps it had been a new water reservoir for London. Perhaps to feed some other city . . . it still endured to shape . . . the once-prisoned waters long gone . . .now a shallow stream flowed and murmured" (69). The Dam no longer holds the artificial reservoir of water for unsustainably large urban populations. However, even as man's constructs have broken, nature has endured, and the waters of life continue to flow and to nourish the population. Here, in a womb-like depression in the earth, the free and happy society of the Folk "had made their shelters, bringing there their weapons and fires and women and children, their slow, easy drift through summer days" (70). The Folk at the Dam number three to four hundred; they share the meat brought in by hunters and sleep around the fires without strong indications of social or familial groups. Without hierarchies or institutions, the Folk have very little violence between them. When Houghton kills one out of fear, he and Lady Jane are considered "mad" and then cured by being dunked several times in water. No more violence is done to those who go mad and kill, unless they cannot stop killing. In that case, Rem tells Gay, "we kill them" (76). Gay judges this necessary violence as "an elementary and obvious justice" (76). The Folk clearly represent Mitchell's "Natural Man" yet to be corrupted by the inequality and injustice of the drive to accumulate and hoard resources that lead to the building of civilizations and the institutions of power. Just as clearly, Mitchell connects these Folk and their values to the divine Feminine: the womb, Nature, repetitions and renewals, non-linear time.

Through the figure of Gay, Mitchell even suggests that the modern female, especially the non-English female, is more capable of realizing and integrating herself back into the healthy time and patterns of the Golden Age because of her connection to Nature and natural aversion to patriarchal power structures.

In contrast to the Feminine Dam and the timeless, peaceful utopia of the Folk, Mitchel constructs Houghton's tower weapon, in London, as the ultimate symbol of Masculine "progress." In their approach to the Folk, Houghton is as much a contrast to Gay as he was in their nakedness or their concerns about modern society. Coming upon a group of Folk out hunting, Houghton and Lady Jane mistake their company as their captors. Gay has previously regarded herself as Rem's prisoner at first, but she quickly understands that this "strange, alien boy" (53) does not pose the threat of either the modern man or their false version of the primitive. Houghton and Lady Jane, however, refuse to see beyond their prejudice. Houghton's first description of how they met the folk begins with falling in "with some of those savages. Didn't try to attack, but it was a sickening business being in their hands, unarmed" (73). Houghton attempts to steal a spear, at which point the hunter awakes and Lady Jane smothers him while Houghton kills him. The Folk track Houghton and Jane down in order to bring them back to the Dam to cure them of their madness. He then believes that the "filthy savages" are no more than "some stray tribe of Gipsies" (74:75). Houghton's misidentification is not casual. Persecution of the Roma or "gypsies" had increased dramatically with the Nazi rise to power in the beginning of the thirties (United States Holocaust Museum). In calling the Folk "gipsies," Houghton signals that he applies the fascist ideal of racial superiority against the Folk. Thus, he begins enlisting some of the more gullible men of the Folk to become his first followers, his first subjugated population. He and Lady Jane begin to establish themselves in London "as first

priests, first kings . . . [so] they might subdue all the wandering tribes of the Folk before they died" (*GH* 115). Houghton and Lady Jane attempt to force "progress" and revive a horrid and beastly world, re-enslaving men to "the kind of horror that the Hierarchies built" by utilizing a tower in London equipped with a terrible weapon (153). Mitchell makes the association of masculinity and Houghton's desire for progress and violence explicit. Gay arrives and sees "dominating all the city, a great pointed pillar . . . Even at this distance she could see its shape and symbolism. So that was what had replaced the Cross. The Phallus" (147). It is from the "Phallic Tower" that "civilization would be launched again, with war, religion, blood sacrifice… Kingdoms would rise again on the earth… the war-horse stamp on the face of a child, the women know rape and the men mutilation" (115). Houghton's Phallic Tower and his desire to create civilization through domination drive the Lady Jane to a fanatic madness. She is now a figure doubly corrupted by civilization*:* the natural human spirit has been poisoned along with its Feminine connection to life and to nature. Thus, she has Gay tied up in the tower in the hopes that giant rats will eat her. Here, facing the irrational violence of Jane's personal hatred for Gay, Houghton redeems himself to a small degree by helping Gay escape. He also apparently attempts to keep Lady Jane from using the tower's Fire Beam to destroy everything for miles and miles around London. Yet, despite being "sick of this nightmare", Houghton does not abandon his Phallic Tower, nor does he destroy the weapon (160). Mitchell seems to suggest that while even a fascist such as Houghton may regret his worst impulses, an overly civilized man may never be capable of completely returning to his natural state. Unlike Gay, the intuitive female already pre-disposed to align herself with nature, Houghton can never fully return to a previous state: the civilized male refuses to consider the choice of Feminine cyclical time. In the end, the Phallic tower blows up without Gay or the Folk's intervention. The basic tools of Houghton's

imperialistic civilization, violence and domination, have produced a small violent and competitive society that turns upon itself. In miniature, in a very shortened timespan, Houghton's new society has repeated the same self-destructive progress that doomed the larger civilization of the Hierarchs and Submen.

After the explosion of the Phallic Tower, Mitchell ends *Gay Hunter* with uncharacteristic optimism. The female protagonist returns to modern civilization fully aware of its depredations, but without cynicism or contempt. Unlike Chris Guthrie, Gay does not ultimately reject humanity and find solace in solitude in nature. Instead, Mitchell leaves Gay's future intentionally open to possibility. Throughout the novel, the word Song becomes synonymous with the specific life of an individual, group, or society and a type of higher truth, or higher reality, of life in general. Houghton's plan for the world, Gay's summary of modern civilization, and the records of the Hierarchies are all "mad" songs that will fade as the constantly changing song of the Folk continues on. In essence, Song in *Gay Hunter* means a narrative of time and space. However, because the Song refers to both an individual and a collective experience of orality, and because it endures through many generations, a Song can also reproduce the narrative of the "superlative general observer" that sees all time across all space. Because the song is both singular and multiple—the personal subjective time and space of the singer and the universal time and space of all singers—the Song is a Feminine representation of reality. And it is precisely this Feminine approach to reality that produces an optimistic conclusion to *Gay Hunter.* Having returned against her will to the 20th century, Gay wakes up in the nearby cottage of her childhood nurse. After some momentary confusion, Gay recalls Rem and the Folk and sobs in despair, unsure of what is real and what is a dream. By remembering Rem, Gay also remembers the Song and that "there were many Songs- Songs thick as leaves on an autumn gale, all of them real, all unreal"

(183). Because the Song is multiple and full of possibility and potential, she thinks of modern London with optimism. If the Song is not fixed, if humanity is not necessarily doomed to follow a fixed, linear time, Gay can maintain hope that the future may yet find a better path. As the last line of the novel implies, the horrors of "progress" are not preordained as "there are many Songs" (184). Indeed, *Sunset Song* and the ending of *Grey Granite* present one such Song where the female rejects progress and the ending of an era by returning to the past and embracing the cycles of life, death, and renewal in Feminine Time.

CHAPTER 3: FEMININE LANGUAGE

Out in the English soil, my old words

buried themselves. It made my mother's blood boil.

I cried one day with the wrong sound in my mouth.

I wanted them back; I wanted my old accent back,

my old tongue. My dour soor Scottish tongue.

Sing-songy. I wanted to *gie it laldie.*

Jackie Kay's "Old Tongue"

Imperialist and patriarchal cultures have quite a lot to say about how language should be deployed, which language is most appropriate, and when and where language should be used. After all, in most modern western societies, information is disseminated, ideologies are spread, and legislation is enacted through the medium of language. For proponents of strong linguistic determinism, language and grammar determines how thoughts are organized and expressed. Linguistic relativity, embraced by many modern linguists, suggests that language influences thought but does not necessarily dictate cognitive process (Comrie). In both accounts, the language-thought connection makes it clear that communication between two groups with different native languages is made difficult by issues of translation. Even so, without explicitly acknowledging the science and philosophy behind language relativity, imperialist practices have utilized the connection between thought (and thus, identity, culture, perception) and language to effectively subordinate populations. By forcing an indigenous population to communicate in forms outside of their native language, either in pictograms and gestures during early contact or

in the learned language of the imperialist in later stages, the imperialist forces a larger-than-normal gap between thought and communication. This gap permits space for manipulation, deceit, and oppression, since it is thought (culture, values, identity) that can be lost in translation rather than just words. Thus, when an indigenous writer attempts to translate their thoughts and perceptions into the language of the colonizer, often they find that some indigenous qualities and meanings are absent from the work in translation, quite independent of vocabulary.

When James Leslie Mitchell set out to write his Scottish works as Lewis Grassic Gibbon, he attempted to transform English into a structure that more closely resembled Scots--not just in grammar, but in cultural identity. His Scots writing has more English than Scots vocabulary, to be sure. However, the long, multi-clausal structure, the wandering and inconsistent subjects, the emphasis placed on lyricism over organization: all these in Gibbon's most Scottish texts demonstrate different cognitive patterns and processes that set Scots apart from English. While Gibbon's Scots is synthetic, the cadence and rhythms of his linguistic patterns authentically mimic the feel of rural Scots language. Differences in vocabulary, grammar, and syntax also highlight basic, essential differences in identity, including a heightened appreciation for and awareness of oral mediums. In order to create communication between the Scots subject and the English reader, Gibbon manipulates language to approximate thought. Sir Walter Scott is a more complex case. Though it is difficult to know with certainty the degree to which he himself spoke broad Scots, his son-in-law wrote that Scott "frequently in general society introduced rustic *patois*, northern, southern, midland, with great truth and effect" (Lockhart 52). However, as Graham Tulloch points out, Lockhart also contends that Scott was mimicking rather than speaking naturally when he spoke more rustic dialects of Scots (175). Lockhart writes that Scott sounded similar to an educated Englishman but "used many words . . . which belonged to

Scotland not to England, and the tone and accent remained broadly Scotch" (51-52). Tulloch suggests that Lockhart's insistence on the Englishness of Scott's natural speech stems from a desire "to avoid any suggestion that Scott had a 'vulgar' accent," a desire which illustrates Lockhart's own prejudicial views on speaking Scots (176). Scott seems to have shared neither Lockhart's disdain nor Mitchell's more insistent sense of translation, writing that "I write grammar as I speak . . . and a solecism in point of composition like a scotch word in speaking is indifferent to me" (*Journal* 155). While Scott's use of Scots in the Waverley novels lends a strong political dimension to language in national tales, his own experience switching between English and Scots appears relatively painless. Scott has often been praised for his keen ear for regional differences in language and his ability to approximate various dialects of spoken Scots in his dialogues. Scott's comment on his "scotch" grammar highlights a key component of both writers' use of language to distinguish a specific Scottish identity and culture: the oral component. Beyond their use of Scots for dialogue, both writers feature oral traditions and spoken languages as distinct and highly valuable aspects – which, I would argue, are Feminine aspects – of indigenous Scottish culture.

The power dynamics that politicize the use of particular languages, in these writers and others, appear most obviously when arise in direct communication between two individuals. Clear communication, moreover, relies upon the privileging and sharing of a particular approach to truth and reality. In *The Conquest of America* (1982), Todorov proposes that the Spaniard subdued the more populous indigenous populations "by means of signs" (62). He describes how reality and truth in Aztec culture were understood to be determined not by man, but by gods and forces in a predetermined, external world. Truth was communicated not between men, but between the world and man through physical signs that must be interpreted by priests. On the

surface, language for the Aztecs did not serve to grant authority or construct reality but to make external truths public. Truth-making communication consisted of the appearance of material signs from the gods. These truths were then repeated by the priests through a language the population could understand. Todorov argues that by "neglecting the interhuman dimension [of communication and] privileging contact with the world," the indigenous peoples of the Americas mistakenly read the early encounters with the Spaniards as a predetermined meeting with gods (75). Thus, according to Todorov, because the Aztecs viewed external phenomena as the language of the gods and were not critical of the interpretation or meaning assigned to the phenomenon, the Aztecs were doomed by their own faith. Setting aside the issue of mistaken identity, we discover that both of Todorov's forms of communication ("world to man" and "man to man") have the potential to produce an unequal flow of power. In the Aztec view of communication, the priest merely translates the communication from the gods into the language of the people. Secular analysis of this system would suggest that the priest, as interpreter and even author of communication, has ultimate power over meaning in the lives of a pious Aztec population. If the producer of the communication has authority, then the receiver is subordinate and individual interpretation is meaningless. If authority is granted to the listener, then the listener assigns meaning to the communication, forcing the producer of the communication into a subordinate role. Ultimately, those who control meaning in language and communication also control meaning in the lives of the receivers.

In colonized societies where patriarchal imperial authority dominates, language difference provides a powerful tool for sustaining the high-power status won by force. The violence of physical domination cannot spontaneously produce sustainable imperial social systems; if dominance were to be sustained only through violence, a population would be

decimated or enslaved rather than colonized or assimilated. Instead, through education, religion, law, and other communication-based institutions, the dominant culture uses its language norms to degrade, subjugate, and control the colonized. Whether written or oral, after all, language is our primary way of communicating and thus our primary way of negotiating the meanings of existence. Thus, to control how one exists in relation to another, to force one identity into subjugation to another, one must control language. As the authors of *The Empire Writes Back* (1989) articulate, "language becomes the medium through which a hierarchical structure of power is perpetuated, and the medium through which conceptions of 'truth', 'order', and 'reality' become established" (Ashcroft et al. 7). Indigenous language in the imperialist hierarchy consequently becomes Feminine due to its subordinated/subjugated position, its predominant use in the private or domestic sphere, and its reliance on oral practices (gossip, "old wives' tales," etc.). Writers coming from established post-colonial or patriarchal societies have already been conditioned by the "truths" perpetuated by the Masculine language of the dominating culture. They have little access to "pure" culture, since the remaining indigenous culture keeps enduring alongside and in relation to imperial assimilation. Consequently, post-colonial texts must always reveal the tensions between peripheral and dominant cultures, between Feminine and Masculine positions. While the whole of a peripheral text must necessarily reflect its position between cultural center and margin, a text may also construct a fiction of "pure" culture through its imagined language, characters, and setting. These excavations into a mixed inheritance of culture are rarely silent about their progenitors, though they may appear ambivalent in their loyalties. So it is that Lewis Grassic Gibbon's iconic Chris Guthrie, often considered to be a symbol for Scotland itself, finds herself famously torn between the academic English Chris and the natural Scottish Chris: the highly literate Chris and the Chris who loves the sound of Scots words. Sir

Walter Scott's Scottish fictions pit English-speaking narrators and main characters against the more natural and provincial Scots and Gaelic-speaking "minor" characters. His hierarchical positioning of dominant and marginal language, with their associations of enlightenment and rusticity, and his use of apologetic apostrophe to indicate dialect: all these suggest that he endorsed an imperialist valuation of indigenous language. However, Scott took great pains to demonstrate the diversity of language in Scotland, and the heavy use of non-English in works ranging from *Waverley* (1814) to *The Heart of Midlothian* (1818) and beyond places both the English reader and the English character in an "outlander" position. The nineteenth century Scottish reader, with the advantage of a greater fluency in the native languages and dialects in addition to their post-colonial inheritance of English, had and still has greater access and ease in understanding and interpreting Scott's texts. The language of his Scottish novels, in their multiplicity, is actually the language of the post-colonial indigenous subject intermixed with the language of the colonizer. Thus, Scott's novels, in their reading, re-center the post-colonial indigenous subject, admittedly a paradoxical figure, as the center or the dominant position in a post-colonial environment.

One primary method through which imperialist enterprise assumes power is by eradicating, or making obsolete, indigenous social institutions and replacing them with new models using the colonizers' language. This "linguistic imperialism" was defined by Gilbert Ansre in 1979 as "the phenomenon in which the minds and lives of the speakers of a language are dominated by another language to the point where they believe that they can and should use only that foreign language when it comes to transactions dealing with the more advanced aspects of life such as education, philosophy, literature, governments, the administration of justice, etc." (12). While Ansre's original critiques of linguistic imperialism are focused on African

populations, his arguments also reflect the global trend of English dominance, as discussed in Robert Phillipson's highly influential works *Linguistic Imperialism* (1992) and *Linguistic Imperialism Continued* (2009).When authority is no longer conveyed using native language, and when important sectors like commerce, law, religion, and education transact business solely in the language of the colonizer, indigenous language loses much of its utility. The dominance of the colonizer's language provides an effective barrier against marginalized individuals participating in and effectively influencing the new institutions.[30] In order to obtain power in the new hierarchical power structure, a native must learn and use the vocabulary, grammar, and syntax of the dominant. For non-literate populations, as for Todorov's Aztecs, true linguistic assimilation into imperialist culture requires an additional major shift in their approach to signification, in which organized lines and curves on paper replace gestures, pictograms, and sounds. As indigenous populations are forced to use imperialist language for activities in the new imperialist social and civil institutions, native language becomes relegated to less public, less official forums.

Though less obvious in less explicitly imperialist contexts, native language is also degraded and replaced in gendered power structures. Home language, or the language traditionally used by the mother in the domestic context, must be corrected or even replaced by the language of official and public institutions (the paternal sphere) when the child goes to school and out into the professional world. The "mother-tongue" is the language learned naturally, without explicit instruction, during the child's pre-public time at home. When the child leaves the domestic sphere and attends school, he or she must replace the mother-tongue with a standardized, official language: the public or Masculine language. From a young age, a child begins code-switching between the language of the private and personal and the language of the

public and official. In the famous poem "Kidspoem/Bairnsang," Liz Lochhead, the Makar or National Poet of Scotland from 2011-2016, narrates that experience: first in Scots, she describes how she went to school, "tae the place ah'd learn to say" (l. 12) the same thing but in English; she then describes how she went to school, "to the place where I'd learn to forget to say" (l. 24) the same thing but again in Scots, articulating, once again, how she went to school. These three repetitions of the description of her journey, in Scots, English, then Scots again, represents the transition of the private native speaker to public postcolonial speaker back to the private native speaker as she reenters the home or domestic sphere.

Slowly, the colonized or subordinated subject learns to assimilate to the language of the dominant. People thus situated thereby learn to eradicate personal idioms, formalize syntax, and adopt the linguistic values of the populations (usually, white, male, and upper class) who control the institutions of society. Even intonation can be policed: "upspeak," considered a Feminine act of raising intonation at the end of a sentence (even if a question is not being asked), has been the subject of much ridicule in standard business practices.[31] In a 2015 article for *Forbes,* John Baldoni calls it "a killer" compared to the de facto voice of authority and writes that "women who speak in this manner may be perceived as less than serious, and in extreme examples as less intelligent" ("Will Upspeak Hurt"). Dialects and culturally specific words also find themselves policed by the same bias favoring the standard white male business voice. "Correct" or "appropriate" usage becomes synonymous with legal and academic usage. Language, which evolves constantly according to common use, is forced into a value system which emphasizes "gate-keeping" standards traditionally determined by the cultures, classes, and genders with the most power.[32] The intentional use of any peripheral language, whether it be personal, domestic, Feminine, indigenous, or non-standard, in a space or in a culture that maintains the value of a

dominant culture becomes an act of subversion and resistance. The partial use of peripheral language such as Scots within a written text for an English audience, as we see in the works of Gibbon and Scott, expresses the position of marginality. In such a scheme, the conflicts and collaborations of non-dominant (Feminine) identities succeeding within the context of a dominant (Masculine) culture begin to subvert the value and assumed totality of that dominance.

Whether in written texts or transmitted orally, Scottish writers are especially prone to language choices that reveal complex conflicts between imperialist centrality and peripheral or marginalized identities. Due to the long, complex history of migration and colonization in Scotland, it has hosted many language groups. Much of Scotland's language history can be divided primarily between subsets of the Celtic and Germanic language groups, although Norman French and Latin were also prominent in elite circles during the medieval era. While English became more dominant with increased contact following the Union of the Crowns (1603) and the Acts of Union (1707), Scots and Scottish Gaelic continued and still continue to be recognized as minority languages important to the nation's cultural identity.[33] As the dominant language and the official language of the state, English occupies the position of the Masculine and imperial in the lingual hierarchy of Scotland. The minority or peripheral languages of Scots and Gaelic, languages that have resisted perfect standardization and that are engaged in oral communication more often than written, occupy the space of the Feminine and marginalized within the hierarchical power structure. However, by exploring and utilizing these "native" languages within predominantly English texts, Gibbon and Scot demonstrate textually the historical, racial tensions of Scotland's colonized and colonizing populations. More importantly, the use of these languages in texts intended for audiences outside of Scotland demonstrate that

the marginalized or Feminine voice in Scotland not only resists assimilation but merits international attention.

Since the Acts of Union in 1707, Scotland's complex and fluctuating political relationship with England has had a profound effect on the status of these minority languages in official and informal spheres. Though most language scholars agree that Scots qualifies as a language, it is still not uncommon to come across censorship and condemnation of its use in public spaces. In 1994, the Booker Prize was awarded to James Kelman for a novel written in Glaswegian vernacular, which resulted in some controversy. One judge, Julia Neuberger, threatened to resign and columnist Simon Jenkins lambasted the author as an "illiterate savage" (Jordison). In 2010, the *Scotsman* published a brief piece about an unnamed study conducted by the SNP that apparently showed that two thirds of the population did not believe Scots qualified as a language ("Scots Fail"). Despite the revival of Scots within the literary scene during the Scottish Renaissance of the 1930s, Scots was not part of Scottish curriculum until 1991 and not used in Parliament for speeches and oaths until 2000 (with an English transcript)[34]. Officially, Scots has been recognized as a minority language by European, British, and Scottish governing bodies only for the last two decades.

Scottish Gaelic has also seen its share of internal conflict. Scholars continue to debate whether Gaelic in Scotland was the product of a conquest by Irish settlers, as medieval accounts have reported, or a shared language between the sea-faring communities of coastal Argyll and Ireland. During the 12th century, Norman French replaced Gaelic at court, and migrants speaking Old English (which became Scots in Scotland and English in England) began to settle the newly-created burghs. By the 14th century, Scots was the language of both government and literature. In 1613, six years after the Union of the Crowns, James VI of Scotland (James I of England) had

passed legislation called the Statutes of Iona that forced all of the clans to educate their heirs in Protestant, English-speaking schools in lowland Scotland ("Statutes"). The Reformation had been deadly successful in Scotland, and so when the Catholic Queen Mary, James' mother, came to rule Scotland from France (1561) the Protestant aristocracy attempted to restrict her faith and the influence of a Catholic court. The differences of religion led to multiple violent conflicts and eventually forced her abdication in favor of her infant son and a Protestant Regency. The last remaining strongholds of Catholic faith were usually in the Gaelic Highlands and Islands clans, populations that had never acceded to the "supremacy" of lowland culture or government. Thus, when James VI and I passed the Statutes of Iona, he was attempting to force Anglo-centric assimilation on the "troublesome" peripheral populations of Scotland. The fallout from the Jacobite rebellions in the 18th century only accelerated the decline of Gaelic in Scotland, and further education reforms led to a steep increase in English literacy. The Highland clearances of the early 19th century saw many Gaelic speakers migrate to Canada and the United States. Though revivalist interests continue to introduce new materials and mediums for the reintroduction of Gaelic into Scottish education and culture, Scottish Gaelic has yet to receive the same attention as such other "indigenous" languages in the United Kingdom as Welsh and Irish.[35]

The slipperiness of speech, its ability to escape the control of an authority even when apparently pinned down and controlled by the act of transferring speech to text, allows authors and their characters on occasion to veil subversion behind a facade of shared English literacy. Representations of oral communication and culture in literature may assert new truths and realities by functioning as a sort of subtext rising up into the dominant English text. For the literate English reader, the dominant or surface text offers primary meaning and authority: the

English word on the page and the author's use of it has more authority than the oral tradition that inspired it or the regional meaning it appears to gloss. However, for the "illiterate" native reader (with "literacy" regarded as reading signs in accord with English values), the visible traces of earlier forms found in Scots words, oral traditions, and informal speech reveal an indigenous authority that may elude the authority of English literacy. When male authors, figures who can readily exploit the benefits of assimilation to move out of marginal peripheries, use these Feminine styles of writing and Feminine authorial personas and sources, they can produce alternative literacies by, at least to this extent, authorizing (and commodifying) a Feminine level of literature within a Masculine frame. Perhaps because Feminine writing and oral language are linked more explicitly to a primitive or retrograde knowledge, forms related to the body and to primitiveness, these modes of language have great potential to threaten dominant culture. Because English literacy has seen the native oral degraded to a state of near disuse, the meaning in their uses may escape the notice and censure of an imperialist, patriarchal reader. Thus, Penny Fielding can argue that, while orality is marginalized and often sacrificed to the apparent authority of the writer in Scott's Waverley novels, "it is [also] the source of unofficial power and an important repository of personal and historical memory" (27). By using marginalized languages and employing the oral as a powerful source of authority and national identity, Walter Scott and Lewis Grassic Gibbon enable a Feminine subversion of traditional imperialistic notions of progress and truth.

Feminine Language and Sir Walter Scott

Though Scott wrote many reviews and essays on literature, he did not publish a clear, cohesive argument on the use of language, neither on the general epistemological inquiry into communication nor on the precise socio-cultural status of different languages. Yet even though Scott provided no single treatise on language, both his fiction and prose convey a complex, highly sensitive understanding of how language variants impact affect, meaning, and association. As Alison Lumsden's seminal book *Walter Scott and the Limits of Language* (2010) demonstrates, Scott's original manuscripts (revisited for the authoritative Edinburgh Edition of the Waverly Novels) reveal "the linguistic complexity of Scott's fiction by revealing the richness, diversity and complexity of the language that he employs, by uncovering the ways in which it often is constructed via matrices of meaning echoing earlier intertextual references, and by revealing that in his working practices Scott's manuscripts are evidence of the provisionally of all linguistic construction" (6). Lumsden takes note of the highly specialized and authentic "cant" Scott employs for specific socio-cultural identities like thieves, pirates, and gypsies. Thus, when Scott employs Feminine language, both as highly embodied speech and as the indigenous languages of the Other, Scott does so with full awareness of its potential to signify values and cultures beyond the Anglo-centric imperialist center. Much of the specific cant Scott used in the manuscripts disappeared when the books were published, when editors substituted more familiar and general words for the specifically idiomatic, and thus less understandable, words of minority cultures. What Lumsden's book and the new glossaries of the EEWN makes clear is that Scott possessed an incredible facility for the nuances of language variation and believed that language difference was essential to culture and identity. Even within the indigenous languages of Scotland itself, Scott was careful to show how language variation produced distinctive cultural

associations. In *Rob Roy* (1817), for example, haughty Highlander Helen MacGregor is surprised by a claim of kinship from Glaswegian-Scots speaker Bailie Nicol Jarvie. Scott uses the moment to acknowledge the domestic prejudice stemming from language difference when Jarvie says "I ken weel eneugh you Hieland folk haud us Glasgow people light and cheap for our language and our claes; --but everybody speaks their native tongue that they learned in infancy" (227). Notably, Scott associates Jarvie's Glaswegian Scots with his "infancy," the period of time when children are especially dependent upon their mother, rather than with a wider Glaswegian socio-economic culture. Jarvie's comment demonstrates that his Scots is the language of home, the language of the *mother* tongue.

In his fiction, Walter Scott does not merely translate characters into something intelligible to an English reading market, nor does he limit representation to voyeuristic fetishizations of the colonial subject. Rather, as Julian Meldon D'Arcy argues, Scott uses language variance, among other techniques, to activate two different readerships: that of the English-speaking outsider and that of the polyphonic Scottish insider. In *Subversive Scott*, D'arcy determines that Scott's texts anticipate two readerships and thus produced two political narratives on the Union and nationalism that differ according to the perspective of the readership. Because Scott's texts present multiple voices and value systems, D'Arcy concludes that "Scott's fiction should therefore be seen as essentially radical, its polyphonic nature challenging the status quo" (34). D'Arcy, though, fails to explore the Feminine aspect of these differing voices as an embodiment of Scottish resistance to English assimilation. The polyphonic aspect of Scott's texts does not only produce English and Scottish voices; it also produces an essentially Feminine multiplicity that can de-center the "authoritative" English voice. Scott's uses of Feminine languages not only challenge dominant culture; they also put in question the values that lead to

such "dominance" in the first place. His uses of Gaelic, Scots, and English demonstrate that the Masculine, imperialistic dominance of a single language produces great disadvantage to the English speaker and reader when in contact with a polyphonic society. Scott challenges the value of assimilation and universalism implicit to the Empire by emphasizing the untranslatable specificity of indigenous language and custom. Moreover, Scott does not hide this argument behind insider knowledge: in English characters' experiences with the languages of others, Scott often explicitly demonstrates their linguistic disadvantage. Conservative readers have ignored or minimized Scott's implicit authorial stance here in the belief that his protagonists best represent the value system of his texts. Since Scott places these various languages in the mouths of characters with femininized, disempowered statuses in society, the subversive level in Scott's texts brings Feminine language forward from the margins and shadows of society as a potential medium for the disruption of harmful imperialist practice.

While *Waverley* itself in 1814 presents the clearest portrait of the conflict between Masculine imperialist and Feminine indigenous language and culture, as well as Scott's ambivalent, often opposing perspectives on Scottish assimilation into a predominantly English Union, nearly all of Scott's works employ language variance as a marker of insider/outsider relationships. Though 100 years too early for the Scottish Renaissance that emphasized the use of Scots in literature and 400 years too late for courtly Scots, Scott still did much in his own right to elevate the Scots language into literary usage. *The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* (1802-03), as discussed in the following chapter, demonstrates Scott's love of native oral traditions, and provided him at the time with the opportunity to begin working in Scots, English, and localized variations of both. More interested in the voiced, embodied stories of his countrymen than in technical linguistic research, Scott's *Minstrelsy* functions, as Andrew Philip states, "to ensure

that the vital (in both senses) oral tradition, and the Scots language of the common folk in which it was formed, remained in the eyes and ears of literate Scots" (181). Though Scott has sometimes been criticized for too-heavily featuring the archetypal upper-class characters of Romance, who are English-speaking according to Scott's linguistic schemata, he nevertheless uses many of his Scots-speaking peasant-class characters to deliver some of the most insightful passages. It is not merely their class that marks them as Other or places them in the Feminine space of the periphery. Characters like *The Antiquary*'s (1816) Edie Ochiltree and *The Bride of Lammermoor*'s (1819) Caleb Balderstone, while male, embody Feminine Time as I have defined it because they are remnants of past traditions reappearing in a recycled fashion in more modern circumstances. When they speak, their language is doubly Feminine: first as a marginalized indigenous language and secondly as a voice reappearing from the past. *Guy Mannering*'s (1815) Borders gypsy Meg Merrilees and *Waverley*'s Davie Gellatley add an association with the supernatural and the taint of madness to the Feminine aspect of their language. When they communicate, their voices represent forms of knowledge that cannot be eliminated or contained by the dominant discourse reason. Through the Feminine language of marginalized figures, Scott's texts voice otherwise hidden, secret, or mistaken information about the true state of affairs in the world of the main protagonists.

Some contemporary literary reviewers pointedly censured the author for his use of "the dark dialect of Anglified Erse'," as noted in the *Quarterly Review'*s reaction to *The Antiquary* (Lang, "Introduction to Guy Mannering" xxxvi). The *Critical Review* lamented that *Guy Mannering* was "too often written in language unintelligible to all except the Scotch" ("Art" 600). Yet the popularity of *Guy Mannering* suggests otherwise: it sold through eleven editions during Scott's life, had a stage adaptation premiered in London, and even led to the naming of a

particular type of terrier. Scott's novels, even those with dense Scots passages, dominated Western literature in the 19th century, making Scott the first celebrity author in his own lifetime. Clearly, common readers were not bothered by "unintelligible" native languages. Scott himself makes the argument that what we now see as Feminine indigenous speech could not be simply translated into English without a loss of affect: "The antique force and simplicity of their language . . . give pathos to their grief, and dignity to their resentment" (*Antiquary* 3). When we consider the overwhelming popularity, national and international, of Scott's novels, it seems a remarkably astute and subversive political feat for him to have emphasized the Feminine language of the Scottish so widely throughout a diverse British Empire.

