

CULLODEN: A PRE-EMPTIVE STRIKE

Colin McArthur

Grief locks the English heart but it opens the Scottish. The Celt has a genius for the glorification of sorrow.

H V Morton, *In Search of Scotland*

Not far from London Bridge you will find a towering ... column, which is simply known as 'The Monument'. It was designed as a memorial of the Great Fire (1666) ... What should we think of a Londoner who shed tears before the Monument that commemorates the reduction of his beloved metropolis to ashes although it has long since risen again in far greater brilliance? ... Yet every single hysteric and neurotic behaves like (this) unpractical Londoner. Not only do they remember painful experiences of the remote past, but they still cling to them emotionally, they cannot get free of the past and for its sake they neglect what is real and immediate.

Sigmund Freud, *Five Lectures on Psychoanalysis*

In a previous issue of **Scottish Affairs**, in the course of engaging with David McCrone's **Understanding Scotland: the Sociology of a Stateless Nation** (McCrone 1992), I identified a peculiar feature of those acts of discourse production (novels, plays, films, television programmes, paintings, history books, etc) which set out to tell stories about Scotland. (Whether the teller is Scots or not is irrelevant). I called this feature 'the Scottish discursive unconscious' (McArthur 1993) and suggested that it operated akin to automatic piloting. That is, when telling about Scotland narrators tend not so much to invent stories (or in the case of non-fiction lay out the facts) as to succumb to powerful and historically deep-seated pre-existing narratives

Colin McArthur has written extensively on Hollywood cinema, British television and Scottish culture. He is an Honorary Professor of Queen Margaret College, Edinburgh, and Visiting Professor at Glasgow Caledonian University.

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which shape the tone and substance of their work. The example I dealt with in depth was the discourse dealing with the Gaidhealteachd of the past and its tendency to fall into the elegiac mode, exemplified most recently by the account in the Scottish press of the tercentenary commemorations of the Massacre of Glencoe in January 1992.

In passing, I indicated that the same elegiac mode is characteristic of accounts of the '45 and, in particular, of the Battle of Culloden. What I might have added was that we are likely to be in for a deluge of tearful, breast-beating elegiacism from the commemorations of these events on their two hundred and fiftieth anniversary in 1995/6. This essay (and the 100 collages - some of them reproduced here - which accompany it) is, as the title suggests, in the way of a pre-emptive strike, an attempt to introduce an ideological swerve into the expected elegiacism. The strategy is to re-historicize the '45 and Culloden and, particularly in the case of the collages, to reinscribe the key events and personnel, and their memorialization, into discourses other than the dominant elegiac one. Sometimes these alternative discourses are historically challenging, sometimes flamboyantly absurd (and even offensive), but always they assert the inescapable fact that there is no 'natural', essentialist way of describing the events and people of 1745/6; there are only diverse 'fictions' which might be constructed around them. In asserting the fictiveness of every discursive practice I am not, needless to say, casting doubt on the professional practice of historians, sociologists, journalists or the makers of television documentaries. Within the necessarily constructed nature of all their artefacts there is still the crucial difference between lying and telling the truth. There is, however, an increasing recognition, both within academia and without, of the ideological nature of professional protocols. What is happening is nothing less than the rapid convergence of paradigms, in the humanities and beyond, round the question of *textuality*. Notable examples include, in the field of historiography, White (1973); in social psychology, Shotter and Gergen (1989); and in ethnography, Atkinson (1990).

Memorials are potential sites of trouble, especially in times of violent revolution or counter-revolution, or even when the memorials allude to such times. Quite recently, a memorial set up in a Renfrewshire field to commemorate the landing there in 1941 of Deputy Führer Rudolf Hess (Laing 1993, Macgee 1993) was smashed by militant anti-fascists, and a moment's reflection brings to mind a surge of similar incidents going back at least as far as 1789. There was extensive vandalizing of the memorial statuary of the *ancien regime* at this time (Hermant 1978) and a notable event of the Paris Commune of 1870 was the toppling of the Vendôme Column

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(Ross 1988) which commemorated the achievements of Napoleon Bonaparte. Within the time frame of the moving image, several moments are imprinted on the mind: the desecration of churches in St Petersburg/Leningrad in 1917 and in Barcelona in 1936; the dynamiting of swastika-laden facades on German buildings in 1945; the pounding with sledgehammers of unplinthed statues in Budapest in 1956; statues of the Shah hauled from their plinths by horses in revolutionary Iran; and most recently television pictures of numerous statues of Lenin being smashed, toppled or hoisted from their accustomed places in the heartlands and peripheries of the Soviet imperium. One celebrated set of pictures from Bucharest showed a priest of the Orthodox Church apparently exorcising the ghost of Lenin as his shackled statue was hoisted by crane from its plinth (Lewis 1991). There is apparently talk in Spain of doing away with Franco's notorious Valley of the Fallen, its massive monument built by the slave labour of those vanquished in the Spanish Civil War. But perhaps the most interesting, and certainly the best documented (e.g. Hess 1983) example of the memorial as site of trouble is the Vietnam Memorial in Washington DC, the clearest example of argument about politics and ideology masquerading as argument about aesthetics.

