“WEARY FOR THE HEATHER AND THE DEER”:
R. L. STEVENSON DEPICTS THE SCOTTISH DIASPORIC EXPERIENCE

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In 1871, Robert Louis Stevenson published “An Old Scots Gardener” in the Edinburgh University Magazine. The central character of this essay can be read as a prototype of the old-fashioned Scot, his “Scottishness”—in a psychological sense—symbolised within Stevenson’s narrative by an inexorable physical correlation with the landscape of his homeland. That is, this individual’s sense of identity is intrinsic to his geographical location:

he stands essentially as a genius loci. It is impossible to separate his spare form and old straw hat from the garden in the lap of the hill, with its rocks overgrown with clematis, its shadowy walks, and the splendid breadth of champagn that one saw from the north-west corner. The garden and gardener seem part and parcel of each other. When I take him from his right surroundings and try to make him appear for me on paper, he looks unreal and phantasmal: the best that I can say may convey some notion to those that never saw him, but to me it will be ever impotent.¹

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Yet Stevenson’s quintessential Scotsman, who appears so “part and parcel” of the unique topography of his homeland is portrayed here as being somehow “unreal and phantasmal,” a vanishing point amidst the fluid migration and emigration patterns which characterized nineteenth-century Scotland. This character, we are informed,

was full of tales of greater situations in his younger days. He spoke of castles and parks with a humbling familiarity. He told of places where under-gardeners had trembled at his looks, where there were meres and swanneries, labyrinths of walk and wildernesses of sad shrubbery in his control, till you could not help feeling that it was condescension on his part to dress your humbler garden plots.²

As is often the case with Walter Scott’s writing, we are meant to feel the contrast between a robust national past and the far more mutable present. However, for Stevenson, writing from a different chronological vantage point than his literary predecessor (in ideological perspective as well as historical distance), Scotland becomes the homeland that is diminishing in an increasingly physical way due to heightened emigration, as a multitude of Scots leave behind “humbler garden plots” for the adventure and opportunity represented by remote destinations.

This paper explores the intensely personal representations of boundary-crossings in Stevenson’s fiction, demonstrating how these narratives can be mapped onto broader cultural and national constructions of a collective diaspora experience. My goal is to reveal how even a cursory examination of Stevenson’s depictions of Caledonian emigrants leads to a distinctive re-imagining of “Scottishness” in terms of cultural identity in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. I use the term diaspora here according to the Oxford English Dictionary’s definition of a “group of people who have spread or become dispersed beyond their traditional homeland or point of origin” to describe Scots who migrated either temporarily or permanently – and in both regional and transnational
Employing several of Stevenson’s novels as touchpoints, I investigate his narrative exploration of the Scottish diasporic experience. In order to do so, I first provide a brief glimpse into his interaction with the idea of diaspora in Scottish cultural and literary tradition, considering this in conjunction with his personal experience of emigration and “exile.” This background material is followed by a consideration of how Stevenson’s employment of adventure narrative offers insights into his construal of the physical and emotional landscapes of diaspora, which for him comprise transnational destinations as well as “foreign” regions of Scotland. Finally, I consider characters from *Kidnapped* (1886) and *The Master of Ballantrae* (1889) as providing enactments of political, economic, and psychological realities of the Scottish emigrant experience.

**Stevenson and the Scottish Diaspora**

Today, more than twenty-five million people of Scottish descent reside beyond the geographical borders of Scotland. The enormity of this number is somewhat less surprising when we recall that Scots have been emigrating in substantial numbers since at least the thirteenth century. Indeed, David Armitage contends that “Scotland’s history is a transnational history because the Scots have been such a prominently international people. In their far-flung wanderings, their diverse settlements, and their well-tended nostalgia, the Scots are a diasporic people.” Perhaps due to the sheer magnitude of this social phenomenon, the collective experience of exile and emigration—whether forced or voluntary, permanent or temporary—has over time become inscribed onto the Scottish cultural psyche as a self-perceived point of identity which, in turn, is demonstrated throughout the nation’s dialogic history. Of course, this is not a phenomenon associated exclusively with Scottish emigration, and it intersects with the realm of postcolonial criticism which has been so usefully employed in considering Stevenson’s South Seas fiction. Indeed, Stuart Hall makes a strong point when— in writing about cultural identity issues involved with the Caribbean diaspora—he observes how, “[I]f far from being grounded in mere ‘recovery’ of the past, which is waiting to be found, and which when found, will secure our sense of ourselves
into eternity, identities are the names we give to the different ways we are positioned by, and position ourselves within, the narratives of the past.”

For many emigrants, being grounded in the historical past engenders the formation of a strong identity which, in turn, helps to create a more definitive sense of place, or belonging, in the geographical and chronological present. This is certainly true in regards to the Scottish experience—as Catriona Macdonald emphasizes, “at all times and in both overt and subtle ways, nationhood has been a central theme in Scotland’s diaspora story.” The conceptualization of a highly nationalized cultural identity is certainly a leitmotif of the Scottish literary tradition. In his 1818 novel, *The Heart of Midlothian*, Scott provides an interesting viewpoint on the cultural bonds which unite his countrymen (and women), whether at home or outwith their native land. He writes:

> Perhaps one ought to be actually a Scotchman to conceive how ardently, under all distinctions of rank and situation, they feel their mutual connexion with each other as natives of the same country. There are, I believe, more associations common to the inhabitants of a rude and wild, than of a well-cultivated and fertile country; their ancestors have more seldom changed their place of residence; their mutual recollection of remarkable objects is more accurate; the high and the low are more interested in each other’s welfare; the feelings of kindred and relationship are more widely extended, and, in a word, the bonds of patriotic affection, always honourable even when a little too exclusively strained, have more influence on men’s feelings and actions.

Scott here appeals to a shared historical experience, and a tempestuous one at that, as an explanation for the sense of kinship which exists amongst Scottish people, and it can certainly be extended to include those residing abroad.
Stevenson was well acquainted with the nationalistic persuasions of his epic literary predecessor, and in his work ideas of Scottishness extend beyond the home turf, so to speak, and become interlaced with the emigrant experience. An author perennially intrigued by the “foreign lands” about which he penned his eponymous children’s poem, Stevenson’s peripatetic adventures in Europe, America, and finally (as a true emigrant rather than temporary traveler) in the South Seas served to familiarize him with the diasporic experience, as publications such as *The Amateur Emigrant* (1895) certainly demonstrate. Although his experience does not reflect the oft-depicted plight of Scots who departed the shores of their homeland—“Never perhaps to greet old Scotland more!” (in the words of Robert Burns)—neither was his discursive pattern of leaving and return an atypical one. In fact, as Ann C. Colley points out, “Stevenson’s wandering was also part of his conforming to the composite portrait of a Scot. His continual departing and absences identified him with his nation by linking him to the Highland chieftains who fled their homes in fear of their lives and to the ‘Wandering Willies’ of the ballads who carried what is lost within themselves and their memories. Part of being a Scot was to be living in exile, for better or worse.” Certainly, Stevenson embodied this throughout his adult years, and his fiction and essays deal extensively with conceptualizations of geographical and cultural boundary-crossings, thus contributing to a larger discourse surrounding the diasporic experience.