The Heart of Midlothian

On the surface, Jeanie Deans in this novel appears to be one of Scott's least subversive Scots-speaking characters. As Scott's first independent female protagonist and a Scots-speaking peasant, Jeannie already deviates from the traditional heroes of Scott's tales. At the same time, to carry off the tale for a Walter Scott readership, a protagonist that is both Scottish and female cannot demonstrate too many unlikable or undesirable traits. Jeanie Deans is the non-threatening "good woman" in nearly every way; her few transgressions, like approaching the Queen for mercy and freeing Whistler, are permissible in the context of accomplishing the greater moral justice of the novel. Self-sacrificing, humble, plain, domestic, devoted, Christian: it would appear that the chaste Jeanie Deans is a perfectly unobjectionable heroine. However, though the character of Jeanie does not flout dangerous characteristics, Scott uses her language (Scots) and the application of Feminine power to thwart Masculine authority. By way of both Jeanie and the

humble characters who surround her, *The Heart of Midlothian* manages to subvert dominant Masculine and imperialist values – and thus uncover a different undercurrent of femininity -- through its use of Feminine language to challenge the authority and morality of Masculine, imperial institutions.

The novel's first use of the Scots language happens just before Captain Porteous and his officers fire upon a crowd gathered at the hanging of a smuggler. The epigraph to the third chapter is a stanza of Scots poetry from Robert Fergusson (1750-1774) begging the "great god of aquavitae" to save the intoxicated celebrants from the "black banditti" of the city guard (24). A little further on, just after describing the brutal Porteous, Scott quotes Fergusson once more with a more sinister stanza about the danger of the city guard:

> Gude folk, as ye come frae the fair,
>
> Bide yont frae this black squad:
>
> There's nae sic savages elsewhere
>
> Allowed to wear cockad. (25)

It is important that Fergusson's warning is in Scots, since that is the language of the crowd and the language of the novel's protagonist. The reader, primed to dislike Porteous, associates Scots with the harmless "gude folk" of the crowd who, despite being a nuisance, do not deserve to be fired upon. The association of Scots with the common, decent folk of Scotland is further emphasized in a second crowd scene. Having gathered to see Porteous' execution for his actions, and then been disappointed by his sudden reprieve, small groups of common folk begin to disperse. In order to understand the feelings of the crowd, Scott directs the reader to follow a group of citizens and "[catch] the tenor of the conversation they held with each other" (36). Here

commences the novel's first dialogue of any length, the actual differentiated voices of the common people with whom the reader has already been induced to sympathize. Notably, the people with whom Scott directs the reader to "associate" are all Scots-speakers. This directed association, coupled with the implication that spoken language is essential to understanding a population's thoughts and feelings, further emphasizes the importance of indigenous language. As is often the case with Scott's Scots-speaking commoners, the characters are comical to some degree: however, as aged citizens and poor laborers, they also represent a native population outside the center of power and wealth. Though they may compose a large portion of the population, they have little representation, since both Parliament and the monarchy are based in England. Their complaints produce a specifically Scottish working-class criticism of the absentee monarchial rule of England over Scotland. Peter Plumdamas says its "An unco thing . . .to see the grit folk at Lunnon set their face against law and gospel, and let loose sic a reprobate as Porteous upon a peaceable town!" (37). Mrs. Howden asserts that "when we had a king, and a chancellor, and parliament men o' our ain, we could aye peeble them wi' stanes when they werena gude bairns--But naebody's nails can reach the length o' Lunnon" (37). The use of the Scots' word "bairn" here (meaning child) illustrates the typical Scottish pragmatism whereby no elite authority or rank can safeguard its holder against earned censure. As Plumdamas and his companions continue their discourse, their simple Scots dialect reveals a nuanced understanding of the further consequences of imperialist rule. A third speaker, an ancient seamstress, links the issue of absentee rule to imperialist economics and a devalued colonial market: "they hae taen away our parliament, and they hae oppressed our trade. Our gentles will hardly allow that a Scots needle can sew ruffles on a sark" (37). Her seemingly personal complaint against the reduced status of Scottish goods leads Plumdamas into a complex comparison of imperialist economic

policy and thieving: “sic an host of idle English gaugers and excisemen as hae come down to vex and torment us, that an honest man canna fetch sae muckle as a bit anker o' brandy frae Leith to the Lawnmarket, but he's like to be rubbit o' the very gudes he's bought and paid for” (37). Though their Scots may appear coarse to an English reader, their criticisms of the Union of 1707 and its imperialist economy are nonetheless insightful. Scots, as the language of the intelligent “gude” commoner oppressed by imperialist institutions, becomes a vehicle through which the native population can challenge the value of English rule and culture. And as the protagonist Jeanie Deans demonstrates, the language and social condition which make the Scottish peasant a disempowered Other can ultimately help redeem the nation from its subjugated state.

When Jeanie visits Queen Caroline to plead her sister’s case, Scott focuses on the ability of language, specifically the “mother tongue” of a Scottish peasant, to invoke the interest and pity even of the monarchs if they will pay attention to it. While Jeanie can speak English, showing once again the indigenous subject’s wider facility with language variance, she uses Scots in her interview with the Queen. The Duke of Argyle, a powerful Scottish nobleman made “dearer to Scotland” for incurring the monarchy’s disapprobation, has informed Jeanie that she is to speak to a lady (364). He tells her to “speak for yourself . . . Just speak as plainly and boldly to this lady, as you did to me the day before yesterday, and if you can gain her consent, I'll wad ye a plack, as we say in the north, that you get the pardon from the king” (377). The duke’s use of “I'll wad ye a plack” and its admission of their shared Northern language confirm that the plain speech he requires from Jeanie is her native tongue. Despite enormous disparities of wealth and power, he uses Scots to demonstrate a basic shared identity with Jeanie as outsiders in the English center of power. Scott confirms the bond implied by Argyle’s use of their native speech when he writes of the Scotchman’s ardent feelings of “mutual connexion (sic) with each other as

natives of the same country" (396). Because the Duke of Argyle has experienced the subjugation of a Scotsman beneath English rule, even though he has successfully navigated tense political and social relationships with the English monarchy and government, he understands how best to exploit the English Othering of Scottish identity. He advises Jeanie to speak "plainly and boldly" as herself without tutelage from him, suggesting that the authenticity, simplicity, and emotional force of her native Scots tongue may win the Queen's approval. As Fernando Toda argues, "Scots is the language of tragedy" and Scott uses it when deep pathos is required (196). By speaking honestly, without attempting an unnatural English translation, Jeanie appeals to the Queen's emotions rather than to law or reason.

Jeanie's encounter with Queen Caroline illustrates the relationship between an imperialist ruler and colonial subject with one essential difference: both are women and therefore share the experience of being outside of the most central locus of power. Though Queen Caroline has more political weight than any Queen "since Margaret of Anjou," she still must exercise power through privately advising the King, who usually "jealously affected to do everything according to his own will and power" (380). When Jeanie begins to plead her case to Queen Caroline, the Queen smiles "at the first sound of her broad northern accent" (387). The smile certainly reads as condescending amusement at the "vulgar" patois of her uncouth Northern subject. However, Jeanie's use of Scots, by virtue of being Other or "foreign" to the Queen actually serves to win her favor. When Lady Suffolk, the King's Mistress and Queen's lady, questions why infanticide is common enough in Scotland to require a law, Jeanie replies with the specifically Scots term, "the cutty-stool," used to publicly shame sinners who had committed adultery among other sins (388). By explaining the Scots term and Scots Kirk practice, Jeanie seems to cause offense, seeing as it touches on the adulterous relations between the King and the Queen's lady.

However, the imperialist need for translation of the indigenous language and practice actually works to Jeanie's benefit when she mentions adultery and the Scottish Kirk's punishment of it. Seeing the discomfiture of Lady Suffolk, the Queen "enjoy[s] a jest at the expense of 'her good Suffolk'" and remarks how "the Scotch are a rigidly moral people" (389). This instance of Othered language allows the Queen to highlight the superior morality of those who disapprove of adultery in the presence of the very woman who has committed adultery with the Queen's husband. In doing so, she implies that Lady Suffolk's morality is inferior to that of the colonized Other without revealing jealousy or weakness on her part. By helping the Queen score a point against Lady Suffolk, Jeanie unknowingly helps her own case by earning the Queen's appreciation.

Directly following this moment of translation between colonial and imperial language and practice, the Queen addresses the bodily aspect of Jeanie's appeal. In order to plead her sister's case and achieve the desired pardon, Jeanie has traveled what would then have been close to 400 miles. When the Queen asks how she traveled down from Scotland, she is shocked to discover that Jeanie went "all that immense way upon foot" (389). When she asks how many miles Jeanie can walk in a day, Scott uses the moment to import another Scots word, once again emphasizing the linguistic difference between the two women and their respective nations. When the Queen does not understand Jeanie's term "bittock," she looks to the other Scot present, the Duke of Argyle, to serve as interpreter. He explains that a "bittock" is "about five miles" (389). His translation, however, presumes a much more exact, objective measurement than the word actually indicates. According to the Dictionaries of the Scots Language, "bittock" refers only to "a small bit or portion" and can indicate time, quantity, or distance. Argyle's English equivalent produces a much more finite, exact measurement than perhaps intended by Jeanie. For Jeanie,

the bittock seems to be measured through her body's capacity to walk rather than through a finite unit of measurement. "Bittock," as a Scots word related more to Jeanie's body than to an objective, rational unit of measurement, provides another instance of Feminine language escaping the control and understanding of an imperialist authority. On a broader level, Jeanie's entire conversation with the Queen can be read as embodied Feminine language. In order to produce the language of her plea for her sister's pardon, Jeanie had to travel from her native environment at the periphery of power into the very center of imperialist power itself through immense physical exertion of her body. As thereby fully embodied, as well as fully Othered, Jeanie's Feminine language impresses the Queen and induces her to act on Jeanie's behalf.

The capacity of the Scots language to express emotion boldly and naturally makes Jeanie's speech compelling. When Jeanie ends her plea in her native tongue, the Queen remarks that "this is eloquence" (391). Notably, it is Jeanie's language that the Queen notes at this point, rather than her evidence or logic. From her first words, Jeanie has spoken "in tones so affecting that, like the notes of some of her native songs, provincial vulgarity was lost in pathos" (387). Alexander Welsh translates Jeanie's final speech into standard English to mark the frequency of "dialect" (Scots) words towards the end. When Welsh reads Jeanie's final affecting plea, he argues that, as it becomes more dialectical or idiomatic, it also becomes more impertinent. His choice of "impertinent" implies his own internal investment in the traditional value of hierarchy, but one could also argue that her speech becomes more impassioned and more nationalistic. While his work presents a strong exploration of Scott's use of dramatic forms and styles, his argument is still tinged with the paternal benevolence of traditional English critics. Jeanie's speech does not merely remind the Queen of their equality in mortality, nor does it trivialize the Queen's anger at the Porteous riots. Rather, by virtue of Scott's emphasis on the use of Scots

language to create strong emotion, Jeanie serves the Queen with a strong critique of absentee British rule. Before George IV's visit to Scotland in 1822, no British monarch had visited Scotland for 170 years. Thus, Jeanie's journey as a Scotswoman demonstrates how large the distance (physical, linguistic, and cultural) is between Scotland and those that presume to rule it. Such a distance has led the monarchy to errors in its judgements regarding the actions and motivations of its subjects in supposed socio-cultural crimes. Just as the Queen struggles to understand the culture embedded in her use of Scots words, the English government has failed to understand the particular cultural contexts of the crimes of Porteous and Effie. Their lack of understanding, due to their extreme distance (physical, linguistic, and cultural) and absenteeism, has led them to misjudge their Scots subjects. Jeanie seeks to address these harmful errors through her deployment of Feminine language. Because Jeanie has solicited the Queen in person through physical travail, and the Queen can form her judgment of Effy only through her immediate impression of Jeanie (Effy's proxy), the Queen can mete out justice solely because of what she hears in Jeanie's vernacular plea and the power of embodied language.

Waverley

This sense of a subversive Feminine language even appears, albeit differently, in Scott's first novel, where the protagonist is unquestionably male. It follows the English Edward Waverley as he travels through Scotland during the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745. As an educated, but entirely unworldly, gentleman, Waverley is confronted time and time again with his own ignorance regarding Scotland. As a potential representative of English "soft" imperialism, Waverley travels farther and farther North to discover, not only that he is totally unequipped to

successfully navigate the world of the Celtic Other, but indeed that the differences that make Scotland the Other are highly valuable. To be sure, following David Daiches' mid-twentieth-century interpretation of Scott's work, the reader might believe that Waverley, confronted by a choice between ancient barbaric Highlander culture and modern refined English culture, chooses to position himself as the benevolent imperialist creating an "improving" union through marriage to Rose Bradwardine. His initial attraction to Flora McIvor, the representative of the Celtic Other, might appear inappropriate, since she is a devout Catholic and represents the threat posed by the Highland Jacobites to a peaceful union with England. Flora rejects Waverley, Waverley returns to the English cause, the Jacobites lose at Culloden, and Waverley marries Rose Bradwardine, the daughter of a reformed Jacobite sympathizer from Central Scotland. The novel thus appears, as Daiches suggests, to culminate in a happy union between the anglicized colonial subject (Rose) and the benevolent imperialist (Waverley) with the unassimilable Celtic Other defeated or removed to France. Saree Madiski summarizes the novel's ultimate containment of the Highland threat as representing "the modern over the feudal, the civilized over the wild, the counter-revolutionary over the revolutionary, the "Feminine" domestic over the "masculine" adventurous, and so forth, including the victory of the present over the past" (169). However, far from recasting the Union and anglicization of Scotland as heroic or necessary, *Waverley*, through its use of Feminine language to confuse the imperialist and to conceal revolutionary action, instead implies that the Othering of an indigenous culture can actually empower the subjugated population to resist assimilation.

Waverley, as his name suggests, is never perfectly faithful to a particular cause, doctrine, or perspective. If Waverley represents a version of "soft" imperialism, where the English subject attempts to improve the Scottish Other through his advanced education and more civilized

culture, then it would appear that soft imperialism actually facilitates a greater influence on, or improvement of, the English subject by the Scottish Other. Early on, using the issue of language variance, Scott indicates that the English may have rendered themselves lacking due to their neglect of difference. Scott writes that Waverley was careless with the finer points of language including "the difference of idiom" (13). He boasts that he can read a book in Latin, but he lacks the "habits of firm and assiduous application" required "for earnest investigation" (13). His erratic reading habits, and his classical language education, do not prepare him for his advance into the territories of the Celtic Other, as he has neither the language nor an appreciation for idiomatic difference to help him make sense of the linguistic cultures of the Scot. Unlike the polyglot author of Waverley, and the post-colonial Scottish reader, Waverley is not equipped to appropriately interpret signs in the society of the Celtic Other. This early note of Waverley's linguistic negligence sets up the text's upcoming representation of Feminine language as a tool for subverting and/or challenging the value of Anglo-centric assimilation.

Waverley functions as an English-voyeur-proxy of Scottish culture, if only because his education about Scotland also educates the English reader for whom Scott ostensibly wrote. For the English reader, an outsider to Scottish culture, *Waverley* presents a carefully curated exhibition of the Highland subaltern. Just as Waverley cannot understand the Highland language and culture, including its means of non-verbal communication, an English reader does not easily understand the Scottish level of Scott's language or the Scottish side of Scott's multi-cultural narrator. The English reader is a voyeur as much as Waverley is upon his visit to the Highlands. This voyeuristic impulse, of English narrator and English reader, is most explicit when Waverley stays in Donal Bean Lean's cave and there is introduced to Alice Lean.

Throughout most of the text, the Gaelic subaltern does not speak directly on the page. As

Toda notes, "Scot knew very little Gaelic" and rarely transcribed it directly on the page (125). However, Scott makes up for this omission by emphasizing the physicality of Gaelic speakers, particularly in this cave scene. Alice Lean knows no English and communicates in "dumb show" through her "laughing eyes" (93). Since he cannot duplicate the Feminine language of the Highlander, Scott permits the Celtic Other to speak through her body. Alice first appears as a "strapping Highland damsel" who serves soup (90). The next time she is referenced it is with the same phrase. The repeated use of "strapping" before we learn more of Alice imposes upon the reader an impression of extraordinary physicality. It is not until the next morning that Scott breaks Alice's silence and gives voice to the body of the female Other. Before he sees her, Waverley hears "the notes of a lively Gaelic song" (92). Her "lay" leads him to where she busily prepares a bounteous breakfast for their guest, having already traveled four miles for ingredients. With the focus once again on the physicality of the female Other, the text goes on to describe her appearance. Scott describes her *snood*, which is a Scots word (though spelled here in English) for a particular type of hair band worn by women in Scotland, and her plaid: elements of dress particular to Scotland that would mark her clearly as a foreigner to an English eye. The description, with its knowledge of Scottish terms of dress, demonstrates an insider's knowledge of Scottish culture and thus belongs to the narrator more than to the voyeur. However, it occurs at a point in the text when Waverley has a lengthy and uninterrupted view of the young woman, suggesting that he sees much of what the narrator has been able to put into words. The gaze of both moves beyond clothing to inspect her more personally -- and in more detail than the text devotes to the first appearance of Rose, Waverley's eventual bride. Scott's typical use of physiognomy and general appearance to impute particular moralities and character attributes to figures would suggest that her "strapping" form is not without significance. Scott writes that "her

form, though rather larger for her years, was very well proportioned," which suggests a pleasant unity not just of physical proportions but also between her form and her presence/character, especially since it is followed by a description of her pleasing demeanor (93). Her athletic form also appears to facilitate the active and rough life of a Highland cattle-reiver. The text even includes a description of her dazzling "teeth of exquisite whiteness," a detail that seems to suggest that Highlanders are equally capable of "civilized" personal hygiene (93). True, on one hand, Scott's description of Alice demonstrates a patronizing Anglo-centric fetishization of the Celtic Other. This "little wild mountaineer" (a pejorative phrase in contexts of both gender and "civilization") is so "eager" to serve that she sits near Waverley, watching "with great complacency for some opportunity of serving him" (93). On the other hand, if we read Alice's physicality as an expression of identity, if the Celtic Other speaks through her body, the reader must acknowledge the health and vitality of the unassimilated population that is wrongly thought to be less fully human.

The plot recommences when Evan Dhu, lieutenant to the Laird of Glennaquoich, returns. He and Alice make several flirtatious exchanges in Gaelic before she leaves their company. The introduction of this romantic subplot relieves the English reader of any concern about the threat of an attractive foreign female, daughter of an itinerant thief, mixing inappropriately with an English gentleman. For a Scottish reader, this match underscores a system of Highland society that focuses on shared interests, customs, and language, rather than strictly hierarchical class roles. Dhu is regarded throughout as an example of Gaelic class, nobleness, and civility: the intended marriage between this Highland gentleman, Gaelic *Duinhe-vassel*, and Alice suggests that the wild Gael is no less-civilized or less deserving than Rose Bradwardine, the future bride of the English *Duinhe-vassel*.

Scott's criticism of the imperialist voyeur and the limits of their linguistic and cultural understanding manifests itself even more six weeks into Waverley's stay at Tully Veolan when the conflict between Bradwardine and Fergus is partially exposed. The Baron's milk cows have been taken by Highlanders because he has not paid the traditional black mail. Waverley's ignorance of this Scottish term, and the entire economic and cultural system it denotes, results in his complete misreading of the conflict between the Baron and the Highlanders. As the company "began to give separate and inconsistent counsel," Scott uses the scene to demonstrate how little an untraveled Englishman knows of Scotland's culture and how unfit he may be to exercise judgment in a conflict of Scottish origin (76). The Baron's butler and baillie both offer Bradwardine advice on how to handle the situation. As Scots who have served the estate for years and are intimately acquainted with all of its business, their advice differs only in price and does not differ much from paying the original protection fee, seeing as the thieves are in the employ of the Laird. Waverley, presuming to understand the situation and have enough experience and authority to suggest a course of action, takes no notice of his Scottish companions' expertise, and instead asserts that they "send off to the nearest garrison for a party of soldiers and a magistrate's warrant" (76). Waverley's ignorance of *blackmail* and the customs of cattle reiving leads him to conclude that the Highlanders are serious criminals. Waverley's proposal "only showed that he did not understand the state of the country, and of the political parties which divided it" (77). Indeed, the solution is simple: the baillie pays the Laird's lieutenant while the Baron is otherwise occupied, renewing the practice that had been kept secret from him in the past. Waverley's suggestion, however, reveals the danger posed by the ignorant benevolent imperialist. Had they followed his suggestion, the situation could have very easily escalated to violence, given the tensions between Highlanders and soldiers in 1745. Moreover,

by calling the government's attention to Bradwardine's connections to Highlanders, Waverley could have exposed both Bradwardine and Feargus as Jacobites in rebellion.

In the conversation Waverley has with Rose after the disappearance of the cattle has been dealt with appropriately, Scott therefore emphasizes the value of native language, now feminized again through Rose, to understanding the values of a particular culture. Waverley's ignorance of Scottish terms, in this case "blackmail", means that he has no ability to perceive, analyze, and assess judiciously. Without native language, it is Waverley, and by extension the English imperialist, who suffers in what "deplorable state of darkness" that Waverley's prejudiced tutor has assigned to Scotland (31). Waverley does not ask any questions to relieve his ignorance when the issue of blackmail is first brought up, nor does he make inquiries when the men are present and deciding what to do. It is only after he has given his advice on the conflict and the company has broken up without a clear resolution that Waverley inadvertently reveals his ignorance by asking Rose if Fergus "were the chief thief-taker of the district?" (77). Not only has Waverley confused the Laird for a lowly bounty-hunter; he has entirely misconstrued the nature of the conflict and the relationships between the parties involved. The route of his confusion is revealed when he finally asks Rose "And what is black-mail?" (78). Rose, the native female brought up in the language and customs of Scotland, responds with a clear explanation. Blackmail is "a sort of protection-money that Low-Country gentlemen and heritors, lying near the Highlands, pay to some Highland chief, that he may neither do them harm himself, nor suffer it to be done to them by others" (78).

A modern reader, very familiar with the English term blackmail, may gloss over the peculiarity of Waverley's question and then read Rose's explanation as a version of blackmail particular to the situation. However, Waverley is not inquiring into the blackmail of the

particular context of the Baron's situation, but rather the meaning of the foreign term itself, and Rose provides the general definition of the era, followed by a relevant example. According to the first definition in the OED, "blackmail" is "a tribute levied on farmers in Scotland and the border counties of England by freebooting Scottish chiefs in return for protection or immunity from plunder. Now *historical*." Though not Scots, most sources record that the word comes from Middle English "mail" or "male" meaning rent. However, since Scots developed out of Middle English, the word is virtually the same whether in a Scots or English variation. Waverley's ignorance makes it clear that this is not a word familiar to a well-read English gentleman from the south.

Waverley's linguistic ignorance causes him further mistakes that Rose, as a sort of native female tutor, must correct. He mistakes the status of Mac-Ivor, comparing him to Jonathan Wild, a notorious leader of bandits, despite having been told already "he is a gentleman of great honour and consequence; the chieftain of an independent branch of a powerful Highland clan" (77-78). Even if Waverley could use the excuse of not understanding the status of clan chiefs and their aristocratic rankings, Rose has already told him that Fergus presumes his rank to be above all the Lowland gentlemen gathered at a county meeting and that he understands the Baron to be under his banner. When Waverley refers to him as Mr. Mac-Ivor, an address that is sometimes equal to his own 'Esq." but sometimes also to a lower class of gentlemen, Rose admonishes him. She informs Waverley that "that is not his name; and he would consider MASTER as a sort of affront, only that you are an Englishman, and know no better. But the Lowlanders call him, like other gentlemen, by the name of his estate, Glennaquoich; and the Highlanders call him Vich Ian Vohr" (78). Rose, the seventeen-year-old daughter of the Baron, now provides the education that Waverley lacks in what appears to be an inversion of the "soft" imperialist mission. It is the

Englishman, rather than the Scot, who lacks the education and etiquette to appropriately navigate through society. Appropriately, he is now educated by the native female in the domestic setting of Bradwardine's home, as if Rose were the mother teaching a child her native tongue. Though he has now received a clear education about the status and respect due to the Laird, Waverley persists in misapplying English terms and customs to Scottish relationships. When speaking to Evan Dhu, Waverley relegates the Highland gentleman to the status of common servant. In their conversation, Dhu has referenced MacIvor as both the Laird and Vich an Vohr, yet Waverley refers to him as "your master," confusing the relationship between chief and clan for one of employer and servant (95). Dhu responds with some umbrage that *his* Master is in heaven and that Waverley actually means his Chief. Waverley does not repeat either mistake again, having finally learned to some degree the proper relation of a Highland Chief to those around him. In both his mistake with Rose and Evan Dhu, he escapes a more serious *faux-pas* and is excused because he is ignorant and a guest.

One of the aspects of the indigenous Feminine that Scott employs consistently in his representation of Scottish language and culture, then, is its unknowability for those from the center of power. As Julie Abbou and Fabienne H. Baider argue, "the social tension between centrality and periphery" constructs Feminine language as "not normal/ab-normal, hidden or minored…tabooed or silenced" (4). In *Waverley*, Scott demonstrates how, by virtue of being marginalized, the Feminine languages of Scotland can veil meaning and action from the English Imperialist. Scott uses the Feminine status of Scots and Gaelic to insinuate the danger of maintaining an English-centric approach to the Union of England and polylingual Scotland, especially at a time of strong political tension. Scott insinuates the danger of England's ignorance through both Waverley's misreading of signs and the narrator's occasional

unwillingness to translate or eavesdrop for the reader. Twice, the narrator asserts that a piece of dialogue "conveyed no information" (42; 86). Nonetheless, a careful reader with enough linguistic facility can extract the required information from the text in each situation, thereby proving their greater knowledge gained through Scots colloquial speech against the apparent ignorance of the English speaker and reader. The specific meanings hidden beneath the prejudices and limitations of an English perspective may prove harmless to Waverley in these instances. Nonetheless, they demonstrate how easily subversive or even outright treasonous information may be communicated right in front of the mono-lingual imperialist who does not see its meaning.

The first incident when the narrator concludes, along with Waverley, that a communication carries no information does not use the specialized vocabulary of a native language. Instead, it uses a different Feminine language; that of old Scottish Romance as voiced by the marginalized figure of the daft, enigmatic jester-figure at Bradwardine Estate. At first sight, Waverley believes him a "half-crazed simpleton" dressed in "antiquated and extravagant" fashion (42). Though he asks after Mr. Bradwardine, Waverley has "little hope of receiving answer" (42). As Gellatley responds, Scott emphasizes the Feminine aspect of his language, comparing him to "the witch of Thalaba" and quoting from Robert Southey that "still his speech was song" (42). The quote is a re-gendering of a line from Southey's epic poem *Thalaba the Destroyer* (1801) wherein a sorceress tricks the hero. The poem repeats three times that "still her speech was song" (bk. 8, stanzas 22, 24, 25). Scott's allusion doubly feminizes Gellatley: he is *like* a female, and he is like a witch, an agent of the feminized supernatural. Furthermore, Gellatley is introduced singing a "fragment of a Scotch ditty," instantly aligning him with the native population (42). Scott constructs Gellatley in the long tradition of the wise fool or mystic

clown who communicates in verse. This semi-mad archetype places Gellatley firmly in the Feminine position, with his wisdom derived from a cosmic or mystical source and his unusual physicality marking him as Other. Waverley perceives in his features "something of a compound of both [idiocy and insanity], where the simplicity of the fool was mixed with the extravagance of the crazed imagination" but also recognizes in him "something of Shakespeare's roynish clowns" (42). Yet, despite Waverley's knowledge of Shakespeare, he refuses to probe beneath the surface of Gellatley's communications. When Waverley asks Gellatley whether the Baron is at home, Gellatley responds in Scottish verse that "The Knight has gone to the mountain/his bugle to wind" and that "The Lady to greenwood/her garland to bind. / The bower of Burd Ellen/has moss on the floor" (42). Waverley disregards this instance of Feminine language and just repeats his queries. A careful reader can ascertain the location of the Baron and Rose Bradwardine from what Gellatley says. Alerted to the possibility of implicit or insider meaning by Gellatley's Scottish alignment and archetypal bearing, a reader may interpret the meaning hidden in his rhyme: The Baron (the "Knight") is indeed absent upon an outdoors task (clearing a wood, which by nature of Scott's geography, must perforce be at least adjacent to the Grampian mountains) and the Lady (Rose), though not in a wood, is within a garden, a loose type of bower or greenwood. Though not precise, Gellatley's response provides the essential information and confirms for the reader that Waverley may not have the facility to comprehend sociolinguistic signs beneath the surface and that the narrator's pronouncements may be suspect. Furthermore, Waverley's ignorance is compounded by his prejudice: he refuses to acknowledge native wisdom because it comes from a figure of degraded status within the prejudices he accepts from his modern English culture.

Scott again hides meaning beneath signs that make no sense for an English reader when

Waverley asks a Gaelic-speaking Highlander about the distance of their journey. The man responds in Highland Scots that "Ta cove was tree, four mile; but as duinhe-wassel was a wee taiglit, Donald could, tat is, might--would--should send ta curragh" (86). The Scots or insider reader instantly comprehends that this response answers Waverley's question (*the cave was three to four miles away*) and provides additional information: *since the gentleman is a little weary, Donald could, that is, might--would--should send the boat*. "Taiglit", glossed in the EEWN as "tired or weary", most likely comes from the Scots form ("taigle") of the Middle English word "tagyl," meaning to drag, impede, or retard. "Curragh," from the Irish "curach" points even more explicitly to the outsider's ignorance. According to the OED, from the 15th century the word "curragh" or 'curock' described a small hided and wicker-work boat used in Scotland and Ireland. However, not only does Waverley fail to understand any information from the Highlander's reply he also mistakes the Highlander's Scots for a dialectical mispronunciation of the English word "carry". Waverley thinks that "the curragh which was promised might be a man, a horse, a cart, or chaise" (86). The only things that these nouns have in common that would make sense in the context of Waverley's journey is their ability to carry a man across some distance. Notably, no boat is mentioned, so clearly Waverley does not understand the word to mean even a broad sense of a watercraft. In fact, he does not understand the Highlander until visual cues force him to draw the only logical conclusions: "in a short time Edward began to conceive his meaning, when, issuing from the wood, he found himself on the banks of a large river or lake" (86). For the English imperialist, via the proxy of Waverley, language cannot be a trusted source of information, since it is a form of communication closed to those without native knowledge. Thus, language difference and variation serve to empower the native, multilingual speaker by creating a space where the imperialist cannot enter without the permission (or

translation) of a native.

Waverley's "English ears" lead to a variety of mistaken meanings that can cause harm to both the outsider and the mistaken native speaker. Waverley injures himself, and thus loses out on a secret welcoming party of the Jacobite clan leaders, because he does not know the Gaelic words for the activities in which he participates. When he joins Fergus on the clan's big hunt, he does not recognize the warning that comes before the shooting: "The word was given in Gaelic to fling themselves upon their faces; but Waverley, on whose English ears the signal was lost, had almost fallen a sacrifice to his ignorance of the ancient language in which it was communicated" (129). He is only saved from possible death by Fergus, the native leader, who throws himself down upon Waverley, bringing him to the ground and hurting his ankle in the process. Had Fergus hesitated, it is possible that Waverley's body would have intercepted the shot meant for the stag. Here it is especially his ignorance of the Scots language, as well as his own lack of awareness, that endangers him. However, Scott uses the following scene, where Waverley's ankle is treated, to suggest once more that Waverley's ignorance of the language, compounded with his prejudice, may prove threatening to the native population. As the old man attends to Waverley's wound, he mutters to himself in Gaelic. In Waverley's prejudiced English ears, this muttering takes on pejorative, and even demonic, undertones: The surgeon "fomented the parts that sustained injury, never failing to murmur prayers or spells, which of the two Waverly could not distinguish, as his ear only caught the word Gaspar-Melchior-Balthazar- max-prax, and similar gibberish" (130). A careful reader may recognize that the healer is calling upon the three wise men, scholars or magi, who visited Jesus after his birth. Though, as scholars linked to astrology, the three wise men have some occult significance, they are much more broadly remembered with strong positive associations within Christian traditions. Thus, without the

presumption that the mostly-Catholic Highlanders either believed in or practiced witchcraft, and without an inherent disdain for foreign-sounding words, it seems unlikely that one would mistake a prayer for saintly intercession with a spell, as Waverley does. Here we see him treat the aid of a native "Other" with disdain. Furthermore, the insinuation that the healer might be practicing a form of witchcraft rather than Christianity is dangerous in a period only barely past the execution of witches in Scotland.[36] As was the case with Waverley's introduction to Gellatley, the speaker of femininized languages takes on further Feminine status by being linked to witchcraft. Though Waverley could perhaps make some sense of the language, his immediate prejudice against visibly Othered, Feminine speakers renders their speech enigmatic and mysterious to his English ears.