The plan for a single memorial to the fallen in Vietnam was set in train by an open competition in which artists were invited to submit designs anonymously. In May 1981 the judges, specialists in the field of architecture and design, announced their unanimous decision to award the \$20,000 prize to a design which turned out to have been submitted by a 21 year-old Chinese-American woman, Maya Lin. When the nature of the design - an austere, V-shaped wall in polished black granite bearing the names of the fallen - became public, a group of influential men, some of them Vietnam veterans, and orchestrated it is said by Ross Perot, mounted a campaign of abuse against the Lin project. Among their criticisms were that the monument was black and not white, that it skulked along the ground and did not soar to the heavens, and that it listed the fallen by the dates of their deaths and not alphabetically. This apparently aesthetic discourse became openly political from time to time, as when Lin's design was denounced as 'a memorial to the war at home rather than to the one in Southeast Asia' and 'a tribute to Jane Fonda' (Hess op.cit.). The official response to the furore was to settle on a compromise. Another memorial was commissioned from a figurative sculptor, Frederick Hart, this time a traditional rendering of three larger than life G.I.s, one of them black, in battle dress and bearing arms with, alongside the sculpture, a fifty-foot flagpole bearing the US flag. The two memorials now co-exist within sight of each other, each asserting a different way of commemorating the fallen. As Elizabeth Hess has written, 'If Lin's memorial is a tribute to Fonda, then Hart's is a tribute to John Wayne' (Hess op cit).

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What is remarkable when one reads the detail of the argument is the extent to which all the flash points of politics are in play: gender, race, class, religion (in a very general sense) and national identity. Several of them come together in the proposal made at one point by the anti-Lin faction that the Hart memorial should be set astride the V of the Lin memorial.

Given the potential for trouble round memorials, it is interesting to speculate why the Culloden memorial has moved so apparently placidly through history. The last time there was a major commemoration of Culloden was on the two-hundredth anniversary of the battle in 1946. A local newspaper's account (**Inverness Courier** 1946) of the ceremony, organized by the Gaelic Society of Inverness and held at the base of the memorial cairn, speaks of up to five hundred people attending the event, and details the procedures of wreath-laying, lament-playing and poetry-reading which constituted the commemoration. The account offers extensive summaries of the various addresses delivered or attached to wreaths, of which the following are representative:

Rear Admiral Lachlan D Mackintosh CB, DSO, DSC, placed on the Cairn the Elizabeth Stewart wreath which bore the inscription in Gaelic - 'Although 200 years have gone the memory of the heroes lives' ...

Mr Malcolm Macinnes, honorary piper of the Gaelic Society, played the old Gaelic psalm tune 'Torwood' and at intervals during the proceedings 'The Lament for the Children', the lullaby 'The Isles are in Sorrow', 'Lochaber No More' and 'MacCrimmon's Lament' ...

After the Reverend Dr John Macpherson, Daviot, had offered up a prayer in Gaelic, he invited Captain Shaw to speak, remarking that it was appropriate that a Shaw should take the leading part in the ceremony, since the Shaws were an important sept of the great Clan Chattan and one of the oldest clans in the highlands ... 'Today,' said Captain Shaw, 'our thoughts turn to those who fought and fell on Drumossie Moor, and whose graves are around. We are here today to honour them. Their memory shall never fade. They march in a deathless army ...'

'This ground,' said Dr Galbraith, 'has passed into the care of the nation. I speak for the Gaelic Society and for all Highlanders when I say we look upon this battlefield as a sacred burial place ...'

Apart from the involvement of the aristocracy, the church and the military in the proceedings, the most striking feature of the commemoration and the

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account given of it is the assumption of meaningful continuity between those who fell at Culloden and those present at the 1946 ceremony, and the implication that the process of commemoration stretches back over the intervening two centuries. What is all but repressed in the events of 1946 and their description is that the constituting of the Culloden memorial is relatively recent. The existing cairn was erected only in 1881, although it incorporates an inscribed stone executed in 1858 and meant for a cairn which was never built. The headstones allegedly marking the graves of the various clans were similarly erected in 1881 and the site (or, more accurately, elements of it) was designated an ancient monument as late as 1925, the year the Gaelic Society of Inverness raised money for the maintenance of the memorials and instituted the commemoration ceremony. It was only in 1944 that the cairn and the burial ground around it passed from private hands into the keeping of the National Trust for Scotland (Taylor 1965). The process whereby Culloden Moor became constituted as a memorial is a classic case of what has been called 'the invention of tradition' (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983). The process, closely intertwined with the phenomenon of nationalism, was particularly virulent in the period 1880 to 1920 but is still active today. Michael Ignatieff, in his television series and book on modern nationalism (Ignatieff 1993), witnessed in the new republic of Croatia a presidential guard in traditional Croatian costume carrying out intricate drill movements. Ignatieff revealed that both costumes and movements had been devised recently by a Croatian choreographer.

Although 'the invention of tradition' is still potent and may have been most intense in the four decades spanning the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries, its origins are historically much more far-reaching. It would have been inconceivable without that sense of the past created by the accelerating pace of material change in the post-Renaissance world (Lowe 1982, Harvey 1989), a 'time/space compression' within which the very discipline of historiography was fashioned (Stromberg 1990). Evolving perceptions of Culloden, culminating in its constitution as 'a sacred burial place', within these wider historical processes, can be tracked along several axes. Consider the difference between the following two travellers' accounts of Culloden Moor with only sixty years between them:

August 16. Passed over Culloden Moor, the place that North Britain owes its present prosperity to, by the victory of April 16, 1746 (Pennant 1771, p. 144)

The moor is as grim and shelterless a waste as vengeance could desire for an enemy's grave ... It is impossible to contemplate unmoved those

