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Re-Imagining Nations: Mimetic Desire, Social Memory, and the Romantic-Era Imagination of Scottish Highlanders and Native Americans in Historical Novels

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English Honors Thesis

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Introduction

After their victory against the Jacobites at Culloden, the British enacted the Highland Clearances (1750-1860) to forcibly remove Scottish Highlanders from their homeland for commercialization of sheep farming. With the Highlanders left insecure, Thomas Douglas, the 5th Earl of Selkirk, initiated the resettlement of Scottish Highlanders in 1803, transporting them to North American forests to establish an agricultural community, replicating the environment of the Highlands. However, Lord Selkirk weaponized them against the rising resistance of Americans to the British Empire, "his settlements would be 'national' in the dual sense that they would remain purely 'Highland' in character… as the custom and traditions of the Scottish Gael would act as a kind of antibody to the 'infection' of American principles" (McNeil 166). By objectifying the Highlanders for the British nation, Lord Selkirk positioned both Native Americans and Scottish Highlanders as being at a similar stage of developing civilization, capable of adapting to a new, yet familiar natural environment. Walter Scott's *Waverley* remarks, "the political and economic effects of these changes have been traced by Lord Selkirk," acknowledging Scotland's rapid transition into a capitalist nation deeming Highlanders antiquated (*Waverley* 363). However, interracial relationships between Native Americans and Scottish Highlanders further justified their displacement, portraying them as savage, archaic, and incapable of conforming to an extractive capitalist economy. Selkirk's colony would lose its Highland purity, as racial miscegenation between the Scottish Highlanders and the Métis tribe created a group that was "neither European nor Indian, they belonged nowhere and to no one" (McNeil 177). Their hybridity removed them from the evolving identities of both the British and American nations, marking both indigenous groups as primitive Others threatening to taint an

Anglo-Saxon whiteness. As a result, the Scottish Highlands were left barren and commodified for sheep farming and tourism, romanticized by Walter Scott to encourage British tourists to visit a sublime landscape cleansed of savages.

England and Scotland's unity since the Act of Union in 1707 framed Scottish Highlanders and Native Americans as part of a joint memory with the British, presenting them as an imagined community progressing unevenly in history. Benedict Anderson explains that an imagined community is the construction of a national identity where citizens feel connected, though not knowing each other personally. This unity is particularly formed through print capitalism, such as newspapers and novels, which facilitate the growth of such communities, "[an] explosive interaction between a system of production and productive relations (capitalism), a technology of communications (print), and the fatality of human linguistic diversity" (Anderson 46). Scottish Highlanders and Native Americans, lacking these elements, were portrayed as antiquated in comparison to the modernizing British and American nations. Walter Scott explores this theme in his historical novels, illustrating how Scotland's modernization, achieved through its union with England, participation in free-trade capitalism, print culture, and the use of the English language with a Scots dialect, contributed to the construction of Scotland's imagined community.

Through print-culture, British settlers brought back Indian captivity narratives into the British national consciousness. The popularity of James Macpherson's *Poems of Ossian* further enabled Walter Scott to combine these narratives with his depiction of Scottish Highlanders. Flora Mac Ivor explains to Waverley that the Highlanders' antiquity lies in their traditions,

> the recitation of poems, recording the feats of heroes, the complaints of lovers, and the wars of contending tribes, forms the chief amusement of a winter fireside in the

> Highlands… if they are ever translated into any of the languages of civilized Europe, [they] cannot fail to produce a deep and general sensation (*Waverley* 111).

By using the term "tribes" instead of "clans," Scott's metonymy parallels between antiquated identities confronting a modernizing nation seeking to translate both Highlanders and Native Americans in interchangeable terms. The result is an attack on linguistic diversity, as the imposition of English as a global language of commerce and colonialism erases the cultural uniqueness of these groups, and positions Anglo-Saxonism as superior.

In this romanticization, imagined communities are created by filling in their past with a selective and biased interpretation of their social memory. Anderson explains how imagined communities construct a linear history, marked by dates and timelines, to demonstrate a nation's temporal development. This history follows a "homogenous, empty time" through events occurring within a given period shaped by the nation's beliefs, but not because of time itself or bound to repeat history (Anderson 24). However, history lacks the emotions necessary to connect the past to the present, and it fails to capture all the exact details of what has occurred. As a result, social memory acts as a biased interpretation of the past, making present beliefs of a coherent imagined community more comprehensible. Maurice Halbwachs defines social memory as a collective reconstruction, "the past is not preserved but is reconstructed based on the present… to reconstruct an image of the past which is in accord, in each epoch, with the predominant thoughts of the society" (Halbwachs 40). Writing after the American and French Revolutions, Romantic authors like Walter Scott, James Fenimore Cooper, and Catherine Sedgwick reconstruct Britain and America's social memories of interactions with Native Americans and Scottish Highlanders to portray them as romantic subjects that critique the present, revealing how their pasts were misunderstood. These reconstructed memories highlight

national values of independence, liberty, and bravery as originating from Native Americans and Scottish Highlanders. The selfishness and corruption behind British control of indigenous lands can now be recognized through a sympathetic lens, allowing a British audience to identify with Native Americans and Scottish Highlanders.

Their constructed antiquity allows the imagined community to establish a temporal development, reflecting the nation's agricultural and cultural past before capitalism. *Waverley* explores Scotland's development in comparison to the Scottish Highlanders, noting no nation "has undergone so complete a change as this kingdom of Scotland…the gradual influx of wealth, and extension of commerce… [made] the present people of Scotland a class of beings as different from their grandfathers" (*Waverley* 363). Scottish Highlanders and Native Americans are portrayed as outside the temporality of Britain and America's present. In *Waverley*, Scotland's development is marked as sudden since its union with England, with the simultaneous existence of Scottish Highlanders, who possess communal values and orality, positioned as a contrast to the Lowlanders' capitalistic ambitions in cities. In other words, the Scottish Highlanders, like Native Americans, are displaced by present beliefs because they lack the ability to engage in free-trade capitalism, which is seen as key to the nation's future development. They are captives of social memory, as British writers commodify Native Americans and Scottish Highlanders through print culture, shaping America and Scotland's cohesive national identity as a temporary rite of passage—a primitive stage of civilization. The origins of national identity through indigenous groups not only foreclose where national values originate but also justify their authoritative pastness, repackaged in print form, as an orally-based cultural tradition.

Historical novelists in the Romantic era often portray indigenous groups as embodying the origins of a nation's values, a pattern prevalent in literary works that extol the homo

economicus ideal. While not directly using the term “homo economicus,” Adam Smith in his *Wealth of Nations* lays the foundation for it, “his interest is connected with the prosperity of society… the preservation of his existence, depends upon its preservation. Upon every account, therefore, he has an abhorrence at whatever can tend to destroy society” (Smith 136). The term “homo economicus,” or “economic man,” carries biological and racial connotations that position Scottish Highlanders and Native Americans as inferior to Anglo-Saxon capitalists. Smith’s propagandistic language stirs anxieties about a nation’s collapse, invoking fears of returning to a savage past and displacing British imperialism onto both Native Americans and Scottish Highlanders. This rhetoric serves as a national call for British imperialism to condemn Native Americans and Scottish Highlanders for threatening the nation’s slide back into primitivism.

If indigenous groups do not participate in capitalism, they risk the modern existence of the nation and its citizens. These “Others” must be displaced to prevent the nation’s collapse. *Waverley* depicts the collapse of Mr. Bradwardine's home, Tully-Veolan, which is later rebuilt through his daughter Rose Bradwardine’s marriage to Waverley, “to maintain the original character… and to erase, as far as possible, all appearance of the ravage they had sustained” (Waverley 357). The unity between English and Scottish characters underscores how essential uniting as a British nation is for continuing into the present, with the damages to Tully-Veolan reflecting an alternative timeline. The only addition to Tully-Veolan is a painting of Waverley with the Highlanders, "a large and animated painting, representing Fergus Mac-Ivor and Waverley in their Highland dress, the scene a wild, rocky, and mountainous pass, down which the clan were descending in the background" (*Waverley* 361). Waverley participates in what Homi Bhabha describes as mimicry, "a mode of representation that marginalizes the monumentality of history, quite simply mocks its power to be a model, that power which

supposedly makes it imitable. Mimicry repeats rather than re-presents" (Bhabha 125). The painting embodies English imperialism, with the Scottish Highlanders fading into the background while Waverley stands dominant in his Highland attire. His mimicry reassures that there are valuable qualities in the Scottish Highlanders worth incorporating into British imperial identity—values that can politically and socioeconomically unite the English and Scottish. However, this also justifies their displacement by repeating the Highlanders' lack of cultural agency. This dynamic can be seen in *The Last of the Mohicans*, where Hawkeye mimics the Mohicans but will eventually be forgotten in social memory for not participating in capitalism to ensure the nation's survival. Historical romances present indigenous tribes as the origins of national values, but it is through social memory that the nation performs mimicry to assert its dominance over both the past and present, driven by economic wealth and military power.

Nonetheless, such unity between the English and Scottish cannot occur unless both sides hold sympathy for one another. Adam Smith defines sympathy in *Theory of Moral Sentiments* as impossible when observed from the position of an "impartial spectator," who would express the "insolence and brutality of anger"—traits uncharacteristic of a modern gentleman, driven by irrationality and violence (Smith 29). Instead, Smith argues that true sympathy requires the sympathizer to occupy the position of the sufferer, using the "imagination" to experience "what are his sensations" (Smith 2). Smith also emphasizes sympathy as a way to remember the dead, "when they are in danger of being forgotten by everybody… we endeavor, for our misery, artificially to keep alive our melancholy remembrance of their misfortune… our consciousness of that change… our living souls in their inanimate bodies, and thence conceiving what would be our emotions in this case… and from thence arises… the dread of death" (Smith 8-9). In this way, moral sympathy is what provides the imagined community with social cohesiveness.

Waverley's mimicry objectifies the Highlanders' "inanimate" bodies, highlighting the oppression they have faced due to English corruption, all in the name of preserving the integrity of the British nation.

Similar to Hawkeye, Waverley abandons the British to live among the Scottish Highlanders as a symbolic gesture of his sympathy for the injustice they have endured under the pressures of the homo economicus ideal. In doing so, he expresses admiration for individuals like Fergus Mac-Ivor, recognizing that those from hunter-gatherer communities embody a nobility absent in the selfishness of British capitalists,

> Fergus, the bold, the chivalrous, the free-minded? The lofty chieftain of a tribe devoted to him? Is it he, that I have seen lead the chase and head the attack,—the brave, the active, the young, the noble, the love of ladies, and the theme of song… dragged on a hurdle to the common gallows to die a lingering and cruel death, and to be mangled by the hands of the most outcast of wretches (*Waverley* 343).

Waverley's sympathy alleviates some of the regret surrounding the mistreatment of Scottish Highlanders and Native Americans, and in recognizing the British role in displacing indigenous tribes for economic gain, historical novels depict British characters choosing to live among these groups to learn national values such as independence, liberty, honor, and respect. Yet this sympathy remains conditional, offered only to those who adopt or represent the homo economicus ideal, commodifying indigenous identities as holders of national values rather than individuals capable of shaping the modern nation themselves. Adam Smith framed sympathy as a stabilizing social force that could coexist with his depiction of humans as economically self-interested actors in *The Wealth of Nations*. Waverley reveals this contradiction when expressing surprise at Fergus's "small degree of sympathy… even of those whom he loved" (*Waverley* 253),

reaffirming the perceived antiquity and irrationality of such figures. This framing reassures British colonial authority by justifying the displacement of Scottish Highlanders and Native Americans as anachronistic, ultimately portraying their exclusion as necessary to preserve Anglo-Saxon communal identity.

In the 18th and 19th centuries, Anglo-Saxon whiteness emerged as a racial and cultural ideology to justify White superiority over those deemed biologically and socially inferior. Both British and American thinkers framed their Anglo-Saxon heritage as the source of their ability to build "free political institutions," tracing this capacity back to their Teutonic tribal origins and portraying their imperialism as a natural extension of their civilizational progress (Horsman 5, 24). By emphasizing their transformation from a hunter-gatherer society to one marked by "good government, commercial prosperity, and Christianity," Anglo-Saxon whiteness became synonymous with the capacity to modernize—something Native Americans and Scottish Highlanders were perceived to lack (Horsman 2). This ideology bonded the British and Americans in their belief that their pursuit of freedom and prosperity stemmed from a racial superiority, legitimizing colonial expansion across indigenous lands. Anglo-Saxonism defined White identity not just culturally but biologically, insisting that groups perceived as "savage" and physically distinct could not have shared ancestry with Anglo-Saxons (Horsman 48). While Native Americans and Scottish Highlanders might ally with Anglo-Saxon powers, their racial and cultural inferiority—Gaelic heritage in the case of the Highlanders and non-White bodies in the case of Native Americans—rendered them incapable of participating fully in Anglo-Saxon governance or society.

Their exclusion from Anglo-American republicanism reinforced a racial hierarchy in which liberty and nationhood were reserved for those deemed authentically Anglo-Saxon.

Through novels like *Ivanhoe* and *Waverley*, Walter Scott's historical fiction was instrumental in circulating Anglo-Saxonist ideology across the Atlantic, reinforcing a shared imperial project between Britain and the United States through print-culture (Horsman 161). *Ivanhoe* foregrounded Anglo-Saxon heritage as America's imagined past, a framework that allowed American readers to understand Native Americans as a stage of development that Anglo-Saxons had surpassed. Social memory thus recast indigenous tribes through the lens of Anglo-Saxon values, applying the homo economicus ideal to groups deemed incapable of fulfilling it. The stereotype of the noble or ignoble savage and the trope of the vanishing Indian positioned Native Americans and Scottish Highlanders as romanticized yet expendable precursors to the modern White nation. Anglo-Saxons, as the only ones capable of achieving lasting peace and prosperity, emerge as the rightful inheritors of the nation's future, while Native Americans and Highlanders are consigned to the past, their "savagery" used to affirm Anglo-Saxon dominance.

This stereotyping through the noble/ignoble savage binary and the vanishing Indian trope legitimizes the appropriation of indigenous cultural values while simultaneously erasing those very communities into social memory. In *Waverley*, the Scottish Highlanders are depicted as unsympathetic and savage, their identities defined by their appearance and demeanor, "the ignorant gazed with astonishment, mixed with horror and aversion, at the wild appearance, unknown language, and singular garb of the Scottish clans" (*Waverley* 281). This portrayal reflects a Gothic sensibility, where the Highlanders become figures of a threatening, unknowable past—a past that jeopardizes the rational, modern trajectory of the British nation. Gothicism, defined as a romanticized narrative set in antiquated and mysterious locations like castles and mountainous terrains, often revolves around suspense, the supernatural, and historical uncertainty (Ousby). Scott leverages this Gothic formula to dramatize the cultural and temporal

divide between the British and the Highlanders, casting the latter as remnants of a medieval era filled with irrationality and violence. By framing both Scottish Highlanders and Native Americans as relics of a violent Gothic past, British literature uses social memory to reinforce their displacement as necessary for national progress.

However, this portrayal ultimately turns the gaze back on the British, positioning them as the true savages for Othering the Scottish Highlanders—a contradiction that Waverley's mimicry attempts to resolve through the reassurance that such horror can be tamed with sympathy. Yet, the Romantic emphasis on the injustices faced by Scottish Highlanders and Native Americans stems from Jean-Jacques Rousseau's critique of European civilization through comparisons with indigenous societies. Rousseau writes, "man is born free, and everywhere he is in chains… the first societies were governed aristocratically… the savages of North America govern themselves in this way even now, and their government is admirable" (Rousseau 1, 35). By aligning Native Americans with idealized pre-modern governance, Rousseau—and Romantic authors after him—challenge the moral authority of British imperialism. In *Waverley*, characters like Fergus Mac-Ivor expose the paradox of British freedom by critiquing the nation's self-imposed captivity under the homo economicus ideal. This rhetorical reversal frames the British not as liberators, but as oppressors who are mimetically chained to capitalist self-interest. Thus, the captivity and displacement of Native Americans and Scottish Highlanders ultimately reveal the ignoble savagery of the imperial nation itself. Their resistance becomes sublime in the Romantic imagination—a natural, noble revolt against the constraints of modern civilization.

Nonetheless, the noble savage stereotype ultimately distances indigenous tribes from British civilization and reinforces the vanishing Indian trope. When Waverley ventures into the Highlands, he experiences a sense of sublimity in the presence of a Highland guide, "he had now

time to give himself up to the full romance of his situation. Here he sat on the banks of an unknown lake, under the guidance of a wild native, whose language was unknown to him, on a visit to the den of some renowned outlaw, a second Robin Hood perhaps" (*Waverley* 84). The Highland landscape—like the American frontier—is framed as both mysterious and enchanting, rendering it temporally and culturally distinct from British modernity. Its depiction as a space of legend and pre-modern heroism reinforces a sense of otherness, especially when the Highlander is likened to a mythical English outlaw, replacing native figures with domesticated ones that justify English cultural dominance. Though romanticized, these settings and their native inhabitants are cast as relics of a bygone age, contributing to their symbolic disappearance. Nature becomes a stage where British characters project their fantasies, while the indigenous presence is rendered as disappearing. Waverley's lament for Fergus's death exemplifies this logic, "and this, then, was thy last field… here fell the last Vich Ian Vohr, on a nameless heath… ambition, policy, bravery, all far beyond their sphere, here learned the fate of mortals" (*Waverley* 299–300). Fergus's fall marks the extinction of a noble yet doomed figure, reinforcing the vanishing Indian trope as the tragic end of indigenous virtue in the face of British progress. While this narrative critiques the failure of British sympathy, it also circumvents the contradiction of incorporating indigenous groups into the modern nation. Their symbolic erasure soothes anxieties about racial difference and cultural regression, allowing their legacy to be remembered selectively—through traits like chivalry or honor—while their living presence is written out of the national future.

Applying English chivalric values to Native Americans and Scottish Highlanders allows historical novels to construct a national identity rooted in 19th-century ideals of Anglo-Saxonism. René Girouard, in *The Return to Camelot*, argues that Walter Scott's Highlanders are

framed in a way that channels the knightly virtues of medieval chivalry for a modern British audience, "it gave women an honorable place in society; it provided an education for young men which was calculated to give them physical strength, bravery, grace, courtesy, and respect for women. But Scott wrote of chivalry as a thing of the past" (Girouard 33). Through the noble savage stereotype, these indigenous figures are not just romanticized but idealized for the moral qualities the British themselves seem to have lost in their pursuit of capitalism and empire. Fergus Mac-Ivor's capture by the English highlights this contrast, especially when Evan Dhu Maccombich, in a display of loyalty and honor, declares, "but if they laugh because they think I wad not keep my word, and come back to redeem him, I can tell them they ken neither the heart of a Hielandman, nor the honour of a gentleman" (*Waverley* 342). Evan Dhu's words position the Highlander as more authentically chivalric than the modern British, who mock or dismiss such values. The implication is that Native Americans and Scottish Highlanders serve as moral exemplars, knight-like figures whose adherence to honor, loyalty, and virtue offers a corrective to the morally ambivalent British state. In this way, historical romance presents these indigenous figures as part of a national pedagogy, their fading existence cast as a necessary sacrifice for modern progress, yet their values repurposed to define what it means to be a civilized, masculine, and moral British gentleman.