Not only does *Waverley* present the case that the Feminine language of the Other can help invert power relations when the imperialist enters the unassimilated peripheral culture; the text also demonstrates how post-colonial multilingualism can actually empower a native population against imperialist assimilation. Nearly all of Scott's native Scots can speak multiple languages. The peasants in the Lowlands speak Scots, but they necessarily understand English when Waverley speaks. The Baron and Rose both speak and understand English and Scots, and, given their interactions with the McIvor clan, have assimilated at least a few Gaelic words that allow them to explain customs like toasts and names to Waverley. Even more importantly, the characters that represent Waverley's equals within the Othered Gaelic society have higher fluencies in Gaelic, English, and Scots than Waverley himself, which permits them a greater degree of stealth and subterfuge. Given their status and their childhood in France, it is not surprising that Flora and Fergus are at least trilingual. The advantage of this verbal fluency is obvious when Waverley misses the communication between them that the surviving Stuart

Prince has arrived safely in Scotland. This communication is made in Gaelic, although Scott does not attempt to reproduce it for the reader. However, the intentional use of Gaelic in the company of Waverley, in addition to Flora's "tears of devotion and joy" and her glance heavenward, suggests to the reader that something of importance has been disclosed between brother and sister (134). A reader familiar with the events of 1745 in the Highlands and attuned to the possibilities of untranslated speech can conclude that Fergus has just revealed the secret safe arrival of Bonnie Prince Charlie. Had such an event been disclosed in English, Waverley, without the benefit of meeting the persuasive and charismatic leader, might have felt compelled to pass this information on to his English commanders. Here Scott uses the native language to protect the natural ties of affection between parties on opposite ends of the political conflict.

Many readers have been quick to point out that Scott uses dual language to denote class: ostensibly, English is for the more "civilized" and educated, while Scots, various dialectical forms of Scots and English, and untranslated Gaelic, taken together, are usually the languages of the lower class and uneducated. However, Scott leads us to question the value or connotation assigned to the traditionally imperialist descriptors of native populations. Has Waverley's formal English education given him any wisdom? Are the competitive factions of the Hanoverian court more orderly or functional than Donald Bean Lean's cattle reivers? Is English culture any more refined or developed than that which Waverley finds in the Highlands? Though many of Scott's novels often feature the traditional Romantic cast of aristocrats, his clearest and most detailed portraitures are of those men and women who have remained faceless in official history. Their native language is translated in detail as well, to the extent that Scott's own fluency and careful ear permits. Scott's subversion of the traditional imperialist degradation of the native, however, does not merely rely on giving the subaltern voice and image. Scott uses the multilingualism of

even lower-class native figures to demonstrate that the imperialist, for all his or her formal education, knows less than the native.

While the reader expects upper-class figures like Flora and Fergus to speak English as well as Gaelic, Waverley, at times an imperialist-proxy, does not expect that the lower classes can speak his language. If he thought otherwise, it might suggest that both the Otherness and the "natural" subordination of native populations were artificial constructs created to justify imperial conquest. And though we read of Highlanders that speak only Gaelic or are mute by virtue of linguistic ignorance, Scott challenges even those assumptions. The native may not speak English or seem to understand Waverley, but it does not necessarily mean he cannot. Both Waverley and the narrator appear to assume that Gaelic speakers of lower class cannot speak English, but from Scott's first introduction of Gaelic-speakers we learn to challenge this view. When Evan Dhu appears at Tully-Veolan, the narrator presents the native as a clear figure of Otherness to Waverley's English perception. Dhu arrives "fully armed and equipped," which Waverley would have perceived as hostile had not Rose and the Baron remained calm (81). The narrator then describes the sight which had startled Waverley with its otherness: "a mountaineer in his full national costume" (81). He is described as dark, short, and strong, arrayed in kilt and weapons, an "individual Gael," marked by symbol as a 'Duinhe-wassel" (81). However, as the Baron and Dhu begin the formal, courtly greetings, the narrator remarks that Dhu responds in "good English": "'Fergus Mac-Ivor Vich Ian Vohr,' said the ambassador, in good English, 'greets you well, Baron of Bradwardine'" (81). Strangely, the narrators' note about Dhu's English follows an untranslated Gaelic name, rather than any English words. While no more is made of Dhu's English, allowing an English reader to gloss over its significance, Scott's placement of a dialogue tag calls attention to Dhu's facility with English despite, or perhaps because of, the fact

that he is a native Gael. What Waverley does notice is how clever and careful Dhu is in making subtle inquiries into the conflict. In fact, Scott seems to elevate Dhu above Waverley. Not only is Dhu also a Duinhe-wassel, but his knowledge of languages and idioms outstrips the foreigner Waverley's knowledge; he can explain native language in precise English but also often relaxes into a light Highland Scots. Furthermore, while Waverley commits many mistakes against Scottish custom, Dhu does not offend Waverley's English customs. In choosing later to be executed with his chief rather than beg grace from those that had condemned Fergus, Dhu proves to be the most loyal, disinterested, and noble figure in the novel. If the death of Fergus and Dhu is meant to show that Highland culture must lamentably but necessarily die out in the face of English modernity, Scott's uses Dhu to challenge any imperialist assumption that dominant modern culture is necessarily an improvement on native Scottish traditions.

While Dhu's multilingualism alone does not suggest the greater fluency of the indigenous subject -- since he is a gentleman and thus corresponds to Scott's class and language patterns -- Gaels of lower status also demonstrate a multilingual proficiency greater than the English counterparts. As in the introduction of Dhu, Scott does not dwell on the fact that their fluency is greater than the English, but rather reveals the ignorance of the English voyeur who would assume otherwise. The native healer, whose language Waverley mistakes as demonic, turns out to speak Gaelic and English when he desires it. After Waverley pays him handsomely, "he uttered on the occasion so many incoherent blessings in Gaelic and English that Mac-Ivor . . . cut them short" (131). Scott applies the descriptor "incoherent" to his speech in both languages, suggesting it demonstrates his enthusiasm rather than fluency and placing both languages on equal footing. Later, when Waverley is rescued from Gilfillan and placed in the care of an old Highland woman, the same situation is repeated with a poor Gaelic healer named Janet. Scott

calls our attention to the repetition by mentioning Waverley is "for the second time a patient of a Highland Esculapius" (198). While the first Esculapius – here given the false name of the ancient Greek god of medicine by the classically-educated Waverley -- was in the employ of the chief, the second is connected to Donald Bean Lean, the cattle reiver. Like Fergus' man, she too offers blessings in English to Waverley when he pays her in gratitude for care. In this instance, Scott informs the reader that Janet blesses him "in good Lowland Scotch, though he had never hitherto heard her utter a syllable, save in Gaelic" (202). Yet her Scotch is written in English dialogue without any typical marks of dialect: "God bless you! God, prosper you, Captain Waverley!" (201). In this poor Highland healer, most likely a woman without status or formal education, Scott alludes to all three languages of Scotland. This time Waverley knows enough to be aware of the fact that Janet has chosen not to communicate with him before, but he is hurried out before he can ask for the explanation. Still, this lack of an explanation here only emphasizes his obtuseness as he has already hit on an explanation a few pages previously. Waverley attempts to communicate with the Gaels carrying him to her hut. They respond in Gaelic with "'niel Sassenagh,' that is 'no English,' being, as Waverley well knew, the constant reply of a Highlander when he either does not understand or does not choose to reply to an Englishman or Lowlander" (196). Waverley has learned something it seems, as he now recognizes that the lack of communication between himself and the Highlanders may not stem from linguistic ignorance, but rather from choice. While he, as an Englishman, does not have the ability to choose whether or not to communicate with Highlanders, since he does not speak their language, they do have the choice. His ignorance allows them to communicate and plan in front of him without his knowledge while he is at their mercy. While an English reader or an imperialist might view the

silence of the native as proof of their ignorance, Scott actually demonstrates that subaltern silence is proof of power and greater knowledge.

Ultimately, stripped of the English-bias of his protagonist, Scott's commentary on Gaelic is far more positive than one might think of a writer who either elides or misquotes Gaelic words. Very little Gaelic actually appears in Scott's novels and what does appear is often either Irish or copied from non-fluent sources. However, his clumsy handling of Gaelic should not be mistaken for argument. Though he had a good ear for the many varieties of Scots, English, and cant, Gaelic is an altogether much more difficult language to imitate, since the pronunciation of it differs greatly from pronunciations in the Romance languages. It seems that Scott did not make a great effort to learn Gaelic; his small collection of Gaelic texts is mostly dominated by treatises on Ossian and collections of songs or poems. However, despite or perhaps because of his ignorance, Scott attempts to position the language as one uniquely suited to the natural landscape of Scotland and inherently suited to Romance. Waverley's infatuation with Flora is partially born out of her language, which "gave additional and varied influence to her eminent personal charms" (128). When asked to translate the baird's Gaelic into English, the highly fluent Flora implies that they defy perfect translation as "much of [their merit] must evaporate in translation" (114). She also shows that "the Gaelic language, being uncommonly vocalic, is well adapted for sudden and extemporaneous poetry" (115). When given a little time to prepare her "Rude English translation," Flora insists that Waverley accompany her to a romantic spot with a view of the dramatic Highland landscape as "the seat of the Celtic Muse is in the mist of the secret and solitary hill, and her voice in the murmur of the mountain stream" (113). In this moment, Scott, Waverley, and the reader are one in their enjoyment of the romanticization of the Celt. However, later in the novel, Scott includes a note which affirms the Romantic appreciation of Gaelic while

removing the influence of Romantic landscape and desirable damsel. Writing of Callum Beg, the young Highlander that Talbot refers to as a "subaltern imp" and "sucking devil," Scott notes the unrivaled, natural politeness of Highlanders (289; 159). The implication is that the natural language of even the worst "subaltern" devil abounds in a civility few nations can rival.

Waverley, as Scott's first published novel, showcases Scotland's multilingual culture as a strong counterargument to English prejudices about the North. Writing more than a century after the Union of the Parliaments, Scott's position is necessarily post-colonial; the issue of Union or assimilation with England is already long past. However, from Scott's perspective at the beginning of the nineteenth century, much could still be done to elevate Scotland's position within that relationship by demonstrating the power and sophistication of Scottish languages. As Waverley journeys into the Feminine space of the colonized land, he discovers that his ignorance of the languages of Scotland actually serves to invert the traditional relation of power between imperialist and colonizer. As Anne McClintock points out, the classic metaphor for imperial quest for knowledge and resource is that of a land "feminized and spatially spread for male exploration" (23). Moreover, "imperial progress across the space of empire is figured as a journey backward in time" (40). Working well within the trope of the Feminine, atavistic "foreign" land, Scott employs the prejudice and ignorance of the English explorer to reveal the danger of devaluing or discounting the power of a marginalized population. Scots and Gaelic, as languages marginalized and ignored by the English voyeur, become enigmatic, Feminine mediums through which Scott, at least for a while, can subvert the Masculine power of the penetrating English imperial attitude.

Feminine Language and Lewis Grassic Gibbon

Born and raised in Aberdeenshire, an area in Northeast Scotland that recorded the greatest number of Scots speakers in the 2011 census, Gibbon primarily encountered the Scots (or *braid Scots* or Doric) and English languages, though he would have most likely heard some Scottish Gaelic from seasonal workers from the Highlands. His decision to include Scots in his "Scottish" fiction (under the pen name Lewis Grassic Gibbon) but omit it from his "English" works (authored under his given name, J. Leslie Mitchell) signifies the author's awareness of both the personal and cultural politics associated with each language. In the three novels of *A Scot's Quair*, all published in the 1930s, the connection of language to personal identity is most obvious in Chris Guthrie's multiple personas and the texts' exploration of migrant populations, educational standards, and class conflicts.

Mitchell's choice of pen names for works written in different languages suggests an instinctive awareness of the gendering of languages. After all, Mitchell was attentive to names and to the histories they could suggest. For his "English" texts or those that were not written in his synthetic Scots, Leslie used his own given name, though shortening the James to the single J. These English works are written under a name that represents the paternal, Masculine side of his heritage. His father's side of his family had multiple James Mitchells. Leslie's father was James McIntosh Mitchell. His father's cousin was James Gordon Mitchell. His father's uncle was a James Leslie Mitchell. Leslie, the author's middle name also comes from the paternal side, but through a female descendent. Mitchell's great grandmother on his father's side was Isabella Leslie, her father being a John Leslie. Notably it is this middle name, Leslie, handed down through a female ancestor that Mitchell chose to be known by to his family and friends. It is possible, of course, that the author chose to go by Leslie as a matter of convenience, given so

many Jameses in the family. It is equally possible that he wanted some separation from the father with whom he shared very few qualities. Little has been written about Mitchell's relationship with his father. Biographer Ian Munro suggests that the "tired" and "methodical, industrious, and upright" man may have had little time for his third son (6). Always concerned about the farm, Mitchell Sr. "had his own standards, and insisted on his own taboos. Bigoted, yet kindly, he was always master in his own house" (6-7). William Malcolm provides further insight into the Mitchell family dynamic by noting that Mitchell's two brothers were from his mother's previous relationships, and Mitchell Sr. "overcompensated . . . treating George and John with demonstrably greater indulgence than his own child" (4). Malcolm also concludes that they had a "fractious relationship" and Mitchell's mother had to intercede between them though "obedience to her husband was paramount" (5). These biographical details may indeed explain why many of Mitchell's texts appear to associate a particular paternal masculinity with dominance and a willing indifference to the emotional needs of others. Moreover, the figure of his father, a dour peasant farmer, must have influenced his feelings towards his own name. Mitchell's first success as a writer came in 1924, when he won a short story competition for "Siva Plays the Game" published in *T.P.'s and Cassell's Weekly*. His first big achievement in his chosen profession was proudly printed under the name Leslie Mitchell, the name inherited from a *female* ancestor.

Once Mitchell begins to think of his name as an author's name, he takes up a third-persona analysis of the character, the persona, that a name might suggest. In a letter to the Grays from 4 January 1928, Leslie tells them of his plan to add James back to his name as a published writer. Remarkably, having decided upon this course with his wife, he makes little reference to his father in his description of the name. He writes

> For James - James, flouted, despised, sneered at - has returned. James, no longer a potential footman or butler, again marches one pace ahead of Leslie; a revivified, rejuvenated James, he takes the field . . .
>
> We've decided that without the James my name has a weakness, a lack of substance. James is a guarantee of worth and good faith. In homespun, dour, a trifle owlish, James marches, trumpeting, ahead of the insouciant, ironical Leslie.

He signs the letter Jas. Leslie Mitchell. Across correspondence with friends, readers, and literary peers, the abbreviated James - either as Jas. or J - seems to have stuck except where supplanted by Lewis or L. Grassic Gibbon. While the "dour" may be a reflection of his father's personality, Mitchell makes no mention of the masculine figure of the northeastern tenant farmer, a figure which appears repeatedly as the father figure in his fictions. Of all the associations he produces with this new figure of James, the most important clue may be his imagined clothing of the man. James, the author who wrote in an acquired, non-native language, wears "homespun," a material that represents the rusticity of his rural Scottish upbringing rather than an English urbanity learned in his adult residence in Welwyn Garden City. Moreover, the use of the word "homespun" calls to mind the domestic space where women may make cloth in the home with handlooms. Given the large presence of weavers and spinners in *Cloud Howe*, Mitchell's use of "homespun" may also refer to the large female weaving industry in neighboring village Inverbervie during his childhood.[37] Thus, even in the figure of the author writing in English, Mitchell suggests a strong Feminine presence, both in its domesticity and in its strong connection to rural, native Scotland. It is important to remember that, even though J. Leslie Mitchell wrote in English, Mitchell never figured himself as an English author. As I detail below, Mitchell always saw the author J. Leslie Mitchell as a Scottish writer translating himself into English.

Thus, while English is the Masculine language of imperial conquest and imperialist institutions, J. Leslie Mitchell was a post-colonial writer, using a hybrid translated language that was both Feminine and Masculine.

With *Sunset Song* (1932), four years after his first major work, Mitchell introduces a new Scots author to the reader: Lewis Grassic Gibbon. This name derives from his close relationship to his mother. James Leslie Mitchell was the child of James Mitchell and Lilias Grant Gibbon. Lilias, in turn, was the daughter of a Gibbon and a Lilias Grassick. The male name "Lewis" sounds very similar to Lilias, and the Grassic and Gibbon are clear references to his maternal ancestry. And it is through this maternally-indebted persona that Mitchell chose to write of Scotland, his "motherland," in Scots, his "mother tongue". In his biography of the author, Munro records that "[Mitchell] certainly felt his mother's blood strong within him, and took more than her name for his *Scots Quair* when it came to be written" (3). He contends that the "great influence" Lilias had on her son figured into Mitchell's "wider conception of the eternal woman of the Scottish earth and land" (6). For Munro then, whose biography is based heavily on the recollections of Mitchell's wife, the one person who knew him best, Mitchell viewed natural Scotland as a female figure tied to nature and, I would add to Feminine Time. While Chris Guthrie may be Mitchell's fictional representation of this concept, Munro argues that Mitchell's mother provided his real-life model. Munro describes Lilias Mitchell as "a woman of strong and independent character, small-built, with reddish hair, and the country-woman's weathered features. She had a brain sharp as a needle, and wits that were always quick and nimble, with a tongue to match them" (5). He finds her reflected in the incidents and language of the character Jean Murdoch, but also in the contradictions of *Sunset Song*'s attitude toward rural, Scottish life: both critical and generous, intelligent and sensual, ironic and intensely sincere. These qualities,

along with a profound, sometimes painful connection to the rhythms and demands of the land, manifest themselves most clearly in Mitchell's work written under his maternally-indebted pen name Lewis Grassic Gibbon. Ultimately, both of the author's names and personas maintain a strong attachment to the Feminine and to the domestic and rustic influences of his Scottish heritage. The languages that each author aims to represent, however, expose the gendered power relations between the Masculine speech of the invading imperialist and Feminine language of the enduring native. Mitchell's evaluation of language, as it relates to native and invading populations in Scotland, is most explicit in his non-fiction essays, to which I now turn.

Scottish Scene

In a letter dated the 31st of August 1933, J. Leslie Mitchell proposed a book project to fellow writer Christopher Grieve. The two writers, known better at that point by their Scottish pen names Lewis Grassic Gibbon and Hugh MacDiarmid, had apparently met at a Revolutionary Writers' Group in 1932 and had begun both a professional exchange, some solicitation of work, and a personal correspondence. Since these two authors had exchanged Scottish texts and recommendations, with both having utilized vernacular Scots in their work to great success already, Gibbon proposes to his counterpart a joint nationalist project:

> My dear Grieve
>
> Let's write a book together. The notion came into my head this morning while I was shaving.... A unique book about Scotland by Hugh MacDiarmid and Lewis Grassic Gibbon. We'll call it "The Scottish Scene," and it will be interwoven so. . . .

> Let's say five pieces of poetry, five short stories, five short biographies, and five news-reels. That would produce something unique, wouldn't it?

After further correspondence and negotiations with publishers, Mitchell concedes that the project had become more important than merely a way to capitalize on the detritus of the Scottish publications:

> Originally I regarded this book as (partially at least) a good method of getting rid of our spare junk. But I'm becoming really enthusiastic about it now, and think we can really make a sensation with it if we pack in our best. You're the only Scot alive who can write poetry, and I'm the only one who can write fiction. Let's show all the hangers-on a real book! (Letter d. 13 Oct. 1933)

His statement that they are the only Scots alive who can write poetry and fiction is most likely meant to refer to literature in Scots rather than all literature. In the "Literary Lights" essay for *Scottish Scene,* he will adjust this statement to include Lewis Spence, making the three of them the only modern authors of Scots literature as Mitchell defined it.

In his essays for *Scottish Scene*, Grassic Gibbon writes explicitly of the relationship between imperialism, language, and industry. The Scots language of the book, as integral to the project as the content, caused Mitchell some headache, since he had to edit or correct the typists' copy of the manuscript. In a letter to Grieve, he notes that correcting the typists nearly drove him insane, but "there was some excuse for typists who had never seen Braid Scots before" (d. 15 Nov 1933). Despite the extra work it produced, the use of Scots formed a nationalistic political argument all on its own, which is illustrated by *Scottish Scene's* first epigraph written by Scottish Nationalist Compton Mackenzie: "To an Englishman something is what it is called: to a

Scotsman something is what it is" (5). The epigraph by Mackenzie calls attention to the fact the relationship between signifier and signified is culturally dependent: accordingly, human perception and expression of reality must also be culturally dependent and thus culturally and linguistically specific. For Mitchell, the three languages of Scotland, English, Scots, and Gaelic, are as inexorably tied up with Scotland's history of conquests and assimilation – with what Scotland is and has been apart from languages. Mackenzie, an English-born Scotophile who co-founded the Scottish National Party, suggests a distinct cultural difference between the English and Scottish use of language. For the Englishman, with a long history of exploration, conquest and imperialism, the naming of things converts the unknown (to the imperialist) to known and lays claim over it. Naming, in one's own language, is akin to possession, an tradition evident in the naming of "newly discovered" places after home territories (**New** York) and sons after their fathers (to emphasize legitimacy). For the ever-pragmatic Scot, an object or a place is as it is used or experienced. Scottish place names originating in Gaelic, Scots, or some form of ancient Pict are highly physically descriptive. Aberdeen, for example, is a conjunction of the pictish word "aber" for river mouth, and the Gaelic river Goddess Devona who lends her name to the river Don (Grant 23).

The Gaelic language represented a fleeting and violent imperialist culture for Mitchell, not a native tongue. Most of his references to Scotland's Celtic inheritance occurs in his construction of Scottish history in *Scottish Scene* or in reference to the occasional Highlander in *Sunset Song*. In his narrative of Scottish history in the "Antique Scene" (the first essay of *Scottish Scene*), the racial identity of ancient Scotland primarily rests on the ability of the Pictish stock to ignore the influence of invading populations like the Kelts, the Norse, and the Romans. According to Grassic Gibbon, the Kelts were not a race of noble warrior-poets but rather

"dagger-armed" savages that exterminated the ancient matriarchal populations of the Seine before landing in Scotland (*ScSc* 21). Clearly, Mitchell has in mind something like the prehistoric Old European populations that Marija Gimbutas described half a century later as largely pacifist and matriarchal. He therefore positions the invading, foreign force as a Masculine threat to Feminine indigenous populations. In his picture of ancient Scotland, the Picts were a peaceful agrarian culture descended from the maglemosian wanderers of Egypt. In the utopian Golden Age, these populations practiced the kindly freedom and social equality that Grassic Gibbon uses to distinguish the violent savage from the ideal primitive, the Masculine invader from the Feminine native. In his history, the Gaelic-speaking Kelts were the original Masculine aggressors: "This was the Kelt… the Kelt, coming armed on a peaceful population, slaying and robbing and finally enslaving, establishing himself as king and overlord, routing the ancient sunpriests from the holy places and establishing his own devil-haunted uneasy myths and gods through the efforts of the younger sons" (21-22). His description emphasizes the masculine: Kelt makes **himself** a **king** and passes on his values through **sons**. The author dismisses the idea that Scotland was ever conquered or colonized by the Kelt. Because the Kelt was primarily a conquering race rather than a settling race, the influence of the Kelt was primarily limited to imposed language and social structures: "It is doubtful if the Kelts ever contributed a single item to the national cultures of the countries miscalled Keltic... they imposed their language and their social organisation upon the basic Maglemosian- Mediterranean stock… the Kelts are a strain quite alien to the indubitable and original Scot" (22). Grassic Gibbon, consequently, seems particularly hostile to Scotland's Gaelic inheritance. His hostility manifestly stems from perceived competition between marginalized groups for the status of authenticity in a post-colonial society. Within the gendered context of the Masculine invader and Feminine native, his

antipathy to the language and culture of the Other in Scotland is thus part of a larger condemnation of patriarchal imperialist dominance and power.

Part of Grassic Gibbon's antipathy towards Gaelic and Celtic culture in Scotland stems from his perception of the useless romanticism of national revivals. In his essay "Glasgow," he criticizes small nations and "their *exclusive* cultures, their *exclusive* languages, their *national* souls, their unique achievements in throat-cutting in this and that abominable little squabble in the past" (*ScSc 44*). He abhors the seemingly surface points of distinction Ireland has gained from England through the violent nationalist rebellions: rather than a just "social revolution," Ireland gained "a revival of Gaelic, bewildering an unhappy world with uncouth spellings and titles and postage-stamps; revival of the blood feud; revival of the decayed literary cultus which (like most products of the Kelt) was an abomination even when actually alive but more manure when it died" (145). At his most cynical and despairing, Grassic Gibbon fears that nationalism in Scotland may produce a similar effect: an artificial rendering of Scottish identity that only serves to maintain the violent, Masculine power structures, foreign to the native Golden Age peace and harmony. The same nationalism that might revive the status of a minority ("alien") language like Gaelic might, in doing so, only serve to more effectively veil the suffering of the poor. He sneers that "it will profit Glasgow's hundred and fifty thousand slum-dwellers so much to know that they are being starved and brutalised by Labour Exchanges and Public Assistance Committees staffed exclusively by Gaelic-speaking, haggis-eating Scots" (146). These imaginary Gaelic employees of welfare services are little different, in Gibbon's mind, from their slaver ancestors. While Grassic Gibbon later writes that he would "welcome the end of Braid Scots and Gaelic" in order to "cleanse the Glasgow slums, give a surety of food and play" (141), only Gaelic, as the

language of the ancient raiding Kelts, is particularly associated with Scotland's long history of violence and exploitation.

The primary linguistic conflict in Mitchell's works, between Scots and English, also springs from his particular narrative of attempted conquest and cultural diffusion. In his essay "The Antique Scene," Grassic Gibbon notes that modern study has disproved the common view that Scotland had been overwhelmed by various populations intent on conquest and colonization. Instead, he states "Scotland was colonized only twice - once fairly completely, once partially" (*ScSc* 23). The first and most successful colonizers were Maglemosian hunters, migrating in nomadic fashion from the African continent and bringing human populations north. The second, notably, was only a partial colonization, and that was by the Angles from the South. All of the other populations were either absorbed into the Maglemosian-Angle stock or were temporary raiders with little permanent effect. Mitchell imagines the Maglemosian as a Pictish peasant toiling in the fields, barely noticing the installment of a new master or a new lord of a different race before returning in indifference "to the essentials of existence, his fields, his cattle, his woman in the dark little eirde, earth-house" (24). This ancient race is essentially peaceful, absorbed with the Feminine concerns of life and generation rather than with the Masculine "projects" of *homo faber (*Beauvoir 115). Furthermore, the *eirde,* the ancient peasant's defense against the elements and the wilds, is a womb-like structure dug into the earth. Though Grassic Gibbon figures the ancient Pictish peasant as male, he clearly portrays the race with strong Feminine associations. Moreover, in his works, he associates the positive lingering essence of this ancient Scottish race with female protagonists such as Chris Guthrie, who ultimately ignores "progress" by returning to farm the land where she was born, and time-traveler Gay Hunter, described as having the old Maglemosian build.

According to Gibbon's history in *Scottish Scene*, the common central and Northeast populations spoke some variety of Maglemosian-Pictish until the second colonization of Scotland by the Angles. The author dates the Angle colonization to 1034-1603, a time when Scotland transitioned from a majority Pictish civilization to an Anglo civilization, seeing as the lowlands had already abandoned the Pictish for the "alien Keltic," which they then relinquished "to an equally alien Anglo-Saxon" (*ScSc* 26). In an uncharacteristically misogynistic moment, Grassic Gibbon blames this shift toward Masculine languages and culture on the sexual desirability of Malcolm III's wife: "in return for the delights of the shameful intimacies which begat [his] offspring, the abashed Malcolm refrained from any hand in their christening. They were all christened with good English names, they were taught English as their native speech, they lived to grow up and Anglicise court and church town" (26). If anglicization is the fall of Pictish Scotland, then woman is once again Original Sin seducing man. Fortunately, Grassic Gibbon's occasional misogyny is usually reserved for women in power whose self-interest harms others, a quality of which he is equally critical when it comes to male counterparts.

The English imperialist enterprise in Scotland, begun with the "bed-favours" of Margaret and continuing on through the modern era, could never succeed entirely, Grassic Gibbon argues, because of the nature of the Scottish character, the inherent qualities and values of the ancient Feminine Maglemosian that would also help create the Scots language. In his eyes, the Scot never fully concedes or assimilates but rather adapts according to what most suits the national spirit. According to the author, Scots diverged from English at this period because of the influence of the Pict upon the language of the Anglo-Saxon. While England imitated its conquerors in a Masculine language, Scotland adapted the Anglo-Saxon to the cadences, sounds, and meanings of an indigenous Pictish original. It is this essential difference, the indigenous and

Feminine qualities of the evolving national tongue, which distinguishes Scots from English. Speech and literature "were set in an Anglo-Saxon, not an English, mould, [and] filled with the deep spiritual awarenesses of the great basic race which wielded this new cultural weapon as once it had wielded the Keltic. It was a thing national and with a homely and accustomed feel, this language [of] Wyntoun and Barbour and Blind Harry" (*ScSc* 26-27). Grassic Gibbon describes Scots as "homely," a word used in the United Kingdom in the same way as the American "homey". For Mitchell then, Scots is "suggestive of a home (esp. a modest one) or of domestic life; ordinary, everyday . . . cosy, comfortable" (OED). By associating Scots with the home, even amidst the more masculine association of a "weapon," the author leaves no doubt about the essentially Feminine quality of this national language. Even before it became degraded by Union and English assimilation, Scots was the language of home -- and thus of the mother and one's private lives. Moreover, this Feminine, domestic language was also the language of the Nation, of its great medieval authors and of its heroic spirit. In Scotland, "homely" (or "hamely") has the additional positive meanings of "kind, kindly; courteous" (OED). Scots for Mitchell, then, is a deeply Feminine language that exhibits all the positive attributes the indigenous heroic yet kindly Scots identity.

In another *Scottish Scene* essay, "Literary Lights," Gibbon describes the modern literary scene for the Scottish writer. Most Scottish writers, he argues, may be Scottish by birth, but their texts are, in fact, more English than Scots. For him, to call a Scottish writer writing in English a Scots writer would be like calling Joseph Conrad a Polish writer because he was born in Poland (*ScSc* 198). Conrad's works are English texts, though the author may be a Polish man. In Scotland, this distinction means that nearly all of the texts produced since the medieval period are English texts. He writes that "the chief Literary Lights which modern Scotland claims to light

up the scene of her night are in reality no more than the commendable writers of the interesting English country of Scotshire" (199). Essentially Scottish writers of English texts are writing in translation and this process of translating thought, speech, and cadence into the alien tongue exhausts the mind so that the writer is not really able to experiment or be original. Unable to help himself, in his analysis of the modern Scots literary scene Grassic Gibbon writes even of himself as if writing about an unknown person. Yes, he writes that he is the only writer to attempt the use of Scots in fiction (without the apologetic apostrophes of dialect used by authors like Walter Scott). But he simultaneously acknowledges that, for all of his philosophy on the language, his own use of Scots is actually quite limited: "The technique of Lewis Grassic Gibbon in his trilogy *A Scots Quair* … is to mould the English language into the rhythms and cadences of Scots spoken speech, and to inject into the English vocabulary such minimum number of words from Braid Scots as that remodeling requires" (205). Clearly, as a writer in a post-colonial space, he recognizes the need to write for the dominant literary market while still attempting to portray as much of an authentic peripheral culture and language as possible. By bringing the Feminine language of Scots into the *Quair* novels as dialogue and by mimicking its rhythm and inserting Scots words in his narrative prose, this author suggests that Scots can be a medium of great literary worth for both English and Scottish audiences.