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verdant spots, which, contrasting with the dun hue of the heather, distinctly indicate the shallow graves of the slain ... The snows of upwards of seventy winters have, since the hurried entombment of the gallant dead, fallen and melted upon Culloden (Botfield 1830, pp. 174-5)

If the difference between the two could be summed up in one word, that word would be Romanticism. It is the dreamy and brooding Botfield, rather than the matter-of-fact Pennant, who displays the structure of feeling - laboriously and unevenly constructed over the period 1770 to 1830 and intimately related to the wider historical processes referred to above - which would project onto Culloden Moor the viewer's feelings about what had occurred there and which would regard the construction of a Culloden memorial as an appropriate gesture. But that structure of feeling, Romanticism, was struggling into birth in areas other than travel writing (Hook 1987). Within this process, Scotland - principally through the writings of 'Ossian' Macpherson and Sir Walter Scott - came to fulfil a special role as the Romantic dream landscape par excellence, a factor perhaps not unconnected with the way succeeding generations, not least of Scots, would come to view Culloden (Chapman 1978, Leneman 1988, Pittock 1991, Withers 1992).

Throughout the nineteenth century, in an ideological manoeuvre which would be much repeated, Culloden became transmuted from being a direct threat to the Hanoverian dynasty to being, in some sense, part of their lineage. This process was at work as early as 1822. John Prebble, describing an earlier example of 'the invention of tradition', the pageantry devised by Sir Walter Scott to mark the visit of George IV to Edinburgh in that year, writes:

Much of the pageant to be devised by Scott would be what his occasionally irreverent son-in-law called 'Sir Walter's Celtification of Scotland'. There was the echo of an old song, an unconscious or deliberate recall of a far-away autumn when the night-fires of the clans were lit on Arthur's Seat, the wynds of the Royal Mile echoed to the wild pibroch of Lochiel's Gathering. and a young Prince in lace and tartan danced through the candlelight at Holyroodhouse. Some of the execrable doggerel Scott wrote for the occasion was based upon the presumption that a Jacobite King was at last enjoying his own again. He clearly wished to believe that the spiritual nature of a Stuart and therefore a Scottish monarchy, purified by exile and the blood of Culloden, had been made manifest in the fat form of the landlord of Brighton Pavilion. Since George IV was as much a Stuart as the Young Pretender had been, the suggestion was perhaps not as preposterous as it might appear. Certainly

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it is not a claim that the King himself would have strenuously resisted.
(Prebble 1988, p. 18)

Prebble's history-writing, the verbal equivalent of Victorian history-painting, as much incantation as explication, executes its own ideological manoeuvre by succumbing to the discourse it here anatomises (McArthur 1993).

Like her kinsman George IV, Queen Victoria was more than willing to mask the contradictions between the eighteenth century Stuart conception of monarchy and that of her own house. This was part of Victoria's wider 'symbolic appropriation' of the highlands (Chapman 1978, Pringle 1988).

Forgetting that the Stuarts represented quasi-feudal, Catholic absolutism is even today quite common in Scotland. Victoria, travelling in the highlands in 1873, on several occasions records the ideological conflation of Stuart and Hanover in her journal:

It was as General Ponsonby observed afterwards, a striking scene. 'There was Lochiel,' as he said, 'whose great-grand-uncle had been the real moving cause of the rising of 1745 - for without him Prince Charles would not have made the attempt - showing your Majesty (whose great-great-grandfather he had striven to dethrone) the scenes made historical by Prince Charles' wanderings. It was a scene one could not look on unmoved.' Yes, and I feel a sort of reverence in going over these scenes in this most beautiful country, which I am proud to call my own, where there was such devoted loyalty to the family of my ancestors - for Stuart blood is in my veins, and I am now their representative, and the people are as devoted and loyal to me as they were to that unhappy race (Queen Victoria 1868 and 1884, p. 172)

and, witnessing Glenfinnan, where the Stuart standard was raised in 1745:

I thought I never saw a lovelier or more romantic spot, or one which told its history so well. What a scene it must have been in 1745! And here was *I*, the descendant of the Stuarts and of the very king whom Prince Charles sought to overthrow, sitting and walking about, quite privately and peaceably (Queen Victoria op.cit., p. 182).

But the ideological conflation of the houses of Stuart and Hanover could be sustained only by repressing from memory distasteful features of the past, not least relating to Culloden. About a year before seeing Glenfinnan, Victoria had made another trip:

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Nairn lies very prettily on the shore of the Moray Firth. We passed Culloden, and the moor where that bloody battle, the recollection which I cannot bear, was fought. The heather beautiful everywhere and now the scenery became very fine (Queen Victoria op.cit. p. 149)

Clearly, then, the structure of feeling about Culloden was shifting throughout the nineteenth century to the point, in 1881, when it would be generally deemed appropriate to raise a memorial cairn. However, the unevenness of the process is striking. One might posit with confidence the idea that Sir Walter Scott, in 1822, was psychologically ready for the act of formally memorializing Culloden, but this was far from being shared by his fellow-Scots of the time. Indeed, Culloden is marked by its discursive invisibility in pre-1850 Scotland. The cumulative index of the **Inverness Courier** (the **Inverness Journal** until 1817) carries only one entry under 'Culloden' over this period, referring to a brief item in 1816 about a 99 year-old local man who had participated in the battle. As would be consistent with the changing structure of feeling, there are four entries under 'Culloden' in the period 1825 to 1841. It is not, however, until 1846, the centenary of the battle, that it could be said that local attention became firmly fixed on Culloden. There is an extensive description of the events surrounding the centenary, but what strikes the modern reader is the carnivalesque mood of the proceedings rather than, as has come to be expected in more modern times, the elegiac:

The air was clear and bracing, the sun bright, and the whole country breathing of spring. The pleasantness of the season, joined to the interesting associations connected with the day, drew vast crowds of persons to the field of Culloden. Most of the teachers in town indulged their pupils with a holiday, and groups of the little wanderers might be seen in all directions spreading over the moor, or sitting by the graves of the slain, listening to tales of the battle and the positions of the rival armies as detailed by the peasantry. Others, more advanced in years, were intent on hunting rabbits: while girls were seen decorating themselves with tufts of heather and aged men and women related the exploits of their fathers or grandfathers, not a few of whom had fought and bled at Culloden. Parties in carriages, gigs and carts were frequently arriving; and altogether these could scarcely be less, in the middle of the day, than three thousand persons on the moor. The scene was highly animated and striking, presenting a vivid contrast to the usual quietude of that large, sombre tableland, the solitary scene of battle ... (**Inverness Courier**, 1846)

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John Bodnar, in his study of public memory formation in the United States, stresses the dialectical nature of the process and traces the never-ending negotiation between what he calls the 'official' and the 'vernacular' modes of public memorialization:

Adherents to official and vernacular interests demonstrate conflicting obsessions. Cultural leaders orchestrate commemorative events to calm anxiety about change or political events, eliminate citizen indifference towards official concerns, promote exemplary patterns of citizen behaviour, and stress citizen duties over rights. They feel the need to do this because of social contradictions, alternative views, and indifference that perpetuate fears of societal dissolution and unregulated political behaviour. Ordinary people, on the other hand, react to the actions of leaders in a variety of ways. At times they accept the official interpretations of reality. Sometimes this can be seen when an individual declares that a son died in defence of his country or an immigrant ancestor emigrated to build a new nation. Individuals also express alternative renditions of reality when they feel a war death was needless or an immigrant ancestor moved simply to support his family. Frequently people put official agendas to unintended uses as they almost always do when they use public ritual time for recreational purposes or patriotic symbols to demand political rights. (Bodnar 1992 p15)

Clearly, the idea of Culloden Moor as 'a sacred burial place' was not uppermost in the minds of the good citizens of Inverness on that bright spring day in 1846. Nevertheless, the unevenness of the evolution of the structure of feeling that would so categorize Culloden meant that the same breezy account of the festivities contained the seeds of the later elegiac discourse and reference to the architectural form in which it would eventually be embodied:

The long-meditated project of erecting some memorial to the dead at Culloden was again revived and some discussion took place as to the nature of the testimonial which would be most appropriate. Mr Maxwell deprecated any Cockney cenotaph or pillar on such a field, and proposed a simple, but massive, cairn as the most touching and the most noble memorial of the nation's admiration and respect. (**Inverness Courier**, 1846)

In an offer which, if it had come to fruition, might have sparked a controversy somewhat akin to that around the Vietnam Memorial, a Mr Patric Park of London proposed sculpting, free of charge except for the materials, a twelve-

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foot high statue of a highlander. A design for such a statue is to be found in the Inverness Museum.

The wave of enthusiasm attending the 're-discovery' of Culloden, so to speak, seemed to sustain itself for a number of years until, in 1849:

the foundation stone of the Culloden monument was laid on the battlefield with masonic honours. Sir Robert Peel had been asked to perform the ceremony, but declined, although he expressed appreciation of the proffered honour and had previously sent a donation of £5 to the funds. There was a procession from Inverness, led by a band of music, and including the six incorporated Trades and masonic deputations. The stone was laid by Mr William Anderson, Right Worshipful Master of St John's Operative Mason Lodge of Forres. The monument ... was intended to be a gigantic cairn with flights of rustic steps leading to the top, It was hoped that tablets and memorials to clans and individuals would occupy places in it; also that a group of statuary would be placed in front.
(**Inverness Courier**, 1849)

The irony of deploying masonic honours in the commemoration of an enterprise designed to restore an absolutist Catholic monarchy to the British throne seems to have been lost on the participants - another example, perhaps, of the ideological manoeuvre discussed above. However, Pittock (1991) suggests that Jacobite iconography incorporated masonic elements.

By 1852 the project had been abandoned for lack of funds. Another cairn was begun in 1858 but it too was abandoned, although not before one Edward Power had carved for it the stone which was to be incorporated into the 1881 cairn and which remains there to this day. The dedication reads:

THE BATTLE OF CULLODEN

was fought on this moor

16 April 1746

THE GRAVES OF THE GALLANT HIGHLANDERS

who fought for

SCOTLAND AND PRINCE CHARLIE

are marked by the names of their clans.

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The assigning of a 'Scottish' motivation to the dead highlanders - the interpretation widely held in the popular mind nowadays - represents both a travesty of the non-nationalist, dynastic, social-systemic issues at stake in the battle and the kind of retrospective appropriating of the highlanders which was to become all too common in the twentieth century (Chapman 1978, Pittock 1991).