Critics have become increasingly aware of the rich insights to be gained from considering Stevenson’s work through the lens of Scottish Studies, since many of his narratives are steeped in the cultural and historical preoccupations of his homeland. Like most nineteenth-century Scottish authors, Stevenson was keenly aware of his “non-Englishness,” as illustrated by his frequent and self-conscious use of Scots—or at least a textual reconstruction of Scots—in both published works and personal correspondence. One example of many can be observed in the following letter, where he writes rather facetiously to a friend from home:

What’s mair, Sir, it’s Scōtch: no strong, for the sake o’ they pock-puddens, but jist a kitchen o’t, to
This ideological dynamic, in conjunction with Stevenson’s own travels, provides a unique construct for considering his depictions of the emigrant experience. While the diasporic aspects of Stevenson’s travel essays and South Seas writings have been the subject of critical interest in recent years, markedly less attention has been paid to the ways in which his Scottish fiction can be read as performing actualizations of emigrant life.\footnote{15}

In addition to *Kidnapped*, texts such as *The Master of Ballantrae* and *Catriona* (1893) hinge upon extraordinarily significant events in Scottish cultural history, such as the Jacobite Rising of 1745 and the Appin Murder which occurred in Lettermore Wood in 1752. The Appin Murder is perhaps best known as an isolated act of violence which became the catalyst for the subsequent trial, conviction, and execution of James Stewart (“James of the Glens”) by a predominantly Whiggish court—a perversion of justice that left a lingering scar on the Scottish cultural consciousness. Furthermore, Stevenson’s works allude to the Battle of Culloden in 1746 with its ensuing Act of Proscription in 1747, which banned Highland dress and arms. Events such as these contributed to the socio-political expulsion of Scots from their homeland in the eighteenth century. As will be demonstrated in more detail shortly, his writing also takes into consideration the less dramatic but more prevalent economic, cultural and domestic factors that contributed to the nation’s emigration throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Many of Stevenson’s Scottish characters enact various types of temporary or permanent expatriates whose real-life historical counterparts comprise a fascinating cross-section of their nation’s vast diasporic movement. Naturally, we must make allowances for the vast differences in motivation and circumstances of Scots who emigrated due to poverty or dispossession in contrast to those who left their homeland in search of wealth and adventure.
Yet all of these individuals should be viewed as contributors to the collective diasporic experience, and their stories gesture towards the idea of diaspora as a global phenomenon—occurring transnationally as well as internally, across cultural boundaries and borders. Indeed, in this paper I will argue that some of Stevenson’s “diasporic” characters never actually leave Scotland.16

In *Kidnapped*, for example, themes of diaspora are evident from the first chapter, which opens with David Balfour “migrating” from the village of Essendean to Edinburgh in search of his peculated inheritance. Of course, this initial trek evolves into an epic journey which eventually leads him across the Highlands—no insubstantial distance in the eighteenth century! Drawing significantly upon a trope of the adventure genre, the imagery of David’s movements conjures up obvious parallels to the experiences of many Scots who sought to improve their financial circumstances through either domestic or international relocation.17

A darker version of this situation occurs in *The Master of Ballantrae*, in which James Durie epitomizes the adventurous, if morally dubious, emigrant-adventurer on a quest for wealth and fame. So far, then, these protagonists (although diametrically opposed in terms of character) seem to be following similar trajectories in which leaving the familiar landscapes of home is merely one more “twist” in the tropic bildungsroman. Upon further investigation, however, we begin to see how political unrest and cultural strife comprise significant factors contributing to their physical movements.

**Diasporic Landscapes**

So how does Stevenson construe the physical and emotional landscapes of diaspora in his fiction? While all (or at least a significant portion) of *Kidnapped, The Master of Ballantrae, Catriona* and *Weir of Hermiston* (1896) are set within Scotland, Stevenson seems at pains to create a sharp distinctions between the “familiarity” of Lowland landscapes and an imaginatively conceptualized “exotic other” represented by Europe, North America, the High Seas and even the geographically-near-but-ideologically-remote Highlands. Why does he do this? Certainly, as Barry Menikoff points out: “Nothing in a Stevenson text is merely
technical, nothing is without meaning [. . ].”

One answer can be found by examining nineteenth-century adventures, since by doing so we find that the distinctions of place in Stevenson’s novels are clearly reminiscent of narrative conventions popularized by such fiction. Margaret Bruzelius explains how, in Victorian adventure literature:

the essential constitutive element of fantasy is the exotic landscape, an “elsewhere” that is different from, but close to, the public world. [. . .] This “elsewhere” has to be near enough so that the hero can stumble into it but remains entirely marginal to the public world. It is a space that exists to be left behind: it can never be colonized or acquired by the public patriarchal order, and will never change.

Within the larger exotic landscape the hero traverses a generative space, an enclosed area nearly always containing water, in which he finds some essential piece of information he needs to know to bring his plot to a conclusion. The encounter with this space and the story contained in it propel the hero out of the exotic space back to the public world.\[19\]

So, if we read Stevenson’s Scottish texts through the lens of adventure narrative, we can map his characters’ journeys in ways that shed light on his portrayal of the diaspora experience. Sometimes his exotic landscapes are clearly international, while at other points “uncanny” places within Scotland are employed as settings for characters to undergo an emigrant-like experience. Indeed, I contend that works such as Kidnapped and Weir of Hermiston can be viewed as diasporic novels, despite the fact that their protagonists never actually leave Scotland, because they operate within the adventure tradition. Hence, in these novels the binary of “home” and “abroad” is configured not only in terms of transnational journeys but also within the context of leaving one cultural and physical region for another.
Let us recall first an example of the former sort of journey: in *The Master of Ballantrae*, Henry Durie is compelled by ongoing conflict with his brother James to emigrate to that geographic and psychological hinterland which the narrator refers to as the “wilderness” of an unknown New World. Here we have a clearly transnational context for diaspora. Interestingly, rather than flourishing in his new surroundings, Henry only retreats further into his distressed psyche—as evidenced by his increased use of Scots language—in a vain attempt to reclaim the homescape of his lost past.