Mitchell's various writings on the effect of assimilation on language are surprisingly alert to the post-colonial issues discussed so heavily in more recent cultural criticism. The post-colonial writer, unable to secure status or wealth by writing from the periphery *for* the periphery, instead attempts, usually, to enter the center of power. The Scottish writer attempts to disguise his Otherness by aping the most technical English; yet this is an impossible task:

> For, however the average Scots writer believes himself Anglicised . . . the prose --or verse- is impeccably correct, the vocabulary is rich and adequate, the English is severe, serene … But unfortunately it is not English. The English reader is haunted by a sense of something foreign stumbling and hesitating behind this smooth facade of adequate technique; it is as though the writer did not write himself, but *translated* himself. (*ScSc* 196)

The Feminine Otherness that is Scots thought and Scots cadence cannot be fully abrogated; the very tenacity that meant that the ancient Feminine characteristics of the Maglemosian Pict endured despite changes in imperialist rulers holds the Scottish writer back from full assimilation. The Scottish writer writing in English will always use a postcolonial language, an English that cannot fully obscure the Scottish inheritance of the ancient qualities of Golden Age populations. Still, it is the Feminine endurance of the Maglemosian spirit, a refusal to be completely dominated by the Masculine force of imperialism, that also gives Mitchell hope of a better future world for all nations, one in which humankind can once again be inspired by nature and life. In one of the most prophetic moments in *Scottish Scene,* Grassic Gibbon writes that a "time will come when nationalism, with other cultural aberrations, will have passed from the human spirit, when Man, again free and unchained, has all the earth for his footstool, sings his epics in a language moulded from the best on earth, draws his heroes, his sunrises, his valleys and his mountain from all the circles of our lovely planet" (141-146).

POLYCHROMATA

This distinctive sense of cultural history also appears prominently in the *Polychromata* story cycle, originally published under the name J. Leslie Mitchell in volumes 67 and 68 of

Cornhill Magazine (1929-30). These twelve short stories, told from the vantage point of a single narrator, feature the settings and populations that Mitchell observed during his employment in Egypt with the Royal Army Service Corps from 1919 to 1923. In the aftermath of British occupation, English imperialist presence remained strong in Cairo and the assumed superior status of Masculine imperialist populations survived. Throughout *Polychromata,* non-English, female characters appear in the shadows of harems and slums, forced into service and poverty by the joint power of English and Arab patriarchies. Yet Mitchell also presents the city itself as a powerful female figure that seems to transcend all conflicts of power, gender, and race by containing multitudes within herself. Saloney, the narrator, describes "our little Cairo" as "many-coloured . . . She has many names" and as the "mother of aliens, alien to us all" (*Sm* 224; 236). While Mitchell follows the imperialist trope of "the male penetration and exposure of a veiled female interior" by explicitly figuring Cairo as an enigmatic, polychromatic female, his Cairo is never conquered, never divested of her secrets (McClintock 23).

Mitchell's narrator for these stories is perfectly situated to reflect the tensions Mitchell felt himself as a post-colonial subject writing in the language of the imperialist while observing a culture foreign to him. Mitchell's narrator, Anton Saloney, describes himself as "dragoman, guide, ex-colonel of horse in the army of Deniken, and one-time Professor of English Literature in the Gymnasium of Kazan" (*Sm* 223). As a "dragoman" living in Cairo, the Russian Saloney works as an intermediary between the native populations of Cairo and the foreign visitors and professionals that tour the area. Most of his work involves Arabic and English-speaking populations; his own native tongue appears infrequently in the text. Thus, just as Mitchell writes in the learned language of English of cultures foreign both to the English and Scottish man, Saloney describes cultures foreign to the Russian man in a learned language. Through the

character Saloney, Mitchell analyzes conflicts of translation in imperialist language. Though linguistic outsiders, both Saloney and Mitchell have greater "insider" knowledge of the colonized settings of their stories. As outsiders to the English, as Other, they have greater empathetic access and insight into the marginalized populations of Cairo, those disempowered by English imperialism or by the sexual and socio-economic hierarchies of its Arabpopulations. As a stand-in for Mitchell, the ex-military storyteller Saloney records his impressions of the socially and culturally polychromatic Middle East and its relationship to the English, Cairo's former imperialist occupiers.

Saloney begins *Polychromata* by emphasizing the diversity of Cairo, the "many-coloured" diversity of that city, and the quest of the observer for the many "so-desired apples" that drive life in "that mirage-orchard that flourishes by the Dead Sea" (*Sm* 223). Throughout the story-cycle, Cairo appears especially polychromatic as a center of post-colonial leisure and business. The stories themselves feature characters from diverse cultures as they travel through Cairo and outwards, connected by an impulse to journey into unfamiliar lands. As narrator and guide into this polychromatic scene, Saloney provides readers with a perspective similar to their own: an outsider, a foreigner, becoming intimately familiar with Cairo through its stories and characters. His "book-English" reminds the reader of the limitations of their literary engagement with Cairo precisely because the subtle foreignness of his English recalls the reader from the illusion of actual experience. As observers, Saloney and the reader participate in the exposure or penetrating of the "veiled" Feminine land, yet they do so without male imperialist violence and only as far as translation permits.

In *Scottish Scene,* Grassic Gibbon compares the anglicized language of a Scots writer to the English of the Indian poet Rabindranath Tagore. Both Tagore's poems and Saloney's

narrative in *Polychromata* produce the same effect upon a native English reader: "The prose -- or verse-- is impeccably correct, the vocabulary is rich and adequate, the English is severe, serene . . . But unfortunately it is not English. The English reader is haunted by a sense of something foreign stumbling and hesitating behind this smooth facade of adequate technique: it is as though the writer did not *write* himself, but *translated* himself" (*ScSc* 196). Translation is both Other and not, both Feminine and Masculine; it attempts to mimic the single voice of the dominant population while combating a second voice, their "mother tongue," that refuses to disappear. In *Polychromata*, Mitchell takes great care to create an English that avoids the stereotypical representations of translation that tend to mark the speaker as uneducated, foolish, and simple. Rather, as a translator, Saloney echoes Mitchell's portrait of the polyglot poet Tagore. Like Tagore, Saloney is adept in many languages and claims, at least, to have been a poet. He, like Mitchell writing in English, must translate himself, occupying a postcolonial space between a native Feminine population and an imperialist Masculine population. His English is adequate, correct, and even lyrical--yet it is clearly foreign. Often, in his storytelling, Saloney adopts a phrasing that, though correct, sounds unusual to the native English reader. When Saloney writes "long the evenings I sat and puzzled" (*Sm* 223) and "yet was he the passionate pilgrim" (230), Mitchell subtly reorders the expected syntax to imitate the book-English of a Russian English professor.

Another technique that produces the sense of translation is the addition of "so-" to various descriptors to add emphasis. Saloney writes of "so-desired apples"(*Sm* 223) , "the last so-bluff American" (223), his invented "so-scandalous royalties" (223), a woman's "so-awesome tenderness" (229), the "so-brave Arabs" (231), a "so-rich Egyptian millionaire" (241), an oil lamp's "so-dim light"(245), and so on. Saloney's "so" functions to emphasize or intensify the

following adjective as "very" does in English. In Russian, óчень ("very") has a similar frequency rate to "very" in English. This particular intensifier echoes the use of "gey" in Gibbon's Scots stories, though in those the descriptor usually follows the nouns. "Gey" functions like "very" in modern English as both adverb and adjective; however, while very can mean "real/genuine" as well as providing emphasis, "gey" can mean a large quantity or a fine or peculiar quality. It can also be used in conjunction with other Scots words to create specific Scots idiomatic phrases. In "Greenden," a story in *Scottish Scene*, Grassic Gibbon writes of a lie "though gey witty" (70), lungs that "were gey bad" (71), a quean "getting gey stout" (77), and a wife that was "gey queer" (79). The unfinished novel *Speak of the Mearns* focuses even more strongly on capturing the natural language of the Mearns population; the narrator uses "gey" for emphasis even more often than Saloney uses "so". Gibbon usually uses "gey" just as Saloney uses "so" to provide emphasis while also indicating the non-English language heritage of the speaker. Though Mitchell did not publish his theories on the translated Scots author in *Scottish Scene* until 1934 and did not publish as a Scots writer until *Sunset Song* in 1932, Saloney's translated diction (which began to be published in 1929) demonstrates an earlier sense of his linguistic outsider status. Saloney, writing in a non-native English, is a stand-in for Mitchell: the anglicized Scots writer writing in English, translating himself for an English readership.

In "The Epic" story in *Polychromata*, Saloney is hired as guide and intermediary by an English poet. From the beginning, language differences reinforce the economic boundaries of status between Englishman, non-English foreigner, and native. Drunk, violent, and racist, the English poet mocks the non-native English speaker upon whom he is dependent: "He closed his eyes and mimicked this book-English of mine" (*Sm* 238). The poet alternates between calling Saloney "Colonel" and "Fedor," questioning if any Russians actually "survive outside

Dostoevsky?" (237). The poet's comments about the Sudanese house servant and Jewish landlord are more openly cruel. And when Saloney takes him to see the Sphinx, "he said of it disrespectful things in that fashion I cannot imitate, with the humorous nonhumour of the Englishman or American" (238). Ultimately, when the poet finally enters into a truer understanding of Cairo, the reader is denied his newly-gained "insider" language. We hear from Saloney that the poet has crafted the perfect epic that captures all of the authentic Cairo and that "all the voices that Cairo has ever known cried from his pages" (245), yet the reader is never given a single line of this polychromatic, polyvocal text. Rather, Saloney tells us that the poet's "voice ran with the arrogance" and "his cruel laughter boomed again" (246). For all his artistry, the haughty poet remains unredeemed and, for the reader, his native English never captures or reproduces an authentic Cairo. At the end of this story, Saloney discovers the poet has shot himself and has likely shot the Sudanese house servant with whom he had sex. She has remained silent throughout the story, one of the disempowered females in the shadows of Cairo. Conan, as the male imperialist who tries to expose the secrets of the Feminine land, enacts the figurative violence of his penetrating poem by piercing, sexually and literally with bullets, the female body that refuses to speak her secrets. Saloney's last thought is of the dead girl, a symbol of the Cairo that the Englishman had tried to capture and control in his epic, but whose language remains untranslatable and whose secrets remain unvoiced. Though the dead servant girl has sacrificed her body and her life, the Feminine mystery of Cairo remains intact and defiant.

Polychromata, as a postcolonial text in the language of the imperialist, works in two directions. Written for the outsider, it uses the raw material, the lives, of the marginalized to entertain and educate the dominant English (both the reader and the touring English characters). At the same time, written by an insider of sorts, the text celebrates the culture of the marginalized by

reproducing oral, unofficial histories. Furthermore, the text emphasizes the impossibility of "translating" one culture to another without loss. Saloney does not reproduce the poetry of "The Epic" that had truly captured Cairo. In *The Thirteenth Disciple*, Mitchell uses this same technique of withholding the articulated insight from the reader. Like the English poet, Malcom Maudsley in that novel also seeks to discover the true hidden city of a foreign culture. Also, like the poet, Maudsley glimpses this secret, insider knowledge in a moment of mystic epiphany that is never translated into the text for the reader. Any true understanding of the foreign escapes translation, failing to translate experience into language and onto a page. The Cairo translated for the outsider (poet and reader) of *Polychromata* has been explicitly edited and filtered by the tale-teller (Saloney and Mitchell), after all. Thus, while exposing the postcolonial subject to the gaze of the imperialist voyeur, Mitchell also uses this text to demonstrate that the postcolonial subject can escape, to a considerable degree, the mastery of the dominating outsider through the untranslatability of true insight and understanding.

A Scots Quair

In this trilogy of novels, by contrast, Chris Guthrie's knowledge about the nature of the world is an insider's intuition rendered into text by an insider author, the Scottish "Lewis Grassic Gibbon." In *Grey Granite*, the third and final novel, Chris has returned to the place of her birth and has spent the years working the land. Her recurring awareness that "Change . . . whose right hand was Death and whose left-hand Life, might be stayed by none of the dreams of men, love, hate, compassion, anger or pity, gods or devils or wild crying to the sky" comes as she sits enmeshed in her most native location (*SQ* 496). Gibbon's description following this autumnal expression of such a cosmic truth intentionally blurs the distinction between his subject and her

surroundings: "she still sat on as one by one the lights went out and the rain came beating the stones about her, and falling all that night while she still sat there, presently feeling no longer the touch of the rain or hearing the sound of the lapwings going by" (496). In *Scots Quair*, Gibbon plays out the rest of Mitchell's argument about cultural translation in ways he could not accomplish in *Polychromata* or anywhere else. Only an insider (a native) can both understand and articulate the authentic insider experience of place, whereas an outsider can never fully master and render a full "authentic" translation.

The inescapable fragmenting and pulling of identity for a Scottish postcolonial subject, termed "Caledonian Antisyzygy" by literary critic George Gregory Smith (1919) and brought to life in Robert Louis Stevenson's *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* (Brown and Riach 11), is present most clearly in *Sunset Song,* the first *Quair* novel. As a Feminine echo of the author's own experiences in Arbuthnott ('Kinraddie') Scotland, Chris Guthrie struggles with her competing identities. In one of *Sunset*'s most famous passages, the text describes two Chrisses opposed to each other (*SQ* 37). One Chris disdains the life and speech of the Scottish crofter and desires education and refinement; often referred to as the English Chris, this Chris is embarrassed by sexual desire, rough humor, and natural expression in both herself and those around her. The other Chris at the beginning of *Sunset Song* is the natural, Scottish Chris; she embraces the land and people of home, as well as her most earthy and natural desires. Throughout the trilogy, additional Chrisses are introduced: daughter, sister, lover, mother, dependent, heiress, wife, wage-earner, town wife, country and city-dweller. Essentially, though, all of the many Chrisses, the fragments of the fractured Scottish identity, echo some aspect of the original conflict between natural, familiar Scottish Chris and constructed, diverging English Chris. She is immersed in and torn by conflicts between past and future, between tradition and progress, between emotion and

intellect. Chris, like Mitchell and like many postcolonial subjects, is caught between embracing the advantages of the more "developed" Empire and losing her connection to the land and the people that created her.

While Chris' split identities can speak to a large range of conflicts in the human condition, Mitchell's development of the contest between dominant and marginal languages plays out his personal struggle as a writer forced to translate from English to forms of Scots and back in the very medium of his artistic expression. In the opening note to *Sunset Song*, Mitchell uses the hypothetical example of Dutch and German to beg "a certain latitude and forebearance" for his usage of English (*SQ* 14). This author's note, though obscured by typical literary modesty, uses the subject of language to suggest the unequal postcolonial power relationship in Britain and the essential difference and value of the marginalized population:

> If the great **Dutch language disappeared from literary usage** and a **Dutchman wrote in German a story of the Lekside peasants**, one may hazard he would ask and receive a certain latitude and **forbearance in his usage of German**. He might import into his pages some score or **so untranslatable words and idioms--untranslatable except in their context and setting**; he might mould in some fashion his German to the rhythms and cadence of the kindred speech that his peasants speak. Beyond that, in fairness to his hosts, he hardly could go--to seek effect by a spray of apostrophes would be both impertinence and mistranslation.
>
> The courtesy that the hypothetical Dutchman might receive from German a Scot may invoke from the great English tongue. (14, emphasis mine)

Justified by such metaphorical parallels, Mitchell sets out his attempt to record a story of Scotland's peasants and "mould" English "to the rhythms and cadence of the kindred speech that his peasants speak" (meaning Scots). His hypothetical example suggests that the English are "his hosts" from whom he hopes to "invoke" the "courtesy" of forbearance. Mitchell signals here that he is writing for an English literary market, playing out the position of a postcolonial subject in an economy that still runs primarily on the greater value of the imperialist country. Furthermore, his use of "the great Dutch language" as a parallel to Scots demonstrates that Scots is not merely the uneducated dialect of a lesser breed of British citizen, as was often assumed by anglicized elites of both England and Scotland. Rather, just as Dutch has a long history of literary, political, and common usage, Gibbon subtly reminds the reader that Scots can claim equal standing with that parallel. By imagining the disappearance of Dutch from literary usage and reminding the reader that the peasants still speak it, Gibbon implies that the peasant is not necessarily crude and uneducated, but rather the true inheritor of primal linguistic traditions.

Minority languages such as Scots, though under threat from the universalizing trends of international trade, are valuable precisely because of their cultural and geographical specificity. Translation of these languages into a broader, more universal language will always be imperfect precisely because more popular languages lose lingual specificity in order to gain shared understanding. The oft-repeated anecdote that the Innuit have fifty words for snow is an attempt to demonstrate how language develops from the region and culture of its use (Boas 25-26). This view suggests that the more snow one has that impacts daily life, the more multiple words are needed to describe it. Similarly, Scots contains a far larger and more diverse vocabulary than many languages for wet and cold weather: a 2015 study at the University of Glasgow logged 421 Scots words for snow (BBC "Scots"). Moreover, even in Scots these words can change spelling,

sound, and meaning from one town to another, following not only geographical differences but also the occupations and culture of its speakers. Words highly specific to a region, a culture, a class, and a climate cannot be fully translated into a language that does not share the same specificities. When Gibbon suggests that an author might import words and idioms that are untranslatable except in context, his "context" refers both to the surrounding words that form the setting for the "foreign" word and to the place, people, and time from which that word emerged. Most modern copies of *A Scots Quair* come with a glossary at the end; however, Gibbon only included a glossary for the American edition of *Sunset Song* and included with it a significant note. Unfortunately, many current editors have excluded or merely summarized Gibbon's note despite its importance:

> Glossary for American note
>
> . . . should the context refuse to give up the meaning of a Scots word used, the reader may turn to the Glossary. But the author hopes that that will be seldom; the author, indeed, has quite failed in his purpose if the Glossary proves a pressing need.
>
> For the author (whose humility may be taken for granted) can be best regarded as a sagaman arrived in the house of the English with the salvage of his own ruined house of words; and the tongue of his hosts, so it seems to him, may be yet enriched with this salvage of words that are only half-alien. (*SQ* 499)

In this note, as in the Prelude to *Sunset Song*, Gibbon insists upon the idea that the context should provide the meaning of a word, though he suggests that it might be the author's failure rather than the reader's if the glossary is necessary. He goes on to describe himself as a foreigner

among the English, a traveling storyteller whose own language has undergone some sort of violence or trauma, leaving only ruins and salvaged remnants. While the publication of *Sunset Song* came from and contributed powerfully to the return of Scots to literary usage – indeed, to the more recent movement called the Scottish Renaissance -- the images of the traveling sagaman and the ruined house suggest a more desperate state of affairs. On one hand, the American reader may take this note as confirmation that the Scots language and any political conflicts connected to it are nearly defunct and that the tensions they detect in Chris' split loyalties, no longer trouble the United Kingdom after WWI. On the other hand, while the pathos of Gibbon's imagery suggests grief at such loss, his insincere humility suggests that the loss is perhaps not nearly as absolute as an ignorant reader might believe. Indeed, authorial self-derogation was not nearly as fashionable during Gibbon's time as it was a century or two previous. This abasement of the poor Scot to the educated English host appears especially false and overdone in the context of a novel that often argues against Anglicization and false pretensions to civilization. Gibbon ends the note with the idea that the new Scots words might improve the English language and that Scots is only partially foreign. As both English and Scots evolved from a common source, the two languages share some words, cognates, and sounds. Different, yet familiar, untranslatable except where it is not, the Scots language perfectly symbolizes the entanglement of competing cultures in the over-half-assimilated identity of the Scottish citizen within the postcolonial environment of the unified Great Britain.

Throughout *Scots Quair,* the most sympathetic characters, from Chris Guthrie herself to Long Rob, use the conflict between Scottish and English language use to articulate the inner struggle between national pride and the individual desire for advancement. At Chris and Ewan's wedding, Rob argues for the advantage of Scots over English with Ewan's former employer, Mr.

Gordon (123). Grassic Gibbon's depiction of the Gordons, who favor the English, demonstrates strong disdain for the hypocrisy of Scots who have internalized English prejudices. Throughout *Sunset Song*, the Gordon family habitually attempts and fails to seem more refined than their neighbors. Mistress Gordon tries to speak English and makes her daughters do so with the help of private educations, yet she falls into crude Scots insults when provoked and her daughters make "a right muck of it" (29). Mr. Gordon disdains the tradition of taking a dram at a funeral as disrespectful and glowers at Ewan for taking some free time off to visit with Chris, yet his son is "as coarse a devil as you'd meet" and had already gotten two or three young women pregnant by the age of eighteen (29). The family's pretensions to moral superiority are as flawed as their attempted use of English to prove their higher status. By including a lecture on Scots as a rebuke from the forthright and unassuming Rob, Gibbon focuses criticism of English not on the English themselves, but on the affected Scots who would mistakenly seek to capitalize on anglicization. Through Rob, the author laments: "what a shame it was that folk should be shamed nowadays to speak Scotch--or they called it Scots if they did, the split-tongued sourocks! Every damned little narrow dowped rat that you met put on the English if he thought he'd impress you" (123). In addition to his criticism of any affected use of English, Grassic Gibbon also uses this moment to amplify his argument that some Scots is untranslatable into English -- and is all the better for it. Rob tells Gordon that the Scots "had words in it that the thin bit scrachs of the English could never come at . . . what's the English for sotter, or greip, or smore, or pleiter, gloaming or glanching or well-henspeckled? And if you said gloaming was sunset you'd fair be a liar" (123).

Of the words he lists, only "glanching" and "well-henspeckled" are not used again in the trilogy. He singles out "gloaming" for special focus, and indeed, of all the mentioned words, it is the one Gibbon most commonly employs throughout the trilogy. If the "sunset" of *Sunset Song* is

a reference to the ending or dying of a particular way of life in rural Scotland during the time of the first world war, a theme easily comprehended by readers in a much changed post-war England, Mitchell himself was writing in the time of the Scottish "gloaming," the long period of pinkish light after sunset that distinctly illuminates the land in the northern part of Britain. According to Grassic Gibbon's Prelude, gloaming is the time of day when shepherds might spot the local gryphon (15). It is also the time when, two thousand years ago at the Standing Stones, "the wild men climbed the brae and sang their songs in the lithe of those shadows" (55). Gloaming is also the time of day when Chris settles on her plan to marry Ewan and to take over the running of Blawearie with him. For the author, gloaming is not simply sunset nor the remnant of sunset, but a time of possibility; it is neither the absolute ending of a day nor a metaphoric ending of an era nor mere nostalgia. As a time after sunset but before night, the gloaming seems suggestive of the postcolonial situation of Scotland's languages: while Scots and Gaelic have declined, both in status and use, the Feminine languages of Scotland have not been completely eradicated. In fact, just as the gloaming creates a light, beautiful and specific, of its own, so too the decline of Feminine languages creates an opportunity for artistic representation of its own via the Scottish Renaissance.

In the second novel of *A Scots Quair*, *Cloud Howe*, Grassic Gibbon emphasizes yet another untranslatable Scots word with specific cultural implications. Chris' son Ewan, who seems to disdain much of rural Scottish culture and refuses to speak in Scots, calls her "fey." Fey is a word used primarily in Scotland to mean "fated to die, doomed to death" and also "possessing or displaying magical, fairylike, or unearthly qualities" (OED). Fey thus refers to the same prophetic or oracular traditions as the Second Sight, which we have already noted in the writings of Scott, and to broader folklore and supernatural traditions in Scotland. Gibbon follows

this moment up with the explanation that Chris "seldom heard a Scots word from Ewan, he brushed them aside as old, blunted tools, but the word had come on his lips as though sudden he'd sought in English and English had failed" (*SQ* 339). Again, the untranslatable word refers to a distinct difference between English and Scottish national identities: the long-lasting traditions of supernatural influence. The Feminine quality of this particularly Scottish word not only derives from the indigenous status of its language, but from its association with Feminine Time. Moreover, Chris as a female embodiment of the land and of Scotland also embodies the Scottish word "fey", an embodiment that makes her son's use of Scots all the more Feminine.

Even so, for all the specifically Scottish enrichment that his Scots words provide to the reader's English language, Gibbon does not advocate for a complete rejection of English. In response to Long Rob's lecture, Gibbon writes "But Gordon was real decent and reasonable*, you can't help it, Rob. If folk are to get on in the world nowadays, away from the ploughshafts and out of the pleiter, they must use the English, orra though it be*" (123). True, because of the community voice of the second person addresses that intrude frequently into Gibbon's third-person narration, any judgment made on the basis of the narrative voice alone is suspect.[38] In fact, Mitchell's own life and the rest of his *Scots Quair* supports the "decent and reasonable" judgment of Gordon's response. Throughout *Scots Quair*, while the novels may seem to lament the loss of traditional Scottish rural culture, they do not pass judgment on the characters who seek to improve their lives by moving to the cities, seeking education, or attempting to embrace modern culture. Chris' son Ewan, who speaks mostly in English, is partially autobiographical; he shares his author's moral outrage, ultimately railing against the sufferings of the poor in Duncairn, just as Mitchell does in his essay on Glasgow. Mitchell's biography proves Gordon's reasoning; in order to publish, to make a living away from the poverty of a family farm, Mitchell

had to work in English. Following Gordon's response in *Cloud Howe*, the scene shifts to Chae Strachan, the character that echoes many of Mitchell's more socialist concerns: "And Chae cried out that was right enough, and God! who could you blame? . . . the land was a coarse, coarse life, you'd do better at almost anything else" (123). Here we read a fictionalized version of his assertion in *Scottish Scene* that he "would welcome the end of Braid Scots and Gaelic, our culture, our history, our nationhood under the heels of a Chinese army of occupation if it could cleanse the Glasgow slums, give a surety of food and play--the elementary right of every human being--the those people of the abyss" (*ScSc* 141). Mitchell's economically-focused humanitarianism supersedes the nationalist desire for cultural preservation or renewal. If imperialism could truly achieve a truly "benevolent" aim, the improvement of a less developed population, Mitchell seems ready to sacrifice all sense of national identity, including the language he works to promote. Given, however, that imperialism often reinforces unequal power structures instead, *A Scots Quair* ultimately demonstrates that linguistic and cultural assimilation may not be worth its mediocre gains.

It is in *Sunset Song* specifically that Grassic Gibbon writes his strongest assertions regarding the opposing natures of Scots and English. He does not limit his characterization of these languages to their most explicit effects or the technical linguistic distinctions. On the contrary, he explores a vast range of human desire, emotion, and conflict by attaching particular evocative qualities to the words in which each of these is expressed. In *Scottish Scene*, Grassic Gibbon writes that Scots is "the speech of bed and board and street and plough, the speech of emotional ecstasy and emotional stress, but it is not genteel. It is to the bourgeois of Scotland coarse and low and common and loutish, a matter for laughter, well enough for hinds and the like, but for the genteel to be quoted in vocal inverted commas" (196). Consequently, in *Sunset*

Song, the author explores how these associations of class, status, and expression manifest themselves in the population of rural Scotland. Through the deliberate coarseness of characters like Long Rob and Chae Strachan and the laughable affectations of Mistress Gordon and her daughters, the text places Scots and acquired English on opposite ends of a spectrum of refinement or civilization. On the surface, Scots appears to be the language of the common and vulgar: earthy, physical, hardworking men and women. As the language tied to the land and to the farmer, it is a Feminine language produced by those who most use their bodies and depend upon the cycles of nature. English is for those above the rank and file, those who can afford private educations and hired laborers to work the fields for them. It is the Masculine language of privilege that does not depend on the body or on the bounties of nature. Scots is for direct contact: with emotion, with the land, with neighbors. English is for distance, refinement, and aloofness. In short, Scots is like Jean Jacques Rousseau's speech and Robin Lakoff's "women's language" and Penny Fielding's "bad" orality, while English is more akin to Lakoff's "men's language" and Fielding's "good" orality. While these characterizations often hold true in Mitchell's fiction, the supposed value associated with those characteristics in non-Feminine, non-indigenous approaches do not. For all of their frank language and hard labor, Long Rob and Chae Strachan engage more than any other character with high-level political and philosophical issues of their time. Common and vulgar, they represent a keen Scottish intelligence bred out of experience and observation. Meanwhile, the English refinement of Mistress Gordon and her daughters is counterfeit, serving only to make them look foolish as they make linguistic mistakes. Their increasing wealth and new "gentry" status makes them unwelcome at the Drumlithie Hotel among their neighbors. Their daughter Maggie Jean even uses their refinement

against them when she wants to marry against their will. She misleads them into believing that she is already pregnant, and their fear of disapprobation forces them to arrange a hasty marriage.

Ultimately, *Sunset Song* makes its strongest arguments about the differences in English and Scots and their associated values through the protagonist, Chris Guthrie. Early in the novel, when Chris is still a school-age child, the author makes use of the dualistic expectations of postcolonial conflict and divides Chris into a Scottish and an English Chris. The conflict between these two Chrisses is described in one of the most frequently cited passages of *Sunset Song*:

> So that was Chris and her reading and schooling, two Chrisses there were that fought for her heart and tormented her. You hated the land and the coarse speak of the folk and learning was brave and fine one day and the next you'd waken with the peewits crying across the hills. . . and the smell of the earth in your face, almost you'd cry for that, the beauty of it and the sweetness of the Scottish land and skies. You saw their faces in firelight, father's and mother's and the neighbours'. . . you wanted the words they'd known and used, forgotten in the far-off youngness of their lives, Scots words to tell your heart, how they wrung it and held it, the toil of their days and unendingly their fight. And the next minute that passed from you, you were English, back to the English words so sharp and clean and true--for a while, for a while, till they slid so smooth from your throat you knew they could never say anything that was worth the saying at all. (*SQ* 37)

In this iconic description of the two Chrisses, Grassic Gibbon explicitly associates language with the most fundamental culture conflict of postcolonial Scotland. English is the language of institutions and literature and reason; it is “clean” and “sharp” but ultimately empty of reference to the most immediate realities viscerally felt. Scots is the language of the peasant, of the land

and of family and of bodily toil; it's "coarse" but speaks to the heart. In *Sunset Song*, Scots is presented as a Feminine language through associations that reach beyond its marginalized position in a postcolonial society. Land and language are intimately connected in the body of the peasant who produces the "coarse" speech. In the representation of the Scots-speaking Chris, we see many of the gendered associations that mark out the Feminine mode. The very body of the earth, the fertile matter of the land, awakes her senses and evokes a sympathetic response to other life around her: the peewits cry, and she almost cries in response to the beauty of the land. Her language is an inheritance of the generations before her, enduring despite the passage of individual human time. The Scots-speaking Chris follows the patterns set by her mother. Jean Murdoch could "never forget the singing of the winds in those fields when she was young or the daft crying of the lambs she herded or the feel of the earth below her toes" (33). Chris' mother tells her "there are better things than your books or studies or loving or bedding, there's the countryside your own, you its, in the days when you're neither bairn nor woman" (33). These are sentiments that the Scots-speaking Chris often echoes. English Chris, however, is linked to education, economic advancement, some desire for the anonymity of city living, and objective knowledge. It is the English Chris that dreams of "getting her B.A. and then a school of her own" (57). Notably, it is John Guthrie who would rather see "her skite with book-learning" than skite (or crazy) with harvest madness, and he offers to pay for a more advanced education (47). Notably, even this moment gets divided between the voices of her paternal and maternal heritage: "that was fine of father the Guthrie whispered in her, but the Murdoch laughed with a blithe, sweet face" (36). The two Chrisses return again in the text when she attends college in Duncairn: "one was right douce and studious and the other sat back and laughed a canny laugh at the antics of the teachers and minded Blawearie brae and the champ of horses and the smell of

dung" (45). After her father dies, Chris no longer feels the desire to follow the Masculine ambitions of higher education and a job in the city. Instead, she realizes that "the land was forever, it moved and changed below you, but was forever, you were close to it and it to you, not at a bleak remove it held you and hurted you" (97). Ultimately, as we have seen in the end of *Grey Granite,* Grassic Gibbon's *Quair*, like his other prose works, rejects the more advanced or civilized culture of the city and the Masculine ambitions of the English-speaking Chris, to invest itself once again in the Feminine rhythms and cycles of the land that are tied so closely to the "coarse speech" of its toiling peasants.

CHAPTER 4: FEMININE SPEECH

Oh saying it was one thing

but when it came to writing it

in black and white

the way it had to be said

was as if you were posh, grown-up, male, English and dead.

"Kidspoem / Bairnsang" by Liz Lochhead.

Like marginalized indigenous languages in colonized nations, indigenous oral mediums became associated with a primitive and uncultured past. Looking at orality in the specific context of 19th century Scotland, Penny Fielding summarizes the complex nature of oral communication: "On the one hand, the oral is something everyone knows, it is shared experience, communal knowledge, the wisdom of the people. On the other hand, the oral cannot really be known at all because of its habit of vanishing without record into the past" (4). Without record, oral communication presents a problem to authority. How does one exert authority over something that can vanish and leave no trace but hearsay? If oral communication cannot be reliably and consistently controlled by those seeking to impose their power, it must be evacuated of power in favor of a more controlled, more concrete form of communication—the written text. Throughout much of the history of empires and conquest, literacy differentiated the "civilized" society from the barbaric. The ability to understand and produce written text seemed to demonstrate the "progress" of a given society beyond the basic forms of communication necessary for survival. By "improving" the native population's education, thereby elevating or civilizing the colonized nation, the imperialist demonstrated their benevolence and moral right of

conquest. Not only does the colonizer have the resources for education of their own populations; he has the surplus time and resources to train experts, produce sources, and disseminate learning to "primitive" populations. In short, to imperialist understanding, literacy has long functioned as a marker of civilization.