Why then should 1881 be the year in which the cairn was finally built? We should not discount the 'invention of tradition' argument about the importance of the period 1880 to 1920 in the production of the physical tokens of actual or aspiring nationhood such as flags, stamps, coinage, statuary, national exhibitions, and so on. But this is not the whole story. As is always the case, there were complex determinations. The accelerating material processes, the space/time compression, which gave rise to a sense of the past and to the discipline of historiography, at the same time threw into relief individual human change and mortality. The period 1820 to 1840 saw the founding of many cemeteries in Europe and America, including Glasgow's Necropolis in 1832 (Curl 1972). This process of personal memorialization was secreted into society as a whole. Many European countries had instituted state systems of monument protection by the middle of the nineteenth century, but it was not until 1869 that the question of a national monuments policy for the UK was mooted in the House of Commons and not until 1873 that a bill was first introduced. Although bitterly contested as a potential drain on the public purse and encroachment on the rights of private property, it nevertheless put the question of collective heritage and public memorialization on the agenda. The bill was eventually ratified by Parliament, in a much constrained form, as the Ancient Monuments Protection Act 1882 and the culmination of this 'mood' was the setting-up of three Royal Commissions on Historical Monuments, including one specifically for Scotland, in 1908. A different, but related process of social sedimentation deposited the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland in 1851, the Royal Scottish Museum in 1854, the National Gallery in 1859, the Scottish National Portrait Gallery in 1889 and the National Library of Scotland in 1925. Part of the mosaic which was to make up the picture, characteristic of the second half of the nineteenth century, within which the relatively new-found veneration for the past was put at the service of national (and, indeed, racial) ends, was the process whereby Saxon was analytically separated from Celt. It was within this ideology that H V Morton penned the rubric which heads this essay. The otherness of the inhabitants of the Gaidhealteachd had never been in dispute, but the barbarian image of pre-Ossianic times was increasingly tempered, in the late eighteenth century and nineteenth century, by the image of the Highlander as 'natural' and 'poetic'. This can hardly be seen as an advance,

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since both images were articulated outside the *Gaidhealteachd* and served the needs, fears and fantasies of those who fashioned the images. Nevertheless, the discursive separation of Saxon and Celt - increasingly marked in the mid to late nineteenth century by figures as disparate as Matthew Arnold and Ernest Renan (Chapman 1978, Bowler 1989) may have helped generate, among Highlanders and the increasing number of lowland and diasporic Scots who identified with them, a sense of the Highland past and the impulse to commemorate it.

As the above remarks about George IV and Queen Victoria indicate, the sentimental Jacobitism which they professed runs like a snake through nineteenth century Scottish life and is far from exhausted even as the next millennium approaches. Tom Nairn (1977) has seen the over-ripe, not to say demented, quality of this phenomenon as stemming from its failure to be incorporated into the service of genuine nation-building, as was the case with analogous impulses in Italy, Poland or Scandinavia. This sentimental Jacobitism is traceable in every dimension of Scottish life: literature; easel painting; music; films and television programmes; right through to the marketing of whisky, shortbread and, through the mechanism of tourism, Scotland itself. The great merit of Nairn's work has been to historicize this phenomenon, to explain it in the context of the rise of European Nationalism and its cultural mode, Romanticism, and ultimately to ground it in the material changes in eighteenth century society.

The argument that the constituting of the Culloden memorial requires to be historicized - and is, indeed, explicable within the same framework deployed by Nairn - might perhaps be bolstered by considering a closely related phenomenon - the constituting of Flora Macdonald as the Jacobite heroine par excellence. Part of the process of nation-building is the construction of national heroes and heroines. The locus classicus of this is the nationalist historiography of France within which Joan of Arc was reconstructed to the point of canonization in 1920 (Stromberg 1990). Somewhat earlier, Scottish popular historiography had constructed William Wallace as its hero, culminating in the erection of the monument at Stirling. This was an impulse which was to ripple outwards to the Scots diaspora, most notably in the unveiling of a Wallace statue in Ballarat, Australia in 1889 (Hanham 1969). If Wallace was the hero of popular reconstructions of the Scottish past, then Flora Macdonald was the heroine. A leaflet issued in Inverness in 1868 and headed 'Flora Macdonald Memorial Fund' reads:

From time to time, for many years, strangers visiting the Church-yard of Kilmuir, in the Island of Skye, have complained that no memorial has

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been placed over the grave of Flora Macdonald. Reference is made to the fact in the last edition of Boswell's **Journal of Dr Johnson's 'Tour of the Hebrides'**: the late Alexander Smith speaks feelingly on the subject in his 'Summer in Skye': many letters have appeared in the newspapers, upbraiding the descendants of Highland Jacobites for this neglect, and within the last few weeks attention has been drawn to it in the **Illustrated London News**. Flora Macdonald's grave has thus acquired a celebrity which, in its present neglected state, is, to say the least of it, undesirable; and it is evident, from the tone of the public communications on the subject, that the only thing necessary to remove this reproach from the Highlands is that someone should take a little trouble to collect subscriptions and ascertain the wishes of subscribers as to the form the Memorial should assume.

The eventual outcome of the campaign was the statue erected in Inverness in 1896. Subsequent sentimental Jacobitism has it that the statue represents Flora, hand cupped over her eyes, watching Prince Charlie's ship disappearing over the horizon. However, a contemporary magazine account which, significantly, opens with the words 'The canonization of Flora Macdonald is reaching an acute stage', describes it differently:

The subject carries out the motto 'Air Faire (On the Watch)', and represents the heroic maiden standing with her favourite collie dog, shading her eyes with her hand, on the look-out for any possible enemies of the Prince, who is supposed to be hiding (**The Sketch** 1896).