Although protagonists such as Waverley adopt the chivalric virtues of Scottish Highlanders and Native Americans, they do so as part of a nostalgic journey that risks entrapment in a pre-Enlightenment, cyclical temporality of irrationality and myth. Waverley's alignment with the Highlanders casts him in the role of a romantic knight whose existence threatens to vanish with theirs, "Edward… you are the last of that race, and the only hope of its revival depends upon you" (*Waverley* 27). His journey through the Highlands, guided by Flora

Mac-Ivor, reinforces this knightly persona—"like a knight of romance… conducted by the fair Highland damsel, his silent guide… this narrow glen, at so short a distance, seemed to open the land of romance" (*Waverley* 112). This alignment represents a colonial hybridity that, as Homi Bhabha argues, takes place in the "in-between space" where cultures merge and identities are negotiated, "an international culture, based… on the inscription and articulation of culture's hybridity… the Third Space… where we emerge as the others of our selves" (Bhabha 38). Through this lens, Waverley's experience among the Highlanders illustrates the cultural intersectionality that helps shape national identity. Benedict Anderson identifies historical romance as central to the construction of the imagined community, a genre dependent on print culture that allows nations to conceptualize their past. However, the cultural hybridity depicted in these novels is ultimately resolved by reabsorbing indigenous traits into the dominant imperial order, preserving British economic rationalism while relegating tribal identities to a fading romantic memory.

By portraying Scottish Highlanders and Native Americans through a chivalric lens and linking them to the homo economicus through sympathy, historical romances reveal a cultural hybridity at the core of British and American identity formation. This hybridity reflects the tension between imperialist efforts to displace indigenous peoples and the nostalgic mourning of their loss as foundational to national character. In *Waverley*, it is Edward's hybridity with the Highlanders that opens his eyes to the English mimetic violence and draws him into Jacobitism. Similarly, in *The Last of the Mohicans*, Hawkeye's partial adoption of Native American life illustrates his disillusionment with British imperial values and his admiration for indigenous ideals. These interactions demonstrate how indigenous tribes, far from being relics of the past, are essential to the formation of the imagined communities of Britain and America. Through

mimicry, as Bhabha theorizes, Scottish Highlanders and Native Americans are reimagined as carriers of national values—liberty, honor, bravery—that shape British modernity. Thus, their supposed antiquity becomes a paradox: they are both excluded from and essential to the national narrative. By mimicking their identity, British and American societies expose their own historical dependence on the very groups they marginalize. Rather than existing outside of modernity, Native Americans and Scottish Highlanders are shown to co-exist within it, their identities absorbed and preserved through cultural hybridity that challenges the boundaries of social memory and imperial ideology.

In chapter one, I explore the conflict between the Scottish Lowlands and Highlands, focusing on the hybridity between the Scottish and English as they displace the Highlanders, and the formation of a "British" nationalism that unites England and Scotland for modernization. Using Walter Scott's *The Bride of Lammermoor*, I delve into the anxieties of returning to a feudal and primitive past through the characters of Edgar Ravenswood and Lucy Ashton. Scott taps into his social memory to reshape the original story of Janet Dalrymple. Set just a year after the Act of Union (1707), the novel justifies Scotland's unity with England as a means of escaping savagery. I also bring in *Rob Roy* to highlight the necessity of the homo economicus ideal, using *Waverley* as a model to promote free-trade capitalism for the wealth of the British nation. As Frank Osbaldistone evolves from a romantic idealist to a capitalist, his interactions with Rob Roy in the Scottish Highlands expose the privilege Frank enjoys in participating in free-trade capitalism, a privilege Rob Roy lacks. Written in the first-person perspective, Frank commercializes Rob Roy's social memory to propagate the homo economicus ideal for the British nation. His retelling of Indian captivity narratives, a popular genre, and the historical

romance within early 19th-century Scotland showcase Frank's participation in modernity, portraying the Scottish Highlands in a way that supports the capitalist narrative.

The second chapter examines James Fenimore Cooper's *The Last of the Mohicans*, emphasizing mimetic violence, colonial mimicry, and hybridity. The novel reinforces the "vanishing Indian" trope and portrays Native Americans and Scottish Highlanders as biologically inferior to the English, thereby advancing the homo economicus ideal. Cooper applies both noble and ignoble savage stereotypes to evoke sympathy for the ways British colonization disrupts Native American life. He casts the Mohicans as noble for upholding chivalric values and depicts the Hurons as ignoble due to their pursuit of vengeance. Hawk-eye actively embraces hybridity by adopting the Mohican lifestyle and rejecting the expectations of the homo economicus in favor of honor, loyalty, and the liberty to express his "natural" identity. Cooper ties the narrative to the Scottish Highlanders by portraying their repeated cycles of violence and their inability to show sympathy toward enemies. He depicts their resistance to free-trade capitalism as evidence of their obsolescence, positioning them—along with Hawk-eye and the Native Americans—as destined to vanish to clear the way for the rising Anglo-American nation. Duncan Heyward, embodying the homo economicus, initially fails to navigate the American wilderness. However, his interactions with Native Americans allow him to reshape his identity as an Anglo-Saxon by adopting knightly values from Hawk-eye.

Through this engagement with social memory, Cooper elevates Duncan over Hawk-eye by casting him as the figure who enables the creation of the American nation. Duncan fuses economic rationality with chivalric ideals after enduring captivity by the Hurons and recognizing British betrayal in the Fort William Henry massacre. Cooper portrays Colonel Munro, a Scottish character, to show how the English marginalize even those Scots who support imperialism. He

renders Munro obsolete by associating him with outdated chivalric beliefs. In response, Duncan conceals his Gaelic heritage, and through mimetic violence imitates Anglo-Saxonism to align himself more closely with English identity. The novel also critiques the sexual economy of chivalry by showing its failure to protect Cora from Magua due to her hybridity, while rewarding Duncan with marriage to Alice for embracing his Anglo-Saxonism. Through Duncan's marriage, Cooper critiques Anglo-Americans for founding the American nation on a hybridity they attempt to hide.

The final chapter focuses on Catharine Sedgwick's *Hope Leslie*, where Sedgwick, writing as a Unitarian, encourages unity between Native Americans and American citizens while challenging the historical narratives written by male authors that depict Native Americans as savages. She highlights how national values and the concept of the homo economicus emerged from the hybridity between British settlers and Native Americans. Sedgwick's goal of demonstrating women's influence on America's identity is reflected in the parallel between Hope Leslie and Magawisca, both of whom have been oppressed by a patriarchal society. This contrast is evident in the distinction between Hope Leslie, who lives in the British colonies, and her sister Faith Leslie, who is captured by Native Americans. While Hope pleads for Faith to return, Faith remains with the Native Americans to marry Oneco, valuing the respect she has found there. The novel also disrupts historical temporality through anachronisms, prompting modern readers to question the motivations behind historical events rather than immediately assuming savagery. The novel draws parallels between Native Americans and British settlers, showing that their sympathy fosters unity rather than distrust. Magawisca's chivalric values of independence, liberty, and loyalty highlight her role in shaping American democracy. By emphasizing British corruption, the novel shows how Native Americans and Scottish Highlanders coexist alongside

British settlers, with Magawisca's character shaping American national identity. The inclusion of epigraphs from Robert Burns further links her to Scottish Highlanders, emphasizing their shared influence on the British nation.

These novels intertwine the homo economicus ideal with Anglo-Saxonism to construct a racialized vision of English superiority over Native Americans and Scottish Highlanders. The myth of Anglo-Saxon dominance legitimizes imperial conquest by portraying indigenous tribes as inherently incapable of participating in the rational, capitalist frameworks that define British and American modernity. Their perceived racial and cultural differences—whether through Magua's depiction as biologically Other or the doomed fates of characters like Edgar Ravenswood and Lucy Ashton—mark them as incompatible with the progress promised by Anglo-Saxon civilization. Even when these indigenous figures align themselves with British or American causes, they are still denied full inclusion or autonomy within the imperial nation. Their roles are limited to reinforcing the superiority of Anglo-Saxon whiteness, as their subjugation and eventual disappearance are framed as necessary for the advancement of freedom and modernity.

By connecting their Anglo-Saxon tribal heritage with Native Americans and Scottish Highlanders, British settlers like Hawkeye crafted a hybrid identity striving to embody the authenticity of Anglo-Saxon chivalric values through the adoption of indigenous customs. This performance allowed British audiences to sympathize with Native Americans and Scottish Highlanders, drawing national values from their cultures—while simultaneously reinforcing the dominance of the Anglo-Saxon community. While British settlers and Scottish Highlanders displaced Native Americans, they also shaped the emerging British and American national identities by imitating and incorporating indigenous traditions. Native Americans and Scottish

Highlanders, through their resistance and cultural influence, empowered figures like Faith Leslie to challenge Anglo-Saxonism. Ultimately, the foundations of the United States and Britain were not solely built on Anglo-Saxon whiteness, but were deeply shaped by the cultural contributions of indigenous tribes. By rejecting British social memory, these groups catalyzed revolts aimed at establishing a more egalitarian society—one that sought equality for all, rather than preserving the privileges of a select few.

Chapter One: Walter Scott on Remembering the Scottish Highlands

Collective memory describes how a group of people remember and interpret the past to shape identities and present ideologies. This plays an integral role in how members of a community who may never meet share a connection through history, identity, and culture. In *Imagined Communities*, Anderson describes how print-culture constructs the awareness of a nation's progression, "print-language gave a new fixity to language, which in the long run helped build that image of antiquity so central to the subjective idea of the nation" (Anderson 47). Walter Scott uses print culture to help establish the imagined community of Scotland through his novels, looking back on Scotland's collective memory to shape its national consciousness during the early nineteenth century. Although his novels sought to represent Scottish identity, they ultimately reshaped it to align with the English, celebrating Anglo-Saxonism rather than Scottish independence.

This unity theme with England is prevalent in *The Bride of Lammermoor* and *Rob Roy* as its recurrence explains the divisions between the Scottish Lowlands and Highlands. Maurice Halbwachs' *On Collective Memory* explains how identities form to "preserve memories of each epoch in our lives, and these are continually reproduced; through them, as by a continual relationship, a sense of our identity is perpetuated" (Halbwachs 47). Walter Scott presents this in his historical novels as he interprets and commodifies Scottish identity, creating a British identity that colonizes Scotland as the Lowlanders have done to the Highlanders. *Waverley* became the first historical novel to achieve international best-seller status, not only giving Scottish citizens insight into their own identity, but also influencing a broader audience in America and England on how to use the historical novel to understand a nation's development. *The Bride of*

Lammermoor and *Rob Roy* eventually followed, using the same method of remembering Scottish history, particularly the tension between the Lowland and Highland borders.

Through Scott's actions in remembering the Highlanders, he presents them as antiquated to commercialize their culture. Scott turns Scotland into a tourist attraction while trying to understand Scotland's national consciousness, "[the] sites and practices of historical memory not only educate the populace but visitors to the nation as well. And what is deemed important to know about history can represent the core values of a society" (DeLugan 1). Scott constructs Scotland's core values in *Lammermoor* and *Roy* by comparing the Lowlands and Highlands to a British audience. He represents Scotland's border through Adam Smith's homo economicus, portraying the civilized person as rational, self-interested, and engaged in free-trade capitalism in contact with their unenlightened neighbors. Smith defines the homo economicus in *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* as being "sensible too that his own interest is connected with the prosperity of society, and that the happiness, perhaps the preservation of his existence, depends upon its preservation" (Smith 136). Smith promotes a national consciousness where Scotland's prosperity and existence rely on the homo economicus. This ideology distinguishes the economically developed Lowlanders from the underdeveloped Highlanders, whose failure to adopt the homo economicus leads them to fade into memory. However, English imperialism, not just Scottish Enlightenment thought, influences the homo economicus fantasy that the Lowlands adopt through their contact with England. The ideology grows strong enough that it displaces the Highlanders from Scotland, casting them as figures of a feudal past, and reworked into a tourist attraction for a British audience. The Highlanders' would only be a memory to sites like Doune Castle, Lammermuir Hills, or Culloden, whilst forgetting that they are still alive.

Historical Context to Scott's Novels

The Glorious Revolution of 1688-89 occurred due to negative Protestant views towards King James II and VII of England, Ireland, and Scotland for his Catholicism. There were anxieties that his Catholicism would overthrow Protestantism with the birth of his son, James Edward Stuart the Old Pretender as he was raised Catholic. Originally, the crown would be given to his eldest daughter Mary II who was Protestant, but the sudden shift to another Catholic ruler through James's birth sparked uproar with the Protestant dominated population of England. They encouraged William of Orange and Mary II to seize the throne, in which James II was deposed and the new Protestant monarchs King William III and Queen Mary II would reign. This sparked controversy with some English citizens as they believed the deposition was unlawful. They would come to form the political ideology of Jacobitism, the belief that the deposition of James II was unfavorable as it broke the divine right that the House of Stuart claimed for the British throne.

The political division between Catholicism and Protestantism would also become ingrained with the Tory and Whig parties; Tories association with traditionalism would support the Jacobites and the Whig's radicalism promoting change. The Tory and Whig parties would first emerge between 1679-85 from a debate on excluding James, Duke of York from succession where the parties would be more prominent during the Glorious Revolution over King James II deposition. Scott's *Old Mortality* would focus on the origins of the Whig party, the name shortened from "whiggamore" that derives from Scottish Gaelic origins in connection to the Whiggamore Raid of 1648 (Britannica). As Scott was himself a Tory, he constructs his novels to have a conversation on how memory constructs the divisions of the political parties. This is seen with Edward Waverley and how his Whig father and Tory uncle construct his sentiments to the

Highlanders from opposing to participating in the Jacobite movement. Scott also presents this in *Rob Roy* as Frank Osbaldistone comes from a Whig family whose father disdains any "highflying or Tory principles" towards Jacobitism, influencing Frank's perceptions of the Highlands as barbaric until he meets Rob Roy. *Lammermoor* would focus on these political divisions as the Ravenswood's Toryism is shown through their support of the deposed James II during the Glorious Revolution which leads to their decaying nobility. Though instead of proposing a binary opposition, Scott encourages a unity between these divided parties to learn from the Highlands by commemorating tradition but acknowledging change is needed for Scotland's development.

Nonetheless, the Act of Union 1707 only persisted in sparking concerns in the Highlands as it marked the unity between England and Scotland under the name "Great Britain" proposed between the English and Scottish parliaments that Queen Anne supported during her reign. Due to Scotland being economically impoverished, England bargained that their unity would allow the "freedom of trade" and compensate for sharing responsibility with England's national debt, but they must accept the Hanoverian succession over the Stuart dynasty in return (Britannica). Although the Act helped Scotland's economy, which led to the Scottish Enlightenment, the Highlanders recognized this proposal as a colonial weapon, concerned over losing this imaginary connection through political and cultural independence. But to appease the treaty, the borders between the Highlands and Lowlands were rigidly redrawn to align with this economic change, given the Lowlanders geographic proximity to England. Thus, cities like Edinburgh and Glasgow developed drastically; Edinburgh growing to become symbolic of Scotland's intellectualism and Glasgow as a mercantile city within Scott's novels. These urban cities distinguish the Lowlands to the rural Highlands with their rolling mountains and hills, rivers, and sublime landscapes,

highlighting the Highlanders' antiquity by re-remembering them as uncorrupted from greed that free-trade capitalism produced.

Such construction of collective memory was to redefine Scotland's history in terms of England's imperialistic aspirations. Scottish dislike for the Hanoverians would culminate in the Jacobite Rising of 1715 (known also the "Fifteen Rebellion") in an attempt by James, the Old Pretender, to reclaim his throne from the succession of King George I after Queen Anne's death. Within a short span of time presented in Scott's *Rob Roy*, the Union allowed Scotland to develop exponentially through their participation in free trading. Jacobites viewed these changes as an encroachment on Scottish independence, in which "Jacobites across Scotland were able to present themselves as defenders of Scottish liberties, pledged to repealing the Union and restoring Scotland's parliament" ("The 1715 Rebellion"). Being led by John Erkskine, 6th Earl of Mar, the conflict primarily occurred in Scotland, with the Jacobite clans called to war by Mar in the Highlands. It would be short-lived due to confusion and an underestimation of the Hanoverian government as within the same year, the Battle of Preston and the Battle of Sheriffmuir diminished the Jacobite armies by the Duke of Argyll's forces; the latter solidifying defeat. Using this historical setting for *Rob Roy*, Scott presents the Jacobites as violent and misguided as Sir Hildebrand's family that Frank Osbaldistone lives with are Jacobite sympathizers who meet a tragic end in their participation in the 1715 rebellion. Frank's cousin Rashleigh as the antagonist is also a Jacobite sympathizer who is killed by Rob Roy for treason in his attempt to kill Frank. Such characterization is used by Scott to highlight how the Jacobites' unorganized army and poor strategic planning steered their downfall. Thus, Scott uses collective memory to present the Highlands as wild, misguided, but sympathetic through characters like Rob Roy whose dispossession is regretted as their code of honor helped define Scottish identity.

The Jacobite Rising of 1745 would be the historical setting of *Waverley* and the last Jacobite rebellion, led by James Stuart's son, Charles Edward Stuart. *Rob Roy* would be published to replicate this model of an English narrator traveling into Scotland and experiencing the cultural changes between the Lowlands and Highlands. Again, the rebellion united Highlanders to fight for the Stuart family, in which they were more successful by capturing Edinburgh and winning in the Battle of Prestonpans. Their push to London would lead to the Jacobites being overwhelmed once they failed to garner supporters for the cause in the Lowlands and England. Their final confrontation would be at the Battle of Culloden against the British government led by William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland, where his forces would decisively defeat the Jacobites. In response to the ever persistent uprisings of the Jacobites, the British government sought to eradicate any rebellious sentiments by invading the Highlands. Cumberland's army pillaged and destroyed huts and homes connected to clanship to ensure the Jacobites downfall, "[destroying] the Highland way of life, forbidding the wearing of highland dress, the carrying of weapons and passing laws against the clan system" ("Battle of Culloden"). This would begin the Highland clearances in an effort to ensure that the Highlanders would never regain power to form a rebellion against the Hanoverian government.

Looking back throughout Jacobite history, *Waverley* becomes the last stand for this Jacobite rebellion as the historical novel format is popularized for interpreting the past. Paradoxically, the historical novel would enforce the oppression of Highlanders by commercializing their culture through Waverley's romanticism, wavering between the Hanoverian government and the Jacobites, and the union between Waverley and Rose Bradwardine. Their marriage is symbolic of Scotland's progression past memory through uniting with England rather than establishing Scottish independence. Through this unity, Scott's

historical novel encourages English imperialism as it provides the advantage to remember the Highlanders and learn from their memory to improve Scotland. It would be at the expense of the Highlanders that they would be dispossessed to further demonstrate how Scotland has improved from their savagery.