With increased literacy, cultures and populations structured around oral communication have supposedly gained access to the information and practices of the more "civilized" center. Though literacy, language fluency, and education ultimately enable a population to compete in broader economies and participate in government, these tools also serve to further degrade the status of indigenous language and the cultures it represents. The democratizing potential of increased access does not immediately translate into equal treatment, demonstrated by the persistence of racism and sexism in "developed" nations. The linguistic assimilation required by education and literacy-based institutions has long helped to further de-legitimize and estrange native and peripheral knowledge. Modern study into oral cultures, however, demonstrates that many of the status-making traits of literate society are also present in oral societies. Oral cultures also have their own trained experts, accumulated sources, and learning institutions.[39] However, it is only recently that the similarities between these two forms of communication have been recognized and respected. Until 2010, the Human Development Index used adult literacy as a core component of its calculation of a population's development. In 2010, the knowledge component was changed to calculate years of schooling rather than knowledge of the written word. Though it is important to question whether "years of schooling" include systems of time and education outside of the western tradition, this change marks a new respect for diverse systems of communication and learning (Human Development Index).

In literature, ancient oral practices appeared to experience a resurgence of status in the eighteenth century through the appearance of the ancient minstrel or bard character type in pre-Romantic and Romantic works. In his *Essay on the Origin of Languages* (published posthumously in 1781), Jean Jacques Rousseau argued that speech developed out of a need to communicate emotion: "In order to move a young heart, to repulse an unjust aggressor, nature dictates accents, cries, complaints" (294). His account of the origin of writing suggests that it is merely a utilitarian supplement to speaking and less capable of expressing *presence*. Rousseau echoes emerging revaluations in literature of the role of emotion in poetry and the oral medium as embodied by a national bard or minstrel. As Kathryn Sutherland argues, the minstrel or the bard obtained an elevated status in the 18th century that influenced poets through the romantic movement towards "a native strain of poetry, independent of classical precedents, a strain which emphasizes not only imaginative freedom but notions of social liberty as well" (414). Despite the high value placed upon ancient orality and the pains antiquarians took to recover and reconstruct fragments of these oral traditions, however, the living orality of 18th and 19th century indigenous or folk populations produced further means to stigmatize and degrade those cultures outside of the imperialist center. In her study of orality in Scottish literature, Penny Fielding argues that "oral is always other: of writing (speech), of culture (the voice of nature), of the modern (a pre-modern past). This phenomenon is particularly marked in the nineteenth century, when some traditional foes of orality—urbanization, manufacturing technology, science—dominated that century's sense of its own value systems" (5). Within the context of British Imperialism in Scotland, Fielding argues, we discover that inequality of power and dominance splits orality itself into binaries: a "'good' variety, which aspires to the security of writing, and a 'bad' version which does not" (5). The 'good' variety would include the heroic uncorrupted

expression of emotion -- Rousseau's sentimental speech -- when it can be appropriately contained, moderated, and presented through texts such as Macpherson's Ossianic poems and the poetry of the Romantics. It would also include formal speech, the learned rhetoric studied in schools, and speech transformed into saleable commodity, like published lectures and sermons. The 'bad' variety of orality contains those uses of language that either challenge or ignore the values of a capitalist, imperialist, patriarchal civilization. Orality that is not commodified into a saleable text and orality outside a standardized and public lingua threatens the idea of progress that has dominated Western civilization-making. Thus, as Fielding notes, the speech of peasants, Highlanders, and women, whether in the form of conversation, song, or history, was demoted, stigmatized and linked to the concept of illiteracy (23).

The gendering of language that goes along with such classifications occurs both in associations of the culturally specific words and structures of communication found in word and native languages, as well as in the mediums through which information is communicated. The associations of a particular lingua that categorize it as Feminine (indigenous, peripheral, private, informal) correspond to the same gendered associations in the medium. Just as English is Masculine as the language of institutions and power, so written text is Masculine when it employs the language of institutions and power. The oral medium, except for formal (often pre-written) speeches and official vows, shares the same Feminine features as Feminine (indigenous) language. In both English and the written text, we have the dominant language of the Empire: the language of power and institution, of public acts and official documents. In native languages and oral practices, we have the home speech: the words spoken in private, the first language learned in the home, the phrases, idioms, songs, and stories that make up a child's first exposure to

language. The Masculine language is governed by supposedly universal usage rules, while the Feminine is governed by more local usage and personal choice.

Robin Lakoff's linguistic study of speech and gender reveals a bifurcation and socio-cultural hierarchy of orality. She writes that "'Women's language' shows up in all levels of the grammar of English" (43) and that it is characterized by a polite unobtrusiveness (50) and personal markers that indicate feeling and informality (83). She clarifies that the markers of women's language are not inherently female or caused by biological sex; rather, they signal "uninvolved," or "out of power" (47). She adds that any marginalized groups who use polite, informal language are "often considered 'feminine,' 'unmasculine,' because women are the 'uninvolved,' 'out of power' group par excellence" (47). Lakoff's inclusion of marginalized groups in her study of women's language demonstrates that differences between men's and women's linguistic orality correspond to the differences in what Fielding has termed good and bad orality. 'Good' orality, that which produces desirable moral, social, economic, and political effects, promotes and reinforces the superiority of those in power. It is the orality of authority, formality, and literacy: in other words, it consists of 'men's' language. Within the context of Britain's imperialist activities, ideas of literacy often implied the ability to read and write in English and to read and reproduce meaning within a shared imperialist culture. To fail to do so, to fail to assimilate to literate culture and obey the order of literate rank and status, was to be barbaric, primitive, and uncouth. Fielding writes "the book was a weapon in the fight against a whole set of perils which came to be linked with an orality that was irrational, violent, socially disruptive, female" (19). With the explosion of printing and publishing culture in the 18th century and its corresponding increase in literacy, native lingua (Scots, Gaelic) and native medium (oral tradition, informal speech) consequently became feminized. Though women's

literacy was more prevalent than literature has sometimes suggested, tropes of the illiterate female and the feminized primitive continued to be deployed to prove the righteousness of imperialist action. The 'masculine' heroic traditions of minstrelsy became replaced with "Old Wives' Tales"; the handing down of patrilineal histories from father to the son became the gossip of a nurse to a child, and the language of the highest court poets became the primitive "mother tongue" of the poorly educated. [40] The gendering of language and language mediums in the media and culture of British society seems to depend more upon patriarchal views of power and hierarchy than any specifically male or female quality. Like time, language became gendered through a long history of culturally constructed associations and assumptions based upon the hegemonic ideologies of those with the most power.

A child's first language experiences, moreover, which are almost always oral, have historically been associated with the female through the use of figurative descriptors: the first language of a child is often referred to as the "mother tongue" or the "home language". Prior to a child's education, he or she absorbs the stories and traditions and idioms handed down by word of mouth in the 'mother tongue' from a caregiver, traditionally a female in western societies. From a biological perspective, oral language can be considered Feminine due to early language exposure. While a child may communicate non-verbally prior to producing speech, their exposure to and reaction to repetitive spoken language, such as songs or stories, begins in the womb as demonstrated by a study published in *Infant Behavior and Development* in 1994 (DeCasper). Repeated words, songs, and stories heard during gestation, while children are physically still part of the maternal body, is a person's first and most familiar, most personal language. The use of the phrase "mother-tongue" for the first language is perhaps more literal and biological than one may assume. The Oxford English Dictionary records the use of these

terms for first language as early as the beginning of the 15th century and finds them derived most likely from earlier sources like the Old Icelandic "*móður-tunga"* and 12th century Latin "*lingua materna"* (mother tongue).

This gendering of a child's first language and early idiomatic speech recalls cultural constructions of the Feminine that hearken back to the ancient, gendered associations of Old Europe. The "mother tongue," encountered in oral practice from the earliest stages of development, is related to creation of life (mother), nurturing, domesticity, subjectivity, variance and mutability, marginal or peripheral cultures, and origin. Often, due to their role as primary caregiver, the speakers of "mother tongue" have less interaction with official, public institutions of power. Home language, because it is traditionally accessed in oral mediums and before formal instruction, tends to be less standardized. Without the highly controlled standardization produced by publishing conventions and education curriculums, spoken languages change and fluctuate due to a variety of factors, including the region of their usage and the influence of other nearby languages. Scottish Gaelic, which is used in speech more than writing outside of institutional revival efforts, is not geographically uniform, and variance within it occurs outside of attrition through assimilation (Iosad 130). Scots also demonstrates incredible variance: the DSL concludes that "the speech of an individual will however vary according to region (some regions being strikingly more 'Scots' than others), social class, age, sex, circumstance" ("What is Scots"). Even "in the written mode, Scots spelling remains variable. Attempts to make it more consistent . . . have had at best only limited success" ("What is Scots"). In bilingual societies, the mother tongue often becomes classed as a "heritage language," a term that has often been used to degrade and marginalize both the speaker and the culture of the speaker in an English-dominant society (Van Deusen-Scholl). The word "heritage" also indicates two important traits that mark

the subversive power of a marginalized Feminine language. First, in the case of language and culture, heritage is "that which comes from the circumstances of birth; an inherited lot or portion; the condition or state transmitted from ancestors" ("heritage"). Thus heritage language indicates an unbroken connection to ancient origins, a history of successful sexual reproduction whereby life is created and sustained long enough to reproduce and pass down linguistic patterns. Additionally, as heritage language refers to the language familiar to a culture, ethnic group, or nation, it is also highly important to that collective identity. Because it provides cohesion and belonging to a particular grouping of people, heritage language threatens efforts to assimilate or incorporate outlier cultures into a global or imperial body.

In the common usage of "mother-tongue" for the oral, first language of a child, the Feminine is clearly associated with native/indigenous culture, non-standardized language variance, pre-education orality and the domestic sphere, and marginalized social standings. According to traditional narratives of progress, the Feminine position of native language is made inferior, weaker, because of its unstable changeability and because of its supposed personal, informal use. Yet, as we begin to understand the subversive possibilities of the Feminine mode, that traditional hierarchy of linguistic refinement, constancy, and authority begins to crumble. Just as the use of indigenous languages can signal different meanings and values to a native speaker in a written text, the representation of orality, such as the use of oral traditions and storytellers, can signal special meaning and significance to a reader who understands the cultural value of the oral. Thus, by representing the oral as necessary, authentic, and original, authors can suggest a subversive re-valuing of marginal and dominant cultures and languages within a written text. Even for more anglicized authors like Scott, the use of Scottish native orality in literature for English-speaking populations presents an opportunity to counter the assumed

superiority of the dominant forms of communication. Furthermore, both Scott and Gibbon use the specifically Feminine aspects of orality, its association with origin, mutability, and marginalization, to emphasize its power to challenge and sometimes triumph over the "King's English" and the most standardized conventions of writing.

Feminine Speech and Sir Walter Scott

Orality and oral tradition have remained an important feature of Scottish identity throughout the modern era. Though oral tradition and oral culture exist throughout all British societies, orality appears to be emphasized more acutely in representations of Celtic and non-English identities in British literature. Bards, storytellers and seers populate the national myths and literatures of Scotland and Ireland. Such an emphasis should not surprise us when we recall Penny Fielding's assertion that the "oral is always other" (4). The image of a Celtic minstrel or bard presents an alternative source for national history to the massively influential British clerical authors such as Bede or Geoffrey of Monmouth. As printing culture made literature more widely available in the 18th century, and interests turned toward national rather than classical antiquarianism, Scottish writers could deploy the Celtic bardic figure to claim an ancient, authentic alternative to standard English history. Fielding notes that, in the 18th and 19th century, Scots capitalized on the popularity of antiquarianism and its attention to the ancient bardic figure by "mov[ing] their own national characteristics into the British centre" (intro) through the fashionable literalization of oral cultures (43). The Scots poet, Robert Burns, with his humble background and lyrical style, would have recalled something of the old Scottish minstrel to a modern audience. Furthermore, works like James Macpherson's Ossianic "translations"

(1761-65), James Beattie's *The Minstrel* (1771, 1774), and Allan Ramsay's *Tea-table Miscellany* (1733) moved oral traditions into the literary domain for a large reading public. However, this literalization of oral practice produces a conflict of value and status. As Fielding notes, the promotion and representation of oral culture by "highly self-conscious literary figures" can lead to further graphocentric prejudice within and without the oral society being represented (46). In some cases, orality and oral tradition only serve as proper forms of language when used to reinforce the authority of literate culture, such as when an editor dissects and analyzes oral versions of traditions in order to present an authoritative edition, which is what happens with many ballad collections. In fiction, a character of low status who represents oral traditions can be used to suggest a degradation of these traditions and the populations, usually native and usually less scientifically advanced, dependent upon these traditions.

Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border

Scott's *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, with its 'improvements' of multiple works, would seem to promote such a graphocentric prejudice. Unlike Thomas Percy's *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* (1765), which began with a found manuscript, Scott's collection appears to be founded on his desire to represent the ballad culture so prominent in his childhood in the Borders. An avid listener, Scott formed various political prejudices by listening to the stories and tales of his uncles and grandparents at Sandyknowe. He developed a "deep and personal cause of antipathy" toward George Washington from the news relayed during his uncle's visits (5). While Scott would ultimately challenge and refine these earliest political beliefs, it was the oral medium of ballad and story rather than the political content that remained a lifelong influence

upon Scott's work. Many of Scott's works such as *Marmion*, *Ivanhoe*, *The Bride of Lammermoor*, and *The Monastery* supposedly trace their earliest origins to "the old songs and tales which then formed the amusement of a retired country family. My grandmother, in whose youth the old Border depredations were matter of recent tradition, used to tell me many a tale of Watt of Harden . . . and other heroes--merrymen all of the persuasion and calling of Robin Hood and Little John" (Lockhart 6). These impressions helped form not only Scott's interests in local history and Border ballads, but also his sense that orality was the principal quality of the identity and culture of Scottish populations. At sixteen, Scott was sending ballad imitations to his friend in the Borders with this explanation: "Indeed the extent of my industry in this way is something marvellous to those who know not that from the earliest period of my existence, ballads and other romantic poems I have read or heard as a favourite, and sometimes as an exclusive gratification" (Scott, letter "To Jessie ---, Kelso," Tuesday, midnight, 1787). While Scott certainly heard many ballads in song and "chaunt" from family while living in and visiting the Borders, it was also in the Borders at Kelso where Scott discovered Percy's collection of ballads in printed form (Barnaby). Unlike the broadside ballads popular in the 17th and 18th century, Percy's *Reliques* attempted to place a ballad in its historical and artistic context with the use of essays and notes. This hybridization of traditional oral artifact (though Percy fabricated much) and modern editorial commentary would inspire Scott to attempt a similar project with a highly localized approach.

By Scott's time, ballad culture had already evolved into a hybrid of oral and textual sources. The intense popularity of ballad and broadside printing in the late 17th and early 18th century meant that ballads were a cheap and readily available form of literature accessible to a broad public. However, this flurry of ballad printing did not always distinguish between

traditional ballads from earlier oral sources and newly-composed ballads and lyrics.[41] Though heavily influenced by Percy's *Reliques*, Scott would differ from previous ballad collectors by emphasizing the importance of the oral traditions as relates to authenticity and history. After a long discourse on Borders history in the introduction to the *Minstrelsy*, Scott explains why ballads and songs were the most fitting material for a dissertation on ancient border customs:

> The muse, whose effusions are the amusement of a very small part of a polished nation, records, in the lays of inspiration, the history the laws, the very religion, of savages.—Where the pen and the press are wanting, the low of numbers impresses upon the memory of posterity, the deeds and sentiments of their forefathers……there has hardly been found to exist a nation so brutishly rude, as not to listen with enthusiasm to the songs of their bards, recounting the exploits of their forefathers, recording their laws and moral precepts, or hymning the praises of their deities. (cx-cxi).

Not only do the "songs of bards" record the more formal/official markers of a pre-literate civilization (law, religion, events); Scott suggests that any nation that does not appreciate these traditions must be exceptionally barbarous. Moreover, in addition to their ancient pedigree, songs and oral traditions were made all the more precious to Scott by the threat of their disappearance due to changing tastes and modern print culture. Working towards the publication of his first volume, he writes to Dr. Currie of his intentions to "give to the public many songs which have never before been published & some of which perhaps it may be now difficult to produce the Reciters. Indeed as our old Sennachies are yearly dying out & as the present generation 'care little for these things' the sources of traditionary knowledge are fast drying up" (30 July l801). In another letter, Scott laments the fact that "one of our best reciters has turned religious in his later

days, and finds out that old songs are unlawful" (20th April l801). His continued interest in the oral recitations or performances of traditional ballads eventually led Scott to a long friendship with author James Hogg. Hogg attracted Scott's attention after the publication of the first two volumes of the *Minstrelsy* by sending him transcriptions of his mother's "chaunts" (123). Scott sought him out and was "highly delighted" with the performance of Mrs. Hogg, asking after the provenance of her songs and whether they had seen publication (124). This meeting led to a thirty-year friendship, with many days spent listening to and reciting the tales and ballads of native tradition. Hogg's *Familiar Anecdotes*, in fact, testify to Scott's own bard-like skill at recalling poetry from oral recitations, a trait that must have helped Scott recall versions of lyrics and ballads that had no print source. On one occasion, Hogg is astonished to discover that Scott could recite a ballad he had recited for him only once (and never printed) to the length of 88 stanzas. According to Hogg, Scott then recited Southey's ballad "The Abbot of Aberbrothock" again from only a singular hearing (136). If, indeed, Scott used his prodigious memory to revise textual ballads according to recollections of earlier recitals, scholars may be mistaken in assuming that Scott invented or theorized many of his corrections. However, given Scott's massive popularity, it would be near impossible to discover any surviving oral traditions that had not been influenced, at least partially, by his work.

Many of the ballads and legends Scott reproduces may have actually gained his attention through textual sources. The appendices to the *Minstrelsy*, along with his correspondence, record many instances of him receiving ballad manuscripts, fragments, and transcriptions from friends and acquaintances. His famous "Laidlaw raids" to collect authentic oral ballad specimens have been regarded with suspicion. One companion of some of these ventures, Robert Shortreed, swore that "not one of them was got from recitation, but the Fray O' Support" (Shortreed 58) and

he had never seen "a pen in his hand nor a piece o' paper a' the times we were in Liddesdale thegither, or in any other o' our Border rides, but , twice"| to make sketches" (62). Even in the days of his Border childhood, it appears that he encountered some of the ballads through textual means. In his copy of *Tea-Table Miscellany*, he notes that he first heard "Hardyknute" as read by his grandfather from these pages (Lockhart 83). Ultimately, as Fielding has noted, Scott's Minstrelsy reproduces "the oral paradox … between the idealized and the social" (52). On one hand, idealized and romantic oral traditions permit "access to the purity of origins, either the natural feeling of all humanity, or the birth of a nation" (43). On the other hand, because oral traditions have no single authoritative source or original, they can become corrupted with the passage of time and changes of speakers. Furthermore, because oral ballads and folktales are often employed as an adaptive, nearly-universal mythos, their openness to adaptation and "corruption" may indeed be the cause of their longevity and social value. Moreover, the indefinite, flexible nature of the oral tradition creates the very condition which necessitates an editor. Though Scott may have lamented the impurity of modern manuscripts and corrupted oral transmissions, he would not have had as much to do himself had authoritative editions existed. It is the gap between the authentic oral artifact and pure textual transcription that allows Scott, among others, to commodify shared social traditions.

Scott's *Minstrelsy* provides one possible solution to the problem of containing and representing oral culture through literary means without stripping it of its local nature. As Robert Mayer notes, Scott's collection of ballads produces a polyphonic text where the authoritative editor often ends up "giving ground to other writers and speakers" (665). One of the aspects that makes Scott's *Minstrelsy* unique in comparison to Percy's *Reliques* and Ramsay's *Miscellany* is that Scott refuses to accept a singular authorship for a piece. Paradoxically, he contends with the

lack of authoritative source by imposing his own authoring onto the pieces. In order to approximate a more pure, authentic version of a ballad, Scott seems to further corrupt the existing tradition by "filling in narrative lacunae" (Mayer 670). Scott amends spellings, changes meter and rhyme, adds stanzas, and provides clarifying context for historical personas and events that may be unknown to a reader. Scott defends his attempt to purify the ballads of corruption by declaring that "No liberties have been taken ... the Editor, in justice to the author, has uniformly preserved what seemed to him the best or most poetical reading" (1:167). Had Scott made his "improvements" without editorial notes and appendixes, the *Minstrelsy* may indeed appear as a singular authoritative transcription of earlier traditions. Because he presents the reader with multiple, differing sources for a single piece, making his editorial processes more transparent and more obvious, the text instead functions to recreate the polyphonic, corruptible, and flexible condition of oral poetry. This layering of voices and multiplying of sources obscures the sense of an authoritative original; the unstable, mutable text that Scott presents then appears to be authored by a host of sources: himself, other collectors and transcribers, and those like Mrs. Hogg who performed ballads for him, as well as the unnamed folk population which continued the tradition from point of origin to point of transcription. The multiple voices in Scott's text (and oral traditions in general) contribute to this collection's Feminine aspect. Just as the ancient female divinity in the oldest mythologies shifted forms and reproduced, and just as the female subject can change shape and become multiple in pregnancy, a Feminine text is mutable and procreative. Scott's emphasis on multiple voices and mediums that require collective participation, like the sharing and handing down of traditions, underscores the importance of Feminine, peripheral cultures to the survival of national identity.

In his poetry and fiction too, Scott continuously emphasizes the importance of orality, whether it be dialogue or the traditions of oral tale-telling, to both narrative and historical authenticity. The feminized oral voice of the folk population (signaled by story-telling, bardic figures, the use of popular tradition, and reported dialogue) contends against the Masculine voices of recorded history and editorial authority throughout his works. Ultimately, when Scott takes up novel writing, the conflict between the written Scottish tale and the tradition of an oral story-telling culture finds expression in his often-fictional editorial frameworks. Repeatedly, Scott displaces his own authorship: onto the anonymous author of the Waverley for the main series of the Waverley novels, Peter Pattieson by way of Jebediah Cleishbotham for *Tales of My Landlord*, and a collective of antiquarians and contributors from the Waverley novels, led by chairman "Eidolon" for the *Crusaders Tales*. Though various characters throughout his works seem to reflect a humorous version of his own foibles and tastes, the "Eidolon," who never appears in the other works, is nonetheless significant as a stand-in for Scott. [42] The reference to an "Eidolon" must have amused him on two levels. Eidolon, especially when spoken in the quick brogue of a Scottish accent, must have called to mind Scott's beloved Eildon Hills to all who read it and knew of his authorship. More than just a homonymic insider joke, however, "eidolon" from the Greek "εἴδωλον", is defined as "an unsubstantial image, spectre, phantom" (OED). Scott uses the noun in this sense in *Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft* (1830): when a man of science has recorded seeing a phantom, Scott refers to it as "calling up an Eidolon" (*Demonology* 36). In the introduction to *The Betrothed*, the narrator refers to the Chairman as "the Eidolon, or image of the author" (xxx). For Scott, then, the concept of a concrete, singular authority on a story, the "author", is nebulous at best, a false creation of our imagination at worst. While scholars often note Scott's reputation as a poet and critic as the reason for his anonymity as a

fiction writer, the use of Eidolon here suggests a less self-interested cause. Given Scott's collection of and attention to a wide-range sources for historic and romantic tales, Scott's use of Eidolon to refer to himself suggests that a national or historical tale is not truly authored by a single writer: the author is a fiction of publication, as the story was "authored" by the many figures who participated in it and in the formation and continuation of its tradition. As Marilyn Orr comments: "As the novelist in him fights to narrate the story, the storyteller in him is disrupting the narrative order by giving voice to lives that refuse to be narrated" ("Voices" 41). When he returned to his works as the recognized author to produce additional notes and introductions for the Magnum Opus editions, Scott made more of an effort to authorize his tales by providing references to written records. The need for new material to sell new editions meant that Scott's final editing of his works actually weakens the authority of the voice of the folk, the historic culture of Scotland. Read as just one more Eidolon, the Magnum Opus editor, on one hand, provides yet another voice to the polyphonic symphony of story-tellers. However, as a voice motivated by financial need and a market dependent upon his celebrity, the Magnum Opus editor disempowers the voice of the oral culture that he had earlier reclaimed from marginalization. Rather than consider the Masculine Magnum Opus Scott as the final, authoritative voice, it behooves any reader of Scott to remember how his novels represent such editors: pedantic, pretentious, and often foolish.

Tales of My Landlord

Having experienced first-hand the inherent problem of locating authenticity and authority in stories based on tradition, the editor of the *Minstrelsy*, when he turns to prose fiction, recreates

polyphonic authorship in his new narrative frameworks. Though multiple Waverley novels have editorial frames with author notes and introductory materials, the most substantial narrative frame is found in *Tales of my Landlord*, a subset of the Waverley novels consisting of *The Black Dwarf* (1816), *Old Mortality* (1816), *The Heart of Midlothian* (1818), *The Bride of Lammermoor* (1819), *A Legend of Montrose* (1819), *Count Robert of Paris* (1831), and *Castle Dangerous* (1831). In insightful article, Kyoko Takanashi focuses on the implications for Scott the novelist of the physical circulation of social bodies and the increase of print circulation in Scotland. By focusing on the emerging national print market and its relation to a "national imagined community", she argues that Scott's frameworks demonstrate that "mass-produced narratives . . . merely reproduce conventional patterns, while authentic historical narratives remain entrapped within individual local communities" (290). Takanashi compares the methods of the historical writer and the "communal agent" or the folk, where the former utilizes the multiplicity of narratives to spotlight their own central tale within the broader context and while the latter treats such narratives as heirlooms, "objects of value… valuable for their own sake" (296). By placing Pattieson within the role of antiquarian collector, Takanashi argues that Scott attempts to "wrest the narratives from the original context" so as to manufacture a new authority upon social history (297). For Takanashi, the layers created by Cleishbotham and Pattieson "accumulate as sediment" that ultimately reveal Scott's argument "that there is no smooth process that enables local, communal narratives to enter into national circulation" without editorial manipulation (297). Such an idea indeed seems like a natural conclusion for the frustrated editor of the *Minstrelsy*. Yet both Scott's early claims to want to recover original balladry and Takanashi's claim that Scott uses frameworks to represent the impossibility of authentic transmission both assume that the goal of the early nineteenth century text is to make a singular, whole,

authoritative voice. She implies that the apparent subordination of the folk voice to print markets may indeed be an obstacle, perhaps a tragedy, with which Scott continues to struggle. While Takanashi emphasizes the loss required by modern culture, David Hewitt doubts Scott's supposed attention to the oral in the first place. Hewitt argues that since the real sources for his Landlord Tales like *Old Mortality* were textual, the fiction of Pattieson collecting oral stories must mean that he was created "to protect [Scott] from the contact of real relationships" and to create an artificial relationship between audience and story-teller (586). Following Hewitt, Mary Wedd argues that "Peter Pattieson serves to create the illusion of 'oral tale-telling'. It is an illusion only, because it is undercut by the fact that, as the notes show, "the real sources are overwhelmingly literary" (59). All of this apparently diminishes the effect of the primary texts published before Jebediah and Pattieson, which have, "like all other imaginary story-tellers, . . . melted in thin air" at the end of the Legend of Montrose (Scott, *BD* 338). Even so, as much Scott notes more textual than oral sources in his notes, the oral tale, as fictitiously overheard by Pattieson and designated by words like "tradition" and "legend" by Scott, is positioned as both the primary and more authentic source. In fact, it is precisely Scott's layering of narratives and fictional frameworks that allows his texts to celebrate and reproduce the authentic, slippery, polyphonic, uncontrollable communal voice of oral tradition.

The setting and context for *Tales of my Landlord*, for instance, first appears in the introduction to *The Black Dwarf* and continues across *Old Mortality*, *The Heart of Midlothian*, *The Bride of Lammermoor, A Legend of Montrose*, and *Count Robert of Paris*, before disappearing completely in the last of the series, *Castle Dangerous*. The narrator of the introduction to the first installment is Jebediah Cleishbotham, the self-appointed editor of the manuscripts of his junior teacher Peter Pattieson. Pattieson apparently joins his patron at the

Wallace Inn of Gandercleugh to listen to the conversation between the landlord, his frequently inebriated patron, and any travelers that pass through Gandercleugh. Pattieson takes notes about the stories, speaks with other persons in the area, and consults additional sources; he then constructs his own narrative of the tale based upon local sources with an introductory chapter noting how he came to learn the story. Cleishbotham takes ownership of Pattieson's papers after his death "to answer funeral and death-bed expenses" and sends them out for publication, adding his own editorial introduction and making marked insertions into the text (xxxiii)#. After great success with the first installment, the editor Cleishbotham prospers; the sale of the works provides him with the income for "a new house and a new coat" (xxxiii-iv). With the arrival of Pattieson's brother, and issues of copyright, Cleishbotham convinces him to take up a role like Pattieson's in Gandercleugh and continue to publish Peter's materials through Cleishbotham's editorship. The final tales suffer for Pattieson's death as well as Scott's own waning interest in the framing apparatus. The final installment of the series, written shortly before Scott's death during periods of ill health and intense criticism, offer little paratextual information about the sources of the story (Barnaby "Count Robert"). Just as Pattieson, the fictitious collector and transmitter of tales, disappears from the series, so too does Scott's thematic inquiry into the relationships between text and tradition and between editor, author, and storyteller.

In the paratexts of the *Black Dwarf*, *Old Mortality*, and *The Bride of Lammermoor*, Scott utilizes the contrasting characters and authorial voices of Cleishbotham and Pattieson to reveal the multiple authorities involved in story production and their sometimes conflicting values. This construction of fictions on top of fictions mimics the system through which oral history and tradition is handed down and reformed by each teller and then, under the obligation of commodification, is transformed again by those who may benefit from sale of an object. In this

framing device, Scott navigates the simple authentic/corrupted and primitive/modern conflicts between oral and literate, story-teller and literary market, by interposing the third position of the author of integrity. Pattieson, as the audience and writer of stories, rather than the editor or seller, maintains a closer, disinterested relationship to the story-tellers and their oral traditions. Thus, through Pattieson, Scott reinforces the idea that an author of national tales and histories must seek to uncover the most authentic story in a "Feminine" way by respecting the authority of the common folk and the traditional mediums of their histories.

The *Black Dwar*f, the first tale of the series, emphasizes the authenticity of the oral and common or folk culture of national legends. In the context of the fictional genesis of the *Tales,* Pattieson bases *the Black Dwarf* on local traditions and superstitions learned from a passing farmer and shepherd: he then amends the farmer's rendition with inquiries to other locals which allow him to "recover many links of the story, not generally known" (20). Within the context of the original publication, the oral tale is substantiated by additional sources, presumably just as oral as the other tales, which demonstrate that Pattieson's habit was to speak with different locals. The main tale is not undercut by being ultimately rooted in textual versions or alternate recorded histories. Moreover, though Scott's later introduction describes *the Black Dwarf* as a fiction he created based upon an acquaintance of similar appearance and disposition, Scott's own endnotes suggest a history of local tradition surrounding that earlier figure. In the notes to *The Black Dwarf*, Scott writes that "the best and most authentic account of this dangerous and mysterious being occurs in a tale communicated to the author by that eminent antiquary Richard Surtees, esq. … [a] well-attested legend" (340). This instance is the last known appearance of that figure in Scott's fiction. Here he neither cites any textual source nor indicates a written correspondence. The implication of Scott's word choice of "communicated" rather than "noted"

or "recorded", in conjunction with his lack of citation and his reference to a "well-attested legend," implies dialogue and speech rather than letters or recorded statements. That is partly because Scott himself was in a dialogue. Surtees, like Scott, heard many tales from the local population which he then aimed to transcribe and record into his *History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham*. The two authors and antiquarians were in correspondence for many years, beginning with Surtees' interest in Scott's *Minstrelsy*. Though Surtees would confess to his trick later, Scott believed Surtees had supplied him with transcriptions from authentic oral sources for several ballads in his *Minstrelsy*. Surtees passed his own composition off as a traditional oral ballad in his "Death of Featherstonhaugh." When Scott included it in the *Minstrelsy*, he noted that "the ballad was taken down from the recitation of a woman eighty years of age, . . . and communicated" to Surtees (237). However, Scott may be forgiven his credulity with Surtees' additions, seeing as they visited each other at their estates and shared tales and traditions which each had gathered for collection. Notably though, in Grierson's twelve-volume collection of Scott's letters, Scott makes no reference or allusion to receiving the tale of the Black Dwarf from Surtees in letter or manuscript form. Thus, it is quite possible that the tale of the Black Dwarf's last appearance, as well as other information related to a historical figure, were divulged in conversation between the men. If so, the first of the *Tales of My Landlord* originated from foundations very similar to the fictional tale.