Like the Culloden memorial, Flora's statue came to be represented on numerous postcards and other popular artefacts. The Florian cult, if such it can be called, grew apace, and one of its most nauseating instances is to be found in the **Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness**, recording the moment when the Society was addressed by one Dr Vardell, President of the Flora Macdonald College of North Carolina:

Dr Vardell then referred to his feelings while he stood at the grave of Flora Macdonald, and said her heroism was one of the bonds that tied the great Empire across the sea to the great British Empire ... He would read to them one of their college toasts which had been written by a student of the college:

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F air is the name of,
L ovely the face of you;
O ver the sea of years
R each we our hands to you
A skin your blessing.

M ists of the drifting years
A lmost would cover you:
C ould we, forgetting you,
D are speak of loyalty
O r of true courage!
N o! We drink now to you,
A ll glasses high to you,
L ong and right heartily
D rink to your memory,

Flora Macdonald.

(TGSJ 1922).

Certain social formations, most notably the Third Reich and the American South, exhibit a noxious melange of brutality and sentimentality. It is well-known, of course, that some time after the failure of the '45, Flora Macdonald and her husband emigrated (temporarily as it was to turn out) to North Carolina, hence the name of Dr Vardell's college. As Roland Barthes (and others) have demonstrated (Barthes 1957), myths are able to function only so long as contradictions are repressed. Another remark of Dr Vardell's at that same gathering in Inverness in 1922 gives a clue to the literally un-speakable element in the Florian myth:

They were very Scottish (in North Carolina). The niggers [sic] didn't call a man 'captain' or 'boss'; they called him 'Mr Mack' (TGSJ 1922)

Flora Macdonald lived in a slave-owning community in North Carolina. It will be argued, with some justice, by those wishing to preserve the myth, that slave-owning in North Carolina in the eighteenth century was part of day to day life and should not be held specifically against Flora Macdonald. True, but rather beside the point. Flora Macdonald exists, in herself and as part of an ensemble of images which includes the Culloden memorial, within the discourse of sentimental Jacobitism. Apparently historical, it exists outside of history in the domain of myth. To dredge to the surface the fact that Flora Macdonald led part of her life in a slave-owning society cracks the myth apart, forcing it to be seen within the brutal reality of the Atlantic slave trade.

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Also the breast-beating rhetoric of the Florian myth, its easy deployment of terms like 'courage', 'honour' and 'dignity in adversity', begins to sound sanctimonious when looked at from this new perspective.

The purpose of this essay has been to re-historicise sentimental Jacobitism in general and the Culloden memorial in particular. It poses the question why the memorial, unlike so many other historical monuments, has provoked so little 'trouble'. Clearly the main reason is the general ideological assent given to sentimental Jacobitism, even by those objectively hostile to it (e.g. the Freemasons of 1858) in Scotland. But it is due also to the relatively stable polity of the UK within which regimes and their triumphal representations have not (in recent centuries at any rate) been toppled and smashed and also to the Culloden memorial's geographical remoteness. The dislodging of the Vendôme Column and the diverse statues of Lenin occurred in metropolises where their symbolic import had greatest force.

The possibility should not be ruled out that the Culloden cairn's aesthetic form has inhibited dissent. The cairn is not only the Scottish sculptural form par excellence, it does not carry with it any overtones of art ideologies (e.g. modern v traditional) such as were deployed so abusively in the context of the Vietnam Memorial or, most recently, the Holocaust Museum project, also in Washington (Johnson 1993). Cairn building, to the Scots, is part of everyday life, not a self-conscious 'artistic' activity. I recall as a schoolboy at Boys Brigade camp near Crianlarich our celebrating a successful ascent of a local mountain by adding stones to the cairn on its summit. The men of Ness go each year to the island of Sulasgeir for a supply of guga (the young of the gannet). When a man decides that he has reached an age when such a visit will be his last, he leaves a cairn on the clifftop. More recently, a number of cairns are being erected on the Isle of Lewis to commemorate the crofters' struggles of the nineteenth century. If, on the other hand, some commemorative structure other than a cairn had been erected on Culloden Moor in 1881, it would have run the risk of signalling politico-religious affiliations by the nature of its artistic form. In the Scottish context, the Gothic style tended to carry Episcopalian or Roman Catholic associations while the Neo-Classical had Presbyterian connotations (Grant 1988). The latter would have been particularly unsuitable for a Jacobite monument given the Enlightenment's anti-Jacobitism but, as has been demonstrated, myth in general and sentimental Jacobitism in particular has a remarkable capacity to mask contradictions.

The two hundredth anniversary of the battle, commemorated at the Culloden memorial in 1946 and described above, shows sentimental Jacobitism in full

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spate. The appeals to the past and the implied continuities with it might suggest a timelessness about the annual commemoration ceremony itself. In fact, as a quasi-official (under the auspices of the Gaelic Society of Inverness), regular event it dates only from 1925. However, by the turn of the century, the Culloden memorial had become something of a tourist attraction, the most prestigious and best-documented visit probably being that of Field Marshall Earl Roberts, at the time Chief of the Imperial General Staff, in August 1903. Occasional wreath-laying ceremonies appear to have taken place by individuals, the most grotesque of whom is Theodore Napier. Like many another unhinged nationalist, Napier's origins lay outside the land which obsessed him. He was born in Australia, probably in 1845, and died there in 1924. He lived in Edinburgh from around 1893 to 1912 and was the source of much hilarity on account of his wandering around in a costume of Royal Stewart tartan. Like other local eccentrics of the time (Kirkintilloch's Petticoat Dan was another), Napier was the subject of several postcards, one showing him, fierce and bearded, 'in the garb of old Gaul'; another as a 'Highland Chief - XVI Century'; and yet another masquerading as a highland chief in a pageant held during the 1908 Scottish National Exhibition in Edinburgh. He seems to have been active in several nationalist stunts in the early years of the century (e.g. on a Mary, Queen of Scots demonstration at Fotheringay, and as a speaker at the Bore Stone, Bannockburn) (**Scottish Patriot** 1903-5). A postcard exists of Napier placing a wreath on the Culloden cairn on 16 April, 1904 and his address on a previous occasion (1903), with its limping verse, breast-beating elegiacism and citing of crackpot bodies whose participation he had mobilized, deserves quoting:

'Land of the loyal when the Stuart fell
They, faithful mountains, sighed a fond farewell.
The dirge of freedom pealed along the gale
And tears of sorrow flowed in every vale'.

Fellow-Scotsmen and friends. I call you friends because, though I am not of these parts, I come here regularly on my annual pilgrimage to this shrine. I feel more at home every time I come north although this scene and circumstance should make us all feel sore at heart. Before coming this year, I issued an appeal for wreaths and floral tributes and the response has been most gratifying. These tokens of our pride and sorrow include tributes from the Legitimist Jacobite League of Great Britain and Ireland; the Flora Macdonald Club of Glasgow; and the White Cockade Legitimist Club of St Ives ... Why do we bring these wreaths to this cairn? It is not, as has been suggested, for the purpose of ostentatiously

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displaying ourselves. It is to show our regard for the men who fell in the Stuart cause. They were men in those days, not the pygmies we find around us now (**Inverness Courier** 1903)

The newspaper goes on to record the response of those who witnessed this pantomime. To their credit, they greeted it with jeers and catcalls.

It might be wondered if the incipient nationalism of any other country has reached such a pitch of comic-opera absurdity. This impulse to theatricality, the concentration on signs rather than substance, was present in the earliest pre-history of modern Scottish nationalism, witness the furore over flags and coins in the 1850s (Hanham 1969). The expenditure of energy on irrelevancies was to prove a recurrent problem for Scottish nationalism. One can have nothing but sympathy for the exasperation of a pragmatic nationalist like Lewis Spence following his defeat as a National Party candidate in the North Midlothian and Peebles by-election of January, 1929:

I am all for the new nationalism, but at the moment it presents to me a maelstrom boiling and bubbling with the cross-currents of rival and frequently fantastic theories, schemes and notions, riotous with tumultuous personality and convulsive with a petulant individual predilection ... We have people who want all Scotland to speak the Gaelic, and who hate Braid Scots, people who continue the Old Language and clatter out a gutter Scots with an English basis of syntax in the sad belief that it is the genuine article. Some hark back to the hope of a sixteenth century Scotland regained, others suggest a national *approchement* [sic] with France, still others a Jacobite restoration. A certain group sees in the expulsion of all the English and the Irish in Scotland the country's only chance of survival ... (cited by Hanham 1969).

The most substantial study of the ideological force of Jacobitism in Scottish life is by Pittock (1991). It is markedly more sympathetic to Jacobitism, and figures such as Napier, than the present essay. Pittock assembles convincing evidence of the historical complexity of Jacobitism but, more controversially, stresses its radical potential in Scottish culture. A more detailed debate with Pittock's position would be out of place here but one must, at the very least, be sceptical about an argument which adduces as evidence of that radical potential the 'execrable doggerel' of 'Flower of Scotland'.

By 1925 commemorative deployment round the Culloden memorial, precisely because it now had the imprimatur of 'respectable' bodies such as

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the Gaelic Society of Inverness, approached something close to sanity although, as the quotations from the 1946 speeches indicate, the differences between Captain Shaw and Theodore Napier relate to comportment, tone and style rather than ideology. Both are firmly locked within sentimental Jacobitism. Just as the question why the cairn was raised precisely in 1881 required to be posed, so too does the question of why the 'officializing' of the Culloden memorial and the establishing of the annual commemoration ceremony occurred precisely in 1925. To some extent it was the inevitable consequence of the growing hegemony of sentimental Jacobitism in Scottish life or, to put it in the terms adumbrated at the start of this essay, the accelerated writhing of the Scottish discursive unconscious. However, events invariably have complex determinations and if there is the *longue durée* of sentimental Jacobitism at work on the events of 1925, the shorter-term determination is undoubtedly the profound impulse to memorialization provided by the Great War. Paul Fussell, although primarily concerned with its effect on literary sensibilities, nevertheless reveals (Fussell 1975) how the experience of the war seared the minds of all those who survived it. It was the Great War which produced those resounding images of remembrance such as the Flanders poppy and the two-minutes-silence, images which have not altogether lost their emotional power even today. What has been lost, however, is the general sense in the society of being in direct contact with the events which gave rise to them:

The British Legion sold eight million Flanders poppies in 1921, when the practice was started, and in 1926, when the depression had deepened, the figure was thirty million. On November 11 ... the engines were stopped on Cunard liners and poppies sold; on a Daimler air-express flying between Manchester and London in 1922, all engines were shut off and the passengers stood to attention with bared heads as the plane glided ... (Bayley 1987)

The Great War is not simply an absent determination behind the foregrounding of the Culloden commemoration in 1925; it is inscribed into the commemoration itself. The Earl of Cassillis, placing a memorial wreath on the Culloden cairn and speaking in Gaelic, said:

Since the '45 the Gael has proved his devotion to his country in no small measure. During the last war many districts of the Highlands were depleted of able-bodied men who went to fight and die for King and country. Those men, like Macrimmon, would not return to them. Those who lay on Culloden field would not return, nor would those who died in the Great War. But they lived in hope of going to them. Their love and

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devotion would ever remain the pride of the Gaelic race whether in this country or scattered in many lands and divers climes (TGSII 1925).