Commercializing Scottish Memory in *Rob Roy*

Degeneration anxieties become prevalent through the descriptions of the Highlanders that the narrator, Frank Osbaldistone, uses to reflect pre-Darwinistic perspectives. Frank describes Rob Roy as, "a wild shock-headed looking animal, whose profusion of red hair covered and obscured his features… resembling my idea of a very uncouth, wild, and ugly savage, adoring the idol of his tribe" (*Roy* 258). Ian Duncan describes in the novel's introduction that Edinburgh became central to pre-Darwinism, connecting the "orangu-tan" as a human subspecies according to James Burnett for feeling shame (Duncan XXV). Based on Scott's time period, Rob Roy closely resembles an orangutan who lead the MacGregor clan. Frank uses "tribe" as a metonymy for clan, which also parallels between Highlanders and Indians in their dispossession from their native land based on prejudices that view Highlanders and Indians as equally savage. In America, colonists had made claims about the Indian body being savage based on their natural environment, with Comte de Buffon implying that "whites, under American nature's 'pernicious' influence, would also degenerate, as Native Americans supposedly had, into savagery" (Fulford 83-84). For Glasgow to become a space for colonial trade, the Highlanders had to be portrayed as less civilized for commercializing with other nations than their superior neighbor. Yet, Rashleigh reflects this primitivistic anxiety that Frank held towards the Highlanders, "I wish you only to know that the pangs of death do not alter one iota of my feelings towards you. I hate

you… my very patrimony has become yours… and may the curse of a dying man cleave to it" (*Roy* 450). Rashleigh is an Englishman, and his efforts to spark the Jacobite Rising of 1715 through Frank's fathers's money and causing unpaid debts between England and Scotland makes him more of an ignoble savage compared to Rob Roy as a noble savage who defends Frank Osbaldistone. He also holds a primitivistic view of a patriarchal clanship due to his influence on being near Scotland's borders, showing how the English primitivism arising from association with "savages," but also showing an imperialistic message that both English and Scottish can be savages, and it is through imperialization that violence can secure civilization for Anglo and anglicized peoples. How people can become savage based on their natural environment is also taken into account when describing the various locations of Scotland in the novel.

These economic borders further deprive Scotland's identity in *Rob Roy* as it partakes in the imperial economy that actively separates the Highlands and Lowlands. As Frank Osbaldistone narrates his entrance into Glasgow, he explains how Scotland "threatened to place me in a dangerous and disagreeable collision with the laws of a country, which I visited only in the capacity of a stranger" (*Roy* 257). Similar to *Waverley*, Frank enters into Scotland as an alien on an economic adventure to recover his family's stolen money from Rashleigh, the antagonist who attempts to spark the Jacobite Rising of 1715 through the Osbaldistone's inability to pay off debts. With Scotland in this point partaking in colonial trade, the Highlanders are contrasted to the Glasgow residents, "Highlanders, as wild, as shaggy, and sometimes as dwarfish, as the animals they had in charge, often traversed the streets of Glasgow. Strangers gazed with surprise on the antique and fantastic dress, and listened to the unknown and dissonant sounds of their language, while the mountaineers… stared with astonishment on the articles of luxury of which they knew not the use" (*Roy* 237). Scotland's national identity becomes an internal paradox

where both the Lowlands and Highlands experience the "alienating effects of an accelerated pace of progress" where Scotland fails to recognize its past or future, retroactively reconstructed as "primitive" and savage in social memory. This creates an uncanny experience between both sides caused by English influence, with Glasgow's capitalism dispossessing Highlanders as exotic and out-of-place because they are too inhuman for their cultural identity.

Such mystery is highlighted through the description of The Forth, a stream that marks the border between the Highlands and Lowlands; "a beautiful variety of ancient trees and thriving copsewood, was held by the neighborhood to contain, within its unseen caverns the palaces of the fairies; a race of airy beings who formed an intermediate class between men and demons, and who, if not positively malignant to humanity, were yet to be avoided and feared" (*Roy* 319). The racial language that the English narrator holds towards the Highlanders is furthered by mystifying the Highlands as a supernatural space to be feared. Mystifying the Highlands allows the characters crossing its border as if they were entering a romance and a fairy tale, picturing Highlanders as mythological creatures. It is after their dispossession that the Highlands became "an empty landscape of a diasporic memory, haunted by the ghostly presences of people who once belonged" (McNeil 143). By rewriting a fairy tale in the form of the historical novel, Scott represents Scotland as a modern civilization that visitors can explore through the antiquity of locations such as Glasgow or The Forth. How Scotland also looks back onto its past is an attempt to present Scotland as civilized and compatible with capitalist modernity, while reducing the present-day Highlanders to supernatural non-human beings as memorable and forgettable as the fairies of antiquated romances.

Rob Roy reflects the displacement of Highlanders by reflecting how Scottish collective memory is made "English" by romanticizing Rob Roy. Frank Osbaldistone uses memory to

express his prejudice against the Scottish, "I looked upon the Scottish people during my childhood, as a race hostile by nature to the more southern inhabitants of this realm" (*Roy* 95). Frank's perspectives are influenced by England's collective memory, in which they had perceived any non-English individuals from Scotland as uncivil and barbaric, whereas they were an example of civility. Tapping into England's collective memory allows perceptions into how Frank views Scotland prejudicially, in which the consideration of the past allows an English audience to consider present day changes. However, it is from this prejudice that influences the Lowlands into seeking to dispossess Highlanders by pushing them further North. This dispossession creates the cultural trauma of Highlanders with Rob Roy's wife claiming, "all may be forgotten… but the sense of dishonor, and the desire of vengeance" (*Roy* 413). Paralleling Edgar's vengeance as he becomes dispossessed in his native home, the Highland national character is identified as being vengeful and savage.

Despite Highlanders still existing during Scottish Romanticism, Frank's narration attempts to present the displaced Highlanders as violent and forgettable because of their inability to conform to English imperialism. This is furthered as Rob Roy confesses to Frank; "can I forget that I have been branded as an outlaw… the very name which came to me from a long and noble line of martial ancestors, denounced, as if it were a spell to conjure up the devil with" (*Roy* 403). The irony of Rob Roy's character is that he is a modern man, or a "homo economicus" (economic man) that Adam Smith terms in *The Wealth of Nations*. He plays the noble savage stereotype through "black-mail" and violence, yet he is surrounded with mysticism as he disguises himself to enter Glasgow and partake in trading with the Lowlands, stays true to his transactional promises, and appearing at the moment when Frank Osbaldistone is in danger. Rob Roy's inability to cross over into the Lowlands is based upon the prejudices caused by English

imperialism, in which the audience feels sympathy as Rob Roy is further presented as a father who wants his children to have a good life within modernity. It is in presenting Rob Roy sympathetically as a homo economicus that he becomes ingrained in Scotland's collective memory as a national hero because he reflected Enlightenment beliefs and capitalist ideals – working hard, selling labor, economic independence and individuality through trading with the Lowlands. Yet, he is also paradoxically shown as an antiquated figure through being a Highlander. Through romanticizing Rob Roy as a national hero, his past experiences a cultural erasure where his savage memory is forgotten in replacement for the national imagining of the homo economicus ideal.

The reconstruction of Rob Roy as a national hero through forgetting his savage memory is reflected in how the Highlanders in the present are being forgotten. Jan Assmann describes how cultural memory is formed based on contemporary situations, "by reconstructing, that is, it always relates its knowledge to an actual and contemporary situation… sometimes by appropriation, sometimes by criticism, sometimes by preservation or by transformation" (Assmann 130). The Highlanders become forgotten due to contemporary situations of the homo economicus that presents their culture as antiquated for not participating in the ideology. Their refusal to participate in contemporary beliefs transforms the Highlanders identity to be antiquated, and appropriated as savages to be civilized. Through Frank's positioning of Rob Roy as a national hero in cultural memory, he presents the "self-image of [Scotland] through a preoccupation with its own social system… that body of reusable texts, images, and rituals… whose 'cultivation' serves to stabilize and convey that society's self-image" (Assmann 132). In other words, Rob Roy is appropriated to represent English ideals that are representative of Scotland's developing community. The historical documents of Rob Roy fail to convey the

emotions and personality that is representative of Scotland in its past, so Frank's narration alters his memory by forgetting his primitivism, remembering him as a homo economicus who is sympathetic and honorable to define Scotland's national identity. Forgetting Rob Roy's primitivism would also lead to forgetting the Highlanders in the national imagining of Scotland. By presenting Rob Roy as a remembered and representative figure of the Highlanders, the nation forgets the existence of Highlanders in the present.

Rob Roy is also represented as a capitalistic allegory that encourages modernity through Frank Osbaldistone's commodification of the Highlands for economic exchange to his audience. Frank follows the hero's archetype where he desires to become a poet, but then forgets that identity in the pursuit of partaking in the imperial economy that defined modernity for Britain. Frank's father encourages Frank to partake in the family mercantile business, because "it connects nation with nation, relieves the wants, and contributes to the wealth of all; and is to the general commonwealth of the civilized world was the daily intercourse of ordinary life is to private society, or rather, what air and food are to our bodies" (*Roy* 75). This economic connection is the driving theme of the novel; Frank journeys to Scotland to retrieve the stolen money from his cousin Rashleigh to save his family from bankruptcy, the economic exchange between Glasgow and the Highlands, and the economic turmoil that sparks the Jacobite Rising of 1715.

Similar to *Waverley*, Frank's journey is not an innocent exploration as he mystifies the Highlands and presents a mercantile language that emphasizes Frank's transactions to the characters and audience. The "English outlook has long been imperious and expansionist," so using the historical novel is just a product of English nationalism to promote England's "political mission" (Parrinder 18). *Rob Roy* is used to promote this political mission, commodifying him as

a homo economicus desirous to partake in the imperial economy but is denied because of his national identity as a Highlander, which becomes a moral reason for Frank to take advantage of his position. It is from this that he gives up his desire to become a poet, "an extensive and increasing trade with the West Indies and American colonies… laid the foundation of wealth and prosperity… in joining him with heart and hand in his [father's] commercial labours, I had sacrificed my own inclinations" (*Roy* 236, 452). When James Macpherson and Walter Scott began writing about Highland identity, they had translated Indian lifestyle as similar to the Scottish Highlands; tribes became clans, and people in each clan held power regardless of gender. Such capitalization of other cultures is what Frank does in participating in this novel's capitalism; he becomes a homo economicus by using the novel form to commercialize over the outdated poetic form. He also becomes influenced by transatlantic commerce, and replicates the captivity narrative such as Williamson's to eroticize the violence he sees.

Frank's captivity narrative is used for eroticizing Highlander violence to emphasize the necessity to civilize Scotland, similar to the English mission of civilizing Native Americans. Frank describes how Helen MacGregor orders Morris's execution, a servant to Rashleigh, "binding a large heavy stone in a plaid, tied it round his neck, and others again eagerly stripped him of some part of his dress. Half-naked, and thus manacled, they hurled him into the lake, there about twelve feet deep, with a loud halloo of vindictive triumph, above which, however, his last death-shriek, the yell of moral agony, was distinctly heard" (*Roy* 364-365). The Highlanders are portrayed as unsympathetic, parallelling accounts of Indian tribes that find disgust if victims pleaded for their life. Through eroticizing Highlander violence, the novel would be turned into an Indian captivity narrative to entice a British audience to unite against the Highlanders savagery.

Captivity narratives were a popular form of writing produced by English writers as propaganda to unite the British nation towards colonial expansion to "civilize" foreign nations. Linda Colley defines captivity narratives as focusing on how "a single individual or a group was seized, how the victim/s coped (or not) with the challenges and sufferings that ensued, and how they contrived in the end to escape or were ransomed ro released" (Colley 13). Frank capitalizes on this form as he provides his captivity narrative rewritten within the Scottish Highlands. His journey into the Highlands, then to his capture by Helen MacGregor's Highlanders and the murders done by the MacGregor's reflects his usage of the captivity narrative to present the Highlanders barbarism. Frank emphasizing his horror in his experience as a captive reflects what Colley describes as an attempt to establish Frank's Englishness, "Early American captivity narrators, then, dwelt on transatlantic ties. Out of loyalty, but also as to reassure themselves and others, they insisted on their enduring Englishness, and all that is implied, and ultimately on their Britishness" (Colley 151). Frank invoking his national identity by contrasting his views to the motivations of Helen MacGregor distinguishes himself to be separate from the Highlanders. As Frank sees Morris beg for his life to be spared to Helen, she perceives him as contemptible for his emotions that drives her further into his execution (*Roy* 364). Helen being unsympathetic distinguishes her character as being uncivilized as she commandeers the Highland clan, juxtaposing England's patriarchal expectations of a male leader.

Such captivity highlights the political issue of an Englishman being trapped in the Highlands that threatens the English empire. It contrasts with the Highlanders depiction in *Waverley* where Edward's participation with the Jacobites is caused by his romanticization that depicts the Highlander's culture as idealistic. Frank steers from the idealistic with his captivity, reflecting the anxieties of captives being assimilated into savage cultures, "the experience and

even the idea of captivity brought such insecurities quickly to the surface, because… it could lead to assimilation into Native American societies, or into rival, Catholic empires" (Colley 150). This threat being an Englishman potentially assimilated into the Highlanders culture that Frank's narrative intends to present negatively to encourage colonization. Frank's perceptions of the Highlands distinguishes him to the antagonist Rashleigh, an Englishman who assimilates into the Highlands savagery by being a Jacobite as he lacks sympathy and is driven by asocial passions that leads to his death. The comparison between these characters encourages uniting England to colonize the Highlands as a response to their anxieties of Jacobitism. If characters like Rashleigh assimilate into savagery, then the Highlands must be colonized to prevent the British nation from reverting backwards. This anxiety is furthered through the feminization of Frank's narrative by Helen MacGregor who murders the men for their emotions that feminizes them. Captivity narratives are described as being "traditionally… far more concerned to stress the sexual threat to male captives… American-produced captivity narratives are arguably more feminised, and certainly more domestic and personal" (Colley 128, 150). Through invoking anxieties of the Highlanders' savagery, these narratives also invoke an attack on England's masculinity as Helen MacGregor dominates over Frank and the other male captives. Their submissiveness to a female leader threatens England's national identity in their submission to a supposed culturally-backwards community. It is through the captivity narratives that allows the British nation to recognize their failure in defending against savage communities, with Frank exposing the Highlanders lifestyle to encourage colonization as retaliation.

This colonization is used to civilize and commercialize the Highlands as Frank uses Rob Roy as a national hero, emphasizing that the Highlanders could be as civilized as England.

Fulford would delve into the elements of captivity narratives that reflects how Frank structures his narrative,

> however close the author's personal relationship with Indians, [captivity narratives] were products of empire… they aimed for a disinterested, detached style, as this helped establish the author as a reliable, truthful witness, making his prose a source of information that officials, historians and men of science could rely upon to guide dealings with Indians. The genre demanded a generalized summary of Indians' manners and customs…the author's peculiar and vulnerable subjectivity often peeped through the cracks of the detached, objective style. When it did so, the narrative became more human, more partial, more unpredictable (Fulford 60-61).

Frank emulates the "detached style" as he narrates his observations in the Highlands, especially as a detached observer to Morris's execution. He provides the "manners and customs" of the Highlanders through Helen MacGregor as she is presented as a dominating figure with her Highlanders. His vulnerable subjectivity is also used as the Highlanders withhold him from escaping as he watches Morris's death, viewing it as murder. From this account, Frank uses the captivity narrative to capitalize on this narrative for his economic gain, and to emphasize the need for the Highlanders to be civilized. Using the captivity narrative allows the British nation to unite through print culture that recognizes the threat of the antiquated Highlanders for their violence, rewriting their memory through an English perspective that "Other's" the Highlands. The threat of a savage community assimilating the British nation back into feudalism becomes a motivation to civilize the Highlanders into the homo economicus to participate in the nation's socioeconomic development. Thus, Frank uses Rob Roy as a national hero to demonstrate what

makes him more respectable as a noble savage compared to the Highlanders through his participation in capitalism; his savagery is still emphasized from his Highland blood.

The Scottish Homo Economicus in *Rob Roy*

Walter Scott accesses national memory through establishing the history of *Rob Roy* and the culture behind the Highlands during the Jacobite Rising of 1715. He refers to Rob Roy's highlanders as the "species of commerce" through their participation in black-mail, "a person who had the greatest correspondence with the thieves was agreed to preserve the lands contracted for from thefts, for certain sums to be paid yearly. Upon this fund he employed one half of the thieves to recover stolen cattle, and the other half of them to steal" (*Roy* 32). Scott highlights how Highlanders would protect landowners from theft as long as they paid certain sums, but he also highlights the violence displayed from the Highlanders through their theft of cattle, which they would eventually sell to the Lowlands. However, Rob Roy's participation in black-mail reconstructs him as a national hero as he remains honorable as a Highlander in his transactions with the Lowlanders. Rob Roy begins to be portrayed as a homo economicus because of his own self-interest for wealth that would benefit his clan, particularly his family through Frank Osbaldistone's narrative. Scott also attempts to construct Rob Roy as a Native American through his description as a figure "blending the wild virtues, the subtle policy, and unrestrained license of an American Indian" (*Roy* 5). Scott uses the sentimentality that Smith proposes that the underdeveloped society is equivalent to the Native Americans who are savage in their inability to be self-interested in their actions for commercial profit to preserve society. Smith futhers how figures like Rob Roy would be oppressed within national memory to emphasize how Scotland is no longer savage, "a great nation, surrounded on all sides by wandering savages and poor

barbarians, might, no doubt, acquire riches by the cultivation of its own lands, and by its own interior commerce, but not by foreign trade" (Smith 670). It is this argument that is used to repress the Highlanders from the violence that they have caused, especially through black-mail, to ensure that Scotland can continue participating in foreign trade for its socioeconomic advancement.

This historical memory is also constructed through looking back on Scottish accounts, but Scott especially uses English poets and authors to discuss how Rob Roy has been interpreted beyond Scotland. Scott directly uses Wordsworth to discuss how his poetry on Rob Roy highlights how he was a "brave man, who, deprived of his natural rights by the partialitty of laws, endeavored to assert them by the strong hand of natural power" (*Roy* 21). However, Scott is also motivated to tell the story of Rob Roy through bringing up how some English authors have inaccurately portrayed the historical figure, "a pretended history of him appeared in London during his lifetime, under the title of the Highland Rogue. It is a catch-penny publication, bearing in front the effigy of a species of ogre, with a bear of foot in length; and his actions are as much exaggerated as his personal appearance" (*Roy* 37). The monsterization of Rob Roy reflects the racial prejudice that England still held towards Scotland, perceiving Scotland's national hero as an "Other" that Scott tried to rectify by presenting Rob Roy as a homo economicus. He participates in trading, holds sympathy, and laments his inability to participate with Scotland as a whole because he has been branded as a traitor. He is also highlighted as being a father figure, whose children in history caused the violent kidnapping of a woman in the Lowlands because of the inability for the Lowlands to accept the Highlanders within society (*Roy* 44). Scott also provides written accounts of Rob Roy to prove his historical authenticity, using national memory to prove his history as he holds conflicts with the Duke of Montrose. There is a letter written by

Rob Roy who says, "in charity to your Grace's couradge and conduct, please know, the only way to retrieve both is to treat Rob Roy like himself" (*Roy* 58). What makes Rob Roy differ from Edgar Ravenswood is that he participates in writing, in which his perception as a homo economicus is encouraged and seen as a national hero because of his utilization of modern printing techniques. Scott also carefully selects these kinds of documents to demonstrate the bravery that Rob Roy held, but also the violence that surrounds him that makes him unique as a Highlander.