Whether or not textual record and educated research furnished Scott with his materials for the *Tales*, the fictional paratext for the series highlights the essential link between the ordinary, working populations (the "Feminine") and the preservation of histories and traditions of a nation (the "Masculine"). It is through conversation with the working classes that Pattieson learns of local history. Though Cleishbotham frequently references figures with more impressive

titles, such as local lairds and traveling bishops, Pattieson sources his materials from more ordinary figures like local farmers and solicitors. Though many of his acquaintances are literate, their references to story and history are largely to tradition. While Cleishbotham frequently alludes to his advanced education in order to validate his authority, the sources for Pattieson's local histories are authorized by their own identity as part of a population that continues to participate in oral culture. Pattieson begins *The Black Dwarf* by describing the arrival of a farmer and shepherd to the Wallace Inn. Unlike more formerly presented transcriptions of oral tradition, such as the ballads found in the *Minstrelsy*, the traditions and legends of *Tales of My Landlord* are presented in a more natural, true-to-life context. Here, a commonplace conversation about livestock inspires interest in a third-party which then leads to an amicable and informal evening of conversation. While more formal oral performances of traditions certainly exist, such as when a bard or minstrel performs or a poet recites, Scott takes pains here to highlight the living oral tradition as it exists outside of institutions, in the common population. Scott emphasizes conversation and dialogue as the primary setting for the emergence of local tales, histories, and gossip: the national pastime of reminiscing and '*blethering'.* Worried about the lambs during poor weather, the farmer says euphemistically (in Scots) that they "maun e'en leave the lambs to the Black Dwarf's care" (18). By their mutual use of the phrase, it appears a common enough way to refer to a local supernatural entity. Cleishbotham, the pretentious outsider, overhears their conversation and struggles to make sense of what they mean. He seems to mistake the figurative exclamation for a literal one and asks about the Black Dwarf. His inquiry leads back to the topic of sheep, for a moment, and the difference of long and short breeds. Confused again, since Cleishbotham is ignorant of local customs and the language of livestock, he interrupts for further clarification which sparks some hilarity at his expense. They promise to return to tell

Cleishbotham more. This first dialogue that leads into the tale of the *Black Dwarf* actually seems to have come from Scott's real conversations with locals. In fact, the conversation of the farmers in the preliminary chapter to the *Black Dwarf* references a day spent conversing with locals after James Hogg had induced him to visit to gather materials for the third volume of the *Minstrelsy*. Cleishbotham observes quite seriously that "he could never perceive any material difference, in point of longitude, between one sheep and another," to which the confounded farmers explain "its the woo', man" (18-19). In Hogg's *Familiar Anecdotes* of his 30-year friendship with Scott, just such a scene occurs nearly word-for-word; however, in Hogg's account, Scott, "rather bored with the everlasting question of the long and short sheep," appears to knowingly tease a Mr. Brydon into making a similarly sincere reply (127). The replication of this real-life scene suggests that Scott's fiction of an author sourcing materials from local conversation may convey a more authentic experience of the story culture in Scotland than evidence of his real-life textual research could. The fact that this exchange actually occurred, and occurred during a time when Scott was actively seeking oral material, lends authority and weight to the fictional paratexts. Though Scott may have actually sourced much of the material for the *Tales of my Landlord* from written sources, Pattieson's experiences and process neatly mimics Scott's own understanding of how history and legend are orally transmitted through the common populations of Scotland.

Pattieson's second tale of the first series is *Old Mortality,* a story of the covenanting period (1679). In his later introduction to the work, Scott informs the reader that he owes his inspiration for this story to two events: a textual account from Joseph Train and the memory it triggered of Scott's own meeting with Old Mortality, Robert Patterson (xli).[43] Andrew Lang points out that Scott had to depend upon inscriptions in old graveyards, his own collection of publications by and about covenanters, and biographies of important figures written by Patrick

Weller (xxiv). Lang writes that "*Old Mortality* is the first of Scott's works in which he invades history beyond the range of what may be called living oral tradition" (xxiii). Scott's own introduction downplays any use of historical texts beyond Mr. Train's contributions and materials he received after the first publication. Furthermore, the Pattieson paratext explicitly argues for the continued viability of oral tradition as a source for accurate history and authentic feeling. Pattieson writes that he meets the namesake of the tale in the local graveyard as he conducts his usual business cleaning gravestones. In Scott's fictional Scotland, Old Mortality is already a figure of oral tradition at this point; Pattieson has no trouble "recognising a religious itinerant . . . whom I had often heard talked of" (*OM* 7) and "He is said to have held . . . a small moorland farm" (8). Upon seeing him, Pattieson desires to learn more of this local legend and the covenanting history of which he is an expert. Pattieson begins his "first interview with this interesting enthusiast" (10) by "intrud[ing] upon him some questions" (10). Just as natural dialogue and Cleishbotham's questions lead to tales of the *Black Dwarf*, questions and natural dialogue between strangers lead to the tale of *Old Mortality.* Pattieson highlights the relationship between orality and national history with his description of Old Mortality:

> To talk of the exploits of the Covenanters was the delight, as to repair their monuments was the business, of his life. He was profuse in the communication of all the minute information which he had collected concerning them…. One would have supposed he must have been their contemporary, and actually beheld the passages which he related, so much had he identified his feelings and opinions with theirs, and so much had his narratives the circumstantiality of an eye-witness. (10)

Pattieson then adopts the same methods as he did with the *Black Dwarf*, by conversing with locals. He writes that he has "consulted such morroland farmers [as] have been able … to retain

possession of the grazings on which their grandsires fed their flocks" and "called in the supplementary aid of … packmen or pedlars" as well as other traveling professions (14). In addition to these "stores of traditional learning" (15), Pattieson speaks to descendants of ancient aristocratic families and traveling bishops who pass through the inn. Pattieson creates his tale from these multiple oral sources, of high and low status, all still living connections of some degree to the past. Though Scott may have struggled to find oral sources when seeking information of the Covenanters beyond that which Old Mortality provided, he takes great pains in Pattieson's preliminary chapter to convince the reader that the living oral tradition can still produce authentic accounts of history. The value of orality is further emphasized in this installment in Pattieson's conclusion to the tale. Failing, like Scott, to be very interested in writing an end or conclusion about the various characters of the tale, Pattieson gives the narratives to Mrs. Buskbody, the local mantua maker. She insists on hearing how each character concluded their lives; through a dialogue of question and answer, Pattieson transcribes a conclusion wrought through oral interchange. Within the fictional context of the author/transcriber, *Old Mortality* is a tale completely dependent upon the continuation of "Feminine" oral storytelling traditions among the local populations in Scotland, so much so that the task of ongoing narrative is transferred to a female character. Inspired, corrected and verified, and concluded by speakers, *Old Mortality* functions not only as historical fiction but also as proof of the continued viability and unequaled authenticity of national oral histories.

In the first chapter of *The Bride of Lammermoor*, Scott again highlights Pattieson's appreciation for oral communication and goes on to suggest why orality is so significant to culture and representation. In conversation with painter Dick Tinto, Pattieson defends his liberal use of dialogue: "The ancient philosopher… was wont to say, 'Speak, that I may know thee'"

(21). Furthermore, Pattieson argues, speech within a written text provides the “more interesting and effectual manner” to present the personae dramatis "represented as supporting his own appropriate character” (21). Ultimately, in this instance, Pattieson attempts to appease his friend and use less oral speech in this tale. It should be noted that Pattieson’s original source for *The Bride* is not oral: he compiles it from Tinto’s notes of the tale told by an aged good-wife. Thus, for Pattieson, the tale is already removed from an authentic oral population and so perhaps does not necessitate as much oral representation. Nonetheless, the oral in *The Bride* still holds an elevated status. As described in the previous chapter, spoken prophecy holds true throughout the novel. Prophecy is communicated orally in dialogue between seer (Old Alice and Aislie) and listener. Scott’s source for the tale is oral and explicitly female, and he writes that he doubts his ability to improve upon it with the tools of the Masculine, imperialist literary enterprise. In a letter to James Ballantyne, Scott wonders if “I shall make it so effective in two volumes as my mother does in her quarter of an hour’s crack by the fireside?” (d. 10 Sep. 1818). Scott questions whether his written, and therefore more official, educated, and possibly artificial, tale can match the enlivening qualities of the oral tradition practiced by women, including his own mother.

Throughout the *Landlord* series, the framing context highlights key differences between Pattieson and Cleishbotham and their respective roles as transcriber/author and as editor/agent. Through these characters and their associated literary preferences, Scott compares the value of two different approaches to national tales. With the first series, Cleishbotham enters the literary market as an editor by distancing himself from the materials and the producer of the manuscript. Cleishbotham is primarily concerned with the opinion of an audience educated and wealthy enough to purchase the book; he corrupts the tales by adding irrelevant literary allusions and self-aggrandizing interjections to bolster his own reputation. In his introduction to the Black

Dwarf, for example, Cleishbotham references Homer and the Odyssey to draw parallel to himself. He attempts to hide the reference from a less-educated reader by calling Odysseus only by Ithacus and referring to Homer only as "the Roman Poet" (*BD* 6). However, his literary elitism is ruined by the fact that Ithacus was one of the suitors of Penelope and not the man who gained renown from travel. Moreover, Homer was not a *Roman* poet. Cleishbotham, then, like Jonathon Oldbuck of *The Antiquary,* epitomizes the vanity, ignorance, and self-interest of the amateur, culturally-estranged historian and collector. As Cleishbotham seeks to elevate his own status among "the sedate and reflecting part of mankind, to whom only [he] would be understood to address [him]self" (5), he furthers the distance between himself, as editor and literary agent, and the population and histories that Pattieson seeks to represent. In his first introduction to Pattieson's works, Cleishbotham defends himself against multiple imagined criticisms. Among his defenses, he firmly denies responsibility for any of its contents. In stark contrast to Pattieson, Cleishbotham, as editor, attempts to enter a higher society of literary elites by proving his distance and alienation from the more "primitive" culture that populates the tales. He proves that an author of national or cultural content that is too far-removed from his subject, too assimilated into imperialist values and prejudices, appears foolish, out-of-place, and pretentious. In other words, in Scott's *Tales of my Landlord*, Pattieson represents the benevolent, post-colonial author subverting the Masculine hierarchy of imperialism by working within the system to protect or raise the value of the native. Cleishbotham, on the other hand, represents the post-colonial author who has so completely internalized the subjugation of the native in order to achieve status in the dominant hierarchy that he loses credibility. Scott situates the process of corruption and degradation not in the process of transcription but rather in the processes required for marketing. It is the literary market rather than the "primitive" storyteller or the author that shows itself to be

inauthentic, foolish, and lacking. By placing any negative or diminished status upon a self-interested editor, Scott can reinvest orality and oral sources with status and value even as he demonstrates the craft of fiction writing.

In both the setting and the editor's names, Scott takes the opportunity to utilize Scots and local knowledge to further emphasize Cleishbotham's foolishness and, by extension, the foolish pretensions of literary figures aiming to represent oral cultures but holding themselves above the conditions and people that produce these cultures. Through Cleishbotham we see the inadequacy of native cultural representation in an imperialist value system. In order to authentically record and understand the marginalized or peripheral culture, one must belong to the culture. However, to represent that culture in imperialist industry to imperialist audiences, one must be accepted into and fluent with the culture of the imperialist center. If Pattieson cannot bridge the gap because he does not have the connections or interest in the publishing market, Cleishbotham cannot overcome the gap because he is so desperate for equal standing among the elites. Cleishbotham claims worldly knowledge and status as an armchair observer of "the manners and customs of various tribes and people," having sat at the Wallace Inn for forty years (6). The Wallace Inn lies in Gandercleugh, what he claims to be the "central part--the navel" of Scotland (6). This great crossroads for travelers from "every corner" of Scotland appears to boast of only one inn and very few other amenities, indicating that it is by no means a great stopping-place for travelers. Yet E. Cobham Brewer's 1894 *Dictionary of Phrase and Fable* translates "Gandercleugh" as "Folly cliff; that mysterious land where anyone who makes a 'goose of himself" takes up his temporary residence". Referring explicitly to *Tales of My Landlord,* Brewer's definition is not so much an exact etymological translation as interpretation of the placename in accordance with the character of Cleishbotham. "Cleugh" is a Scots word meaning

"a gorge or ravine with precipitous and usually rocky sides, generally that of a stream or torrent. (Often entering into place-names, as *Buccleuch*, *Caldcleuch*, *Wolfcleuch*, etc.)" (OED). Brewer derives folly from "Gander", meaning a male goose and figuratively "A dull or stupid person; a fool, simpleton" (OED). Additionally, as a verb, "gander" means "to wander aimlessly, or with a foolish air like that of a gander". Indeed, aimless or foolish wandering is an apt description for many of the narrative asides from Cleishbotham and, to some degree, could characterize Scott's own style -- a tendency of which he was well aware.[44] That Cleishbotham fulfills the characterization of a gander, a loud and foolishly defensive or aggressive bird, is clear from the introductory sentence: the first 90 words prove Cleishbotham to be overly verbose, comically self-obsessed while professing to write "without vanity", and revealingly defensive of his reputation and learning (*BD* 5). As noted earlier, Cleishbotham implies that, like Odysseus, "the most wise of the Greeks," he too can claim renown for having visited states and men for, he divulges, he has been to nearby cities of Edinburgh and Glasgow a total of five times in his life and once sat in on assembly! He also calls these brief escapes from his rural hamlet "foreign travel" (6). Throughout, Cleishbotham inserts simple Latin phrases, including legal phrases, as if to prove his high learning. His Latin, apparently, has even been criticized by Pattieson, the *junior* teacher. He inserts the adjectives "worthy and learned" into Pattieson's text when it refers to himself and appears not to understand the many jokes at his expense, including references to his heavy drinking habits. Cleishbotham's name, itself, also seems to confirm the link between the village's name and the foolish character of the editor. While Cleish is a historical barony in between Edinburgh and Perth, the 1825 supplement to the *Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language* defines "cleish" as a Scots word meaning to whip or lash. Though this use of "cleish" has numerous examples in the 20th century, this initial entry cites Scott's Cleishbotham

as its example, meaning "flog-botham", a fitting name for a pretentious and foolish schoolmaster who is himself the butt of many jokes ("clish"). Andrew Lang's 1893 introduction to *Old Mortality* notes that Scott was once gifted with a parcel of papers and "traditions" from a Mr. Joseph Train. Lang here includes a letter from a schoolmaster in Penning, Mr. Broadfoot, who has signed "clashbottom" at the end. Lang also agrees with the translation of "cleish" for "flog" (ix). However, the DSL also suggests that "cleish" could be a variant of "clish" from "clish-clash" meaning "idle talk, gossip." Though a more difficult fit with "botham", the implication of this meaning would damage the editor's credibility and reputation even further. A low or base object or producer of gossip can hardly demand much of the kind respect that Cleishbotham keeps seeking.

In the character of Peter Pattieson, the narrator of the *Tales*, by contrast, Scott constructs a truly mediating figure between authentic national oral culture and the alienated literary and print industry. This "good" author occupies a post-colonial position somewhere between the public, Masculine voice of the population in power and the private, Feminine voice of the subjugation society. Pattieson can represent the value of a marginalized society to a dominant society through a type of cultural code-switching whereby he can temporarily assimilate into both peripheral and dominant societies as the occasion demands. Like Scott, Pattieson seems to be welcome in the company of peasant (Old Mortality) and professional (lawyers Hardie and Halkit) alike. The well-liked junior schoolmaster also has a habit of walking in the parish and speaking with those he meets, including the local mantua-maker Ms. Buskbody and Old Mortality in the local graveyard (Old Mortality). By socializing throughout the parish in what might be termed "neighbourly fashion", Pattieson engages in Feminine approaches to culture and history engagement: it is natural, communal, social, and fairly unstructured. The knowledge

gained through these Feminine modes, through social history especially, can then be transmitted to a broad audience using the Masculine tools of literacy and economic markets. Pattieson, as representative of the "good" author of national material, does not degrade the value of his subject nor the authenticity of its culture by rejecting or mocking the authentic oral voice.

Very few of Scott's works, after all, lack a representative of indigenous oral culture. Supposedly outside of power, the Feminine oral figure penetrates the boundaries of class, nation, and gender that often create the central conflict or mystery within a text. As entertainers, supernatural agents, beggars, gypsies, and women outside of the marriage economy (in the cases of Flora in *Waverley* and Louise in *The Fair Maid of Perth*), they move between diverse groups, facilitating communication between opposing sides. As entertainers, they often bridge generations, carrying information of the past to a modern audience; as oracles, soothsayers, and elementals, they transmit supernatural or divine knowledge to the mortal plane; as beggars and gypsies they connect criminal and base populations to those of wealth and status. Often these liminal and overlooked figures convey essential information, either from local histories, supernatural sources, or important figures, and they help to either veil or reveal mysteries crucial to the action of the narrative. As I argue in Chapter 2, the aging minstrel of "The Lay of the Last Minstrel" functions to maintain and revivify the dying minstrel tradition for a new generation of audiences. He also imparts important family history to his aristocratic listeners, notably women who might not have easy access to textual histories. Though less explicitly marginalized due to the respect paid to minstrels in earlier periods, the three minstrels within his tale, Albert Græme, Fitzraver from England, and Harold from Orkney, also function from the margins of violence and political power as they are neither soldiers nor lords. Their ballads solidify a peaceful union in the resolution of the political conflict between feuding clans. In "The Lady of the Lake",

Allan-Bane, bard to an exiled fallen noble house, reveals the moral ambivalence in two sides of a national conflict.[45] In "Rokeby," the minstrel Edmund of Winston, a member of an outlaw band, literally unearths buried artifacts that solve the mystery of the male romantic figure's parentage and enables the repentance of the would-be assassin.[46] In *Waverley*, three characters embody the ancient oral traditions: Davie Gellatley, the fool of Bradwardine estate; Flora MacIvor the beautiful Highland Jacobite; and Mac-Murrough the Gaelic *bhairdh* of the Mac Ivor clan. Gellatley, as I have noted previously, communicates information about the Bradwardines that the reader, if not Waverley, recognizes. He also helps lead soldiers away from the Baron in hiding. Flora sings a Highland battle song that inspires Waverley to quit the English army in favor of the family's Jacobite loyalties.[47] Mac-Murrough inflames the spirits of the Highlanders at their meeting with Mac-Ivor, even mentioning Waverley himself, in order to prepare for upcoming action. In *Guy Mannering*, Meg Merrilees, a singing gypsy, tells fortunes and initiates change and activity in quiet Ellangowan, ultimately leading to a reunification of the community through the lost noble son, Harry.[48] Edie Ochiltree, the licensed mendicant and traveling storyteller of *The Antiquary,* helps reveal Doustersvivel's villainy as well as exposing the ridiculousness of Oldbuck's learned antiquarianism, a central theme of the novel.[49] In the *Bride of Lammermoor*, oracles like Old Alice, Aisle Gourlay, and the historical figure of Thomas the Rhymer relay family history and shape the relationships between Lucy and Ravenswood, ultimately crafting the tragic end. In *The Fair Maid of Perth,* Louise, the traveling French glee maid or minstrel, uses song to disrupt a conflict between the King's brother and the Earl of March wherein the Earl had threatened to return to England with his troops. Moreover, it is she who discovers that the King's son, the descendent of Scottish hero Robert the Bruce, is not riddled with infectious disease but rather is being starved to death. Though he cannot be saved, this information allows

for the execution of his killers. Additional significant representatives of the power and importance of oral tradition include the White Lady of Avenel from *The Monastery,* Claud Halcro and Norna of the Fitful Head from *The Pirate,* Bertram from *Castle Dangerous,* and Cadwallon and Caradoc from *The Betrothed*.

Individually, the oral figures of Scott's poems and novels may seem to resist a feminist and indigenous interpretation of his work. Indeed, Scott does not avoid the prejudicial stereotypes of the Other--whether they be mad, poor, old, primitive, or not British. However, when we consider the oral figures *en masse*, we discover that much of Scott's plot or resolution of conflict actually depends upon what appears to be a sort of tertiary character, a literary linchpin. Though the character may not necessarily be Scottish, nor always explicitly feminized, Scott's oral figures represent the Feminine position of Scottish oral culture within the context of Great Britain, an imperialistically "united" kingdom. Traditional oral figures like the bard, minstrel, sennachie (storyteller), and oracle, whether contemporaneous to the setting of the work or already outmoded, always play an important role in a work's action, though they rarely occupy the roles of main protagonist or antagonist. Because Scott's representatives of oral culture exist in the periphery of relatively formulaic romantic plots and conservative political dynamics, they are not governed by the same limits as those within these generic and societal institutions. Despite their varying races or heritage, these oral figures practice Scottish oral traditions, ballad, rhyming chant, and prophecy, using these quintessential traditions to interrupt and alter the trajectory of the more powerful leading figures, often to the benefit of the protagonist. This trope appears throughout Scott's works, in settings ancient and nearly contemporaneous, without much change in affect. Thus, Scott's works demonstrate that this Feminine, marginalized technology retains power and value despite advances in literacy and

printing. Oral traditions and those who practice them are neither obsolete nor insignificant in a society that has yet to completely concede national identity to the assimilating force of imperialistic progress. As the instrument of knowledge and broader influence for a native and marginalized population, Feminine Scottish oral tradition challenges the Masculine supremacy of the written text and the omniscience and desirability of the so-called advanced societies that disregard oral practices.

Feminine Speech and Lewis Grassic Gibbon

Like Scott, a writer born into a vibrant native oral culture, James Leslie Mitchell emphasizes the oral within his written texts to create a balance between the written text, published for a broad English-speaking audience, and what is for him more "primitive" native tradition. In *Sunset Song*, the most famous example of his "Scottish" writing, Mitchell, writing as Grasssic Gibbon, utilizes a specifically Scottish orality less apparent in his works with a more English perspective. The narration itself utilizes an informal syntax reminiscent of the rhythm and speech patterns of Scottish conversational speech and storytelling. Characters engage constantly in gossip, argument, jokes and other examples of social oral communication. Dialogue frequently breaks into the narration mid-sentence. At the same time, the storytelling diction of the narration and the use of general or communal second-person pronouns makes these interjections seem a natural syntactical component of the conversational narrative. All of these elements lead to a particularly pronounced cultural and communal dependence on Feminine orality in the novel that is best exemplified by the text's attention to song.

Outside of his Scots texts, Mitchell's works in English that feature an outsider (non-English) protagonist also often rely on oral cultures and practices as a point of differentiation between dominant and peripheral cultures, with orality functioning as a medium through which the peripheral may subvert or challenge imperialist progress and dominance. In Mitchell's utopic, primitive, future society of *Gay Hunter,* selected individuals are tasked with "singing": the Song of the Folk, a living oral tradition, protects the Folk from repeating the evils of the patriarchal civilization of the 20th century. In the *Polychromata,* the narrator, Saloney, questions the ability of the English written word to capture the Egyptian experience and emphasizes orality as a means of knowledge and inspiration. In these works, oral tradition and orality are most often linked to female characters occupying disempowered spaces due to the patriarchal values of the dominant society. *Gay Hunter*, as a speculative fiction set within a utopic society, pits a new primitive and equitable culture against the fascist, patriarchal culture of England in the 20th century. Gay, empowered in the new utopic society, fights against the possibility of the return of the then-dominant, imperialist, patriarchal culture from the 20th century. Male figures within these texts who utilize oral practices are typically acting from Feminine positions as outsiders, storytellers, and pacifists. Like Scott, in other words. Mitchell uses feminized oral practices and customs throughout his works to demarcate between authentic indigenous culture and imposed imperial culture, ultimately demonstrating that the oral acts as medium for re-empowering marginalized identities.

Sunset Song

From its very beginning, then, Grassic Gibbon's *Sunset Song* is characteristic of him in attempting to infuse oral and auditory associations into the medium of written prose. The title

Sunset Song, in part, refers to the sunset metaphor in Robert Colquhoun's sermon at the end of the novel, when the town unveils its memorial to the four local men who had died in The Great War. His sermon begins with "FOR I WILL GIVE YOU THE MORNING STAR. In the sunset of an age and an epoch we may write that for epitaph of the men who were of it" (*SQ* 192). He ends with another reference to the sunset, remarking that the four who died would choose a new, better world if they could answer "from the places of the sunset" (193). Grassic Gibbon's use of "sunset" as a reference to the ending of an era or epoch corresponds to the novel's look back at agrarian communities where economy and schedule are dictated by the sun and the rain. Appropriately, Grassic Gibbon uses "sunset" in the title of the novel to characterize the change wrought by modernity and the loss of agrarian cultures. His use of "song" to describe a written text is perhaps more multi-faceted. "Song," of course, provides a pleasant rhythm and alliteration for the title that is not quite matched by the monosyllabic "tale" or the alliterative "story" that might more literally describe the text. But "Song" adds a great deal of symbolic resonance. "Song," paired with the sunset metaphor, calls to mind the metaphorical phrase "swansong," with its implication of a last performance before death or a last action before the end of something (OED). In this case, it would seem to suggest a finite ending, an implication that the sun may not rise again on rural Scotland and that the dying epoch, or disappearing culture, could not return. However, as I have demonstrated earlier, Grassic Gibbon's texts figure time and progress as circular, repeating, and non-finite. A more significant implication for "song," it turns out, is the literal medium of the song, an important cultural medium deployed throughout many diverse activities. Physical labor, like rowing or beating cloth, was often accompanied by song, the rhythm serving to coordinate the workers. Grassic Gibbon portrays this use of song in the character Long Rob of the Mill who is frequently described "hard at work with his chaving and

singing" (*SQ* 27). Grassic Gibbon also connects religion to song, whether in the ritualistic druidic singing of the ancient Picts around the standing stones or the singing of hymns and the sermons based on the Song of Solomon. Songs also underscore scenes of heightened emotion and meaning, such as Chris' wedding and the placement of the memorial stone. Song is further emphasized by Grassic Gibbon's titles for the introductory and concluding chapters. Grassic Gibbon introduces his Scottish novel with the "Prelude": a history of major figures, events, and movements in Scotland filtered through a narrowing geographical lens, concluding with a focusing-in on "Kinraddie [in] that bleak winter of nineteen eleven" (31). While in general the usage of a "prelude" can indicate any "preliminary action, or condition, preceding and introducing one of more importance," it also refers to a musical, sung or instrumental, introduction. By using this term, rather than the more standard literary "prologue," Grassic Gibbon highlights the importance of song to the fading rural Scottish culture the novel portrays. The main body of the novel, the four chapters titled "Ploughing," "Drilling," "Seed Time," and "Harvest" for the different farming seasons, are collected under the heading of "The Song". At the end of *Sunset Song,* Grassic Gibbon utilizes song again and again, through his chapter titling and the actual song 'Flowers of the Forest', to impress upon the reader two opposing visions: the fading of a specific culture through community dissolution and the endurance of a broader social identity throughout the individual events of time. As discussed previously, Grassic Gibbon employs circular Feminine Time to expose the falseness of the linear progress of imperialistic, patriarchal civilizations.

The final section is entitled "Epilude." Having used "prelude" rather than "prologue" to begin the piece, Grassic Gibbon invents a not-quite analogous term for "epilogue" and thereby implies music once again. The prefix "epi" means "upon, at, or close upon (a point of space or

time), on the ground or occasion of, in addition" and "lude" recalls the Scots "luid" indicating a noise (OED). While the actual analogous term "postlude" would maintain the implication of a song, it would have also suggested a more finite, linear structure that would have negated the cyclical structure prominent in the novel's discussion of change. The word "epilude" refuses finite closure as the prefix indicates relation rather than termination. Furthermore, by making up a new word foreign to readers of either Scots or English, Grassic Gibbon draws attention forcefully to the word, making the reader pause and register the word's distinct parts to construct meaning. The noise or "luid" that is "close upon" or "in addition" to the song of the text literally culminates in sound: first, the sermon of remembrance, followed by the piper's rendition of "Flowers of the Forest". The use of Flowers of the Forest at the memorial to her husband, among others, directly recalls Chris' own performance of the lament at her wedding, after a series of traditional songs performed by various community members.

In *Sunset Song*, then, traditional song places the female experience of the institution of marriage within the context of Scotland's historical conflict with England, while also foreshadowing the consequences of WWI for the women of Kinraddie and Britain at large. Chris' wedding is celebrated with a dance, the music being supplied by various members of the community. After vigorous dancing, matched with vigorous drinking, "the fun slackened off . . . No sooner was the dancing done than there were cries *Rob, what about a song now, man?*" (*SQ* 128). Thus begins a series of songs, mostly Scottish, that range from the romantic "The Lass that Made the Bed to Me" to the mournful "Auld Robin Grey," a song about a woman whose lover goes to sea to earn money for their marriage. In his absence, the woman is forced to marry an older man in order to save her parents from starving. When the lover returns, she must bid him farewell forever, though it breaks her heart, in order to be a "gude wyfe" to her husband (129).

The performance of the song “Auld Robin Grey " may strike the reader as strange and ill-suited to the happy wedding of a young woman to her lover. Yet the text draws particular attention to this song, transcribing two full stanzas and summarizing the action in between, even though the sad tale of the sacrificing bride is at odds with Chris’ own, since her father’s death had left her with a sizable inheritance, and she was able to marry her lover. The song may therefore suggest Mitchell’s own unease about the institution of marriage and the unfair burden it places upon women.[50] The song is sung by Mistress Mutch, a mother of five who appears listless and enervated throughout the novel. Grassic Gibbon reveals the tragic dimension of her character at Chris’ wedding, an example of what may await her. Her choice of song echoes the warning she had given Chris to “take things easy in married life . . . Don't let Ewan saddle you with a birn full of bairns, Chris, it kills you and eats your heart away” (127). Her warning and her poignant performance reveals what the gossipy communal voice of the narration had ignored: Mistress Mutch is not a lazy slummock, but rather the “ghaist” of a woman in a patriarchal society. The truth of her statement has already been proven to Chris, when her mother kills herself and the twins because she could not bear the burden of caring for more children. Thus, in the midst of Chris’ wedding, an important moment in the traditional female coming-of-age story, Grassic Gibbon produces a host of spectral women as evidence of the harm of unequal patriarchal relationships. The tragic tenor of the song unites the wedding guests in shared sympathy and grief: “Auld Robin Grey that eye brought Chris near to weeping, and did now, and not her alone, with . . . the sadness and the soreness of it” (129). By using a traditional Scottish ballad to produce a shared experience of grief, Grassic Gibbon seems to enlist the entire wedding party in a lament for the status of women.