[Henry] caught Sir William by the coat with a hooked hand. “This man has the name of my brother,” says he, “but it’s well understood that he was never canny.”

“Canny?” says Sir William. “What is that?”

“He’s not of this world,” whispered [Henry], “neither him nor the black deil that serves him. I have struck my sword throughout his vitals,” he cried, “I have felt the hilt dirl on his breastbone, and the hot blood spirt in my very face, time and again, time and again!” he repeated, with a gesture indescribable. “But he was never dead for that,” said he, and I sighed aloud. “Why should I think he was dead now? No, not till I see him rotting,” says he.\(^\text{20}\)

Henry’s use of Scots in this emotional diatribe against his brother demonstrates a fascinating psychological return to the landscapes of his homeland, from which he has become estranged as a parallel repercussion to the psychological and physical breakdown of his family.

In Stevenson’s final, unfinished novel, *Weir of Hermiston*, domestic strife leads to a similar exile narrative—but this one occurs within Scotland when young Archie Weir is banished to the cultural peripheries (represented by regions beyond metropolitan eighteenth-century Edinburgh) after perpetrating an act of public defiance against his father, Lord Hermiston, the Justice-Clerk. Again, we can map such regions onto the international landscapes
of the historical Scottish diaspora. So, it is in these archetypal “hinterlands” of his adventurous Highlands, the uncanny Bass Rock, Europe, India, and North America that Stevenson weaves a narrative environment which might be read as conceptually akin to the exotic (read unfamiliar) international landscapes encountered by historical emigrants, from the snowy mountains and rugged forests of Canada to balmy Pacific islands to New Zealand glacier-lands and the vast Australian bush—that atmosphere imbued with unfamiliar animals and the fragrance of a thousand eucalypts. Amidst such alien landscapes, many emigrants felt a cultural strangeness which one of Stevenson’s most memorable characters, Alan Breck Stewart, summarizes well: “I weary for my friends and country [. . .] France is a braw place, nae doubt; but I weary for the heather and the deer” of the Scottish Highlands. The following brief case studies of David Balfour and Alan Breck Stewart in *Kidnapped*, as well as The Master of Ballantrae’s James Durie, offer a glimpse into how Stevenson’s fiction engages with the historical causes and realities of Scottish emigration.

**Kidnapped and The Master of Ballantrae**

The *bildungsroman* chronicled in *Kidnapped* (and *Catriona*) provides a fascinating example of how Stevenson constructs fictional renditions of individual emigrants and exiles whose journeys resulted from large-scale circumstances of cultural conflict within Scotland. The dual protagonists of these novels, young David (Lowlander by birth, Presbyterian of creed, a thoroughgoing Hanoverian in political allegiance) and Alan Breck Stewart (Highlander, Catholic, Jacobite), represent oppositional victims of political tension who are forced to undergo at least temporary exile from Scotland. Within the historical setting of *Kidnapped* in 1751—half a century after the landmark Act of Union in 1707, but with the massacre at Culloden moor still a fresh memory—David and Alan become caught up in analogous facets of Scottish socio-political strife: the internal cultural discord geographically demarcated by the Highland-Lowland Divide and the Anglo-Scottish tensions that were manifest both in acts of outright violence and through a more subtle, but equally devastating, cultural suppression.
Stevenson’s construction of David and Alan as obviously antithetical characters serves to highlight the diversity of individuals whose familial associations, actions, beliefs, or material holdings contributed to their flights from Scotland. In *Kidnapped*, readers quickly discover that Alan has been exiled for his Jacobite affiliations. David spends much of that novel in flight due to his “guilt by association,” while in *Catriona* he is exiled to the Bass Rock for a staunch refusal to remain silent about his eyewitness account of the Appin Murder. Both characters are fiercely loyal to their visions of what Scotland *should be*; they endure exile because of what the nation *is*, or was, at that moment in its socio-historical progression. Together, then, these curious *doppelgangers* can be read as Stevenson’s amalgamated representation of the many Scots who became unwilling participants in a broader historical diaspora due to civil unrest.

However, given that fact that all of *Kidnapped*, as well as a great deal of *Catriona*, takes place in Scotland, are we indeed justified in mapping the protagonists’ journeys onto a historical experience of international emigration (and thus diaspora)? I maintain that, if we employ the rubric outlined previously for considering the Highlands and Islands (including the Bass Rock) examples of exotic “elsewhere,” than the answer is affirmative. Moreover, in *Kidnapped*, textual clues alert us to parallels between David’s experiences and those of real-life Scottish emigrants. When Stevenson’s protagonist crosses by ferry from the Isle of Mull to the Scottish mainland, he comes upon the following scene:

*a great seagoing ship at anchor [. . .] and there began to come to our ears a great sound of mourning, the people on board and those on the shore crying and lamenting one to another so as to pierce the heart.*

*Then I understood this was an emigrant ship bound for the American colonies.*

*We put the ferry-boat alongside, and the exiles leaned over the bulwarks, weeping and reaching out their hands to my fellow-passengers, among whom they counted some near friends. [. . .] the chief singer in our boat struck into a melancholy*
air, which was presently taken up both by the emigrants and their friends upon the beach, so that it sounded from all sides like a lament for the dying. I saw the tears run down the cheeks of the men and women in the boat, even as they bent at the oars.\textsuperscript{24}

As readers, we seem to be intentionally left wondering about why these families have been compelled to leave their homes. Are they joining fathers and brothers who fled for their lives after the 1745 Rising? Here, as so often in his writing, Stevenson intentionally evades simplistic explanations. Looking to corresponding historical evidence, we may assume that a mixture of social, political, and economic factors may present contributing factors to such a tragic deportation—after all, in addition to tensions surrounding the final Jacobite Rising, the Highlands and Islands were regions marked by extreme poverty throughout the eighteenth century, as described in Edmund Burt’s \textit{Letters from a Gentleman in the North of Scotland to his Friend in London} (1754, but primarily written in 1727-1728). Like Colin Campbell of Glenure, who Alan refers to as the “Red Fox” in \textit{Kidnapped}, Burt was responsible for collecting rents from lands that had been forfeited after the Jacobite Rising of 1715.\textsuperscript{25}

\textbf{Economics of Diaspora}

Unfortunately, the economic situation in the Highlands largely failed to improve with the passage of time—even the 1840s and 1850s were marked by the eviction of poor subsistence farmers to make room for sheep farming, in that much-mythologized but nevertheless real phenomenon known as the Highland Clearances. Hence, we can easily find songs like that of Ian Sinclair, who emigrated to Canada in 1840: “But, alas, my ruin, / what necessitated my coming out [from Scotland] / was seeing that there was no advantage / in my staying there much longer, / since the glens were being filled with sheep / and the folk driven from their homes.”\textsuperscript{26} Indeed, an account strikingly similar to that of Stevenson’s boat emigrants in \textit{Kidnapped} emerges from the words of Calum Bàn MacMhannain from the Isle of Skye, who emigrated to Prince Edward Island in 1803: “When we set out / from the
Harbour at Portree / there were many sorrowful people on shore; /
they gazed across intently / with their eye on the vessel.”