Rob Roy is also a narrative that is closely associated with the homo economicus ideology as the narrator, Frank Osbaldistone, commercializes his travel narrative into the Scottish Highlands to an audience. Frank ends the novel by explaining how he has chosen to adopt the homo economicus ideology by choosing to participate in free-trade capitalism with his father over pursuing poetry; "I have no romantic adventure to tell, nor, indeed, any thing to communicate farther, since the latter incidents of my life are so well known to one who has shared, with the most friendly sympathy, the joys, as well as the sorrows, by which its scenes have been chequered" (*Roy* 452). Frank as a homo economicus profits off of other sympathetic individuals who can connect with Frank has journeys into the Highlands. Through being confronted with Rob Roy and his wife within the Highlands and the clanship that has existed, exoticizing the dangers he had faced through his captivity reminiscent of travel narratives from British colonizers to America. However, Frank being English as he moves from London, crossing the border to Scotland and entering from Glasgow to the Highlands reflects how his journey culturally appropriates the Highlands for wealth. He describes Rob Roy as being "still remembered in his country as the Robin Hood of Scotland," comparing Rob Roy to Robin Hood to Anglo-Saxonize the memory of Rob Roy (*Roy* 452). Frank as the first-person narrator tries to

instill Rob Roy as a figure of antiquity, placing him as the "narrated… altered from the subjects of the nation's agency to the objects of a national history" (Sorensen 36). The objectification of Rob Roy, contributed with Scott's collection of documents and historical narratives surrounding him, also reflects "a danger of reification. In the enthusiasm to collect 'memory', and to assemble archives of oral testimony, we may quietly be conferring on our subject a thing-like character without ever stopping to ask whether this is justified" (Fentress and Wickham 2). Without stopping to ask if this collection of memory is justified, it leads to the malleability of memory caused by Frank Osbaldistone who pictures him under this English and homo economicus ideology to romanticize him as a national hero.

This reification of collective memory is also heightened by how language is used to exoticize the Highlands. Throughout the novel, Frank converses with many Scottish characters whose dialect reflects the cultural space that they inhabit. Baillie Jarvie is a character from Glasgow whom Frank befriends after his journey into the Highlands, in which can be observed through his language that he speaks both the Lowland and Highland Scots dialect, "they ca' them… *Daoine Schie*, whilk signifies, as I understand, men of peace; meaning thereby to make their gude-will" (*Roy* 319). This emphasizes how the change in Scottish culture has begun to change the language in which characters like Jarvie speaks within Scotland. However, it also provides insight into the antiquity of the Scots language as Gaelic phrases such as "Daoine Schie" are provided to the audience to entice the audience to learn of Scotland. But its written form under standard English also reflects what Anderson explains how "certain dialects inevitably were 'closer' to each print-language and dominated their final forms. Their disadvantaged cousins, still assimilable to the emerging print-language, lost caste" (Anderson 48). English came to be a dominating language that became preferable over the Gaelic alphabet

to incorporate an English audience to learn the phrases that the Highlanders has used. It is through the homo economicus ideology that language became to be more transactional as English became preferred in order for the novel to sell between Scotland and England.

Commercializing Scottish Memory in *The Bride of Lammermoor*

The collective memory of Scottish identity is central to how Walter Scott looks back on the Highlands to piece together a fragmented identity caused by English imperialism. This fragmentation is shown between the divided collective memory of Scotland's nationalism; the Highlands connected with clans, oral traditions, nature, medievalism and barbarity; the Lowlands with modernity and commercialization as civilized. The binary opposition constructed by English colonization led to Highlanders experiencing dispossession as they were reconstructed from memory by the Lowlanders as antiquated in the present. *The Bride of Lammermoor* and *Rob Roy* explore these divisions due to the effects of the Glorious Revolution (1688-1689). The narrators capitalize the Highlanders by exoticizing their memory through the Native American captivity narratives to attract a British audience with violence and mysticism. Through accessing the national memory of Highlanders, *Lammermoor* and *Rob Roy* rewrite Scottish history to promote English imperialism by readapting older stereotypes of Native American savagery to show how Scotland became a civilized western nation.

Lammermoor portrays decadence through the dispossessed past of feudalism, rejecting the fall from mercantilism to primitivism. Edgar Ravenswood is the last descendant of the Ravenswood, an aristocratic family once powerful during feudalism now decaying as Scotland advances under a national identity with England. His love for Lucy Ashton would guarantee Edgar’s entrance into modernity but is unable due to his memory of his family’s legacy seeking

vengeance. This memory connects with Edgar's history as the narrator describes his aristocratic family: "their line extended to a remote period of antiquity, and they had intermarried with the Douglasses, Humes, Swintons, and other families of power and distinction in the same country… it became greatly declined from its splendour about the middle of the 17th century" (*Lammermoor* 26). The intermarriage highlights a racial impurity, which evokes anxieties between Edgar and Lucy's marriage from fear of returning back to feudalism and furthering the impurity in future generations. This presents Edgar as an "Other" as his racial impurity and inability to overcome his feudalistic memory leads to repeating the violence his family had performed. In the climax, Edgar denounces Lucy as an infidel and attacks Craigengelt, "giving way to the passion he had hitherto restrained, and throwing Craigengelt from him with such violence, that he rolled down the steps" (*Lammermoor* 329). Edgar's violence further demonstrates his difference between the past and present that is seen as abominable. The modern world uses rhetorical language and writing to settle arguments, but Edgar's memory that the Ravenswood always seeks vengeance through physical action creates a cognitive dissonance when such violence is no longer seen as appropriate.

This violence emulates the noble savage stereotype that Edgar Ravenswood embodies in ways that recall Native Americans. Adam Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments* stereotypes Native Americans as stoical "Indians" that would view themselves as "degraded" if overcome by emotions, and only in "advanced stages of society" can people begin to develop sympathy (Fulford 43). The Ravenswood's legacy is known for their "violent passions," and Edgar's inability to leave his ancestral feelings degrade him due to his inability to hold sympathy towards Lucy's forced marriage. As a result, he becomes degenerated as an ignoble savage where his barbarism denies him the ability to participate in Scotland's modernity. This modernity through

Scotland's unity culminates in the Lowlands beginning to dispossess Highlanders, causing tensions between both borders in an effort to eradicate Scotland's "primitivism."

The borders within Lammermoor and Rob Roy highlight the juxtaposition between the savage and civilized life of Scotland influenced by England. Wolf's Crag, Edgar's home is described as a place that is in "desolation… the cloud which had long lowered above the height on which Wolf's Crag is situated, and which now, as it advanced, spread itself in darker and denser folds both over land and sea, hiding the distant objects and obscuring those which were nearer, turning the sea to a leaden complexion… two flashes of lightning following each other very closely, showed in the distance the grey turrets of Wolf's crag… the rolling billows of the ocean, crested suddenly with red and dazzling light" (*Lammermoor* 87, 114). The narrator plays with the sublimity of the scene, bringing to life the chaotic passion that accentuates Edgar's sense of belonging. This natural environment that Edgar lives in replicates the chaotic passion that the character holds, his violent actions and immediate turn to vengeance mimicking the somber and violent sublimity evinced. It also parallels this concept of "savagery" occuring based on their natural environment that English writers hypothesized towards Indians. It also replicates the stereotype of Indians holding spiritual power to control nature, shown with Edgar's personality that creates mysticism around the character and his environment. Near this scenery is Wolf's Hope, a village that once were subjected to Ravenswood's aristocracy, "they paid a kind of hereditary respect to the Lords of Ravenswood; but, in the difficulties of the family, most of the inhabitants… contrived to get feu-rights to their little possessions… [and] were emancipated from the chains of feudal dependence… they might be termed independent, a circumstance peculiarly galling to Caleb" (Lammermoor 136). Naming the village Wolf's "Hope" represents the hope of the village's modernity through dispossessing the Ravenswoods from their natural

space and abandoning feudalism. Nonetheless, they are not fully independent because of their sentimentality towards the Ravenswoods, but inevitably will continue past memory as they progress into a capitalist society. They partake in trading that has already begun internally in the town. Caleb "being an old servant of the Ravenswoods" reacts as an anachronistic figure to this sudden modernity to emphasize the recent changes the town undergoes. His "passion" in trying to construct the Ravenswood as still the same powerful figures of the past makes his attempts to control Wolf's Hope comical, but dangerous as it spurs the conflict between Edgar and Bucklaw, bringing the character back into primitivism through seeking vengeance upon each other.

Scott's historical novel uses Highlanders as figures of the past to reflect a cultural trauma and to emphasize Scotland's necessity to be "civilized" for modernity. McNeil describes how Scott's earlier novels held "both the immediacy and fragmentariness of collective remembrance, as each 'tale' represents a putative transliteration of an oral recounting from living memory, or of one handed down as tradition from one or two generations previous" (McNeil 52). Scott's introductions to his novel holds the historical events from oral and written accounts that he weaves from its fragmentation to dramatize for the book's plot; *Lammermoor* recounts the Dalrymple family with Janet Dalrymple's madness to kill David Dunbar due to an arranged marriage forced by Lady Stair, and *Rob Roy* providing the history of Rob Roy and his family with documents and verses provided. Since communicative memory (oral traditions) are lost to history, cultural memory is used to define Scottish identity through physical objects or written texts in print such as the novels.

The print culture generated from the novel allows insight into the oral traditions passed down from Scotland's memory, prevalent with Caleb's knowledge of Thomas the Rhymer. Thomas the Rhymer was a medieval Scottish poet and prophet whose history Walter Scott had

popularized with his "Thomas the Rhymer" ballad and the medieval romance *Sir Tristrem* he claims was made by Thomas in *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* (Britannica). Presenting Thomas as a medieval prophet creates a haunting remembrance to Scotland's past as Caleb recites an oral prophecy given by Thomas the Rhymer, "when the last laird of Ravenswood to Ravenswood shall ride, / and woo a dead maiden to be his bride, / he shall stable his steed in the Kelpie's flow, / and his name shall be lost for evermoe" (*Lammermoor* 185). Through the historical novel, the audience participates in communicative memory where these oral traditions are kept alive to haunt Scotland's national identity. Although Edgar disregards this prophecy as nonsense, his memory of the medieval period pushes Edgar back into the past by choosing passions over rationality. Caused by cultural trauma, his accusation of Lucy's infidelity replicates a theme often used in medieval literature on male anxieties over female infidelity and chastity (Matyushina 316). As Edgar fails to understand the modern world, he uses his feudalistic memory to interpret the present, subjecting Lucy into this memory that leads to her madness. Scotland's medievalist memory would leave the nation haunted to revert back into primitivism, threatened by the Gothic past that seeps through the historical novel. Therefore, Edgar's oppression signifies Scotland's repressed memory to escape repeating an irrational past.

Lammermoor shows the contentions of a novel being threatened to be an English or Scottish novel through eroticizing Highlander violence for an English audience. This violent eroticization derives from American history and travel narratives. For example, a travelogue narrative written by Scots settler Peter Williamson describes his time in captivity as involving "Indian violence… in such vivid detail as to be pornographic. The reader is supposed to condemn but actually enjoined to dwell on the restaged scenes of torture… always terming Indians monsters, devils, beasts" (Fulford 52-53). The historical events surrounding Janet

Dalrymple's madness becomes restaged in Lucy Ashton's madness, the party-goers charging through the bridal chamber door and find,

> the body of the bridegroom was found lying… and all around was flooded with blood… in the corner of the great old-fashioned chimney… here they found [Lucy] seated… her night-clothes torn and dabbled with blood, –her eyes glazed, and her features convulsed into a wild paroxysm of insanity… and pointed at them with her bloody finger, with the frantic features of an exulting demoniac (*Lammermoor* 337-338).

Lucy is a divided character who is meant to reflect the rising generation, but she is held back by cultural trauma based on the feudalistic past and the demands to conform to a capitalist society as she is objectified to marry Bucklaw for financial gain. Her madness becomes a sexualized horror as the attack happens in private. Consistent with the conventions of medieval literature, Lucy is presented as an infidel with her bloody covered dress symbolic of menstruation that implicates her impurity for choosing her assigned marriage with Bucklaw over Edgar. This feminine metaphor is furthered as she is discovered hiding in a dark corner of the womb-like chimney in her bloodied dress after attacking Bucklaw to horrify a British audience. Despite forcing the marriage, Lady Ashton is commemorated for her actions, "a splendid marble monument records her name, titles, and virtues, while her victims remain undistinguished by tomb or epitaph" (*Lammermoor* 349). Lady Ashton becomes a piece of cultural memory because she participated in the imperial economy, traveling from Edinburgh to London and finding Bucklaw suitable because of his reputation and wealth. Thus, Lady Ashton is a colonial figure as her "victims" are the colonized Edgar and Lucy pushed back into primitivism because of the rising division of Scotland's collective memory between the irrational Highlands and the enlightened Lowlands.

The Scottish Homo Economicus in *The Bride of Lammermoor*

The Bride of Lammermoor and *Rob Roy* both use historical memory that constructs the fiction in which Scott manipulates for his audience through adopting the homo economicus ideology. Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations and Theory of Moral Sentiments* helped construct Scott's novels as their derivation from the Scottish Enlightenment revolves around the practicality, sympathy, and economic gain for the preservation of society. *Lammermoor* uses the homo economicus in order to emphasize how the feudalistic past would be pushed into the Highlands. The antiquated Highlanders would be presented as lacking historical memory, whereas the Lowlanders through the homo economicus would learn from their memory to improve Scotland. However, *Rob Roy* being framed by the English narrator Frank Osbaldistone makes the novel become an attempt to use the homo economicus to construct Scotland under an English hegemony. To make the unfamiliar familiar, using Scottish culture that sees characters like Rob Roy as Robin Hood, and the use of standard English in print culture for Lowland and Highland Scots. Adam Smith's construction of the homo-economicus as a self-interested, sympathetic, and commercial participant of free trade capitalism reflects how Scott's historical novels access Scotland's collective memory to create a distinction between the Lowlands and Highlands for both English and Scottish audiences. In this process, the novel's commemoration of Scotland's nationalism is colonized as a part of English collective memory, which highlights how Scotland has advanced past Highland savagery through displacing their existence into memory.

Although Smith never uses the term "homo economicus," he establishes the basis of its ideology in line with Scott's reification of Scottish cultural memory for wealth. In *The Wealth of Nations*, Smith defines how the homo economicus is self-interested, "it is not from the

benevolence of the butcher, the brewer, or the baker, that we expect our dinner, but from their regard to their own interest" (Smith 63). Scott incorporates this ideology into his novels by reflecting the dynamic between the Lowlands and Highlands, demonstrating how the Lowlands persevere through foreign trade whereas the Highlands remain static. The Lowlanders self-interest in wealth and a lack of sentimentality towards the Highlanders reflects the dispossession of the Highlanders. However, the homo economicus is also a moral category in its connection to Smith's definition of sympathy as "fellow-feeling for the misery of others… by changing places in fancy with the sufferer… we come either to conceive or to be affected by what he feels" (Smith 3). In other words, the self-interest homo economicus uses sympathy by applying their personal emotions in connection with suffering individuals to understand how people feel. This element only becomes developed during the Romantic era where Walter Scott uses sympathy to commercialize the Highlanders.

Sympathy is a commercial tool for determining which groups of people are civilized enough to participate in capitalist modernity. Smith compares civilized Europeans and "savage" Native Americans to argue how sympathy develops in advanced stages of civilization,

> the general security and happiness which prevail in ages of civility… [have] patience in enduring labour, hunger, and pain. Poverty may easily be avoided… among savages and barbarians it is quite otherwise… he is in continual danger: he is often exposed to the greatest extremities of hunger, and frequently dies of pure want… [they] teach him to give way to none of the passions which that distress is apt to excite. He can expect from his countrymen no sympathy or indulgence for such weakness. Before we can feel much for others, we must in some measure be at ease ourselves (Smith 279).

This moral binary is translated in Scott's novels between the Highlanders and Lowlanders in racialized terms. Edgar Ravenswood and Rob Roy as noble savages are in continual danger through their poverty and violence that they have grown accustomed to from the Highland culture. While Edgar lacks sympathy due to his poverty, Rob Roy develops sympathy as he participates in labouring and trading. He evokes emotions instead of the stoicism expected from the "savage" Highlanders, reflecting how the Highlanders themselves could develop sympathy and become the homo economicus. Contradictorily, the Lowlanders inability to sympathize with the Highlanders in their self-interest to escape poverty presents them as equally savage. In order to show how Scotland's nation has developed, Scott's historical novels capitalize on remembering the Highlanders sympathetically to overcome their savagery.

The homo economicus ingrained in Scotland's national consciousness becomes a nationalistic ideology influenced by English imperialism. Scott capitalizes the Highland culture through the historical novels by promoting free-trade capitalism in participation with England. Smith promotes free-trade capitalism by making a critique of the American Revolution towards England, "were the Americans, either by combination, or by any other sort of violence, to stop the importation of European manufactures… they would retard… instead of promoting the progress of their country towards real wealth and greatness" (Smith 512). Smith argues that uniting with European nations is integral for America's development as their participation in free-trade capitalism guarantees their nation's wealth and advancement from savagery. This is used by Scott to show how Scotland's prosperity is attributed through uniting with England. It was from pushing Highlanders into the past that Scotland began to question their own national identity. Thus, Scott's emotional investment in Scotland's nationalism led him to romanticize the Highlanders. His fiction commodifies for English readers a Romantic Scotland ideal for

sightseeing tourism to explore its memory now that it is civilized. Between Scott and Smith, they become "the bearers of national memory since the arrival of capitalism… who have inherited the mantle from the aristocracies, lawyers, and clergy of previous epochs. Memory on this level can be spontaneous or manipulated; it can involve rhetorical discourses directed at internal or at external opponents; it can be internally divided and fought over" (Fentress and Wickham 127). Scott inherits Scotland's national memory as an upper-class lawyer, manipulating it through interpreting the nation's previous laws and beliefs between the Lowlands and Highlands to understand the nation's identity. He commemorates the Highlands by rewriting their identity sympathetically, yet ensuring they remain in memory by interpreting the Highland laws governed by the clans obsolete. The manipulation of national memory can be seen with how Scott presents his fictional story in comparison with its original history through orality.

Turning the oral tradition into printed text allows Scotland's imagined community to connect in understanding their Scottish identity. This is what Anderson explains how print-culture allows the imagined community to connect, "the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members… yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion… communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined" (Anderson 44). The style that oral histories are refashioned in the print medium brings the Scottish community together in an imagined space that recognizes a shared national identity. It allows Scottish oral histories at a certain moment in the past to be preserved and remembered using print-language that "the printed book kept a permanent form, capable of virtually infinite reproduction, temporally and spatially" (Anderson 44). Scott's participation in print-capitalism standardizes the nation's language through using the communicative memory of the oral histories and dialects to recognize how the national identity

performs. The epigram of an old Scottish song to the first chapter of *Lammermoor* demonstrates how Scott standardizes specific dialects, "by Cauk and keel to win your bread / wi' whigmaleeries for them wha need" (*Lammermoor* 11). Scott integrates the Scot's dialect that allows the Scottish to identify with the dialect, using standard English to capitalize his novels in England as well. Although Scott uses print-culture to help identify Scotland's national identity, he does so to unite Scotland and England under the same language. It is from reconstructing oral histories of Janet Dalrymple and David Dunbar through print capitalism that Scott can preserve their memory for future generations, modernizing the oral tradition.