Chris' performance of "The Flowers of the Forest" expands the theme of the tragic female to make it symbolize the tragic nation. Chris cannot shake off the effects of "that south country woman crying in the night by the side of her good man[51], with the world asleep and grey without" (*SQ* 129). From the lament of one bereft woman to the mourning of many, the bride finishes the interlude of songs by performing the "The Flowers of the Forest". The song, first recorded in the 17th century though probably composed earlier, is a lament for the fallen soldiers at the Battle of Flodden in 1513. In the mid eighteenth century, Scots poet Jean Elliot published lyrics to the tune which remain in use today. The lament was played at Queen Victoria's funeral, just a few months after Mitchell's birth, and has since become a tune reserved for remembrance ceremonies and other solemn occasions. The Battle of Flodden resulted in huge casualties for the Scottish force, leaving many widows "moaning on ilka green loaning" for the "flowers" of Scotland's gentry that "lie cauld in the clay." (129). In *Sunset Song*, Chris sings the ballad of "The Flowers of the Forest" at her wedding to Ewan Tavendale; it is repeated in the Epilude at the memorial ceremony for the men killed in the war, including the three central male figures at the wedding: Ewan, Long Rob, and Chae. The significance of the song at this particular moment in the narrative lies not in its romantic content, but rather in its broader Scottish context of loss, endurance, and struggle with England. Of the six traditional stanzas of the song, Grassic Gibbon reproduces stanza one and five without break between. In the original, stanzas two through four record the loss of young men in an agricultural society. In the mornings, there are no "blythe lads" working in the sheep folds and teasing the lasses (second stanza); there are no jeering youths at the afternoon harvest (third stanza) and no youngsters playing round the haystacks in the evenings (Elliot). Though these stanzas would have been particularly evocative for Chris' audience, most of whom would have spent their childhoods in such a manner, Grassic Gibbon

withholds them from the reader, instead connecting the first stanza to the fifth directly. The first stanza records the transition from happy pastoral life to post-war desolation as the maids that once sang before dawn now moan upon the green commons. The fifth stanza that follows laments that the lads were pulled from the countryside to fight the English army at the border. The violent confrontation with Henry VIII's forces deprives the country not only of its King and nobility, but also as the song makes clear, of those rural youth who work the land. The first four stanzas seem to suggest that the deceased "flowers" and "pride" of the nation's army are not only the men of note, but also the young country lads who will no longer woo the lasses. By selecting the fifth verse, Grassic Gibbon emphasizes the song's reinforcement of cultural identity: the English antagonist produces a concrete threat against which a diverse nation can construct a shared identity. This shared Scottish identity born of tragedy, in turn, produces the traditions and cultures that further reinforce shared national identity by transmitting emotion across generations. After she sings, Chris begins to recognize that the particularly emotive quality of Scotland's traditional songs originate not from specific circumstance but from some national source greater than any individual: "It came on Chris how strange was the sadness of Scotland's singing . . . the crying of men and women of the land who had seen their lives and loves sink away in the years, things wept for beside the sheep-ouchts, remembered at night and in twilight . . . it was Scotland of the mist and rain and the crying sea that made the songs" (*SQ* 130). At this moment, Chris does not yet realize that the life she is just about to begin with Ewan will soon also "sink away with the years" and that what will remain of her life is the ceaseless change of wind and rain (130). But she soon will find that what she sings about Scotland will apply to her too.

The theme of Scottish loss and endurance articulated through traditional Scottish song at Chris' wedding returns forcefully through song during the memorial at the end of the novel. The memorial for the men who died in WWI, including Ewan Tavendale, Chae Strachan, Long Rob, and a proxy for the author, James Leslie, consists of four components: the Lord's prayer, the unveiling of the simple carving of their names in the stone, the sermon, and the piper's rendition of "Flowers of the Forest". Three of the four are cultural traditions experienced by the gathered community at the same time, creating a shared social experience. Yet, of the four components, it is only the song at the end that unites the community in feeling. The narrative voice, writing as if it is one of the community members in attendance, describes the saying of the Lord's Prayer and the unveiling of the stone with a noticeable emphasis on the lack of emotion, a lack of intensity:

> The minister said, Let us pray, and folk took off their hats, it smote cold on your pow . . . And then the Lord's Prayer was finished, the minister was speaking just ordinary, he said they had come to honour the folk whom the War had taken, and that the clearing of this ancient site was maybe the memory that best they'd have liked . . . off came the clout and there on the Standing Stone the words shone out in their dark grey lettering, plain and short. (*SQ* 192)

As the minister shifts into his sermon, or speech, the intensity picks up as his voice changes: he resumes speaking, "his voice not decent and a kirk-like bumble but ringing out over the loch" (192). While to the reader the sermon is meaningful, even emotional, and though it was clearly significant to the author -- the same line of scripture (Revelation 2:28) adorns Mitchell's tombstone -- the sermon does not evoke similar emotion from the community. The narrative community voice dismisses the significance of the sermon, observing "folk stood dumbfounded, this was just sheer politics, plain what he meant" (193). The reader finally witnesses a communal

emotion only at the end of the memorial when the piper at the memorial plays "The Flowers of the Forest". The music for the tune is literally printed on the page as if to encourage the further playing of it beyond *Sunset Song*. The narrative voice observes that "It rose and rose and wept and cried, that crying for the men that fell in battle, and there was Kirsty Strachan weeping quietly and others with her" (194). Even "the young ploughmen" who had "no understanding or caring" feel an effect from the song: "it was something that vexed and tore at them" (194). So great is the emotional impact of the traditional song here, even without the well-known lyrics that would certainly accompany the tune in many readers' heads (even if they had not read them earlier in the novel during the wedding), that "folk said that Chris Tavendale alone shed never a tear" (194). Just as the familiar traditional songs do at the wedding, once again song unites the often-quarrelsome community into a shared emotional recognition of the novel's central theme, the ceaseless change, the cycles of life and death that structure both human and natural worlds. Chris stands apart from the community on this occasion, her grief having manifested earlier and her life now vested in a new turn of the cycle with soon-to-be-husband Rev. Colquhoun. But this sung instance of traditional Scottish oral culture articulates a specifically Scottish perspective on the cycle in the song: Scottish culture, as embodied by tradition song, endures despite the changes wrought by modernity and increased globalization -- and in that contributes to returning or repeating movement of the cycle.

Gay Hunter

As I have previously discussed, though the same author's *Gay Hunter* is not technically a "Scottish" novel, it expresses the same emotional sensitivity and the same challenges to

patriarchal, imperialistic progress as his novels written in Scots. Though Gay, the title character, is an American (born in Mexico to English and American parents) and not a Scot, as a young female protagonist she is both foreign and marginalized in the original setting of England in the 30s. A close reader of Grassic Gibbon will immediately recognize Gay as very like Chris Guthrie or Domina Riddoch. The opening sentence situates the relaxed female within the natural landscape and a "peewit" (English for the iconic lapwing) cries above her head on the second page: familiar allusions to *Sunset Song*. Just as Gay represents a non-English, marginalized Feminine force, Ledyard Houghton represents the Masculine, imperialistic force, the English ex-army man belonging to the Fascist Party. As these characters travel to the far future and witness the apocalyptic consequences of the "progress" of Masculine, imperialist civilizations, Mitchell aligns the new primitive utopian societies with the indigenous and Feminine. Houghton, as the representative of "progress", poses a threat to the peace and happiness achieved by the primitive Second Golden Age. Most of the novel takes place in a future age without much print, where history and information are handed down through oral practices. There is no explicit tension between written and oral texts, since only oral knowledge remains in the post-apocalyptic universe. In lieu of written records, Mitchell produces an oral medium, the recordings of "The Voices", which mimic the fixed or static quality of written texts and the elitism of literacy. "The Voices" describe the history and last moments of the society of Hierarchs, the civilization that had "progressed" so far into inequality that revolution and atomic war decimated the world. This threatening and dangerous voice from the past contrasts with the Folk's tradition of the Song. The Song, in the second Golden Age, also includes the transmission of generational knowledge. The Song is a living, changing thing, reflecting the experience and wisdom of the uncorrupted folk, enhanced to a greater truth by the singer. Here again, Mitchell relies on the concept of

“Song” – the music that is its civilization’s Feminine undercurrent -- to evoke intense emotion and to signify the primal human experience, both universal and individual, of life and the many forces that impact it.

At first, in *Gay Hunter* and his comments about it, Mitchell seems to associate oral culture with a childish simplicity. In his dedication, he writes that “this book has no serious intent whatever” and that “it is written for the glory of the sun and wind and rain, dreams by smoking camp-fires, and the glimpsed immortality of men” (ix). Writing to Helen Cruikshank, he calls the work “a fairy tale for fun” (Tuesday 1934). His association of the work with a fairytale is more than the typical humility of an insecure author. The novel is structured around a nursery rhyme with which Gay identifies. The work is divided into two books, 1. “Gay go up” and 2 “Gay go down”. The rhyme as printed in the text is completed with the line “That is the way to London Town” (*GH* 9). With slight differences, this rhyme first appeared as “Bells of St. Clement” in *Tommy Thumb's Pretty Song Book* (1744). As it has a tune, the rhyme is meant to be sung. This simple song structures the “fairytale,” and, as the reader discovers later in the work, Song is the universal story of life and the world and all it contains. Though Mitchell seems to make light of this novel, *Gay Hunter* as exploration of diffusionism and as a simple Song or “fairytale” represents his most explicit engagement with the diffusionist theory that represented the potential salvation of mankind. In his letter to Cruikshank, Mitchell implicitly acknowledges the seriousness of the work and the ideologies it represents. “Don't know if there is anything very "hurt & lost" in me which Gay shows up. I hate cruelty …; & no doubt Mrs. Ritchie would explain to her own complete satisfaction that this was sadism faintly guised. All right! So hatred of the Devil is just love of God faintly disguised: and I'm content!” (Tuesday 1934). Mitchell recognizes that the great themes of suffering and the corruption of humankind which mark his

more serious works, fictional and non-fictional, underlie what appears to be a work with "no serious intent". Furthermore, his own theory of diffusionism argues that the development, advancement, or maturation of humankind has led to corruption and suffering. The child-like people of the Folk represent a utopian dream where the cruelty of progress and advanced institutions has been eradicated, even reversed. Thus, though the novel may be a sort of fairytale or children's song, Utopia from Mitchell's diffusionist point of view is founded on those very qualities of simplicity and artlessness that separate *Gay Hunter* from "serious" literature.

Like the section title "The Song" in *Sunset Song,* the term "Song" in *Gay Hunter* signifies something much broader and much more significant than a regular musical composition. In *Gay Hunter*, the traditions of indigenous, pre-literature cultures are distilled into a single vital cultural practice: the Song is identity, cultural memory, education, communication, and ideology. Furthermore, it is through this living, essentially Feminine, oral tradition that the Folk safeguard their utopian society from the corrupting influence of past violent, patriarchal civilizations. When Rem, the young Singer who becomes Gay's lover, takes her to meet his mentor the Old Singer, Gay begins to learn more about the Folk through the idea of what "Song" actually represents. In her twentieth-century understanding, a song is artifice: something constructed and thus not necessarily a true representation of reality. When the Old Singer asks for her own Song, Gay defers by saying he may not believe her. However, in this world, personal or cultural belief plays no part in Songs, as a Song is necessarily true by virtue of being a Song. When she questions the Old Singer further about this logic, she discovers that not only are lies foreign to the folk, but that singing is a form of increasing or heightening truth. Singers do not misrepresent or adorn the truth with their art, rather "they set tales upon the truth, to make it more true" (78). Gay does not quite agree to the higher truth of artistic representation and so she asks for the Old Singer's song

to be delivered in plain spoken truth. Though he responds as she desires, telling her the history of the Folk without the use of Song, Mitchell suggests that this too is song, since he is careful to note that the singer speaks in "that sing-song English" (78). "Song," whether sung or not, is used by the Folk with their limited English to signify a person's story, such as when the Old Singer asks for Gay's Song. It also refers to the history or narrative of a culture, society, or place. His Song of the Folk includes histories of migration, different regional groups of the Folk, his own personal history, and memories of encounters with others long ago. Gay tells the singer her Song, and it is of "that world out of which she had come and the means through which she had come . . . [of] great cities with their crowdings of traffic . . . of the march of the sciences, and how disease and death were fought; the great works of the great Singers, the great men who taught the kindlier religions . . . the wars"(80-81). Gay's Song is both intensely personal and also universal to the society from which she came, just as the Singer's was of both him and the whole of the Folk.

In *Gay Hunter*, the "Towers of the Voices" presents a threat to the new utopian world by transmitting oral records of ancient events, values, and technology in the dead languages of the twentieth century. Inside the tower are a number of machines that constantly play recordings of voices speaking in a variety of languages. With some limited German, Gay understands that each recording repeats the same information as the others, "[doing] no more than repeat the substance of the first record in English" (86). These records tell of the history of the end of civilization: the rise of slavery, and wars, the sub-men's revolt against the Hierarchies, mass crucifixions, atomic bombs, and strange formulas and directions for re-creating the weapons and technology of that advanced civilization. These recordings constitute an aggregate text of socio-cultural history, ideology, and instruction, an abominable sacred text that Mitchell titles the Hierarchies'

Testament of Life. Though it is a record of voices, this Testament of Life is a perversion of oral tradition and bears little in common with the Folks' living tradition of Song. Though audible, the Testament of Life can be understood only by those who train in the dead languages of the records. Rem's mentor, the Old Singer, and Rem are the last of the folk to listen to the Voices, and the last of the Folk to speak English (64). As the ancient technology that powers the Voices begins to fail, the voices "grow fainter every hunting season . . . The Old Singer says that when he was young the Voices were still very loud. None care to listen to them now. But I" (51). In contrast to the dying Voices of a dead civilization, the bardic traditions of the Folk endure. As a living tradition, rather than a static fixed medium, the Song continues to be sung by the Folk across different regions and times. While the Testament of the Hierarch's seeks to divide populations into sub-men and Hierarchs, the Song of the Folk seems to do the opposite. Rem tells Gay of the "the Song of the Last Man", a "dim story handed down through countless generations" (79). Rem explains how the lost Frenchman "had been of themselves, but of different speech" and had been adopted into the Folk (79). As the Song of the Last Man is still part of the tradition of the Folk, its morals also remain: Gay, though she speaks a different language, may be adopted into the Folk for she is "of them" (79). However, the Song of her life before, her description of 20th century society, is too like the evil Song of the Voices and will not be incorporated into the Song of the Folk. The Old Singers tells her that "It is a song - but an evil Song. Like those that the Voices once told . . . Folk do not hear the Song you sing, Gay Hunter… It is a mad song. Rem may hear it; he will know it mad - a thing that belongs to the past ages of our Folk. Now there are other Songs" (81). When Houghton is seized for killing of the folk, Gay learns that "madness" consists of one human killing another. Thus the madness of the Voices and of her Song of the 20th century has little to do with strange technology or

unbelievable inventions, but rather the inconceivable violence of an unequal, patriarchal, and "advanced" society. Because Song is a living tradition for the Folk, and changes unceasingly as the life it represents changes, Song is capable of defending a utopian existence against the corruption from the past. When Gay tears down the Tower of the Voices, she is only hastening the natural process described by the Old Singer where the new Songs of a living tradition will replace the evil songs of the past.

Later in the novel, when Rem and Gay become lovers, Rem's Song expresses not only their personal experience of lust and love but similar forces within the natural world. Though she does not speak Rem's language, "the meaning seemed clear to Gay, in great stretches and flashes of vision and recognition . . . She saw the play and wash and laughter of water in the sun… heard the beat and drum of blood in a body that raced the sunrise … the voice of the rain and the voices of the stars… the mating of all living things that turned in strained delight to the supremest ecstasy …the loveliness of love" (99-100). As their time together ends, in a chapter entitled "Sing for Me", Gay asks Rem for another song: "He sang of the Spring of a World that had forgotten winter, yet where winters came and passed unceasingly, unendingly, amidst the lives of men. . . He sang of Life as a fine bright fire, tremulous, tremendous, against the dead wastes - Life and its splendour … Living himself, he sang the Paean of all life" (181). Here, Mitchell repeats a motif found throughout many of his works: a transcendent text defies transcription. Like Connan's epic in *Polychromata* and Malcolm's mystical text in the *Thirteenth Disciple*, the written medium is too fixed and too linear, too structured and too static, too essentially *Masculine*, to contain the living form of the truths of life and the universe. Untranscribed song retains the living, elastic Feminine form that allows for infiniteness and multiplicity. Rem explains to Gay that "there are many Songs - this we live, and that which you lived. And all are

part . . . of a greater singing" (*GH*180). No Song, and so no singular narrative or subject, can be wholly separated from the greater singing, from the universal whole. Thus, the Song is quintessentially Feminine: a rhizomatic living entity that cannot be reduced to singular pieces or singular times or alienated from generative forces of Life. It consists of all things that make up life: body and mind; past, present, and future; individual and universal; cycles of life and death; nature and humankind. When Gay returns to the 20th century, it is the generative, multiplicity of Song that gives her hope for an alternative future: the novel ends with her positive affirmation that "There are Many Songs" (184).

POLYCHROMATA

In the collection of short stories titled *Polychromata,* in turn, Mitchell positions tales about Cairo within an explicitly oral framework set during the British occupation of Egypt. By doing so, Mitchell emphasizes the importance of oral culture within a colonial and post-colonial approach to understanding the Other. In the early part of the 20th century, writers such as H. Rider Haggard, Joseph Conrad, Rudyard Kipling, and fellow Scot John Buchan found enormous success in the British literary market with romances and adventures set in the "exotic" lands of the British empire. The majority of the imperial adventure novels by these authors feature a male protagonist, usually from England, exploring and fighting the "exotic" threats of a land and culture foreign to mainland Britain. Through the lens of an imperialist protagonist, the voyeuristic reading public could travel to the far reaches of the British Empire and encounter the primitive Other. Mitchell, however, writing in the wake of this tradition, uses a narrating Russian dragoman (guide) to make the British voyeuristic desire explicit and to increase the distance

between British reading public and indigenous culture. In *Polychomata*, Mitchell suggests that the reader can never truly encounter the Other, but must experience the Other via a tour guide, a non-native intermediary, that actually creates the experience rather than simply revealing it.

Just as it does in *Scots Quair*, the syntax and phrasing Mitchell uses in *Polychromata* suggest an oral quality, mimicking the way one speaks or tells stories. Saloney, the non-English narrator of *Polychromata* begins the first story with the question "Many-Coloured?" as if responding to a reader's comment about the title (*Sm* 223). He continues on in the next paragraph with "Eh? A Cynic?" again as if in conversation with or anticipating his audience (223). He cuts himself off with a request for beer and follows up with the question "the tale of Andrei?" as if repeating someone else's question (223). He repeats this technique in the short story "The Road" when he asks about "Some friend of mine? Jane Hatoun?" (250). Early on in nearly all of the tales, we read what seem to be non-sequitur questions: one or two words that do not directly reference the previous line and seem to break into Saloney's line of thought. These questions only make sense if a reader assumes that the text is failing to record the other side of a conversation. At the very end of the collection, we learn that the addressee is a foreigner for whom Saloney is acting as guide. Mitchell uses this partially-recorded dialogue to reposition his written short stories into an oral context. Like Scott's paratexts in *Tales of my Landlord,* the paratextual set up to the *Polychromata* tales accesses local stories and histories through the medium of conversation. However, unlike Scott's Pattieson, Saloney is not an intermediary between oral and written culture. Mitchell dispenses entirely with the idea of the self-reflexive textual object; the standard kind of book does not exist within the fiction of novel. Instead, Mitchell throws the reader immediately into the position of hearer rather than reader. Our narrator is not an author, but a story *teller,* or as he calls himself, "a teller of tales" (223). By

waiting to reveal the addressee and by withholding any of his dialogue or description, Mitchell places the reader in the position of addressee, as if Saloney is speaking directly to us and we are to provide the other half of the conversation. Though a "reader" does not exist as a character within *Polychromata*, Saloney's one-sided dialogue at the beginning of the story-cycle places the reader into the position of the addressee, the "friend" whom Saloney is educating about Cairo. Within this fiction, the reader participates in oral culture by creating a demand for Saloney's telling of tales.

The addressee comes in and out of focus in these stories as a means of transitioning between tales and nesting each tale within the present time of Saloney's dialogue. Before embarking upon his first tale, Saloney speaks directly to his conversant: "Look, my friend, I once knew and talked with this Andrei" (224). He then proceeds to tell us the tale of Andrei. He begins "The Life and Death of Elia Constantinidos" by inviting his listener to "pull in the check-chair here" so that they "can sit and watch out Nile slip past" (283). From Saloney's exclamations, it seems that his conversant has brought with them a copy of a book by Tommaso Campanella. In response to this unwritten scene, Saloney thinks of Elia and whether or not he now "walks the City of the Sun!" (283), leading him into his next tale. The beginning of the last tale, "The Passage of the Dawn," finally allows the invisible conversant, the "friend", to emerge a little more clearly. Saloney and his interlocutor have disembarked from their boat and are now in the streets of Cairo. Saloney tells his listener "Sit here in this doorstep and rest, my friend. Young men should dream their loves at night, not wander the streets of Cairo with the middle-aged and prosy Russian! Even though it is your last Egyptian night, and tomorrow await you sea and ship" (402). Mitchell confirms here that the "friend" is a young male, a foreigner sight-seeing Cairo with his guide, Anton Saloney. Mitchell reveals that the text, the collection of

stories, is Saloney's guided tour of Cairo and that the listener, both the young man and the reader, is the foreign tourist using his services.

Mitchell explores the relationship between word and page more explicitly in the second short story "The Epic," which features the English poet Connan. As discussed previously, "The Epic" is a short story about a famous, but now weary and cynical, English poet who remains aloof and disdainful of Cairo until he experiences an epiphany. In a moment of artistic inspiration, Connan writes an epic poem, "the Epic of the Khalig's soul - of her who was life and more than life. Purpose and Desire and Achievement"(*Sm* 245). Connan's poem gives form not merely to a place or a culture, but to something intangible and ineffable, a Feminine Other infused with divine mystery: "out of the dreams and changing fantasies she came, veiled and singing, lovely and alien, she who was love divine itself - and yet had known no lover" (245-246). With Masculine, imperialist tools, Connan has attempted to capture the unobtainable, that which is beyond conventional language and representation. According to Saloney, Connan succeeds at least momentarily in representing what is beyond representation. Yet, in the moment of doing so, he destroys his ego. The poem and this female embodiment of overwhelming signification drive him insane, resulting in his destruction of the written text, the murder of a slave girl, and his suicide. It is also important to note that the supposed impossible representation of the soul of the Khalig is never replicated in the text; Saloney repeats no word of the great poem, as if the Khalig refuses representation even in references to it/her.

This story of epiphany, writing, madness, and destruction begins with a quick discourse on the object of literary arts that mirrors Mitchell's own views of the purpose of art. By beginning "the Epic" in this manner, Mitchell alerts the reader to the fact that this short story should be read, in part, as an exploration of storytelling -- of the relationships between form,

content, and effect, and what can and cannot be represented by the conscious efforts of humankind. Saloney begins "The Epic" by telling his audience "you are of the moderns, my friend, and therefore primitive. In the squatting-places of the dawn-men also was the telling the story. They honoured the stylist long before there was a written style. Art was of art, not of life. But to me the tale without theme, the poem without purpose--it is salt without meat. The theme is the man . . . God mine, as Connan proved!" (236) Saloney equates the moderns with the primitive, a seemingly paradoxical and perhaps degrading comparison. Yet, as he is doing here, Mitchell often uses the association of the primitive, the "dawn-men", as a reference to a Golden Age when humanity had not yet been corrupted by the greed and prejudice of civilization. The primitive modern of Saloney's addresses and the dawn-men are alike, it seems, in their focus on form and style, free from more classical constraints. But Saloney reveals that the art of the dawn-men was pre-literacy, a stylized oral story-telling that did not delve deeply into the human condition. Literacy and written languages are an invention of civilization, necessary for order and communication as populations developed beyond the free, harmonious communal groups Mitchell imagines. On one hand, this description of ancient oral traditions elevates the oral above typical associations of "primitive" with barbaric, uncultured, and crude. On the other hand, Saloney criticizes purely stylistic literature for not having purpose and "meat" or substance. Perhaps, primitive story-telling developed as pure style and art, since the population had yet to be corrupted into civilizations that caused suffering and discontent. If so, the ancient oral may represent a past pure culture, unmarked by civilization. The written poem, however, already shows itself to be marked by civilization in its medium. For modern literate audiences, and for those like Mitchell who had witnessed some of the violence and horrors of the military in the wake of WWI, art must have purpose or become merely ornamentation. In the *Polychromata*,

Mitchell struggles to reconcile the value of artistic practice, and its inutility, with the need to lighten the unbearable suffering of the most oppressed. As William Malcolm notes, Mitchell adopted different attitudes towards art at different times in his career: "His early work projects the purist view of the artist as an elite figure working from a cloistered and self-indulgent viewpoint, whereas latterly he subscribed to the opposite opinion, identifying art as propaganda created with some ulterior didactic motive" (*Blasphemer* xv). In "The Road," art is artifice. Jane Hatoun uses supernatural flourishes to transform her messages and rhetoric into visions and mystical chantings that inspire the harem women. Even after she becomes disillusioned with the divine powers working in her preaching and prayers, she continues this practice as it inspires the women to fight against their oppression. Here we see the oral practices of the "primitive" updated and transformed into the compelling propaganda of a liberation movement.

By contrast, in the story that precedes it, "The Epic," we meet a "self-indulgent" artist whose practice only succeeds in producing more suffering and violence. In "the Epic," Connan represents the elite English artist who suffers from the luxurious boredom his success has procured. Saloney describes him as "a man whose soul and mind yawned" with a face like the statues of Assyria "curved and cruel, yet stamped with an awful weariness" (*Sm* 237-238). The poet experiences an epiphany, an awakening of his artistic genius, as he seeks to capture the soul of Cairo. He produces an epic poem, "the song of all Cairo, the song of Egypt and the world and the days unnumbered since the brown Stone Men drifted their dusk hordes across the Nile. … All the voices that Cairo has ever known cried from his pages" (245). Here, it seems, is art on the theme of man, art that may satisfy Saloney's demand for content, for purpose. Connan's epic is a Masculine, imperialist text; in language and written form it conveys authority, dominance, stability, and endurance. Yet Saloney repeatedly characterizes Cairo, Connan's subject, as

female: “Mother of aliens, alien to us all! . . . Her very street-names cry in our ears . . . They ring beyond their meaning” (236). Beyond meaning, inscrutable, reproductive, the Feminine native subject eludes the mastery of the pen. Saloney tells his audience that “Our Cairo- she pens such plot and theme through every hour as makes of all recorded tale a ghostly script, a story writ in water” (236). Cairo changes constantly, a theme familiar from *Sunset Song*, and so any permanent representation or portrayal of Cairo, like Connan’s written epic, cannot actually represent it. The static nature of the physical text can only capture a moment of the subject that immediately becomes untrue as the subject changes. Indeed, the written text must be destroyed as it cannot contain the great, shifting, sphinx-like female Other. She comes out of his pages as a terrifying hallucination of a would-be bride, capturing him in an embrace. Connan burns up his pages and speaks orally to Saloney in a fevered, agitated state, his mind unable to cope with the embodiment he had created. The vision drives him mad: he ends up killing himself and the female servant after having destroyed the text. When faced with the dangerous, powerful Feminine, a force that defies permanence and certainty, the written text cannot control or tame it. Instead, the female spirit of the Khalig bursts through the limits of the page to overwhelm her would-be master/husband.

In “The Road", Mitchell again ends up displaying the potential subversive and lasting power of an exclusively female, oral culture in the face of extreme oppression and male violence. Jane Hatoun, a young, naive English woman journeys to Egypt to free women from the oppression of their native culture: she visits harems, and, in the privacy of the exclusively female domestic space, she speaks to women about freedom and education. Jane is kidnapped, raped, and forced into domestic slavery. In a divine sort of madness, she performs a miracle of prophecy and becomes a mystical prophet, preaching a feminist religion of El Darb, the road, to

the harem women of Egypt. Jane's new mission focuses on the path to the city of "a God scorned and denied of men" (258). The object of El Darb is not an exclusivist religious salvation familiar from patriarchal Christian ideals, but rather "an amazing, essayable happiness, life freed and eager, life in the sunlight beyond the prisons of fear and cruelty" (258). Her message spreads, and she becomes known among the women of Cairo as the first prophetess of God. One day, a young man recalls her to her former existence by speaking to her in English. She seems to awaken from her mystic madness, and now, as English Jane, she recoils from the adoration of her followers. Though she is tempted by the man and the romantic future he represents, she cannot abandon the women she had taught to seek El Darb. When one of her followers pleads for her blessing upon a dying woman, Jane returns to the dying woman's side and performs the rituals of El Darb to comfort her. Her kidnapper, El Bey, returns for her and the women revolt. Jane kills El Bey, the Master of the harem. His eunuch slaves, in vengeful madness, seize her and Zuria, her former mistress and first convert, binding and beating them before tossing them into the waters. Jane's story ends with a prophecy of resurrection: "She escaped upon the water and the darkness, and some day--surely from that Avalon where Arthur dreams, and sleeps the Danish king--she will come again and preach the faith that is to deliver the women of the world…" (265). "The Road," just like Mitchell's first short story in *Polychromata,* "For Ten's Sake," reimagines traditional biblical tales to promote Mitchell's radical feminist and humanist philosophies.[52] Jane's story is largely patterned upon the evangelism, death, and resurrection of Christ, a religious figure Mitchell respects but also removes from the oppressive patriarchy of the Judeo-Christian traditions.

Saloney's description of Jane shows Mitchell's early valuations of Masculine and Feminine texts. The reader learns that Anton Saloney has sought out written records to legitimize

the oral legends and myths he had heard about Jane Hatoun. The Masculine, factual text of Jane's story is limited to the circumstances of her birth and orphaning, and the contents of an important letter from Angora are never disclosed to the reader. Such texts provide only the lifeless facts of births and deaths; they cannot account for the mystic circumstances that made Jane a prophet in her own time and a legend for others to follow in the time of Saloney. Rather, Anton Saloney, the male narrator, must rely on his own imagination and "a legend of the bazaars, a tale of the harem and soq, embroidered and of the miracle-adorned" (251). In other words, to understand the story of Jane Hatoun, Saloney must rely on Feminine modes of communication and creation. He must listen to the oral tales spoken in the female spheres of market and harem. In these rumors and tales, Jane has become more than the written, Masculine record: she has become a supernatural legend. He speaks of her elevation from regular person to legend as Feminine decorating practices. The legend, he and we find, is created, birthed, by highly feminized oral practice. Appropriately, the reader learns of the legend of Jane from the oral story Saloney tells his audience. To recreate the tale so that "Jane Hatoun's voice [may] come ringing across the years" (251), he must utilize the "embroidered" oral traditions of a woman's domestic world and his own imagination to reconstitute the woman of legend.

The tension between male and female texts also occurs on the meta-level. Mitchell, a man who figures his own writing as Feminine, utilizes a semi-autobiographical male narrator for his *Polychromata* stories. Like Mitchell, Anton Saloney is a military man, a white foreigner, who is more interested in observing his surroundings and telling stories than he is in his official or financial obligations. Rather than attempt an I-in-Drag narration, Mitchell explicitly marks his own limitations as a male writer through Saloney's awareness: "What irony of fate that with me alone, Anton Saloney, alien in race and sex, should rest the full tale" (251). The tension between

Masculine and Feminine text even seems to insinuate itself into the physical description of Jane. Part III of the story portrays Jane in two modes. The first is heavily masculine, focusing on physical qualities that make her desirable to a male gaze: "She was tall and slender, yet with the full bosom and the eyes like the deer" (252). This objectifying description, importantly, is set off in quotes and followed with the qualification "was one, to write of her" (252). The implication is that in written, Masculine text, Jane would be defined by her physical attributes and desirability. Notably, the attributes of the potential written text are without movement or life; the only possible tension is between the slenderness of her frame and the largeness of her bosom. The next sentence, also description, is free of quotation marks, and so suggests that what follows is not what one would write of her, despite, of course, being written in text. Saloney describes her with a focus on characterization rather than desirability: "the type forgotten--of heroic mould, large of limb, young and eager and unawakened" (252). The large, heroic body is significant for Mitchell: in *Gay Hunter*, Mitchell links a similar body type to manglomasian inheritance: a signifier of the female's ancient link to the primitives of the Golden Age. The next sentence returns to physical description: "She had little evidence of the Egyptian blood, but colourful hair and the white skin whereneath [sic] would rise the quick blood" (*Sm* 252). The physical description in this section that is *not* what one would write of her is, once again, less about sexual desirability and more about character. "Colourful hair" denotes her difference from those of "Egyptian blood"; her white skin is noted not because it is fair, but rather because it makes her agitation, her liveliness, all the more evident. Again, in the differing descriptions of Jane, Mitchell links written Masculine text with the static, the coldly objective and objectifying. The Feminine text, what is not written of her, but rather what is spoken by Saloney, figures the female as multi-dimensional and lively in both physical description and personality.

Through the evangelizing, prophet figure of Jane Hatoun, Mitchell explores the issues of feminism and imperialism, ultimately emphasizing the positive value of some native practices, including oral tradition and sociality, while critiquing the native practices harmful to women. Jane is not a pure imperialist: she is the daughter of an Egyptian man, exiled for his progressive beliefs, and an English woman. She occupies a post-colonial space, being of mixed heritage, and Egypt is the land of her father. Thus, when she returns to Egypt, she has some claim to kinship with the population she seeks to enlighten. It is important to note that Jane's enlightened feminism does not stem from her education in the dominant ideologies of Victorian England. Rather, the context that led her to enlightenment and missionary zeal was her non-traditional upbringing at the hand of an "aunt artistic and advanced" (251). The poetry, talk, and idealism of childhood that led her reforming resolve was a consequence of "the education and the freedom beyond that decade even in England" (251). Though her feminism is naive and privileged, it is not necessarily a consequence of English supremacy. Rather, it is a consequence of a freedom and intellectualism that already challenges dominant English patriarchal traditions. While her feminist ideology challenges both native and imperial practice, her own mission, at its beginning, appears to be a form of benevolent white imperialism like the missionary work of Scottish David Livingstone. Jane wants to disrupt native tradition and make women demand the freedom and education more available to the English woman: the imperial education is focused on teaching them to read and write the alphabet. It is perhaps her early reliance upon the Masculine, imperial medium that triggers the events that lead to her kidnap and rape.