Even the famed Flora MacDonald, much lionized in
popular lore for her courageous rescue of Charles Edward Stuart
after Culloden, was not immune from economic hardships. In 1772,
she wrote about her native Skye as a

poor miserable Island, the best of its inhabitance are
making ready to follow thereire freinds to america,
while they have any thing to bring them; and among
the rest we are to go, especially as we cannot
promise ourselves but poverty and oppression,
haveing last Spring and this time two years lost
almost our whole Stock of Cattle and horseis, we
lost within there three years, three hundred and
twenty seven heads, so that we have hardly what
will pay our Creditors which we are to let them have
and begin the world again, a newe, in a othere
Corner of it.

Two years later, Flora and her husband Allan emigrated to North
Carolina. While the drama of the Clearances has captured the
popular imagination since the nineteenth century, in reality, the
Lowland poor fared little better. Emigration, although rarely forced,
was frequently encouraged as a means of relieving the economic
pressure caused by unemployment, particularly in dense urban
areas.

In Kidnapped, David Balfour considers this boat scene to
be “melancholy” but makes no overt association between himself
and the emigrants, who, though Highlanders, are nevertheless his
fellow Scots. For readers, however, there is an ironic parallelism
to be found between the emigrants’ experience and David’s
“adventure” of undergoing enforced removal from home via a ship
bound for the Americas. The imagery of the ship figures into the
diaspora in an obviously significant way, since travel by sea was a
primary mode of emigration. Additionally, as a geographic and
imaginative location, the ocean functions as another “elsewhere”
for adventure narrative. Marjory Harper touches upon the
prevalence of abductions in Scotland, recalling “those unfortunate individuals who fell victim to the kidnapping trade, in which Aberdeen gained a particular notoriety in the mid-eighteenth century.”  

Harper goes on to cite the well-documented case of Peter Williamson, who as a youth was abducted from the harbour at Aberdeen and shipped off to Philadelphia, where he was sold for £16 as an indentured servant. The published account of his travails, *The Life and Curious Adventures of Peter Williamson, who was Carried Off from Aberdeen and sold for a slave* (1801) was popular, and, perhaps unsurprisingly given Stevenson’s avid reading of Scottish historical literature, bears a striking resemblance to the unabbreviated title of his own work: *Kidnapped, being Memoirs of the adventures of David Balfour in the year 1751. How he was Kidnapped and cast away; his sufferings in a Desert Isle; his Journey in the Wild Highlands; his acquaintance with Alan Breck Stewart and other notorious Highland Jacobites; with all that he suffered at the hands of his uncle, Ebenezer Balfour of Shaws, falsely so called.* Indeed, had it not been for Alan, David Balfour might have undergone a similar fate to that of Williamson:

> The ship was bound for the Carolinas; and you must not suppose that I was going to that place merely as an exile. The trade was even then much depressed; since that, and with the rebellion of the colonies and the formation of the United States, it has, of course, come to an end; but in those days of my youth, white men were still sold into slavery on the plantations, and that was the destiny to which my wicked uncle had condemned me.

This historically accurate summary demonstrates Stevenson’s acute awareness of the context surrounding indentured servitude (whether voluntary or involuntary) as very real experience of some Scottish emigrants in the eighteenth century.

**Politics of Diaspora**

Interestingly, Stevenson’s young protagonist undergoes a similar ordeal in *Catriona*, but this time political intrigue, rather than a
greedy relative, is the driving force behind his abduction. In the latter situation, David’s experience mirrors that of Rachel Erskine, Lady Grange, whose estranged husband arranged to have her kidnapped in 1732 as a means of silencing her accusations of his involvement in the Jacobite Rising of 1715. She was taken from Edinburgh and kept in various remote locations on the geographical peripheries of Scotland. The incident acquired a level of notoriety and is referred to more than once in Catriona. Like both Lord Prestongrange in that novel and Ebenezer Balfour in Kidnapped, Rachel Erskine’s husband preferred imprisonment to murder, a sentiment which Stevenson treats rather humorously in Kidnapped:

“Troth, sir,” said Alan [acting in disguise],
“I ask for nothing but plain dealing. In two words: do ye want the lad killed or kept?”
“O sirs!” cried Ebenezer. “O sirs, me! that’s no kind of language!”
“Killed or kept!” repeated Alan.
“O, keepit, keepit!” wailed my uncle. “We’ll have nae bloodshed, if you please.”
“Well,” says Alan, “as ye please; that’ll be the dearer.”
“The dearer?” cries Ebenezer. “Would ye fyle your hands wi’ crime?”
“Hoot!” said Alan, “they’re baith crime, whatever! And the killing’s easier, and quicker, and surer. Keeping the lad’ll be a fashious job, a fashious, kittle business.”
“I’ll have him keepit, though,” returned my uncle. “I never had naething to do with onything morally wrong; and I’m no gaun to begin, to pleasure a wild Hielandman.”
“Ye’re unco scrupulous,” sneered Alan.
“I’m a man o’ principle,” said Ebenezer, simply; “and if I have to pay for it, I’ll have to pay for it. And besides,” says he, “ye forget the lad’s my brother’s son.”
In his fictional kidnapping accounts, Stevenson does two things: first, he focuses on the blend of economic and domestic tension as a motive for enforced exile (as regards the conflict with Ebenezer Balfour in *Kidnapped*), and, second, he reverses the political affiliations of victim and perpetrator (when David is captured and held on the Bass Rock by Whigs rather than Jacobites in *Catriona*).