Scott begins *Lammermoor* by rewriting Scotland's historical and cultural memory to commemorate the marriage between Janet Dalrymple and David Dunbar. Fiona Robertson explains in the introduction to *Lammermoor* how Scott had heard of this story through cultural memory, "the ill-fated marriage of Janet Dalrymple… to David Dunbar of Baldoon in 1669… Scott had heard the story… many times, especially from his mother, Anne Rutherford, and from his great-aunt, Margaret Swinton… he could have told [*Lammermoor*] no other way, privileging tradition over personal creativity… by previous story-tellers over the new pace and emphasis of his own novel" (Robertson vii). Scott's novels became a modernized tradition of oral narratives, developing Scotland's national consciousness by turning a Scottish tradition into print. Scott makes an objective account of the history by incorporating multiple sources as well, using evidence from his original copy of the "Satyre on the Familie of Stairs" written by Sir William Hamilton of Whitelaw's who disdained the Stair family for the marriage between Janet and David, "In al Stair's offspring we no difference know… / [Stair] knew what she did to her suitor plight, / if she her faith to Rutherford should slight, / Which, like his own for greed he broke outright… / Nick did Baldoon's posterior right deride… / he threw the bridegroom from the

nuptial bed, / into the chimney ” (*Lammermoor* 5). Scott also grabs evidence from Andrew Symson, who is described as a bard expressing sentiment over the tragedy, “we did enjoy great mirth; but now, ah me! / Our joyful song’s turn’d to an elegie” (*Lammermoor* 7). These poetic narratives construct Scotland’s violent history that emerged from Scotland’s national consciousness. By using print medium in such a self-conscious way, he encourages his audience to adopt the homo economicus because of the lack of sympathy that caused the tragedy with Janet to occur, especially with her mother, Margaret Ross, who forced the marriage. The history’s fictionalization becomes a gateway for Scott to encourage this ideology to the public, using print-capitalism as a modern oral tradition to form the nation in interpreting their past through the homo economicus ideology.

Peter Pattieson as the narrator commemorates his fictional friend Dick Tinto through the novel, creating frame narratives of commemorations between Scottish history and memory. Dick Tinto was a failed artist and sign painter who lost his fame after, “custom began to slacken, and it was impossible to wring more than crowns and half-crowns from the hard hands of the peasants” (*Lammermoor* 17). Pattieson contrasts Tinto as they both represent different ways in which art can be expressed; Pattieson through words and Tinto through imagery. What makes Tinto an antiquated figure is his reliance on paintings that lack any “concrete fashion” because they are an abstraction of memory ingrained in emotions (Fentress and Wickham 48). Tinto critiques how society has become more practical when Tinto shows Pattieson a painting of Sir William Wallace’s beheading, “there… stands the honor of Scotland and my shame – yet not so – rather the shame of those, who, instead of encouraging art in its proper sphere, reduce it to these unbecoming and unworthy extremities” (*Lammermoor* 18). This unity theme can be seen through the painting that influences the combination between word and imagery, the past and present,

and Scottish and English identity through national memory. Sir William Wallace is an honored historical figure in Scottish history between 1296-1305 as he fought for Scottish independence against the English monarchy, until beheaded by Edward I of England for treason. The painting is ingrained with national memory as Tinto looks back negatively on unity, specifically between Scotland and England. In this case, the homo economicus changes customs to prefer the practical over the emotional. He laments how Scottish nationalism is killed through uniting with England, and how the homo economicus being used to appease the English has led to the forgetting of traditions. Pattieson holds sympathy for Tinto as he goes into poverty and eventually dies from his conditions, but it is through this sympathy that he commercializes Scottish traditions for a British audience that continues to perpetuate Scotland's colonization.

Pattieson's sympathy for Tinto constructs *Lammermoor*'s attempt to portray a national memory to a British audience that tries to encourage how unity between England and Scotland is a necessity. Pattieson mourns for Tinto's death as he views him as the "lamentable proof of the great truth, that in the fine arts mediocrity is not permitted… the memory of Tinto is dear to me, from the recollections of the many conversations which we have had together, most of them turning upon my present task" (*Lammermoor* 20-21). Tinto's memory allows Pattieson to improve on the "mediocrity" of art by observing how society has changed overtime, recognizing that artistry is no longer as prevalent due to the rise of print culture. What makes art no longer viable for Tinto is that it cannot be expressed through words, only images. This is the mistake that Pattieson almost uses, except through writing too much dialogue by claiming "following in part… my friend Tinto's advice, I endeavored to write my narrative rather descriptive than dramatic" which constructs the landscapes of Lammermoor Hills, Wolf's Crag, and Ravenswood's Castle (*Lammermoor* 25). However, Pattieson's participation in print capitalism

through the historical novel allows the construction of Scotland's national consciousness that is easier to obtain than paintings. The core values that define Scotland's nationalism is evolved through the historical novel with the homo economicus, whereas Tinto's paintings fail due to becoming antiquated; harder to obtain and an irrational medium to the rational print-language. It lacks the narrative in understanding Scotland's identity, paralleling Anderson's explanation on photography, "the photograph… simultaneously records a certain apparent continuity and emphasizes its loss from memory. Out of this estrangement comes a conception of personhood, identity… which, because it can not be 'remembered,' must be narrated (Anderson 204). Pattieson attempts to narrate the paintings that construct *Lammermoor*'s settings, interpreting memory through dialogue and descriptions to incorporate both Scottish and English audiences under a homo economicus interpretation. This interpretation allows both Scottish and English audiences to connect, narrating Scotland's memory to influence an audience on how England's unity is beneficial to escape their impoverished past.

The unity between imagery and words can also be constructed based on Pattieson's experience as he travels to Lammermoor Hills, "my attention was divided between my wish to draw the old ruins in landscape, and to represent, in a history-piece, the singular events which have taken place in it" (*Lammermoor* 25). What differs between Pattieson and Tinto is his ability to use memory to help shape his motives in constructing the novel through using a national tradition of orality, "national traditions needed the discourse of the past as a constitutive element for their identities… thus the romanticization of peasant culture and oral literature… in nineteenth-century Europe came to have, as a major aim, the establishment of an 'authentic' historical memory (Fentress and Wickham 133). Pattieson would go on to focus on the contrast between Wolf's Crag and Wolf's Hope, the latter being this "peasant culture" that is

modernizing past feudalistic beliefs and into independence from Ravenswood. It is also Pattieson's participation in a modern form of oral literature that he is able to combine imagery and text using a national tradition that helps construct current Romantic ideologies of sublimity that commercializes through commemorating an "authentic" history of the marriage between Edgar and Lucy. Such commemoration is also used to highlight how history is forced to repeat, and characters who are still trapped within the past are bound to repeat it.

Edgar Ravenswood is presented as a figure who cannot escape history because of how memory constructed his feudalistic identity that makes him anachronistic to the homo economicus. Throughout the novel, the narrator provides stories relating the Ravenswood's family, with one notable "legend" of how Raymond of Ravenswood fell in love with a Naiad, and through his curiosity does he trick her into remaining beyond the allotted time where she falls into the Mermaiden Well to her death (*Lammermoor* 58). Reading this legend becomes reminiscent of the medieval fairy tale genre in its construction of memory to educate, "a fairy tale is not narrated paratactically; its themes are not so many free-standing units, arranged in rough chronological sequence. Instead, they are interlocking units, arranged in a consequential order. Remembering a fairy tale requires remembering these relations of consequence" (Fentress and Wickham 62). The audience participates in receiving cultural memory as this story is passed down to future generations within the novel, claiming the Well to be a curse to the Ravenswoods. It allows the audience to predict Edgar and Lucy's relationship as they meet for the first time at the Well, despite the narrator emphasizing the legend may have been an altered history with Raymond most likely killing his mistress "out of jealousy" (*Lammermoor* 59). The alteration of memory between Raymond and the Naiad becomes realtered through Edgar and Lucy as the latter performs the role of the Naiad, further enforced as she is called throughout the novel as

being like a Naiad. This memory connects Edgar's inability to detach himself from his past, presenting him as an antiquated figure that risks bringing the nation into antiquity through his relationship with Lucy.

Even though this cultural memory is left ambiguous as to its validity, it constructs how Edgar's actions are expected to be violent based on the violent memories that Edgar is associated with. Edgar's inability to enter modernity is also because of what Anderson describes as how medievalism was stuck within a perpetual past, "the medieval Christian mind had no conception of history as an endless class of cause and effect or of radical separations between past and present" (Anderson 29). It reflects how Lucy is fated to fill the Naiad role from her fascination with medieval literature; her behavior as a chaste woman to an infidel reflecting the medieval memory of masculine anxieties of infidelity towards women. Her knowledge of the medieval fairy tales that surround the Ravenswood would also lead to her repetition of these themes. Furthermore, this memory replicates the history between Janet Dalrymple and David Dunbar as it repeats the destined tragedy and violence of the couples. If these figures repeat history, then the historical novel promotes an anti-modern ideology to dispossess Highlanders for their destined repeat of history. They must be dispossessed before the nation is forced to repeat their poverty and disconnection with England.

The novel also incorporates the emblematic to the written word that creates the paradox between separation and unity of Scotland's feudalistic and capitalistic nation. The Ravenswood Castle being owned by Edgar's rival, William Ashton, reflects how modernity has changed from the emblematic to the written word, "a spacious library, once a banqueting-room in the old Castle of Ravenswood, as was evident from the armorial insignia still displayed on the carved roof… on the long rows of shelves, bending under the weight of legal commentators and

monkish historians, whose ponderous volumes formed the chief and most valued contents of a Scottish historian of the period" (*Lammermoor* 36). William Ashton is defined as a homo economicus through his self-interest as a lawyer, using the written language as the nation develops to use its laws against Edgar who threatens vengeance on William. It creates a distinction between William as he writes while looking up to see the Ravenswood's family crest in Ravenswood's Castle, "it was a black bull's head, with the legend, 'I bide my time'; and the occasion upon which it was adopted mingled itself singularly and impressively with the subject of his present reflections" (*Lammermoor* 37). The conflict between writing and visuals reminiscent of Pattieson and Tinto highlights how the Highlanders lack a comprehensible language that needs to be "narrated," whereas William's written language allows the ability to interpret memory. It also creates a border between how law is performed in Scotland, writing being able to interpret and explain ideas rationally where visuals rely on emotions that can be irrational. These two forms of expression lead to what Sorenson explains as how the national body expresses itself, "this visual sign system refers back to an old feudal order's fiction of a motivated national body. If Ashton's signs of power are his writing and weighty tomes, Ravenswood's are crests, arms and escutcheons" (Sorensen 38). The visual system as an antiquated expression of the national body is perceived as threatening by the homo economicus as the emblem's depiction of violence risks the nation into irrationality. Both the writing and visual system reflect two ways of how the nation can be identified, in which the historical novel combining narratives and imagery allows the union between both styles to overcome the irrationality of the Highlander's representation of Scotland.

However, older characters who identify with the visual system through the Ravenswood reflect their inability to progress in Scotland's advancement as their illiteracy prevents them from

understanding Scotland's change of a national body. Considering the lawyer figure as symbolic of modernity, Caleb's confronts an attorney in Wolf's Hope who is unable to understand the new laws with his feudalistic understanding of laws,

> David Dingwall, a… shrewd country attorney, who had already acted against the family of Ravenswood… Caleb was conscious, from sad experience, that he would wage a very different strife with this mercenary champion… upon whose old recollections, predilections, and habits of thinking, he might have wrought by an hundred indirect arguments… it was in vain he strained his eloquence and ingenuity, and collected into one mass all arguments arising from antique custom and hereditary respect, from the good deeds done by the Lords of Ravenswood to the community of Wolf's-hope in former days… the writer stuck to the contents of his feu-charters – he could not see it – 'twas not in the bond (*Lammermoor* 138-139).

Through Caleb relying on his feudalistic memory, he attempts to construct a narrative using the visual system that differs from the written laws. Although presented as comical, Caleb anachronistically stands out to Wolf's Hope as his visual memory of the Ravenswood contends with the written memory that constructs Wolf's Hope into its present. By using the written language, Wolf's Hope becomes a "hope" for Scotland's communities to embody the homo economicus by acting for their own interest to separate from the Ravenswood. Alice is also an old character who is closely associated with the Ravenswood, with her memory perpetuating Edgar's inability to escape memory. Halbwachs explains how old people remain static, "these men and women are tired of action and hence turn away from the present so that they are in a most favorable position to evoke events of the past as they really appeared. But if these events recur is this not because they were always there? Is this not a striking proof of the preservation of

memories that we believed to have been eradicated" (Halbwachs 47). In other words, Alice tries to reenact the past through her insistence that the Ravenswood are still noble despite their decayed aristocracy. Though her close association with the Ravenswood's feudalism is unique considering she explains she is an "Englishwoman," who also warns Edgar to never marry Lucy Ashton, using the collective memory of Ravenswood that it is untraditional to seek love over hate towards their enemy (*Lammermoor* 58, 201). Alice invokes the visual system by referring to the Ravenswood's legend "I bide my time" and vengeance, adamant that Edgar's family will fall if he seeks to go beyond his family's memory. Ironically, Alice as a blind character using the visual system reflects her inability to endure change, subjecting Edgar to become illiterate when he sees the marriage documents of Lucy's signature to be with Bucklaw.

Conclusion

Although decadence is a feature of Victorian era literature, the novel form is used to reflect the modernity that Scotland undergoes through by being anachronistic and a commodity form. Portraying Indians and Highlanders under a decadent lens shows how Scotland sought to repress both identities as figures of the past destined to be forgotten. The borders within Scotland also highlights how the Lowlands is viewed as an urban and economically advantaged space where the Highlands is mysterious and supernatural. It furthers the Highlanders as mythical figures of a dying past like the Indians who disappear in the forests, but locations such as The Forth river allows Highlanders to still be tethered to a specific geography whereas American writers primarily used the forest or White settlements as antiquated proofs of Indian existence. Cultural trauma also holds influence in collective memory as a reason to move from feudalism to capitalism, adopting the latter as a part of Scotland's nationalistic identity while also internally

colonizing themselves to appear civilized and appease an English imperialistic society. The efforts to commercialize Highland identity is also used to teach morality on how modernity is a better pathway than remaining sentimental to the past; choosing rationality over asocial passions, like pity, nostalgia, and aggressive hatred. Through eroticizing Highlander violence, it also shows Highlanders as figures that should be pushed either into irredeemable past or civilized for modern commercial consumption. These concepts accumulate into how Scottish Highlanders are perceived by the English, and through Walter Scott defining the historical novel he becomes a colonial figure that influenced American writers to write their Native Americans under an extension of Scotland's reconstructed social memory.

Lammermoor and *Roy*'s reification of historical memory is manipulated to commercialize to a British audience that perceives the unity of England and Scotland as a way that defines Scottish nationalism. Whereas feudalistic characters like Alice and Edgar unable to look back into their memory to recognize the supernatural and "savage" lifestyle of pursuing revenge, characters like William Ashton and his wife are able to embody the homo economicus that can look back on history selectively. The distinction between imagery and writing both define how past and present can be combined, but writing becomes prioritized over paintings or orality for being abstract instead of concrete. Print capitalism provides the opportunity for Scotland to remember their history through easier accessibility and antiquity of its print language, developing a national consciousness. Paintings and orality fail to achieve establishing Scotland as an "imagined community" through the homo economicus ideology and its association with print culture to England. They are traditions that are limited to a small portion of Scotland, whereas print culture provides the ability for memory to spread throughout a nation and internationally. *Roy* also provides insight into print culture as it seeks to perform similarly to

Waverley through a travel narrative of an Engilshman traveling to Scotland and learning its culture. Yet Frank's position as an English homo economicus translates Scotland's national identity to be reminiscent to English, with its language and characters being converted under an English perspective that reifies Scottish memory for profit that will entice an English audience to explore Scotland. Through the reification of Scottish collective memory does the homo economicus ideology objectify Scottish nationalism for an English audience by commemorating pieces of historical events that highlights how the unity with England is best for the development of Scotland.

Chapter Two: The Broken Promises Between the Scottish Highlanders and Native Americans

Walter Scott constructs Scotland's national identity by appealing to the homo economicus—an ideology that defines individuals as self-interested, rational, and sympathetic in ways that support participation in free-trade capitalism. By promoting the homo economicus as the embodiment of modern ideals, Scott rewrites the Scottish Highlanders' social memory, linking their communal and supposedly irrational culture to Native Americans. In *The Heart of Midlothian*, Scott introduces The Whistler, a Highlander-turned-savage, who easily adapts to life among Native Americans. The novel narrates The Whistler's transportation as a slave to America, sold to a Virginian planter and his rebellion to join the Native Americans, "a conspiracy in which his inhuman master was put to death, and had then fled to the next tribe of wild Indians… [that] fitted him to associate" (*Midlothian* 506). By portraying this transformation, Scott blurs the historical boundaries between Highlanders and Native Americans, casting both as social deviants who resist free-trade capitalism. This framing suggests that their isolation within clan structures limits their ability to contribute to Scotland's economic progress or to develop as part of its imagined national community.

By Scott interacting with the "immemorial past," the historical novel allowed imagining the British nation as a necessity for Scotland's development to unite with England. Adopting the homo economicus, Scott commodifies the Scottish Highlanders as unable to participate in the British nation's capitalist development due to their savagery. However, he emphasizes the Scottish Highlanders' moral traits; honorable, communal, and a reflection of human nature within a natural space opposing capitalistic greed. Hawk-eye would remark how these treaties impacted the Native Americans, "such a treaty was made… through the deviltries of the Dutchers, who

wished to disarm the natives that had the best right to the country… the Mohicans… having to deal with the English, never entered to the silly bargain, but kept to their manhood" (*Mohicans* 127). Hawk-eye describing the Mohicans independence from the homo economicus social bonding as masculine appears admirable, but lacks credence insofar as those who revolt against modernity are destined to vanish. Cooper's novel uniquely commodifies Native Americans by selectively assimilating their tribal life and consultative politics to symbolically define American independence through print culture. Through these remembered values, Scott encourages the British nation to adopt amoral sympathy befitting the idealized homo economicus, thereby evading the risk of "going native" in a stagnant primitivism.

Lammermoor and *Rob Roy* depict Scotland's cultural shift toward English values through the homo economicus ideology—a shift that extends into North America, especially through the stereotype of the savage Highlander. Scottish participation in British imperialism reshaped national identity, as English colonizers exploited opportunities to redefine Scotland within the empire. As Calloway notes, "Scottish merchants formed commercial cliques and dominated the Indian trade in southeastern America and Canada. Scottish educators were prominent in colonial society… Highland soldiers fought for new territories, and Highland settlers then occupied them. Scotland itself became an imperial nation within the British state" (Calloway 12). Carrying Adam Smith's philosophy of the homo economicus, Scottish settlers advanced their own interests by helping colonize Native American land and contributing to Britain's imperial expansion. They directed their mimetic violence for Anglo-Saxonism from their own colonization to the imitating oppression of Native Americans.