To introduce the women of Egypt to a progressive feminist ideology, Jane must utilize the appropriate forms of communication to gain wider access. When she arrives in Egypt, she arrives with "letters of introduction to the notabilities, native and European" (256). Letters of

introduction, as Masculine imperial texts, assure her credibility and status to those who hold Masculine, imperial values: those Europeans and assimilated, literate natives of the upper classes. Through these literate men, by way of her Masculine texts, she gains access to "the intelligent women of Cairo . . . holding with them the meetings and discussions" (253). These are harem women, and they thus occupy a space of carefully controlled privilege as concubines, wives, and relatives of powerful male figures. By pairing women's liberation from oppression with their assimilation of the medium of the Masculine, imperial oppressor (literacy), Jane makes the mistake of ignoring the power of native oral culture. This naivety places her in danger: she does not recognize that a society which uses a symbol of Masculine, imperial power (the letter of introduction) to limit access from foreigners may also depend upon that medium to maintain their own structures of power. Within Egyptian harem society, oral practices already have power as gossip, prayer, propaganda, and communication. By disregarding the importance of the oral, Jane marks herself as an adversary to the women she seeks to inspire. The women gossip to others, telling tales of Jane's visits to others within the upper echelons of harem society. Though "it sounds teaching harmless and pitiful enough - Freedom and the Alphabet", Saloney acknowledges "to that Cairo it was the gospel of blasphemy, and there grew the mutter of anger against the English girl" (253). The muttering, or spoken condemnation, of the harem classes of Cairo reaches the ear of the powerful Bey, and he arranges to have Jane kidnapped and placed within his own harem.

Jane's capture, rape, and ensuing madness result in her entrance into the harem as a slave to the vicious favored concubine, Zuria. However, it is her use of their language to foretell that woman's death that signals a change in their attitudes towards her and their acceptance of her into their society. Jane's rape seems to rob her of speech, since, afterwards, she first descends

into mad laughter and then to muttering and crooning. She seems to endure punishments, "heart-breaking tasks, the blows and jeers" without making any reaction or discernable remark until the day she shocks the women by confronting Zuria in her own language (256). Saloney tells us that "suddenly, and for the first time, she spoke in the clear and ringing Arabic" (256). She commands the women into silence and makes them see an image of Zuria's death upon a curtain, saying to them "Look and believe, women of Egypt! By this sign shall you know me, the Prophetess of God!" (257). Her new message has dispensed with the focus on literacy and instead reorients women's freedom as a holy crusade. Saloney tells us that Jane is "one whose message superseded Christ and Mohammed, one who arose to deliver the women of the world" (257).

Though it may be the supernatural image that convinces the women of her divinity, it is Jane's use of their language and her mastery of their oral culture that leads to the success of her new mission. Though she had spoken with two of the women of the harem before her abduction, the moment of her prophecy is the "first time" she speaks in "clear, ringing Arabic" (256). Jane has learned enough in her time of enslavement to command both the language and the oral culture that is so important to gaining the respect and cooperation of the women she seeks to inspire. Jane's quick transformation from disempowered mad woman to powerful supernatural mystic creates an immediate power reversal in the harem. Zuria sees her own prophesied death and falls "groveling" upon her hands in front of Jane (257). Now, standing above her would-be tormenters, "with a light unearthly in her and eyes and hands outstretched to the terrified women," Jane can enlist the women of the harem in her mission of liberation (257).

In the absence of the male master, Jane gains power and authority through the exclusive channels of female communication. Through the supposedly casual, non-threatening meetings

and encounters permitted women in the domestic sphere "there spread through women's Cairo the story amazing of the Prophetess of God" (257). More women come to the open-air gardens where the harem is allowed to gather to hear Jane preach and to listen to her chants and prayers. In the beginning of the story, the negative gossip of women revealed her actions to the Bey, leading to her capture and rape. Now, accepted into native culture and utilizing oral native practices, Jane's message and reputation spreads again through the oral sociability of the women of Cairo, but this time she is protected and "not once betrayed" (258). Her message spreads through oral means, seeing as "not one of her audience could read or write and no record but the fragmentary survives" (257). However, what does survive is perhaps bigger and more important than any textual record. Throughout the story, Mitchell positions Jane's mission as that of a humanist, divine calling. When Jane is recalled to her mission by a dying sister, she is told that "Ayesah is dying and calls for you, she who is passing from the Road. She calls your blessing"(263). Mitchell's repetition of the word "call" as a literal spoken entreaty highlights the oral dimensions with the use of "call" or calling to indicate a divine or spiritual summons to a particular duty. Again, Mitchell emphasizes the oral medium through which Jane, as the tool of the god of her revelations, inspires a feminist movement despite the violence and power of the controlling patriarchy. Though no written record of her legacy remains, we discover instead that Jane's feminist revolutionary legacy is recorded in the new revolutionary spirit of the women of Cairo. The impetus that begins Saloney's narration of Jane's tale is the startling arrival of a women's contingent, the first Saloney had ever seen, in what appears to be a protest or procession for rights and equal treatment. Thirty years after her disappearance, Jane's message and legend has continued to spread, apparently through the same oral practices as before, and has gained such momentum that the women no longer practice El Darb in secret gatherings, but have

taken to the literal road to demand better treatment. Rather than capturing her in static text, the way Connan did with the spirit of the Khalig in his poem, oral practices have allowed Jane's message or soul to continue to move through the population, igniting passions and inspiring action.

As Saloney's story-*telling* and Mitchell's unpublished theater script of "The Road" reveal, it is the oral medium that allows this feminist movement to endure, despite Jane's apparent death, into the modern period. Mitchell's unpublished draft for a theatrical adaptation highlights the potential of the oral tale as a staged and spoken discourse to rouse, inspire, and animate and its utility as a type of generational legacy or inheritance. Fittingly, as more private material never intended for publication, this script is itself a Feminine "unofficial" text. In the draft, Mitchell removes the female procession through the streets which had inspired Saloney's telling of Jane's tale to his companion. This alteration, at first, seems to downplay Jane's legacy, since here we see no direct evidence of a large, public movement as a consequence of her actions. Instead, the audience is presented with the spotlighted figure of an old woman speaking to a young English girl. We learn that this figure is Namlah, one of the women of the harem, and she is passing down the legend of Jane Hatoun to another generation. At the end of the script, Mitchell's notes tell us that "the white girl to whom she had been telling this Cairene legend has risen to her feet, and stands with shining eyes" ("The Road" 13). Across the thirty years since Jane's death or disappearance, the oral legend can still inspire and evoke passion--even from a visiting white girl who has grown up without the oppression of the harem. Furthermore, as a tale acted out live (rather than transcribed), the older woman also passes the tale down orally to a wider audience, the new generation composed of theater patrons. As performance, especially in Mitchell's time before the invention of home theaters and televisions, the theater performance

had the same temporal quality and condition as oral practice: it does not exist fully outside the telling or the retelling of it. The young English listener becomes a proxy for the actual modern audience of the production: if her emotions can be roused by this older Cairene legend, so too may the emotions of the audience be awakened. Thus, for James Leslie Mitchell, through dialogue and story*telling,* oral practice transmits the subversive feminist protest across generations and cultures to inspire continued resistance to patriarchal, imperialist values in the modern world.

CONCLUSION: THE GLOAMING

As a child in Arbuthnott, just a few weeks before turning thirteen, J. Leslie Mitchell had to complete a writing prompt for school about his favorite literature. Young Mitchell wrote that "the greatest novels that were ever written were by Scott, but I think his masterpiece is 'The Talisman'" ("School Notebook," d. 15 Jan. 14). His favorite reading mostly consisted of thick novels rich in adventure and history. Even at that age, Mitchell was known to be a bookish child, preferring to read books than play games with the other school children. In the radio program *The Places of the Sunset,* created by Ian Munro, Mitchell's brother John recalls that Leslie was "the quiet one, always wanting to be on his own . . . He could never get enough to satisfy his appetite for books" (Munro, *Places* 5). He was known to trade his farm chores for his brothers reading assignments and former schoolmaster Alexander Gray recalls that "he was the only boy I ever saw hoeing turnips with an open book in his hand" (11). Though his family would most likely not have had many books at home beyond the Bible, he was able to borrow books from his school master, from the Manse, and potentially from the "Big House" (the Arbuthnotts) as Chris appears to do in Sunset Song (*SQ* 39). Though Mitchell makes little reference to Scott as an adult, his schoolbook essays demonstrate an early love for Scottish adventure stories and historical romances. He mentions *The Abbot* and *The Monastery* ("School Notebook," d. 22 Jan. 14) and *The Legend of Montrose* (undated, p. 19) in further essays. *The Legend of Montrose* seemed to have especially caught his attention as he wrote an essay "The Great Historical Character" and directly referenced Scott's "picturesque" description of a particular battle from *The Legend* (undated, p. 19).

Mitchell's library, when he was an adult, did not contain any of Scott's works and his reading appeared primarily to focus on his contemporaries. Such a focus on modern work is not

to be unexpected. Mitchell was highly conscious of the literary culture and market of his time as he made the move to support himself solely through his writing. Desperate to support his growing family, he always had a dozen projects on the go from a home-printing business for small works to collaborative series with many of Scotland's living writers. His industry produced sixteen full-length works and about three dozen shorter pieces within less than seven years. At the time of his death, Mitchell was almost exclusively focused on a literary scene that might prove helpful in his career. However, records at the National Library of Scotland indicate that he had begun a contract with Ruttledge for a series called *Voices of Scotland* in which living Scottish authors would discuss the more classic authors. Correspondence with Routledge suggests that Mitchell was bringing in Edwin Muir to write the section on Walter Scott to be titled "What Scott has Meant for Scotland" (letter from F, Warburg, 23 Oct. 34). Though it is quite possible that the mature Mitchell felt no great kinship with the more conservative, upper-class Scott, and may even have begrudged him his great success, we cannot merely write off Mitchell's youthful praise of Scott in his school essays as playing up to the schoolmaster.

While it is impossible to know for sure how much of Mitchell's avowed appreciation for Scott was real, it does seem that he read and absorbed quite a few of Scott's works. His brother John Mitchell swore that "he remembered everything he read or heard. He had a wonderful memory" (Munro, "Places" 5) and his school master recalls that "even in his earliest essays he was searching for colourful phrases" (11). We see Mitchell's memory of Scott's works combined with his own experiments in style in his writing exercises for school. In some of his creative writing exercises, Mitchell adopts phrasing and images that seem to come straight out of Scott. In one exercise "A Day in the Shop," young Mitchell writes "the young lady had left, giving vent to small screams of disgust, peculiar to her sex" ("School Notebook," d. 25 Dec.13). The use of a

singular incident and character to illustrate a trait or habit of an entire gender, with vaguely misogynistic implications, is not a frequent occurrence in Mitchell's writing, whether in youth or maturity. Such a line sticks out as an oddity. In Scott's writing, however, this technique and the label of "her sex" to distinguish and Other the female population are common enough. In another exercise, Mitchell seems to be imitating a famous scene from *The Antiquary.* The exercise "A Haunted House" begins with the statement "the Ghost of Glenae was, (according to the tradition), a Cavalier who had been slain by the Roundheads" (d. 24 March 14). Mitchell then goes on to describe a stay in the supposedly haunted "Blue Room" where his narrator receives a fright that may or may not be born of his own imagination. Mitchell's "Blue Room" is like the "Green Room" at Monkbarns where the missing heir to Glenallen (a name very similar to Glenae) has a vision or dream of a ghost that may or may not have been evoked by his own anticipation. It seems certain that Mitchell read enough of Scott to have been able to mimic his style and content to some degree at a young age. It is perhaps in this early reading that Michell subconsciously absorbed Scott's use of Feminine modes to produce narratives of Scotland that challenge the implicit and explicit prejudice of English imperialism.

In many ways, James Leslie Mitchell and Walter Scott could not have been more different. Scott was descended from important families on both his maternal and paternal side. His mother, Anne Rutherford, was the daughter of a famous, highly-educated physician. Through her, Scott claimed the right to be buried in Dryburgh Abbey as the representative of the Haliburtons. His father, from the junior branch of a prominent Borders clan, was a successful solicitor, becoming a senior partner in his firm and rising to the position of Writer of the Signet. Both families were significant enough, with holdings and entitlements, that the marriage contract

between Scott's parents ran to eleven pages (Rogers xlvi). Mitchell, on the other hand, came from a long line of tenant farmers and crofters. His mother brought two (illegitimate) sons to her marriage, and his father had little but the prospect of a fee and a lease. Raised between different family homes in Edinburgh and the Borders, Scott received a private education and graduated college and university. Mitchell moved homes only because his father could not keep the lease in Auchterless. He quit school after his first year at Mearns Academy and went off to be a cub reporter in Aberdeen at the age of sixteen. Scott glorified military escapades, but lameness prevented him from pursuing a military career, while Mitchell detested much of what the military stood for but enlisted in order to escape poverty. Scott cultivated aristocratic connections, even organizing the visit of King George IV to Scotland. Mitchell joined various communist and anarchists groups, and he treasured most the humble friendship of his old schoolmaster. Scott used his literary success to finance the building and decorating of his own baronial castle. Mitchell struggled to earn enough to support himself and his family: so much so that after his death, the PEN Literary society gifted a collection of £200 to his wife for the care of his children (from the unpublished archives of Rhea Martin, gifted to the Grassic Gibbon Centre in care of Isabella Williamson). Yet despite their many significant differences in their backgrounds and values, both Scott and Mitchell use similar approaches to assert Scotland's worth and value as a powerful Other in the British union. Both writers invest Feminine modes of experience with subversive, resisting momentum in order to challenge the paternalistic wisdom of imperial assimilation.

Scott and Mitchell understood and empathized with the degraded, marginalized experiences of those outside of power, even when they themselves experienced privilege. For Scott, the Other in Scotland were those men and women who had been left behind by modernity:

those vestiges of feudal and Jacobite ages, both high and low, who had once depended on and been supported by older customs like patronage and noblesse oblige. For Mitchell, the Other in Scotland was the tenement slum dweller and the impoverished farmer who suffered unimaginable horrors as a consequence of the greed and ambitions of the wealthy and powerful. For both, the disempowered Other represented Scotland's position within the Union: Scotland was the junior partner, the object to be improved and assimilated according to patriarchal imperialist values. Consequently, both authors emphasize and celebrate undervalued, depreciated aspects of Scotland's identity and culture as a means of shifting Scotland into a more equal and balanced position within the Union. That both authors chose to highlight Feminine aspects and modes, those things which make Scotland different to England, rather than asserting Scotland's masculine similarities, may be due to strong female presences in their writing lives.

As is often the case, very little scholarship has been devoted to the wives of these male authors despite the fact that both Charlotte and Rebecca seem to have been absolutely integral to the writing practices and publication of Scott and Mitchell. Assessing Charlotte's contribution to Scott's work is made difficult by the fact that very few of her personal artifacts have been discovered in the archives at Abbotsford. The notes of one of Charlotte's few researchers, Elizabeth Dexter, can be found in the Special Collections at Edinburgh University; Dexter was not able to find a publisher for her work in the mid-20th century. The 2018 conference papers given by Kirsty Archer Thompson, Collections Manager at Abbotsford, and Diedre Shepherd indicate the possibility of growing interest. From Dexter's notes, it becomes clear that she felt that Charlotte deserves some significant credit for Scott's professional success. She notes that Scott "talked over everything with her and looked to her for counsel and cheer" (Dexter 1). She also argues that without Charlotte's domestic management, "even his brilliance would have

shone less bright!" (3). Dexter takes pains to paint Scott and Charlotte's relationship as exceptionally romantic, but she also notes Charlotte's work as Scott's scribe and her role in his adventures and travels. Ultimately, she emphasizes Scott's own attestations to the value and input of his wife: The day after Charlotte's death, he writes "I wonder how I shall do without the large portion of thoughts which were hers for thirty years . . . I am deprived of the sharer of my thoughts and counsels" (qtd. in Dexter, 82). Though Charlotte, as a foreigner, would not have been the great source of native lore like some of Scott's other female acquaintances, she seems indeed to have provided a Feminine space: a creative, generative private environment in which Scott and Scott's works could develop.

Rebecca (Ray/Rhea) Mitchell's presence in Mitchell's works is obvious, though most scholars have so far failed to attach much importance to it. When Mitchell wearied of rejections, it was she who sent his story "Ten Men of Sodom" to H.G. Wells, resulting in Mitchell's recommitment to pursuing publication. Rebecca was involved in all of his projects, from keeping manuscripts out of the fire to sending away stories for publication. Important aspects of her life, like her father Rob Middleton (Long Rob of the Mill) and her nearly fatal miscarriage in 1926, appear throughout Mitchell's works under a thin veil of fiction. His empathy and support for women seem as much a part of his marriage as they do his fiction. When they married, Rebecca had to quit her career in Civil Service, a job she seemed to love and where she had cultivated friends like Jean Baxter (to whom *Sunset Song* is dedicated). In a letter written during their engagement, Mitchell laments the fact that women must give up their jobs upon marriage and states that the "ideal arrangement" would be "where both keep to their work as far as possible" (d. 27 March 1922). In another letter during their engagement, Mitchell responds to Rebecca's worry about whether his love would cease if she bore him no children: "I can reply

unhesitatingly. No. It is You I love, you that I would marry, for the sake of your dear companionship through life, not to mother my children" (16 Jan. 1921). Mitchell suggests here that he values Rebecca for her own identity, one utterly independent of the conventional female roles of mother and domestic help meet. The strong value attached to a woman's identity, separate from and even flouting conventions, can be seen in his creation of complex and individual female protagonists.

As their unpublished correspondence demonstrates, Mitchell viewed his wife as an equal and an important entity in her own right. Most importantly, perhaps, Rebecca allowed Mitchell to fully embrace the more feminine aspects of his personality and voice. Though neighbors as children, it was not until they met again years later in London that the two young adults began to relate in any significant way. For Ian Munro's radio program, Ray recalled that she disliked Leslie from the first moment she saw him and much preferred his two older brothers (Munro *Places,* 7-8). But after that meeting in London, the two "had wonderful times together" and were married in 1925 and "the wonderful times continued" (19). In their letters to one another, we see Mitchell employ an excessive sentimentality and exuberant romanticism that might normally appear overtly feminine. In a 1921 letter, he calls Rebecca his "dearest dream-girl" and "heart of mine," describing her as "not mere poetic fancy, but a real, warm, tender, and exquisitely desirable woman – my predestined mate" (16 Jan. 1921). In this letter, he voices his awareness of the characteristics of Feminine writing. He confesses to her, "I love your straight-forward clean cut style. You do not beat about the bush . . . We seem to have reversed the usual order of things, you and I. With us, it is the man who is sloppily discursive; the woman keen and decisive–at least in letter writing!" (16 Jan 1921). This early awareness of his feminine tendencies leads to increased identification with the Feminine. In a letter to Helen Cruikshank,

Mitchell writes that he shall meet her guests on the condition that she will "guard [his]shy girlishness" (30 July 1934). After the gathering, Cruikshank recalls that after her guests left, Mitchell naturally began the domestic duties of cleaning up and washing the dishes, leading her to conclude that he must be a good husband (Cruikshank 137). It would seem, then, that Mitchell was very comfortable with "women's work" and implies that the Mitchell household saw a more equal division of labor than many at that period.

Mitchell's remarkable identification with the feminine, in both attitude and style, leads to a particular femininity in the authoring of his works. Leslie's flourishing, discursive, emotional writing actually convinced many of his readers that Lewis Grassic Gibbon was the penname of a female author. In his introduction of *A Scot's Quair*, Tom Crawford states, "In this novel Gibbon has created the most convincing female character in Scottish fiction, and so sympathetically, so inwardly, that many of the original readers wondered whether 'Lewis Grassic Gibbon' might be the nom-de-plume of a woman author" (9). Reviewer J.F.G for the *Aberdeen Bon Accord and Northern Chronicle* writes "Lewis Grassic Gibbon has produced a very notable first novel. Whether the author is a he or a she is a matter of doubt in the mind of the present writer. It is evident, however, that Lewis Grassic Gibbon – we miss the final 'k' in Grassick – is an aboriginal Scot" (9 September 1932). In 1933, a reviewer for *Newsweek* praised the lyrical phrasing of *Sunset Song* and suggested that there continued to be doubt over the author's sex, writing "its author, who has written other and dissimilar books published in this country, prefers not to reveal his (or her) identity with this one, and its title-page bears only a pseudonym" ("Scottish").

From the inherent femininity of Scotland's position with the Union, to the endurance of ancient Feminine ideas in the cultural practices and beliefs of Scotland's native populations, to the strong influence of female relations in their lives, Walter Scott and James Leslie Mitchell were surrounded by Feminine energies. By using inherently Feminine aspects of Scottish culture and knowledge, both authors promote a narrative of Scotland that benefits from its essential difference, essential Otherness, to the Anglo-Imperialist vision of a dominating, masculine nation. By paying attention to the modes and styles beneath the more traditional, shallow surface of texts written and published for a general (non-revolutionary) reading public, it becomes possible to reclaim classic works of literature for more diverse and more inclusive value systems. Writing predominantly about wealthy white males, Scott's place in literary studies may become less and less secure if we cannot find ways to read the text against the dominant, traditional surface movement. If we can find support for the Other, for marginalized populations, through the actions in the text rather than the explicit judgment of the narrator, we may indeed be able to discover more radical, more inclusive themes within Scott's increasingly conservative body of work. Even Mitchell, despite being a radical and a proto-feminist, may not survive future progressive inquiry if we fail to appreciate the multiple ways his texts undercut more explicit, surface-level representations. As our understandings of gender and cultures continue to evolve, we may develop more inclusive, more complex language to explore tensions within works, making my use of Feminine and Masculine as binaries obsolete. Even so, I would hope that any sincere engagement with my work and with the works of Scott and Mitchell would look for what they may continue to offer, even when their language and most explicitly-stated ideas become stale and outmoded. Through new re-workings, new interpretations and new manipulations of

texts, we can participate in the ceaseless change, the eternal renewing of Feminine Time that ensures nothing can ever be so far past that it is irretrievable.

NOTES

1. Mitchell uses the pen name Lewis Grassic Gibbon for works that use his synthetic Scots: a vocabulary and cadence that suggest the spoken Scots language of his native Aberdeenshire. For works written in English, though sometimes set in Scotland, I use J. Leslie Mitchell. A few works such as *Niger: The Life of Mungo Park* (1934) and *Nine Against the Unknown: A Record of Geographical Exploration* (1934) and various articles do not follow this schema. When in question, I refer to Mitchell/Gibbon by the name published on the material in discussion. Biographical references will be to Mitchell unless they appear in the context of cited material.

2. For more diffusionism see the works of Perry, William J., *The Children of the Sun: a Study in the Early History of Civilization* (1923), *The Origin of Magic and Religion* (1923), and *The Growth of Civlization* (1924); and the works of Smith, Grafton Elliot, with whom Mitchell had a lively correspondence (found in the National Library of Scotland) and who wrote the Forward to Mitchell's *Conquest of the Maya* (1934): especially *The Ancient Egyptians and the Origin of Civilization* (1911), *The Migrations of Early Culture* (1915), *In the Beginning: The Origin of Civilization (1928), The Diffusion of Culture* (1933).

3.See Black, *The Age of Romanticism*, pp XXXVI-LXIV for a full discussion of the complex and multi-faceted genre known as Romanticism.

4. See her introduction to *Sunset Song,* Canongate Books, 2020. Also "Nicola Sturgeon*"* on BBC Arts.

5. For a more detailed case of femininity in Scotland during the Enlightenment period, see Glover, "The Female Mind." For broader accounts of femininity in Britain during the Enlightenment period, see DeLucia, "*A Feminine Enlightenment,"* especially pp. 19-49 and 153-186.

6. Feminist interpretations of these texts include Carvalho, "Woman Has Two Faces"; Chance, "The Structural Unity of Beowulf"; Story, "Simone De Beauvoir and "Antigone"; Rowley, "Textual Studies"; Saul, "Malory's Morgan le Fay".

7. See Blackledge, *The Story of V* for an extensive study of the history and biology female genitalia from a feminist perspective.

8. For a summary of the case and the scientific findings, see Hedenstierna-Jonson, "A Female Viking."

9. See Fletcher, "*The Barbarian Conversion"* and Salzman "*On Roman Time"*.

10. For feminist readings of the Adam and Eve story see Lanser, "(Feminist) Criticism" and Milne, "Eve & Adam."

11. See Phillipson, *Linguistic Imperialism*; Phillipson, *Linguistic Imperialism Continued*; and Graddol, *English Next*.

12. Arguments over government spending on Gaelic and Scots are too numerous, even within the last two years, to document. Recently, local councilors, including George Carr of the Mearns, have expressed extreme derision at the government's project to place Gaelic on road signs. See Meighan, "Anger" and Wee Ginger Dug, "The REAL Scottish Politics" for more examples.

13. For a more detailed account of early Roman inroads in the North area of Britain see Fraser, "*From Caledonia.*"

14. For more on the ancient makeup of the peoples of Scotland see Forster, "*Picts, Gaels*."

15. For more on the Stone of Destiny and St. Margaret's Rood see Breeze, *The Stone of Destiny* and Grigg, "The Black Rood of Scotland*.*"

16. See "History," St. Giles' Cathedral.

17. See Howse, *Greenwich Time.*

18. Ancient mounds and earthen graves can be found throughout the British Isles. They appear in Mitchell's works as "the Mounds" in Pewsey in *Gay Hunter*. See also Henshall, *Chambered Tombs*.

19. See Ferris, *Achievement,* pp. 70-104.

20. All of Scott's letters referenced in this work can be found in Scott, *Letters of Walter Scott,* edited by Grierson*.*

21. For more examples, see Burgess, "Nation, Book, Medium" and McLane, *Balladeering*.

22. See especially VII of *Poetics*: *"*A beginning is that which does not itself follow anything by causal necessity, but after which something naturally is or comes to be. An end, on the contrary, is that which itself naturally follows some other thing, either by necessity, or as a rule, but has nothing following it" (31).

23. Other important threes in the book include the Holy Trinity of Christianity, Chris' three husbands, the three significant characters who die in WWI, the family unit of three in *Cloud Howe*, the three *queans* in the stained glass at the Kirk, the three stories of the Blawearie house with its three birch trees, the three ministers that try for the pulpit in Kinraddie, £300 that Chris inherits, the new family unit of Ellen, Chris and Ewan, and so on.

24. Real-life Echt and the real Kinraddie (Arbuthnott) have similar sized populations, and at Mitchell's time, had similar facilities. Echt, however, does boast a couple of stone circles like those portrayed in the Kinraddie of *Sunset Song*, while Arbuthnott seems to only have single standing stones or cairns according to the 1928 ordnance survey.

25. Malcolm states that *Grey Granite* presents a "steadily hardening mineralogical sequence" (*Blasphemer* 135). However, Epidote (Chapter I) and Zircon (Chapter IV) share a hardness of 6-7 typically, while Apatite (Chapter II) and Titanite (Chapter III) usually rate between a 5 and 5.5 on the Mohs hardness scale.

26. Finella remains an important figure in the Mearns; her story is the subject of place names, modern art pieces, local story-telling events, and more. The extant historical accounts of Finella include *The Chronica Gentis Scotorum* or *Chronicles of the Scottish People (~1385)* by John of Fordun (Fordoun), *The Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland* (~1420) by Andrew of Wyntoun,

Historia Gentis Scotorum or History of the Scottish People by Hector Boece (1527), *Hollinshed's Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland* (1577).

27. See "Aberdeen, Windmill Brae."

28. It is important to note that while even now in northeast Scotland the working farmer is traditionally male, both the first and third novels of the trilogy present an active female farmer, both through necessity (when the whole family is required to help) and through desire. However, in Grassic Gibbon's works, the sexes seem to differ in their working relationship with the land, with the men battling against nature and the elements and the women existing in closer harmony. See "Clay" and "Greenden" in *Scottish Scene* for more examples of Grassic Gibbon's gendered differences in approaches to land and agriculture.

29. In his short story "Clay", a very similar figure named Rob Gault fights with the land in just the same way, attempting to clear a bog and force the land into subjugation. In his own life, Mitchell saw his father fight with the poor land at Bloomfield to increase the crop yield. Though some women farm in Mitchell's works, the financial burden and the ambition to tame the land seems to fall squarely upon the male. Female characters like Chris Guthrie, Domina Riddoch, and Gay Hunter, and feminized "Golden Age" populations like the hunters of *Gay Hunter,* the early homo sapiens in *Three Go Back,* and the manglemosians that form the earliest Scots in "The Antique Scene" have a far more harmonious relationship with the land and nature. Ultimately, Mitchell positions those who respect the cyclical or spiral-like time of nature against those who would effect or create history, a Feminine and a masculine approach to their existence in the universe.

30. For more on linguistic imperialism see also Skutnabb-Kangas, *Linguistic Human Rights,* and Calvet, "*Linguistique et colonialisme."*

31. See "Upspeak" or "High Rising Terminal" in Lakoff "*Language and Woman's Place",* pp 49-50.

32. See Orzulak, "Disinviting Deficit Ideologies" for the issues surrounding language variation and the teaching of a standardized English.

33. See Smith, "An Outline History," especially chapter 4 "Anglicization".

34. See "Timeline" Scots Language Centre online.

35. For a complete history of Gaelic in Scotland see Withers, "*Gaelic in Scotland".*

36. See the geolocating project "Witches" hosted by the University of Edinburgh at https://witches.is.ed.ac.uk/ for data on witch trials throughout Scotland.

37. For a discussion of Inverbervie, and its mills, see Malcolm, *Lewis Grassic Gibbon,* pages 94-96.

38. In *Sunset Song* alone, "you" or "your" appears outside of dialogue nearly 450 times.

39. See Reagan, *NonWestern*, especially 63-70 and 104-107.

40. For detailed analysis of the burgeoning gendering of orality, and the use of the "lowly woman narrator" (XXI) to authorize male writing, see Lamb, "*Oral Traditions.*

41. For a concise history of British ballad culture see: McDowell, "'The manufacture and Lingua-facture".

42. See Orr, "Public and Private;" McAleavey, "Behind the Victorian Novel;" Ferris, "*The Achievement;"* Phillipson, "Scott as Story-Teller;" Tredennick, "'A Labor of Death."

43. This meeting occurred in the graveyard of Dunnottar Church yard where Patterson was working on the Covenanter's stone. Though Scott writes in the introduction that "Old Mortality chanced to be at the same place… for the Castle of Dunnottar… was, with the parish churchyard, celebrated for the oppressions [of the Cameronians]" (xxxviiii), the kirk with its monument is actually nearly two miles distant from the castle and the Whig's vault. The implied geographical compression in favor of a clearer narrative link between historical landmark and monument is repeated in Lewis Grassic Gibbon's *Sunset Song* when the author reproduces the inscription of the monument within Chris' reaction to standing in the Whig's Vault.

44. See the introductory epistle in *The Fortunes of Nigel*: the Author claims "I have repeatedly laid down my future work to scale… But I think there is a daemon who seats himself on the feather of my pen when I begin to write and leads it astray from the purposes" (10).

45. See pages 43-47 of Lincoln, *Walter Scott and Modernity*.

50. See Canto VI, stanzas VI-IX.

51. See Adams, "The Force Of My Narrative", especially pp. 937-40.

52. See Yahav-Brown, "Gypsies."

53. See Bragg, "Scott's Elementals."

54. See his Letter to rhea… 1923?

55. "Good man" should be read as her husband, not necessarily a term of endearment or expression of character (OED).

56. “For Ten’s Sake” is the retelling of the destruction of Sodom. In this story, Mitchell challenges the idea of wickedness in the first place, finding so-called righteousness in the very worst dens of a city of vice. “For Ten’s Sake” appears to challenge the traditional interpretation of this story as evidence of God’s mercy. In fact, the climax of the story seems to pit the mercy of Christ against the wrath of an Old Testament God, and ultimately rejects God’s “righteousness” for a more radical humanism.

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Fig. 1, Study. Emma Miller, 2014.

Fig. 2, Foyer. Emma Miller, 2014.

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