Interestingly, this twin focus on political and domestic causes for emigration recurs throughout Stevenson’s Scottish oeuvre. In *Weir of Hermiston*, for example, Lord Hermiston can be read as representing an old Scotland: mythic in stature, awe-inspiring if terrible, powerful but cruel. He is the scourge of both criminal and dissenter (whether political or religious), a character wholly incompatible with his more temperate son, who—like so many of Sir Walter Scott’s protagonists—embodies a new and less heroic generation. Stevenson here re-navigates the poetic vision of Scott, formulating a scenario in which, as Ian Duncan observes,

> The hero comes into his own—responds authentically to the revealed force of history—as captive and fugitive. Typically he flies across unknown country, falsely accused of treason, unwittingly sharing the plight of those on the wrong side of historical power: his agency aloof from the meaning of events (yet expressing their essential, deadly truth) as he invests it in the pure motion of escape.36

This sort of construction is readily apparent in David Balfour, who to some degree perpetuates the national struggle epitomized by characters in Scott’s novels. Perhaps more engagingly than is evidenced by the English protagonists of *Waverley* (1814) and *Rob Roy* (1817), we can ascertain a fascinating presentation of this motif in the amalgamation of those thoroughly Scottish characters Effie and Jeanie Deans in *The Heart of Midlothian* (1818), with one sister representing a typical victim of legal injustice whilst the other’s actions serve to realize an archetypal flight in search of exoneration. A similar dynamic is also evidenced in Archie Weir, through whom Stevenson establishes a more granular presentation
of this scenario by transcribing the national struggle onto a primarily domestic one: Archie does not so much physically as emotionally flee from his biological father, and—while their struggle is primarily familial in nature—the strained relationship is perpetually haunted by the overburdening shadow cast by Adam Weir’s judicial authority.\textsuperscript{37} The Lord Justice Clerk’s political vocation is inextricably united with domestic discord, thus enacting a situation in which emigration becomes an essential mode of escape for many of Scotland’s “children.” The microcosmic exile experienced by Archie mirrors a far wider diaspora to unknown hinterlands in the furthest corners of the globe.

In \textit{Kidnapped}, while David and Alan do eventually move towards an ideological alignment centered upon their resistance to the English political system, initially they portray civil tensions that, from a historical perspective, extended far beyond the borders of their homeland. As many scholars of Scottish socio-political history have noted, the Highland Lowland Divide marked far more than merely a geographical reference point: it functioned as a cultural symbol delineating radical shifts in language, religion and political affiliations. Not surprisingly, for Scots on both sides of this civil dispute, the polarized identities associated with these two regions carried enough emotional weight to extend beyond national boundaries. Angela McCarthy emphasizes how historical evidence, such as “migrant personal testimonies—private letters, shipboard journals, and diaries—demonstrates that Scottishness was both an overarching identity and one that was inextricably linked to regional, county, and local identities. So, as well as national, Highland, Lowland and Island affiliations, emphasis was also given to county origins and particular places of origin.”\textsuperscript{38} In North America, for instance,

Gaels, while conscious of the complex and concentric nature of identity, long continued to perceive themselves primarily in collective terms as a specific ethnic group delimited by language, distinct from and often in opposition to Lowlanders whose influence and institutions in North America,
as in Scotland, worked to the detriment of Gaelic cultural traditions. Stevenson highlights this reality in *Kidnapped* when Alan’s shipboard storytelling reveals his belief in the unscrupulousness of Whiggish Campbells: “ye ken very well that I am an Appin Stewart, and the Campbells have long harried and wasted those of my name; ay, and got lands of us by treachery [. . .] and all in the same story: lying words, lying papers, tricks fit for a peddler, and the show of what’s legal over all, to make a man the more angry.” This strong condemnation is juxtaposed neatly with a lionising tale about Alan’s father, Duncan Stewart. Yet the world which Stevenson presents is far from simplistic: certainly Lowlanders mistreat Highlanders (recall, for example, Captain Hoseason’s behaviour towards Alan, as well as the government’s ruthlessness towards James Stewart and his family after the Appin Murder) and vice versa (David’s conniving Highland guide; the anonymous blind catechist on the Isle of Mull). Avarice and cruelty prove capable of transgressing all geographic and social affinities. Conversely, in these landscapes of adventure, help can come from the least expected places and people, such as a servant lass from the humble clachan of Limekilns, who bravely rows the fugitives across the Firth of Forth to avoid detection by British sentinels.

**Psychology of Diaspora**

Despite its robust depictions of the cultural differences and civil animosities existent amongst Scots residing both at home and abroad, Stevenson’s writing also explores the powerful bond uniting even the most disparate of emigrants. This also reflects historical reality: as Armitage notes, “The ties that bound Scots to Scotland and to one another in the imperial diaspora prevented them from wholly assimilating to Anglo-British norms, and fostered that attachment to a homeland which is so characteristic of diasporic peoples.” In his 1882 essay, “The Foreigner at Home,” Stevenson muses on this idea:

> A century and a half ago the Highlander wore a different costume, spoke a different language,
worshipped in another church, held different morals, and obeyed a different social constitution from his fellow-countrymen either of the south or north. Even the English, it is recorded, did not loathe the Highlander and the Highland costume as they were loathed by the remainder of the Scots. Yet the Highlander felt himself a Scot. He would willingly raid into the Scottish lowlands; but his courage failed him at the border, and he regarded England as a perilous, unhomely land. [. . .] The fact remains: in spite of the difference of blood and language, the Lowlander feels himself the sentimental countryman of the Highlander. When they meet abroad, they fall upon each other’s necks in spirit; even at home there is a kind of clannish intimacy in their talk.43

As Stevenson observes, a great deal has changed between the mid-eighteenth century and the waning years of the British Empire, when he sailed the South Pacific. Yet in both eras collective memory was a powerful force, reconstructing ways in which, for nineteenth-century Scottish emigrants, “[s]ong-poems, narratives, and other forms of lore perpetuated the memory of contentions between Highlander and Lowlander in Scotland in New World oral tradition.”44 Like the suddenly-met travelers of his own day, Stevenson’s fictional Scots discover themselves to have as much in common as not. In Kidnapped, David and Alan soon realize that helping one another is the key to survival amidst the perilous landscapes of adventure—which are also the unfamiliar places of diaspora.45 Nevertheless, in the Highlands, David’s limited comprehension of local culture and customs frequently lands him in trouble. It might appear that, as Caroline McCracken-Flesher notes, “no amount of help from others can dislodge David from his role as stranger in a strangely familiar land.”46 Especially before being reunited with Alan, he seems almost to stumble from location to location, stout-hearted but utterly unequipped for survival in his new surroundings. His experience enacts a common one for many emigrants, whose time abroad often began with utter bewilderment.
and only gradually moved towards a general acquisition of cross-cultural and geographical “know-how.”