As British settlers colonized America, they encountered Native Americans in ways that challenged the identity of the homo economicus. British settlers created treaties and policies to

control Native populations, actions that sparked King Philip's War and the Indian Removal Act of 1830. But Susan Scheckel explains in *The Insistence of the Indian* how the "American" nation grappled with its identity due to its violent history,

> [envisioning] self-interest as the engine of progress… with the rise of capitalism and competitive individualism… by the 1820s Americans had begun to question the capacity of self-interest to sustain moral principles and communal values. American Indian policy brought into focus the tensions implicit in these various interpretations (Scheckel 5).

As British settlers displaced Native Americans, they began to feel guilt because their self-interest exposed the moral corruption behind their treatment of indigenous tribes. They struggled to spread an Anglo-Saxon communal identity when they failed to unite their own people, and their oppression of Native Americans undermined their claims to offer liberty.

Thus, novelists used the noble and ignoble savage stereotypes to investigate the origins of that guilt. They portrayed all savages as irrationally violent, yet acknowledged some as virtuous—virtues the British had previously ignored but now began to recognize. *The Last of the Mohicans* illustrates this with its chivalric depiction of the Mohicans who represent national values central to America's identity. Both Duncan Heyward and Colonel Munro mimic English imperialists by displacing Native Americans in pursuit of national wealth, embodying René Girard's definition of mimetic desire, "man is the creature who does not know what to desire, and he turns to others in order to make up his mind. We desire what others desire because we imitate their desires" (Girard 122). Their hybridity drives them to imitate the British nation's desires to feel empowered and accepted by a dominant force claiming to represent modern civilization. At the same time, Hawk-eye mirrors the Mohicans' desire for community and virtue, rejecting the British model of self-interest. In the uncertain task of imagining America's identity

between Native American and British pasts, Duncan's hybrid experience fuses these competing desires—adopting Britain's model of expansion and wealth while incorporating the Mohicans' values of independence and liberty.

The Last of the Mohicans by James Fenimore Cooper is set in 1757 during the French and Indian War, before, during, and after the massacre at Fort William Henry. The English protagonist, Major Duncan Heyward, allies with Hawk-eye (or Natty Bumppo), a white man who adopts the lifestyle and attire of Native Americans, and his companions Uncas and Chingachgook, the last living members of the Mohican tribe. Joined by the Calvinist David Gamut, they travel from Fort Edward through the American wilderness to guide Alice and Cora back to their father, Colonel Munro at Fort William Henry. They confront Magua and his Huron tribe, who seek vengeance against Colonel Munro for whipping him by intermarrying with Cora and uniting with the French to oppose the British settlers. The French, unable to control the Hurons, see the tribe massacre the British at Fort William Henry and kidnap Cora and Alice. Alice is saved, but Cora and Uncas die in the process. The novel ends with Hawk-eye killing Magua, Duncan and Alice marrying, and Chingachgook mourning Cora and Uncas's deaths, marking the end of the Mohicans. America's social memory of Native Americans in the novel rewrites history to show how the British interactions with Magua led to the Hurons massacring Fort William Henry. However, it presents the noble savages like the Mohicans as worth remembering for their honor and their refusal to work with the French. By painting Native Americans under a chivalric past, the novel allows British settlers to nostalgically recall their British past in masculinist, chivalric terms. They reshape their social memory into a post-colonial American identity through their interactions with Native Americans who preserved the age of chivalry lost in Europe.

I will explore how Cooper's novel opens a cultural conversation between the Scottish Highlanders and Native Americans as Gothic doubles. English views influence their confrontation as they struggle to adopt each other's "savage" and "civilized" perspectives. This confrontation with the Gothic double creates what Rene Girard describes as the desire to become the Other through imitation (mimesis), a process Cooper performs in "recapturing the past" to shape America's nationalism. Cooper presents this through the Gothicism of the Hurons, who resemble a primitive community that British civilization desires to become. British settlers' desiring to become like Native Americans leads to cognitive dissonance. Girard explains, "the impulse towards the object is ultimately an impulse toward the mediator… the subject is torn between two opposite feelings toward his model – the most submissive reverence and the most intense malice. This is the passion we call hatred" (Girard 10). As Duncan learns about the Mohicans and Hurons through Hawk-eye, who serves as a mediator between the British and Native Americans, he becomes desirable for expressing his natural individualism and chivalric values. However, he also becomes hated for refusing to participate as a homo economicus in providing wealth to the American nation. Cooper's attempt to recapture the past presents the events before the Revolutionary War as America's medieval period, filled with violence and savagery, which aligns with British settlers bringing their chivalric beliefs. By remembering the violence between the Natives and British settlers, Cooper invests the Mohicans with Romantic individualism, indirectly validating the homo economicus model of human subjectivity.

Chivalry as a national ideology of England comes into question regarding its ability to endure in America through Duncan Heyward's failure to protect Alice as a knight. He shifts from English to America's national memory, learning practicality from the Native Americans. Chivalry, defined as a gendered ideology with a male knight holding the power to save a helpless

maiden, requires self-abrogation and self-sacrifice from a privileged man in defense of the powerless and disadvantaged, typically women (Dyer 341). While Scott portrayed his Scottish Highlanders as knights from whom the British gentleman could learn, the Mohicans serve as knights from whom Duncan learns to become an Anglo-American gentleman. However, embodying the "gentleman" implies inactivity, creating anxieties about inflicting violence to defend women. Cohen explains, "polite gentlemanliness was precisely that it was not homogeneous but, rather, rent with anxieties… about effeminacy, because tensions between masculinity and refinement made it difficult for a man to be at once polite and manly" (Cohen 313). Duncan's lack of interest in defending Cora and his desire for Alice, who is not the subject of romantic interest to Magua, reflects his wish to maintain his gentle-manliness by not becoming a knight. The Mohicans and Hawk-eye preserve that role. Their attempts to save Cora from death reinforce their antiquity as knights, positioning Duncan as an influence in shaping the American national identity once the Native Americans vanish. But it also portrays Duncan as taking on the role of a maiden, with the Mohicans defending the British due to his passivity.

However, that vanishment preserves Duncan's power as a gentleman. By leaving the masculinity of the Native Americans in memory, Duncan and Alice's marriage allows the "softer and more refined" gentleman to thrive in colonial modernity (Cohen 313). The threat of feminizing the British settlers explains why Duncan survives after the Native Americans vanish. Duncan's survival stems from his "politeness," which enables the Mohicans and Hawk-eye to protect them from the overly masculine Hurons. As a result, Duncan, as an American national figure, receives praise over Hawk-eye, especially through his marriage with Alice. This union makes the gentleman compatible for being a national character, which Cohen argues is "incompatible with a masculine national character" (Cohen 314). The passivity of the gentleman

redirects the novel's national enemies, the French and the Hurons, towards the violence they inflicted on the American nation. Therefore, America's social memory reconstructs Native Americans as feminine due to their lack of "gentlemanliness," a precondition for their racialization as the vanishing ghosts of modernity.

The Scottish Arrival to North America

After winning the War of 1812 to separate from Britain's influence, British settlers began to question what it meant to be "American." Scheckel explains the necessity for print culture to bring America together in defining its nation,

> from the 1820's through the 1850's, cultural critics repeatedly called on Americans to produce a literature, a drama, an art that would express and affirm the nation's distinctive identity… Americans would not achieve true independence from Britain until they had produced a national literature and art (Scheckel 8).

Cooper became one of the novelists who sought to define America's nation by creating a discussion of how English views contended with Native Americans. However, the discussion becomes multifaceted when Cooper applies the Waverley model and places Scottish characters primarily at the forefront of the plot. Similarly to Frank Osbaldistone, Hawk-eye acts as the English mediator between the Native Americans and Scottish, but characters fail to view him respectively due to his mimicry of an antiquated life. In other words, he abandons his British identity by becoming a Native American. Yet with the growing self-interest of the homo economicus, Cooper capitalizes on the stereotypes of Native Americans as models of a pre-American identity, "commentators noted their fierce independence and love of freedom… [combining] individual liberty with care for the poor and the weak… [governing] themselves by

kinship and custom rather than by state coercion" (Calloway 66). Where policies fail to control Native Americans, using kinship allows assimilation within the Anglo-Saxon community. British settlers also use kinship as a weapon to force Native Americans to adopt the homo economicus model, while presenting them as savagely antiquated through the literary trope of Gothicism.

Gothicism dominated the Romantic era through works like *The Castle of Otranto, The Mysteries of Udolpho,* and *Frankenstein*. Writers of Gothic fiction during this era rooted their narratives in Britain's medievalism, which critics described as "a long period of barbarism, superstition, and anarchy… [signifying] anything obsolete, old-fashioned, or outlandish" (Clery 21). These works return to a medieval past filled with violence and barbarism, often positioning women as maidens trapped in chivalry's sexual economy and rendered powerless under patriarchy. As a Gothic novel, *Lammermoor* explores Lucy Ashton's "ideal picture of chivalrous excellence" in Edgar Ravenswood, a vision that leads her to madness when he abandons her and his chivalric persona breaks down; the novel foregrounds this collapse with medieval architecture and the prophecy of the Ravenswood family vanishing (*Lammermoor* 64). *Rob Roy* also uses Gothicism through its description of the Highlands as "garlanded with such a beautiful variety of ancient trees and thriving copsewood… within its unseen caverns, the palaces of the fairies; a race of airy beings, who formed an intermediate class between men and demons" (*Roy* 319). Both novels evoke Gothicism by portraying the Highlands as existing in a pre-Enlightenment era where rationality cannot operate. By showing the uncertainty of interacting with Highlanders, the novels present figures like Edgar Ravenswood as demonic due to their uncontrollable and violent emotions. Vengeance, a prominent trait in Romantic savages and Gothic narratives, emerges in Edgar's vengeance toward Lucy and in Rob Roy's retribution

against Rashleigh Osbaldistone. It also appears in Rob Roy's wife and her Highlanders, who kill Morris for betraying the Highlanders during Frank's captivity.

Using the ignoble savage stereotype, an immoral indigenous figure emerging from nature to destroy civilization, Cooper casts Magua as a Romantic Satan who actively revolts against the oppression of British Christianity. The narrative evokes sympathy for Magua by portraying how British abuse forced his banishment from his tribe and led to his wife's remarriage to another chieftain (*Mohicans* 104). Magua channels his desire for Cora into an act of vengeance for what the British, particularly Munro, stole from him, including the scars left by Munro's whipping. Alongside this sympathy, Magua's Romantic language asserts nationalistic pride in the Hurons,

> he speaks of the land of their fathers, their distant tribe, the long and painful journey from their spacious hunting grounds and happy villages, and their battles against the enemies of their Canadian fathers… their successes and victories… the wives and children of the slain… "'Are the Hurons dogs, to bear this… his nation have not taken revenge… not a hair from a white head to give them… there is a dark spot on the names of the Hurons, and it must be hid in blood' (*Mohicans* 106–107).

Donna Richardson explains how Magua parallels Satan in Milton's Paradise Lost through both language and action: "Cooper casts him as a Romantic satanic rebel who… justly criticizes human authorities who have tried to play God and have thereby violated the very ideals of law, governance, and morality" (Richardson 219). Both Satan and Magua seek vengeance against the Christianity that exiled them. However, Magua challenges his position as a Romantic Satan by grounding his rebellion in tangible colonial realities and exposing British hypocrisy for using Christianity to justify Anglo-Saxon supremacy.

His Romantic satanism re-embodies Anglo-Saxonism in a Native American figure, portraying Magua through the lens of Milton's Satan. Cooper intensifies this parallel by transforming Magua's racial difference into a satanic threat to Anglo-Saxon whiteness, conveyed through both language and physical defiance. Magua's desire for Cora, meant to replace his lost wife, turns his vengeance into horror for a British audience by placing her within chivalry's sexual economy as a maiden in distress and reviving fears of racial miscegenation. As an unstoppable force of nature, like Satan, Magua can only fall through an Anglo-Saxon kinship with the Mohicans; a controlled nature to subdue a chaotic one. Only non-Christians like the Mohicans can use their racial inferiority to attack other inferior races. This Anglo-Saxon kinship justifies their imperialistic goals as bringing "world peace, order, and morality… and if necessary… founded on the bodies of inferior races" through assimilating Native Americans onto a self-imposed violence (Horsman 77). Cooper presents British settlers as recovering their morality through the tribe and then ensuring that the Mohicans vanish into Anglo-American social memory. Social memory then whitens the assimilated Mohicans, so the derivation of national values may appease anxieties about their indigenous origins. This particularly appears through Thomas Jefferson's claim that the American nation needs to "return to the principles" of an Anglo-Saxon government, in which Native Americans and Scottish Highlanders became reminiscent figures in their expression of the "natural rights of man" (Horsman 20). These parallels render Mohicans a Gothic narrative, where the super-natural threat embodied by Magua endangers the formation of an American nation.

Magua and the Hurons act as a Gothic double to the primitive origins of British civilization. Sigmund Freud defines the Gothic double as stemming from the narcissism "that holds sway in the mind in… that of primitive man; and when this stage has been left behind the

double takes on a different aspect… [when] it wore a more friendly aspect" (Freud 9). As British civilization progresses, its perception of Native Americans evokes an uncanny familiarity, reminding it of its own egalitarian and violent past. In this light, the Hurons function as a Gothic double, transformed in social memory into a chivalric past that once appeared acceptable but now threatens to drag British civilization back into primitivism. When England granted Scotland a chance to evolve as a nation, it did so by requiring Scotland to forget its own Celtic origins by becoming Anglo-Saxons and spreading it to other so-called savage nations under manifest destiny. Because Scotland had only recently emerged from a pre-capitalist society, the British positioned the Scots as ideal colonizers who could persuade Native Americans to view their own customs as savage. However, as Highlanders and Native Americans intermingled, anxieties about biological race surfaced. Their racial miscegenation raised fears of contaminating Anglo-Saxon whiteness and ultimately threatened its imperial identity.

The Fort William Henry Massacre shaped how Anglo-Americans during the Romantic period remembered Native Americans. By using the massacre as the novel's backdrop, Cooper reinforces the idea that Americans should relegate Native Americans to social memory due to the violence the Hurons inflict. A pivotal scene that recurs across many historical romance novels captures a Native American's brutality toward a British woman and her infant,

> the savage relinquished his hold of the shawl, and tore the screaming infant from her arms… the Indian smiled grimly… he dashed the head of the infant against a rock, and cast its quivering remains to her feet… the Huron mercifully drove his tomahawk into her own brain. The mother sunk under the blow, and fell, grasping at her child, in death, with the same engrossing love that had caused her to cherish it when living (*Mohicans* 175).

This scene reflects how the massacre has been ingrained into an Anglo-American social memory, particularly in how the novel constructs the historical event to be caused by English influence. Cooper feminizes the French by highlighting their failure to control the Hurons and prevent their merciless violence against British women and children. He furthers this criticism of Anglo-Saxonism through his depiction of the Hurons' village, which suggests the emergence of a threatening imperialism, "the trees of many acres had been felled… their rounded roofs… denoted more of industry and foresight… the whole village… possessed more of method and neatness of execution, than the white men had been accustomed to believe belonged" (*Mohicans* 219). In showing the Hurons imitating industrial traits, the novel warns of a malformed Huron imperialism shaped by English influence. Although Uncas and the Delaware tribe eventually defeat them, the Hurons remain a ghostly threat in America's social memory—one that could have either aborted the American nation or created an alternative to white settler colonialism.

Colonel Munro, a Scottish Highlander, represents those who came to America seeking economic opportunity for Britain's development. The narrative gives Munro a detailed backstory through his account of fathering Alice and Cora,

> my family was both ancient and honorable… duty called me to the islands of the West Indies. There it was my lot to form a connexion with one who in time became my wife, and the mother of Cora. She was the daughter of a gentleman of those isles, by a lady, whose misfortune it was, if you will… to be descended, remotely, from that unfortunate class, who are so basely enslaved to administer to the wants of a luxurious people! Ay, sir, that is a curse entailed on Scotland, by her unnatural union with a foreign and trading people. But could I find a man among them, who would dare to reflect on my child, he should feel the weight of a father's anger! Ha! Major Heyward, you are yourself born at

> the south, where these unfortunate beings are considered of a race inferior to your own (*Mohicans* 159).

By calling his arrival a "duty," Munro aligns himself with nationalist values imitating the homo economicus, seeking to benefit from Britain's free-trade capitalism to elevate Scotland's economic position. Yet, the paradox of Munro's character lies in his adherence to honor over practicality, which reveals how his outdated values clash with modern British ideals.

His Highlander roots tie his chivalric ideals to biological heritage, but those same ideals appear socially antiquated within Britain's evolving national identity. Because Scotland developed under a Gaelic heritage, Munro imitates Anglo-Saxon values to distance himself from his origins. Coming from one of the "Scottish families that were not transported, but that were left impoverished by the Jacobite rebellions," Munro joins Britain's imperial project to regain social and economic status (Shields 143). His reflections on marrying a woman from the West Indies reveal how English influence shapes his disdain for Scotland's perceived backwardness and poverty. While *Waverley* and *Rob Roy* suggest a possible unity between the English and Scottish, *Lammermoor* reflects ongoing anxieties about Scottish degeneracy, which resurface in Munro's relationship with a mixed-race woman. By marrying a woman who is half-Black, Munro risks becoming as debased as those the British enslave. In this framework, racial miscegenation does not threaten pure Anglo-Saxons but instead marks savages, such as Highlanders and Native Americans, as inherently impure.

Mohicans repeatedly present mixing as an impurity sparking desire and violence toward the Other. Tim Fulford explains how British colonists targeted Native Americans as biologically inferior to white settlers, "the manifest destiny of Indians was to die out in face of white colonists: their inferiority was written deep in their bones as well as on their skin. And there

was… no evidence that races changed their characteristics in different environments" (Fulford 95). British settlers use this belief in biological inferiority to justify Native American servitude and claim dominion over America, a belief dramatized through the contrast between Cora and Alice. The narrative casts Alice as "pure" because she was born to Munro and his Scottish wife, while it marks Cora as impure due to her Scottish-Caribbean heritage. Her hybridity draws Magua's desire and challenges British chivalric ideals. The text reinforces this tension through recurring images of rivers mixing with blood and violence, such as when Uncas tells the Delaware about the Huron bones in the river, "the tumbling river washes their bones; their men are squaws: their women owls" (*Mohicans* 249). This image symbolically links Highlander interaction with Native Americans to a corrupting return to a violent past. Although Fulford asserts that British settlers saw Native Americans as incapable of adopting the homo economicus model, the narrative complicates this claim.