At one level, therefore, the Culloden memorial has passed out of history into myth, specifically the lachrymously elegiac myth of sentimental Jacobitism. At another level it is profoundly in history, its temporal evolution shaped by the long, unevenly developing discourses of the nineteenth century and shorter-term, specific events like the Great War. While engaging with history far less dramatically than the Vendôme Column or the statues of Lenin, the Culloden memorial is no less historical. Mark Lewis, in the essay (Lewis 1991) from which the opening quotation from Freud and the discussion of Lenin's statues are taken, speculates on how Lenin himself might have felt about what has become of his statues. He suggests that the Lenin of 1917/18, the Lenin of 'On the Monuments of the Republic' (Lenin 1967), might never have approved of the erection of permanent public monuments in the first place. In his essay of 1918 Lenin called for a monumental propaganda the purpose of which was to instruct the masses at precise conjunctural moments. The proper material for statuary therefore should be plaster rather than marble, granite or bronze, not only because it was cheaper, but because it was impermanent. In the context of the 1917 Revolution, Lenin's dictum to Arts Commissar Lunacharsky was 'Let everything be temporary' (Tolstoy 1990). Hostility to permanent monumentality in sculpture is not new. Both Neo-Classics and Romantics were profoundly ambivalent about this, though their particular delusion was that monumentality was possible and desirable in literature (Janowitz 1990).

The notion of the non-permanent memorial (the phrase is something of an oxymoron) seems to be more readily acceptable in societies other than Britain. James E Young describes Jochen and Esther Gerz's 1986 'countermonument' against fascism in Hamburg:

To their (the artists') minds, the didactic logic of monuments, their demagogical rigidity, recalled too closely traits they associated with fascism itself. Their monument against fascism, therefore, would amount to a monument against itself: against the traditionally didactic function of monuments, against their tendency to displace the past they would have us contemplate - and finally, against the authoritarian propensity in all art that reduces viewers to passive spectators. The artists decided that theirs would be a self-negating monument, literally self-effacing. So when Hamburg offered them a sun-dappled park setting, they rejected it in favour of what they termed a 'normal, uglyish place'. (Young 1993 p28)

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This place was a dingy, working-class Hamburg suburb called Harburg with a large minority of Turkish 'guest workers'. The monument itself is in the form of a twelve-metre high, one-metre square pillar made of hollow aluminium and covered with a thin layer of soft, dark lead. A temporary inscription at the base - in German, French, English, Russian, Hebrew, Arabic and Turkish - reads:

We invite the citizens of Harburg, and visitors to the town, to add their names here to ours. In doing so, we commit ourselves to remain vigilant. As more and more names cover this 12 metre tall lead column, it will gradually be lowered into the ground. One day it will have disappeared completely, and the site of the Harburg monument against fascism will be empty. In the end, it is only we ourselves who can rise up against injustice. (cited in Young 1993, p30)

A steel pointed stylus, for visitors to add their names, is attached to each corner and as the names progressively cover it the monument is lowered into a chamber in the ground the same depth as the height of the column. Young comments:

With audacious simplicity, the countermonument thus flouts any number of cherished memorial conventions: its aim is not to console but to provoke; not to remain fixed but to change; not to be everlasting but to disappear; not to be ignored by passersby but to demand interaction; not to remain pristine but to invite its own violation and desanctification; not to accept graciously the burden of memory but to throw it back at the town's feet. By defining itself in opposition to the traditional memorial's task, the countermonument illustrates concisely the possibilities and limitations of all memorials everywhere. In this way, it functions as a valuable 'counterindex' to the ways time, memory and current history intersect at any memorial site. (Young 1993 p30)

The Gerzs' strategy is not dissimilar to that of the French installation artist Christian Boltanski whose work has memorializing dimensions, also relating to the Holocaust. In a recent South Bank Show devoted to his work he suggested that monuments should be made of fragile materials so that they would have to be remade over and over again and thus forestall our forgetting why they were made in the first place.

It is intriguing to think of the Culloden memorial being executed in plaster on one of the wettest and windiest sites in Scotland and, more interestingly, what that would have implied for the 'epic timelessness' of the sentimental

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Jacobitism within which it functions mythically. But the Culloden memorial is in (to all intents and purposes) impermeable stone.

What then is to be done? It is an open question whether monuments should ever be vandalized, however disagreeable their implicit or accreted ideological meanings might be felt to be. As President Havel of the Czech Republic has demonstrated in his suggestion that the Socialist Realist monuments of the past be placed in a forest and 'nature' allowed to engulf them, there are more intelligent ways of dealing with the embodiments of discarded ideologies. Similarly, Samir al-Khalil, in his book on Saddam Hussein's sword-bearing forearms monument in Baghdad, speculates about what Iraqis should do with the monument, apart from tearing it down, after Saddam's demise.

It is certainly not desirable physically to interfere with the Culloden memorial, but it can be repositioned ideologically, if only in words and pictures, to refuse the easy responses of sentimental Jacobitism and lachrymose elegiacism, in short to derail the Scottish discursive unconscious.

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