After the shipwreck of the Covenant, David becomes stranded on what he assumes to be an island but in fact turns out to be the tidal islet of Earraid. Moving on from this spot, he proceeds to wander through the Highlands, his needs and intentions frustrated by a lack of Gaelic, which he notes “might have been Greek or Hebrew for me.” This scenario represents a fascinating inversion of many Highlanders’ experiences in the New World. One undated Canadian song by a man identified only as Bard MacLean from Raasay, for example, states: “I am lonely here / in Murray Harbour not knowing English; / it is not what I have been accustomed to, / for I always spoke Gaelic.” In Stevenson’s tale, the “emigrant” protagonist inadvertently insults several Highlanders, most notably Cluny Macpherson, with whom he refuses to play cards (his Presbyterian aversion to gambling fails to impress the Jacobite chieftain). Likewise, David’s inexperience at navigating the rugged terrain makes him an easy target for thieves and ne’er-do-wells—as well as British soldiers hunting for him as a supposed accomplice to the Appin murderer. Luckily for David, he soon rejoins Alan, who subsequently intercedes to extricate his friend from various scrapes. The necessity of such external assistance reinforces the conclusion that David’s “foreignness” leaves him vulnerable in this new world. Older and shrewder, having spent far longer amidst the adventurous terrains of exile, Alan is a keen student in the school of survival. “Play me false,” he tells Captain Hoseason in a tense moment on board the Covenant, “and I’ll play you cunning.”

While David’s character can be read as enacting some elements of the emigrants’ dilemma of strangeness and vulnerability abroad, Alan more obviously depicts the propensity of many Scottish emigrants to associate themselves with a reconstructed national identity, even if this identity ends up being largely a mythic one. In fact, the possession of a shared cultural mythology was frequently a rallying point amongst Scots emigrants. In Kidnapped, this is immediately evidenced by Alan’s clothing, which David describes upon his first sight of the Highlander:
when he took off his great-coat, he laid a pair of fine
silver-mounted pistols on the table, and I saw that he
was belted with a great sword. His manners, besides,
were elegant, and he pledged the captain
handsomely. [. . .] And to be sure, as soon as he had
taken off the great-coat, he showed forth mighty fine
for the round-house of a merchant brig: having a hat
with feathers, a red waistcoat, breeches of black
plush, and a blue coat with silver buttons and
handsome silver lace; costly clothes, though
somewhat spoiled with the fog and being slept in.53

Despite Alan’s being a poverty-stricken Jacobite exile, he takes
great care to dress in regal fashion, thus reinforcing his role as an
emissary of Charles Edward Stuart (“Bonnie Prince Charlie”). Yet
his elaborate clothing and “elegant” manners are less indicators of
royal stature than of his attempt to construct a portrait of the
Jacobite cause as splendid, worthwhile, and justly monarchal—
notwithstanding the calamitous state of the Prince’s defeated
soldiers in 1751, many of whom had been killed or forced into
exile. Such identity-forming myths are also evident in Alan’s
stories and songs. In *Catriona*, he recalls to David how, while in
hiding from the authorities, he composed songs “about the deer and
the heather [. . .] and about the ancient old chiefs that are all by
with it lang syne, and just about what songs are about in general.
And then whiles I would make believe I had a set of pipes and I
was playing. I played some grand springs, and I thought I played
them awful bonny; I vow whiles that I could hear the squeal of
them! But the great affair is that it’s done with.”54 A similar
combination of myths, stories, and barely-remembered experiences
have had such a strong psychological effect on Catriona
Drummond that she harbours sentimental dreams of one day going
with her father “to France, to be exiles by the side of our
chieftain.”55

It can be argued that, for many Scots abroad, the theme of
exile often crystallized in the hauntingly distant character of the
Prince himself.56 Yet, in David Balfour’s story, this is one character
who, though frequently mentioned, never makes an appearance. This omission, when coupled with Stevenson’s focus on recreating through fiction comparatively “minor” historical characters—including Alan Breck Stewart, James Stewart (“James of the Glens”), and Lord Prestongrange—provides an intriguing hint into his broader conceptualisation of exile. While it may seem far-fetched to conceive of Stevenson’s springing the Prince upon readers from a patch of Highland heather, he might certainly have introduced this character during David and Catriona’s sojourn in Europe. The marked absence of the illusory “Young Chevalier,” who figures so prominently in Scottish history and mythology might be read as a subtle assertion that, ultimately, the drama surrounding this figure is actually less culturally important than the stories of individual emigrants. In Stevenson’s fiction, the Prince functions as an elaborate pretext, an excuse for endorsing the diasporic journeys of his countrymen and women. An especially salient example of this in his fiction can be found in the character of James Durie, the antiheroic and enigmatical protagonist of The Master of Ballantrae.

Julia Reid observes how, in The Master of Ballantrae, “as in Kidnapped, the divided nation is figured by the motif of exile and emigration.” The scene is set for such considerations in the novel’s preface, which introduces the story of doomed brothers James and Henry Durie via an imposed authorial presence whose identity is established primarily through a diasporic framework. The Preface begins: “Although an old, consistent exile, the editor of the following pages revisits now and again the city of which he exults to be a native; and there are few things more strange, more painful, or more salutary, than such revisitations.” This paradoxically “painful” and “salutary” experience of exile is then transferred to the story’s protagonist, the Master of Ballantrae. We find in James Durie a character whose almost perpetual state of self-imposed exile reflects a historical-poetic Scottish urge for adventure which propelled many real-life Scots to emigrate, at least temporarily, in search of the quintessential fame and fortune to be found in the “new worlds” of the Caribbean, North America, and Australasia. In creating James’ character thus, Stevenson provides an aesthetic enactment of yet another aspect of the diasporic
experience, since Scotland has a centuries-long tradition of supplying capable mercenaries for armies in Europe and further afield as well as furnishing a multitude of adventurers eager to make their fortunes abroad.  

James refers to himself as “another Æneas,” and, tropically speaking, he is the ultimate emigrant-adventurer: profoundly chance-oriented in nature, capable of assessing each new location and reinventing himself to succeed within that context.  

Fleeing Scotland after his participation with the failed 1745 Rising, he proceeds to fabricate whatever alternative identities his new surroundings necessitate. Malcolm Prentis points out how, historically, “[s]cholar, soldier and merchant were the three traditional overseas avenues of advancement for the adventurous Scot from the Middle Ages to the present.” Of these generalized categories, James fits most easily into that of the soldier, particularly given his participation in the Battle of Culloden. In casting him thus, Stevenson employs this character as a uniquely relatable representative of one particular strain of historical Scot.