Hawk-eye mimics Mohican culture, and Uncas, as a young Mohican, displays traits that resemble the homo economicus. This hybridity fosters a unity between Hawk-eye and the Mohicans, producing a mimetic desire to expand the British nation through their alliance against the effeminate French and Hurons. Munro similarly mimics British imperialists in pursuit of this nationalist project. In contrast, the Hurons, portrayed as irrational, cannot participate in this desire and thus remain outside the colonial imagination of progress. Hawk-eye and the Mohicans, through their hybridity, aid in displacing Native Americans and guiding white settlers toward envisioning America. Yet, this interrelationship stirs anxieties about British settlers regressing into primitivism, blurring the lines between civilization and savagery.

However, the English continue to displace the Scottish from the British nation by treating them as antiquated for their chivalric beliefs. At the beginning of the novel, Heyward and his

company leave Fort Edward, controlled by the Englishman General Webb, to reach Fort William Henry. When the Hurons and French surround Fort William Henry, Munro calls on General Webb for help,

> their common superior, so far from encouraging them to resist, advised a speedy surrender, urging, in the plainest language, as a reason, the utter impossibility of his sending a single man to their rescue… 'he has brought dishonour to the door of one, where disgrace was never before known to dwell, and shame has he heaped heavily on my gray hairs' (*Mohicans* 164).

Munro attempts to translate his Highland beliefs into the context of the New World to make sense of his position in this foreign country. He draws on a chivalric drive to colonize as a homo economicus for the British nation. Yet, by promoting a selective social memory of Scotland that ignores the Highlanders' history of resistance, he fails to see how British imperialism has instrumentalized Scottish identity as a colonial tool to subjugate Native Americans.

This blindness also drives Munro to "mimic" the English in order to secure his place within British imperialism. Homi Bhabha defines colonial mimicry as a "reformed and recognizable Other" who imitates the colonizer to claim power, though this imitation may also move in reverse, with settlers mimicking the colonized; both sides become similar, but never identical (Bhabha 126). René Girard, in *Deceit, Desire, and the Novel: Self and Other in Literary Structure*, explains how confronting a nation's memory reveals that colonial settlers have always copied the colonized to construct a national identity distinct from others,

> Recapturing the past is to welcome a truth which most men spend their lives trying to escape, to recognize that one has always copied Others in order to seem original in their eyes and in one's own. Recapturing the past is to destroy a little of one's pride…

> Romantic pride willingly denounces the presence of the mediator in Others in order to found its own autonomy on the ruins of rival pretentious… what is true about Others is true about the hero, in fact true about the novelist himself. After cursing Others the Oedipus-novelist realizes he himself is guilty… [recapturing the past] is the death of pride, the birth of humility and thus of truth (Girard 38).

In other words, Munro's mimetic desire to become a British imperialist does not arise from his personal ambition but from the British nation's broader desire to displace Native Americans. He imitates English violence to claim authority in America, just as both the Lowlanders and English once used violence to dominate the Highlanders. His mimicry of the homo economicus blinds him to his mistreatment of Magua, which he justifies through a self-interested belief in Native American inferiority. Yet, this is precisely where the English denounce Munro for his Gaelic heritage, refusing to recognize him as a true Anglo-Saxon and labeling him instead as a mere imitator. The English claim originality by disavowing their own acts of mimicry, particularly their appropriation of Native American and Scottish Highlander values—such as chivalry and national pride. At the same time, *Mohicans* obscures or erases this mimetic violence in the Scottish mediator to construct Anglo-Saxon identity as a distinct and superior racial community.

In addition, Munro's mimicry produces a hybridity—if Scottish Highlanders can conform to British ideals, then Native Americans, too, can be "saved" from their supposed irrational and unenlightened impulses. However, Magua challenges this logic when he tells Duncan Heyward that British colonialism caused the very irrationality they condemn, "who gave him the fire-water? Who made him a villain? 'Twas the pale-faces, the people of your own colour… the fire-water that spoke and acted for him! But Munro did not believe it. The Huron chief was tied up… and whipped like a dog" (*Mohicans* 102). Magua's rhetoric channels the frustration Native

Americans felt toward English settlers—their unjust seizure of land, their religious impositions that displaced Native beliefs, and their repeated use of alcohol as a means of control, often without understanding its effects. This frustration explains why the Hurons allied with the French to resist British settlers, viewing the Scottish and English as united in their Anglo-Saxon whiteness. Magua makes no distinction between Heyward and Munro as Scottish or English; instead, he sees only their shared hybridity and whiteness. It creates the paradox of how both Magua and Munro, as antiquated figures in the New World, perceive each other as an Other by using race to express internal anxieties about English colonial displacements in the past.

With Munro upholding feudalistic beliefs and Magua enacting savagery through relentless violence, Cooper uses both characters to imagine America's social memory as one that revives and then transcends old-fashioned ideologies. Shields explains that Cooper distinguishes himself from Walter Scott by "writing Scots into his novels," thereby portraying "both savagery and feudalism as stages through which America has passed, and Scott as an author for the old world rather than the new" (Shields 161). By making this distinction, Cooper's novel actively disavows the Scottish as a mediator due to their mimetic violence. The novel records these historical moments to reflect on how America formed its independence—not through a union of English and Scottish identities, but by imitating and appropriating traits from Native Americans and Highlanders through figures like Duncan Heyward. Cooper does not celebrate unity but constructs a national identity mimicking the independence and resistance of indigeneity.

Yet, this act remains ambivalent as British settlers continue to erase Native Americans from both land and memory. Bhabha describes the uncanniness that arises when the colonized mimics the colonizer, locating it in the natural spaces of Mohicans as "an area between mimicry and mockery, where the reforming, civilizing mission is threatened by the displacing gaze of its

disciplinary double" (Bhabha 127). The novel evokes Gothicism through the Native American as a double to British civilization, a figure that threatens to collapse modern white civilization into a primitive past and disrupt linear temporality. Uncas and Hawk-eye enact mimicry that mocks the power imbalance British imperialists try to enforce over Native Americans. To imagine the American nation, British settlers perform a mimicry of Native Americans, expecting them to fade into social memory. This mimicry soothes British anxieties about regressing into savagery and allows the British gentleman to adopt Native American values without risking displacement. The imagined end is a modern American nation with a past and future severed from both British colonialism and the persistent resistance of Native Americans, like the British nation's severance from the Scottish Highlanders.

From English to American: Chivalry as a Scottish Ideology

As Munro applies his social memory of chivalry to interpret America, Duncan Heyward similarly imposes his values onto the New World. However, his experiences backfire, especially through the dynamics between him and Alice, Cora and Uncas, and Cora and Magua. Heyward and Alice attempt to reenact the unity between England and Scotland, but the contest over Cora between Uncas and Magua invokes fears of mimetic violence and racial impurity. Magua poses a greater threat by attempting to seize Cora's chastity as an act of revenge against Munro for whipping him.

Duncan attempts to portray himself as a knight for Alice, but this image collapses when Native American practicality challenges his outdated ideals during Alice and Cora's capture. As the "privileged man" striving to protect Alice, Duncan declares, "I too can play the madman, the fool, the hero; in short, any or every thing, to rescue her I love" (*Mohicans* 227–228). Yet, he

consistently fails to protect her. Alice mocks him for abandoning them during the siege at Fort William Henry, exclaiming, “Ah! Thou truant! Thou recreant knight! He who abandons his damsels in the very lists” (*Mohicans* 149). In a particularly ironic moment, Duncan promises to stay vigilant with Uncas, Chingachgook, and Hawk-eye as the women sleep, but instead dozes off and dreams of himself as a chivalric knight guarding a recaptured princess, “the young man sunk into a deep sleep, dreaming that he was a knight of ancient chivalry... whose favour he did not despair of gaining” (*Mohicans* 129). This dream, full of Romantic fantasy, underscores his inability to act effectively as an Anglo-Saxon. Just as General Webb fails Munro, Duncan fails Alice, revealing that chivalric ideals are not only outdated but impractical in the American frontier. His fantasy of colonial masculinity crumbles in the face of real danger, where power must be asserted through practical action rather than imagination. According to the novel, the Hurons willingly violate moral codes, such as during the Fort William Henry massacre, when it benefits them, suggesting that Duncan’s ideals are ineffective in a world driven by chivalry. As Dyer notes, “Heyward's notion of chivalry, no doubt derived from redactions of medieval romance, here pulls him into impractical fantasy, which too easily substitutes for action” (Dyer 358). Meanwhile, Cora, not Duncan, proves more capable of protecting Alice. This reversal frustrates Duncan, eventually motivating his desire to displace Cora and reassert his failing authority.

Although Duncan is shaped by English chivalric ideals, his connection with Munro emerges through a shared ancestral lineage, positioning Munro as Duncan’s Gothic double. Before revealing the truth about Cora and Alice’s heritage, Munro recalls Duncan’s own genealogy, “the Thistle is the order for dignity and antiquity; the veritable ‘nemo me impune lacessit’ of chivalry! Ye had ancestors in that degree, Duncan, and they were an ornament to the

nobles of Scotland" (*Mohicans* 157). This revelation exposes Duncan's repressed Gaelic origins, confronting him with the uncanny return of a past he had sought to erase. In the American wilderness, this ancestral identity resurfaces to destabilize his performance of Englishness, casting him as a mimetic colonized subject rather than a pure Anglo-Saxon agent of empire. Munro's marriage to a mixed Caribbean woman further complicates Duncan's identity, forcing him to confront the implications of racial miscegenation, particularly the biracial Cora, as a threat to his Anglo-Saxon performance. In response, Duncan attempts to suppress this unsettling past by disavowing the Scottish mediator to refuse his realization of his own mimetic violence. Yet, rather than fully rejecting his Scottish heritage, he channels its chivalric values—honor, duty, and bravery—as a way to critique the English embrace of the homo economicus. His romantic union with Alice becomes a symbolic transaction, repurposing the knightly marriage model to consolidate political power through alliance. In doing so, Duncan enacts a hybrid identity that negotiates between chivalric feudalism and capitalist modernity. His marriage not only secures his position within the colonial order but also reflects the foundational myth of America—an imagined nation that claims purity while obscuring its hybrid, indigenous, and colonial origins.

Moreover, Duncan's repression of his Scottish heritage is rendered so subtle within the narrative that it is eclipsed by the events of the novel. In his performance of Anglo-Saxon identity, he enacts what René Girard describes as the scapegoating mechanism, where "mimesis unites all members of the community against a single enemy; a feeling of collective reconciliation is engendered throughout the mob" (Palaver 151). While Munro's recognition of Duncan's ancestral ties evokes a shared chivalric masculinity rooted in Scottish heritage, Duncan's response is marked by indifference, suggesting an active disavowal of that connection.

His desire to embody a purely English identity requires a collective erasure of both his Gaelic past and the novel's racial complexities. Duncan refuses to acknowledge any romantic interest in Cora, instead insisting on his intent to marry Alice, a "pure" Scottish woman (*Mohicans* 157–158). However, Magua's interest to marry Cora is just as mimetically violent as Duncan's desire to marry Alice. Where Magua threatens entry into an Anglo-Saxon community, Duncan desires the Other through marrying a Gaelic woman. In doing so, he aligns himself with English colonial authority while projecting his anxieties onto the Scottish and Native American figures who threaten to expose his hybrid roots. His desire for Alice becomes not merely romantic but ideological to consolidate a purified identit, whilst imitating the desire for the Other. Thus, Duncan's chivalric fantasies, already undermined by their impracticality, become a mask for deeper tensions: his complicity in the scapegoating of racialized and ancestral Others in order to secure his place within an imagined Anglo-Saxon America.

Duncan's hybrid identity produces deep ambivalence, and he channels his racial frustration by scapegoating Cora. Her presence, as a figure of racial and cultural hybridity, provokes a crisis in Duncan's own identity, exposing the tension between his desire for purity and the reality of his mixed heritage. Bhabha's concept of hybridity captures this inner conflict, explaining how both Self and Other exist as partial identities within the colonial subject,

> the desire for the Other is doubled by the desire in language, which splits the difference between Self and Other… [but] hybridity is the revaluation of the assumption of colonial identity through the repetition of discriminatory identity effects… it unsettles the mimetic or narcissistic demands of colonial power (Bhabha 50, 112).

Cora's hybridity forces Duncan to confront the very instability he tries to conceal. In his pursuit of recognition as a pure English imperialist, he actively represses his Gaelic roots and disavows

any connection to cultural impurity. Yet his reaction to Cora exposes how inescapable his own hybridity remains. He expresses a "mimetic rivalry" to appease British imperialism, in which Cora's expression of her hybridity becomes more dominating than Duncan. They both desire the protection of Alice, but Cora succeeds where Duncan fails. It imitates the rivalry between the British settlers and Hurons for claiming American land, "two people direct their respective desires at a single object, which they are unable to both possess" (Palaver 38). Duncan and Cora imitates the desire to be Anglo-Saxon knights protecting a maiden, and to be accepted within British civilization. It makes Cora desirable to Duncan for succeeding as an Anglo-Saxon knight, but also a repressed memory for representing anti-colonial resistance.

By abandoning chivalry, Duncan rejects his Scottish heritage to unite with Cora and chooses Alice instead. Duncan disavows Cora for her Caribbean-Scottish hybridity, but he passes as white for his partial Anglo-Saxonism. His mimetic violence in refusing to protect Cora abandons the colonial manhood once defined by chivalric codes of gender relations. This loss becomes evident before the French and Hurons storm Fort William Henry, when the "Anglo-Americans… exhibited all the signs of a hurried and forced departure" (*Mohicans* 171). The identity of "Anglo-American" actively disavows Gaelic and Native American origins by reinventing Anglo-Saxonism as the foundation of the American nation. In attempting to erase gender, class, and ethnic differences, Anglo-Americans express their anxieties about confronting colonial resistance, as seen in their fearful retreat from the fortress, further signaling the collapse of their colonial masculinity. This reimagined identity aligns with how Horsman describes the rise of Anglo-Saxonism in America, portraying "the American Anglo-Saxons as a separate, innately superior people who were destined to bring good government, commercial prosperity, and Christianity… to justify American territorial and economic expansion" (Horsman 2, 189).

The narrative repeats this logic of mimetic violence during the Huron's confrontation with a woman and her baby, moments before the massacre. The Huron, described as "untutored," steals the baby "and extended one hand, in sign of a willingness to exchange" (*Mohicans* 175). It is symbolic of the mimetic violence Native Americans imitate to take away the propagation of the Anglo-Americans, just as how the British settlers threatened the propagation of Native Americans. In British settlers attempting to racialize Native Americans, the Anglo-Saxonism ideology is reversed through the Hurons mimicry.

Thus, Cora's hybridity makes her more of a knight than Duncan because she actively protects Alice. In the scene when the Hurons capture Alice, Cora, David, and Duncan, the narrative describes how Cora tries to protect Alice, "she eluded the grasp of the savage, and reckless of her own safety, threw herself on the bosom of Alice… any other than a monster would have relented… but the breast of the Huron was a stranger to any sympathy" (*Mohicans* 112). Cora is a more masculine figure than Duncan due to her ability to protect Alice when faced with adversity. While Duncan merely dreams of action, Cora acts physically to protect her sister, and she does so without relying on chivalric pretenses. Her actions threaten Duncan's identity more than they define her own; hybridity empowers Cora in the New World, as "by taking on the protection of her sister, Cora is by implication possessing Alice and mimetically rivalling, or even revenging herself upon, the man who desires her" (Dennis 120). She exacts revenge against Magua by becoming the knight who protects Alice and disrupts chivalry's gender norms, but also challenging Duncan for failing to embody a genuine imperial English masculinity.

Her mimetic rivalry in identifying with Native Americans empowers her hybridity, which allows her re-performance of individuality that better mimic's the Anglo-Saxonism that Duncan cannot perform. His anxious and self-repressed claim to an imaginary whiteness shared with the

English limits him to imitation. She revolts as a feminine hybrid against the failures of Anglo-Saxon whiteness, whose colonial mimicry threatens imagining the American nation that empowers racial and gender hybrids. The Huron lacking sympathy for Cora indicates to the audience that the sympathy towards the Mohicans for possessing American national values can also be translated to Cora. However, the narrative ultimately allows Duncan to win Alice, thus reaffirming whiteness and patriarchal norms as dominant.

Cora dies because of her racial hybridity, lacking a male knight to protect her after she becomes the knight herself and loses purpose without a maiden. Even in her final moments, she evokes her masculinity against Magua, causing him to hesitate "like one who doubted" before an unnamed Huron "sheathed his own knife in the bosom of Cora" (*Mohicans* 337). Cora and the Hurons contest chivalry, which demonstrates a distinct cultural difference that labels Native Americans as "savage" if they fail to assimilate to English beliefs. The Hurons believe their masculinity would suffer if they restrained their actions, "instead of being seen as virtuous, however, Indians' restraint was usually attributed to a disgraceful lack of manly libido – a lack for which they compensated with murder" (Dyer 362). Cora's death emphasizes the cultural conflict between British and Native American values, expressed primarily through Magua's sexual frustration at being denied entry into the British nation—just as that same nation also denies Cora. She does not represent an ideal figure for America's developing nation, nor does Hawk-eye. Instead, Duncan "advances America toward Cooper's masculine ideal, quite simply because the heterosexual desire informing the codes of chivalry means that Heyward will marry and reproduce, thereby assisting in the peopling of a new nation" (Shields 154). Duncan wins his maiden for his mimetic violence as an Anglo-Saxon. By helping America develop its nation, his unity with Alice defines him as an Anglo-American, using the homo economicus for his own

self-interest in North America. His abandonment of older chivalric codes of masculinity parallels Scotland's abandonment of the Scottish Highlanders, connecting race to heterosexual reproduction in the future. But the threat of racial miscegenation is not prominent with Duncan due to his imagined whiteness, implying that the hybridity that the American nation will have still unites them under an Anglo-Saxon community.

The English being victorious in the end of the novel is reflective of how both Scottish Highlanders and Native Americans are antiquated to exist in the New World based on their race. Juliet Shields explains how Native Americans and Scots co-existing in America shows both these ideologies fail to develop into a coherent nationalist ideology: "*Mohicans* assigns Indians and Scots to contiguous rather than identical stages on the developmental path from savagery to civilization. Cooper accords Scots a feudal chivalry that is an improvement over the tribal savagery of Indians, but that is nonetheless inadequate to the task of extending civilized values… across America" (Shields 140). In other words, chivalry can only be applied to the Old World of England and Scotland, whereas America is an adoption of new beliefs that are considered purely homegrown rather than imported from Britain. Chivalry mediates nostalgia for America's social memory, but it cannot persist in the new nation's modern present. Instead, British settlers are required to use their memory of Britain as a tool to shape America's identity. America's Romantic period would attempt to define this social memory by looking back in America's history as a time of "changes in the meaning of virtue itself. Under the influence of Scottish common-sense philosophy, virtue evolved from an essentially masculine attribute to a term denoting such feminine qualities as benevolence, gentility, moral sensibility, and chastity" (Scheckel 63). Cora's adoption of chivalry makes her more masculine in her physical act to protect Alice, but it leads to her death, like Uncas, from the violence that a knight has to face in

the chivalric economy. However, Duncan's use of chivalry only makes him passive in his inability to act upon the patriarchal order that he promises to participate in as a British gentleman. Hence, the incorporation of these "feminine qualities" in Duncan's virtues, his respect and sympathy for the Mohicans and the Delaware tribe allows using their chivalric beliefs to protect the British. Nonetheless, it is the homo economicus as philosophical propounded by Adam Smith that can persist in America's nation with chivalry being only integral to America's selective, racialized memory. In other words, Anglo-Saxon whiteness both avows and disavows the U.S. Republic's internal otherness and cultural self-divisions.