The Scots have been a famous fighting nation for very many centuries: early in the fifteenth century about one in ten males of fighting age in Scotland enrolled in the service of France to fight the English in the Hundred Years War, and in the seventeenth century the proportion cannot have been less in mercenary armies in the service of Sweden, Denmark, the Netherlands, Russia, Poland and elsewhere. The Union diverted all this talent for aggression to the service of the British empire, and the disproportionate contribution of the Scots to the British armed forces was obvious as recently as the Gulf War. [. . . Indeed.] Scottish social historians and political scientists, not for the most part being very militaristic in their feelings, have tended to underplay the rôle of the martial tradition in national life.
Yet James is far more than merely a soldier: pirate, explorer, sage, treasure-hunter. Like suits of clothing (of which he is exceptionally fond), the Master dons and discards identities with disconcerting ease because he is drawn to the potential reward that each new circumstance affords. Historically, such versatility has been a noted trait of diasporic Scots. Indeed, Armitage observes how “[t]he distinctiveness of the Scottish experience outside Scotland lies in [. . . the] apparently paradoxical ability of Scots to blend in so completely with their background yet still to maintain sympathetic connections with Scotland itself.” As his letters testify, Stevenson too experienced frequent doses of nostalgia in the South Pacific.

Although James could hardly be accused of sentimentalism, there is a fascinating moment in the novel when we sense genuine wistfulness as James leaves his family home en route to North America. Unbeknownst to him, we can only suppose, after many adventures abroad this will be his final journey to foreign soil. As the House of Durisdeer fades into the distance, he sings an old song which echoes the laments of the traditional roving adventurer, such as the protagonist of the tenth-century Anglo Saxon poem, “The Wanderer.” This scene, recorded by the novel’s principal narrator—Ephraim Mackellar, Steward of the Durisdeer estate—is worth quoting at length:

as we walked side by side in the wet, [. . . James] began first to whistle, and then to sing the saddest of our country tunes, which sets folk weeping in a tavern, Wandering Willie. The set of words he used with it, I have not heard elsewhere, and could never come by any copy; but some of them which were the most appropriate to our departure linger in my memory. One verse began—

Home was home then, my dear, full of kindly faces,
Home was home then, my dear, happy for the child.
And ended somewhat thus—

“Now, when day dawns on the brow of the moorland,
   Lone stands the house and the chimney-stone is cold.
   Lone let it stand, now the folks are all departed,
   The kind hearts, the true hearts, that loved the place of old.”

I could never be a judge of the merit of these verses; they were so hallowed by the melancholy of the air, and were sung (or rather “soothed”) to me by a master-singer at a time so fitting. He looked in my face when he had done, and saw that my eyes watered.

“Ah! Mackellar,” said he, “do you think I have never a regret?”

“I do not think you could be so bad a man,” said I, “if you had not all the machinery to be a good one.”

“No, not all,” says he: “not all. You are there in error. The malady of not wanting, my evangelist.” But methought he sighed as he mounted again into the chaise.67

For the Master of Ballantrae, this affinity is perhaps most clearly seen in his cyclical pattern of return to his homeland. Despite finding wealth and adventure abroad, he seems drawn back to Scotland by some inexplicable force.68 While typically less romantic in nature, such homecomings were not infrequent among Scots who ventured abroad; indeed, according to Armitage, “[i]t would be a mistake to think that all forms of Scottish migration were permanent, or that all migrants, even the most notorious, were necessarily lost to Scotland forever [. . .] an estimated 27 per cent of the 1,667,300 who migrated between 1853 and 1938 subsequently returned to Scotland.”69
For those Scots who chose to stay in their new homelands, a sense of being psychologically “settled” there often proved elusive. John MacDonald (Iain Sealgair), a native of the Braes of Lochaber who had emigrated in 1834, lamented:

I left my homeland, I left my heritage; my joy was left behind.
I left the friendly, hospitable land, and my beloved kinsmen there.
I left comfort and the place where it can be found, the land of valleys and cairns.
I am now distressed because I did not choose to remain there forever.70

James Durie’s regretful memories can thus be contextualized quite grittily into historical perspective. Perhaps, in this he resembles Stevenson, who from the South Seas dreamt of a romanticized return to his homeland, despite the impracticality of such a move for his fragile health. In a poem dedicated to S. R. Crockett, he wrote: “Be it granted me to behold you again in dying, / Hills of home! and to hear again the call; / Hear about the graves of the martyrs the peewees crying, / And hear no more at all.”71

Unfortunately, this paper has space to provide only the most cursory glimpse into how Stevenson’s fiction can be read as providing textual representations of the Scottish emigrant experience. His characters provide imaginative enactments of how, in the words of Armitage, “[t]he ties that bound Scots to Scotland and to one another in the imperial diaspora prevented them from wholly assimilating to Anglo-British norms, and fostered that attachment to a homeland which is so characteristic of diasporic peoples.”72 In his writing, Stevenson explores the psychological ramifications of both politically enforced and self-imposed exile, providing fictional extrapolations of the Scottish diaspora. These portrayals, infused the author’s own transnational experience in the Europe, North America, and the South Seas, offer fascinating microcosms which gesture towards the collective experience of a wide-scale network of displaced Scots in a rapidly globalizing world.
NOTES

2 Stevenson, “Old Scots Gardener,” 63-64.
10 Ann C. Colley notes how, in Stevenson’s writing, “[i]n spite of its two languages, many dialects, innumerable forms of piety, and countless local patriotisms and prejudices, Scotland emerged as a unified entity—deep
down it was one nation.” Anne C. Colley, Nostalgia and Recollection in Victorian Culture (Basingstoke: MacMillan Press, 1998), 64. In this aspect, Stevenson aligns with a far more chronologically “modern” conception of Scotland. As T. C. Smout puts it: “There are, of course, those who would deny there is any common identity possible in Scotland, a small country of quite exceptional regional and cultural diversity. How can a person in the Outer Hebrides, speaking Gaelic, crofting, a member of the Free Church, have a common identity with a person in Glasgow, speaking a Lowland dialect, working as a software engineer, a follower of no religion save Rangers football club? That is to misunderstand the point, and to assume that we have but one identity.” Smout, “Perspectives on Scottish Identity,” in Scottish Affairs 6 (1994): www.scottishaffairs.org.


13 Colley, Nostalgia, 67.


16 Interestingly, Stevenson’s fictional emigrants often demonstrate a marked inability to fully assimilate into their new settings or even to mentally “settle” within the tangible and emotional landscapes of their adopted homes. Rather, they exhibit restless tendencies and a fervent
longing to return to the old country in at least a psychological, if not a physical, sense.

17 Matthew Wickman points out that, “[i]n a way—compellingly, in fact—Stevenson created a flâneur-type figure in David Balfour, the callow narrator-protagonist of Kidnapped and Catriona. The “city” in these particular novels is less Edinburgh or Inveraray than Scotland itself, a significant portion of which David absorbs peripatetically even as he describes and symptomatically exhibits multiple ways in which the complexities and corruptions of modernising Scotland bewilder and escape him.” Matthew Wickman, “Stevenson, Benjamin, and the Decay of Experience.” International Journal of Scottish Literature 2 (2007): www.ijsl.stir.ac.uk/issue2/wickman.htm.


22 “The regional differences of Scots were likewise strikingly apparent, with the most clearly demarcated area being the Highlands.” Angela McCarthy, “Scottish Migrant Ethnic Identities in the British Empire since the Nineteenth Century,” in Scotland and the British Empire, ed. J. M. MacKenzie and T. M. Devine (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 134.

23 Of course, as various historians have noted, this was certainly not the case for all emigrant Scots, many of whom left their homeland quite willingly in search of better lives. Marjory Harper, for example, writes: “A minority of emigrants had no choice whatsoever to send them overseas.” Marjory Harper, Adventurers and Exiles: The Great Scottish Exodus (London: Profile, 2003), 33. Likewise, David Armitage states that “most eighteenth-century Scottish migrants to North America departed voluntarily.” Armitage, “Scottish Diaspora,” 293.

24 Stevenson, Kidnapped, 170-171.
26 Margaret MacDonell, The Emigrant Experience: Songs of Highland Emigrants in North America (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 127.
27 MacDonell, Emigrant, 107. Naturally, some Scots emigrants expressed a far different sentiment, such as Rory Roy MacKenzie, who emigrated on the same ship as Calum Bàn MacMhannain: “If it be the benign Selkirk / who will grant us a place, / with my children I am eager to sail without delay.” MacDonell, Emigrant, 115.
29 Stevenson, Kidnapped, 170.
30 Harper, Adventurers, 33.
32 Stevenson, Kidnapped, 78.
35 Stevenson, Kidnapped. 331-332.
37 For a more detailed consideration of emigration and the Scottish legal system in Stevenson’s work, see Di Frances, “Hurled gallowsward with Jeers”.
38 McCarthy, “Scottish Migrant,” 133. Likewise, Bill Bell notes that: “Immense diversity can alone be seen in the multiple versions of Scottishness that were transplanted in a myriad of different complexions and intensities across the world, as variations of class, language, and religion to be found at home were time and again replicated overseas, often in exaggerated forms. Whenever we think of the Scottish immigrant
community, therefore, it must always be with the awareness that we are not speaking of a single cultural unit, but a whole range of regional, religious, economic groups with their distinct (though sometimes related) cultural networks.” Bill Bell, “Crusoe’s Books: The Scottish Emigrant Reader in the Nineteenth Century,” in *Across Boundaries: The Book in Culture and Commerce*, eds. Bill Bell, Philip Bennett and Jonqui Bevan (Winchester, Hampshire, UK: Oak Knoll Press, 2000), 122.

39 Michael Newton, “Scotland’s Two Solitudes Abroad: Scottish Gaelic Immigrant Identity in North America,” in *The Shaping of Scottish Identities: Family, Nation, and the Worlds Beyond* (Guelph, ON: Guelph Centre for Scottish Studies, 2011), 216-217. Newton goes on to note how, “[s]uch divisions as existed in pre-emigration Scotland persisted and sometimes even intensified after migration. Into the mid-nineteenth century and often well beyond, Highland emigrants were monolingual Gaelic speakers, some of whom held Lowlanders responsible for their marginalisation and exile. Immigrant Highlanders reflected on their community and called on each other for solidarity by invoking symbols and archetypes of long-standing significance in oral tradition rooted in their experiences in Scotland.”

40 Stevenson, *Kidnapped*, 123.

41 Stevenson, *Kidnapped*, 123-124. Similarly, in *Catriona*, the eponymous heroine at first regards David with suspicion, assuming him to be politically aligned with her father’s persecutors. The blossoming romance between these young people can certainly be read as a gesture towards the visions of Scottish unification tentatively proffered in Walter Scott’s *Waverley* (1814).

42 Armitage, “Scottish Diaspora,” 293.


44 Newton, “Scotland’s Two Solitudes,” 221.

45 Hence, David eschews the prospect of betraying Alan in turn for the substantial reward on his head, while Alan saves his friend’s life during a bout of severe illness and later helps him to procure legal evidence pertaining to his uncle’s crimes.


47 Mid-nineteenth century emigrant Hugh MacCorkindale (Eobhan Mac-Corcadail) recalled his gradual rise to personal success after more than two decades in North America: “I came over to Canada, / a place twice as
good for me. / I was employed there without discrimination, / and my pay was not the worst; / from that day to this / there was no obstacle to my progress.” MacDonnell, Emigrant, 143.

48 Stevenson, Kidnapped, 154. See also 161.

49 MacDonnell, Emigrant, 119.

50 Stevenson, Kidnapped. See, for example, 163-164 and 187-188.

51 Stevenson, Kidnapped, 95.

52 For an excellent study on this, see Peter Womack, Improvement and Romance: Constructing the Myth of the Highlands (Houndmills, Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1989). Of course, it is important to realise that this cultural mythology was by no means homogeneous. As Michael Kennedy aptly notes: “When sifting through the historical record of Gaelic experience, it quickly becomes apparent that we must exercise caution when attempting to divine any sort of common ‘Highland migration mythology.’ [. . .] The saga of the Highland migrant has its roots in a period of intense social change and heavy migration spanning a period of slightly more than one hundred years from roughly the middle of the eighteenth to the middle of the nineteenth century. Virtually every community in the large, disjointed region of the Scottish Highlands was affected by a massive exodus of people which led to the establishment of new communities in far-flung, sundry political states and disparate geographical areas around the world. These facts, in themselves, should caution us not to expect the narrative of Highland migration to be a uniform one.” Michael Kennedy, “‘Lochaber no more’: A Critical Examination of Highland Emigration Mythology,’ in Myth, Migration and the Making of Memory: Scotia and Nova Scotia, c. 1700-1990, ed. Marjory Harper and Michael E. Vance (Halifax, NS: Fernwood Publishing and John Donald Publishers Limited, 1999), 269.

53 Stevenson, Kidnapped, 92.

54 Stevenson, Catriona, 154.

55 Stevenson, Catriona, 289. Catriona recounts fond childhood memories from the 1745 Rising: “I saw Prince Charlie too, and the blue eyes of him; he was pretty indeed! I had his hand to kiss in front of the army.” 294.


57 Stevenson’s “Foreign Lands” also reflects the author’s abiding interest in the encounters of the self abroad; hence the poem’s telescopic focus on flower-adorned gardens and a river as “the sky’s blue looking-glass.” Robert Louis Stevenson, “Foreign Lands,” 27.


64 Smout.


68 Of course, in the broader trajectory of the narrative, an argument might certainly be made for this “inexplicable draw” as being tied to the uncanny symbiosis between the Durie brothers.

69 Armitage, “Scottish Diaspora,” 281-282

70 MacDonell, *Emigrant*, 81.