Remembering Violence Through the Mimetic Other

Racial mixing as an impurity is a prominent theme that circulates throughout *Mohicans*. Commonalities between Native Americans and Scottish Highlanders such as chivalry and stoicism are taboo to the homo economicus. Rivers are a symbol of this capitalistic adventure, but also the dangers of racial miscegenation. This river symbolism first shows up with Uncas hunting a deer where, "Uncas darted to his side, and passed his knife across the throat, when bounding to the edge of the river, it fell, dying the waters with its blood" (*Mohicans* 35). Foreshadowing the events of the novel, Uncas hunting the deer and tainting the river reflects America's nation created under violence that had occurred between the Native Americans and British settlers. Uncas' hunt for the deer becomes reminiscent of the hunting scene in *Lammermoor,* with Edgar's inability to hunt the deer as reflective of his vanishing power as a Highlander. In the scene, Edgar was praised as being great hunter that no one has seen since "Tristrem's time," only for his horse to not be able to keep up with the chase, "as he bridled up with the bitter feeling, that his poverty excluded him from the favourite recreation of his

forefathers" (*Lammermoor* 107). Bucklaw's ability to be able to hunt the deer, and not Edgar, reflects the change of power that positions the Highlander to no longer fit the modernizing British nation, with himself eventually being hunted for Bucklaw's vengeance. Uncas being able to hunt does demonstrate how he continues to persist in the New World, but will inevitably be hunted like the deer by the Hurons. Nonetheless, both these scenes show a cultural shift from a hunter-gatherer community from the Scottish Highlanders and Native Americans in their hunt for deer to a modernizing civilization. This modernizing civilization reverses the hunt to metaphor the displacement of both Edgar and Uncas as natural "beasts" hunted from their nation.

Hawk-eye's mimetic violence also displays how he imitates Anglo-Saxonism by using sympathy as a colonial tool to tame Native Americans. Hawk-eye's mimesis allows him to recognize how Anglo-Saxonism is connected to the slave-trade and commercialization,"pools and ponds, and even the great fresh water lakes, may be stagnant… but when you come to spread water over a great tract, like the sea… how in earth in reason can the water be quiet" (*Mohicans* 32). The imagery evokes the transatlantic slave trade that persisted in the Romantic period, which the novel alludes to through Munro's contact with Cora's mother, the unnamed Scottish-Caribbean woman of African descent. Hawk-eye, likely aware of the transatlantic trade due to his British background, contrasts with Uncas, who lacks this understanding and believes rivers flow but then remains static "like my hand" (*Mohicans* 32). This contrast presents the differing ways each civilization perceives rivers: Uncas primitivism only sees the natural world, while Hawk-eye, as a colonizer, views rivers as tools for commerce. Hawk-eye furthers this colonial perspective through his mimetic violence, which assimilates the Mohicans with the British, "the scout was obscure; because, from the lingering pride of colour, he rather affected the cold and inartificial manner, which characterizes all classes of Anglo-Americans, when unexcited"

(*Mohicans* 198–199). By portraying Hawk-eye as an "Anglo-American," the novel shows that he still holds white colonial ideals in his ability to assimilate the Mohicans on behalf of the British. His imitation of Anglo-Saxonism enables the scapegoating mechanism to unite British settlers and the Mohicans against the French and Hurons as shared enemies, just as England and the Scottish Lowlands united to displace Scottish Highlanders. Yet, this same mimetic violence directed at the Hurons perpetuates the English imperialist mission.

The river symbolism also conveys the dangers of European commercial influence on Native Americans. When Duncan arrives at a pond with Hawk-eye, guarded by a lone Frenchman, Hawk-eye recalls his British social memory, "here is the 'bloody pond'… three battles did we make with the Dutch-Frenchman in a day… hundreds of Frenchmen saw the sun that day for the last time," and shortly after, Uncas kills a Frenchman, even though he poses no threat (Mohicans 135). The novel stains nearly every river with blood, shifting the focus from hunting animals to hunting Native Americans and Europeans. By hunting the Frenchman, Uncas demonstrates his assimilation into Anglo-American whiteness, asserting its superiority over the French, yet he still remains bound by the British social memory he re-performs. While Walter Scott envisions the union of Scotland and England as possible, *Mohicans* presents a more pessimistic view, portraying the unity between Native Americans and British settlers as impossible due to their racial differences. Like Scott's depiction of the Highlanders, Cooper confines Native Americans to the Old World who repeat history.

The river symbolism reinforces a stark division between Native Americans and British settlers, shaping both relationships and kinships as the American nation confronts its violent past. Rene Girard would describe this confrontation as the necessary remembrance of past violence for a nation to form to bring humility. The performance of chivalry as a sexual economy in America

expresses a desire to become the Other; Munro desires a woman from the West Indies to feel original, while Magua pursues Cora to mimic the Other and exact revenge on the British. Hawk-eye also embodies this mimetic desire for the Other, as an Englishman who proudly adopts Native American traits. He tells David Gamut that books hold no value compared to the knowledge gained from nature, "book! What have such as I, who am a warrior of the wilderness, though a man without a cross, to do with books… he who owns it [the Bible]... convince themselves there is a God" (*Mohicans* 117). Although the novel presents Hawk-eye as respectable for seeking unity with Native Americans, it ultimately elevates Duncan Heyward as the true hero for achieving a Christian marriage, while Hawk-eye and Chingachgook remain celibate. Hawk-eye serves as a warning to the American nation: adopting Native American beliefs leads to decadence and cultural stagnation. Hawk-eye's refusal to fully ingrain himself in the Anglo-American ideal presents him as becoming non-White.

Thus, the novel portrays Hawk-eye and Native Americans as unable to sexually and economically reproduce a cohesive white population, warning of the need for a racial boundary between Anglo-Saxons and indigenous tribes. Girard explains that Romantic authors use mimetic desire to deflect their fear of the Other, "Romantics and symbolists want a transfiguring desire which is completely spontaneous; they do not want to hear any talk about the Other. They turn away from the dark side of desire, claiming it is unrelated to their lovely poetic dream and denying that it is the price" (Girard 39–40). Duncan, as a Romantic character imagining himself as a knight in the forests, actively turns away from his Scottish past to sustain his Anglo-Saxon fantasy. Meanwhile, the Mohicans and the Delaware tribe, who help defeat the Hurons, direct their desire to assimilate with the British settlers, a desire that Hawk-eye uses to turn the Hurons away from the vision of the American nation. In the final scenes when Hawk-eye and the

Sagamore of the Delaware tribe mourn Uncas's death, Hawk-eye declares, "the gifts of our colours may be different, but God has so placed us as to journey in the same path. I have no kin… like you, no people… but if ever I forget the lad… forget me" (*Mohicans* 349). Even though he refers to himself as a "man without a cross," the Mohicans and Delawares imitate his Anglo-Americanism. Their mimetic violence reflects a Christian imperialism that enforces morality against the immoral Hurons, and prepares white Anglo-Americans to Christianize a savage landscape. While Hawk-eye shares traits with the tribes and survives in the wilderness, he ultimately fails to contribute to national development through European capitalism and risks disappearing if he continues to imitate the Other.

Romantic novels being used to teach morals is also what is used to instruct the American nation's white settlers. Ian Dennis describes how the Romantic novel uses techniques that taught morals in order to help its audiences control their desires,

> to liberate readerly imagination or readerly desire… the novel… frequently seeks to discipline such desires, to prove - sometimes with an infuriating pedantry, but sometimes with a great and in itself liberating honesty - that neither characters nor reader can ever really have what they want, that desire is a form of blindness (Dennis 2).

The Mohicans and Delawares' blindness to mimetically desire with the British settlers, and through the scapegoat mechanism collectively unite against the Hurons, is leading their tribes to vanish. They do not get what they desire to continue existing in the North American forests, but neither the Anglo-Americans for their violence to create a white nation, and the audience for desiring sympathy to unite both sides. When Hawk-eye and Duncan infiltrate the Huron village to save Cora, Hawk-eye tells Duncan to start mimicking the Hurons to escape by using the sick Huron woman, "say, that we have shut the evil spirit in the cave, and are taking the woman to the

woods, in order to find strengthening roots. Practyse all your cunning, for it is a lawful undertaking" (*Mohicans* 263). Duncan pretends to be a Huron, inadvertently killing the woman by her sickness while also mocking the superstitions of the Huron's. Duncan and Hawk-eye's actions not only break chivalric codes of honor, but their mimetic violence culturally appropriates Native Americans as irrational. Duncan's indigenous performance also emerges as a desire to be an Other like Hawk-eye, and a return of his Gaelic heritage that he blinds himself from to be Anglo-American.

This becomes evident in how the novel continually reinforces Native American stereotypes. By casting Native Americans under the vanishing Indian trope, Romantic authors found it easier to create a national literature that felt uniquely American, "on a purely aesthetic level, the association of Indians with the distant past, together with popular conceptions of their status as a dying race, made them an appealingly romantic subject" (Scheckel 8). The Romantic movement found Native Americans compelling because of their individualism, independence, and resistance against the violent forces threatening their extinction. By using Native Americans in their works, Romantic authors allowed early U.S. citizens to confront their past and express sorrow over the destruction they had caused, portraying this mourning as humility rather than pride. The stereotype also rendered Native Americans predictable. As Tim Fulford explains, "there was an essential Indian character which they [the British] could know. It made Indians fascinating but, in the same movement, predictable—important for whites who might have to live with them or pass through their territory" (Fulford 64). The novel portrays Native Americans and Scottish Highlanders as predictable by placing them under an Anglo-Saxon ideology. Cooper uses social memory to drive his Native American characters through mimetic desire, allowing the audience to easily sympathize their struggles. At the same time, English influence

cultivates mimetic violence between Hawk-eye and Uncas, mirroring the kinship rooted in the homo economicus that united Scotland and England.

While Hawk-eye adopts characteristics of the Native American, the Mohicans also express mimetic desire toward the homo economicus. Their interactions with the British appear clearly in Chingachgook's appearance, "a tomahawk and scalping-knife, of English manufacture, were in his girdle; while a short military rifle, of that sort with which the policy of the whites armed their savage allies, lay careless around his bare and sinewy knee" (*Mohicans* 29). These weapons empower Chingachgook and mirror how the British used the Scottish as instruments of imperial violence in the New World. Yet, the novel also presents the Mohicans as teetering on the edge of modern nationhood. Hawk-eye notes, "it is one of their customs to write in books… instead of telling them in their villages, where the lie can be given to the face of a cowardly boaster, and the brave soldier can call on his comrades to witness for the truth" (*Mohicans* 31). Despite their predictability, the Mohicans reveal a cultural shift away from oral tradition—a key element in both Native American and Scottish Highlander narratives. In *Lammermoor*, the novel marks the written word as modern and the oral as antiquated. *Mohicans* applies that mimetic rivalry to the Mohicans, who, though antiquated figures, begin to adopt modern techniques. These actions suggest they might have advanced in modern society but failed due to their empty mimicry of Western values that remains superficial and ineffective. Their biology confines them to sympathize only with the weak, as shown by Uncas's mercy towards the British. By not being white, they are imitators of Anglo-American whiteness whose uncanniness unsettles the British into ensuring their displacement. The Native Americans vanishing will guarantee the American nation advancing from medievalism.

The novel constructs America's social memory of the French and Indian War to portray the founding fathers' era as the nation's medieval period. Similar to Girard, Susan Scheckel explains how recapturing the past enables Americans to accept their nation's origins in settler colonization and to mourn the loss of Native Americans. She writes,

> in Cooper's version of history, American claims to the land— and to the legacy of nationhood — are not legitimated through imitation of the founding fathers, who violently wrested from England both nationhood and the land which the English, in turn, had seized from the Indians… Cooper attempts to purify the national inheritance of violence and guilt… through a series of displacements that set the stage for a ritual mourning of the ancestors, both English and Indian, who willingly bequeathed their authority and property to the new nation (Scheckel 25).

Scott uses similar techniques by casting Scottish Highlanders in the "vanishing Indian" trope, allowing readers to remember the Highlanders as part of a bygone era, even though they still exist. By mimicking British attitudes, the Mohicans become figures to mourn for their sacrificial role in enabling white settlers to fulfill their destiny of forging the American nation. This portrayal makes Native Americans feel familiar and less threatening, allowing Americans to acknowledge inter-tribal violence while distancing themselves from it. The narrative suggests that the founding fathers emerged from a violent time that modern America has supposedly moved beyond. Through mourning, the nation continues to erase the Native Americans' ongoing presence, for, as Scheckel notes, "the Americans who inherited the Indians' land need not resist but only mourn… and while past generations might make claims upon the future, their demands, once defined as part of the past, would appear only as a spectral presence haunting the history" (Scheckel 33). In mourning the death of Uncas, the novel perpetuates the vanishing of Native

Americans in belief that they are subjected to the nation's temporality. It also casts the Hurons, who resist British settlers, as these "spectral presences" who can no longer resist American citizens in the present.

This element of Gothicism highlights the dangers of uniting Native Americans with British modernization by stereotyping the Hurons as ignoble savages. The novel frames Magua's anger toward the British as a supernatural threat emerging from primitive nature, evoking terror of a past that seeks revenge for the present's corruption. *The Castle of Otranto* uses similar symbolism when Manfred addresses his grandfather's specter after attempting to marry his daughter, "are the devils themselves in league against me? Speak, infernal spectre! Or, if thou art my grandsire, why dost thou too conspire against thy wretched descendant" (Walpole). Mohicans echoes this Gothic tone by describing the Hurons as "dark glancing spectres, or some unearthly beings" (*Mohicans* 231). The Hurons as specters seeking vengeance creates horror in their overwhelming numbers, and Magua's Miltonic rhetoric portraying them as demonic. However, the Mohicans earn remembrance by their mimetic desire of national values such as independence, liberty, and bravery through their assimilation. They fight alongside the British settlers to push back the Hurons, who threaten to trap the American nation in a violent, chivalric past. This mirrors how Lammermoor casts Edgar as a "demon" whose irrational anger leads to Lucy's death (*Lammermoor* 329). The novel equates the perceived "demonism" of Native Americans and Scottish Highlanders with the violence of a pre-Enlightenment era. By denying them Anglo-Saxon traits, the narrative excludes them from understanding sympathy and rationality. Hawk-eye's mimicry of the Mohicans raises uncertainty over whether desiring to become non-white could lead him into irrational violence. In contrast, Duncan's hybridity

reassures readers that the American nation can recover lost chivalric values by learning from the Mohicans while preserving an Anglo-American identity.

The novel depicts the Hurons as Gothic figures who threaten to displace the British settlers by mimicking their actions and risking the abortion of the American nation. Fulford explains how kinships with Native Americans fascinated the British due to their desire to become the Other, "strangely disturbing and breathtakingly desirable, they were uncanny figures because they suggested that at the heart of the British self was a kinship with the foreign… but were frightened to acknowledge… personal and national identities… would be breached" (Fulford 32). Although he does not pose an overt threat, Hawk-eye creates an uncanny presence for the British Empire by rejecting Christianity and embracing a Native American lifestyle. Uncas and Chingachgook also create uncanniness by adopting traits of the homo economicus, which positions them as potential candidates for entry into British civilization. However, the novel portrays the Huron threat through their demonic imagery, "the demons of hell had possessed themselves of the air about them, and were venting their savage humours in barbarous sounds… as if fifty demons were uttering their blasphemies at the fall of some Christian soul" (*Mohicans* 66). The novel casts the Hurons as ignoble savages who embody British anxieties over Native American hybrid identities. Their overwhelming numbers signal a real danger: they could overpower the British nation. Yet through Hawk-eye's and the Mohicans' contributions, the settlers manage to subdue them.

Magua as a Gothic figure is also exemplified in his representation as an ignoble savage. It describes how Magua masters the rhetoric of Native American speech, with the narration stating that his words "blended the natural sympathies with the religious superstition of his auditors, that their minds, already prepared by custom to sacrifice a victim to the manes of their countrymen,

lost every vestige of humanity in a wish for revenge" (*Mohicans* 250). Magua evokes deep emotions in his people and expresses his frustration over British betrayal through "fire-water," which aligns him with Romantic figures like Milton's Satan—an outsider who voices grievances over injustice. The novel also casts the Hurons as "dark glancing spectres, or some other unearthly beings" (*Mohicans* 231), positioning them as ghostly remnants of America's social memory destined to vanish. Magua applies the homo economicus ideology by appealing to sympathy and acting with practical self-interest, seeking to overthrow the British by uniting an imagined community. He even possesses a seemingly supernatural ability to disappear into the forests before capture. Magua as a Romantic satan leads to his creation as a "traditional Gothic lustful villain… but [Cooper] also implies that Magua has been made this way by his contact with Europeans and by his conflict with Colonel Munro" (Dyer 365). While the novel frames Magua as a figure capable of evoking sympathy, it ultimately uses him to instill fear, emphasizing his threat in uniting the Hurons with the French to strike against the British.

Overall, the novel places Native Americans as paving the way for Anglo-Saxonism to Anglo-Americanism to bring morality and sympathy to the tribes. While the English may consider union with Native Americans and Scottish Highlanders, it is implausible due to theri their separation from an authentic Anglo-Saxon whiteness. No amount of mimicry removes the perception of Native Americans as the Other. Shields explains that Cooper's novel prohibits interracial marriage, "heterosexual desire cannot, or at least should not, cross racial boundaries… European men cannot acquire the Native American traits… they can, however, acquire these traits through homosocial bonds" (Shields 153). Hawk-eye and Duncan kinship with the Mohican and Delaware tribe is a mimetic desire constructed under a masculine chivalry that uses Cora and Alice as currency for a chivalric economy. Although Hawk-eye adopts the Native

American lifestyle, he and Duncan Heyward still lack the "natural abilities" that the Mohicans possess to hunt and explore the American forests. The British learn how Native Americans survive in the New World through hybridity, imitating their ways, and ultimately displace their tribes to claim American nationality. Mimetic violence drives the British to replicate imperialism and accept the belief that Native Americans must vanish into the past. By turning away from the "dark side of desire," the British denounce Native American and Scottish Highlander mediators to claim that their savagery is not from their influence. But the novel exposes the Hurons violence to be an imitation of the British and French by seeking vengeance against the immorality that Anglo-Saxonism held in claiming their land and deceiving them into servitude/slavery.

The Hurons' unmanly violence imitates the French's effeminacy, which Cooper stereotypes in relation to the American and French Revolution. When Munro agrees with Duncan about meeting the Marquis de Montcalm, he remarks, "the beauty and manliness of warfare has been much deformed… by the arts of your Monsieur Vauban. Our ancestors were far above such scientific cowardice" (*Mohicans* 161). Because the English also abandon Munro at Fort William Henry, the British appear just as effeminate as the French for lacking the masculine honor that warfare requires. Munro imitates Scottish identity, just as English settlers emphasize their Anglo-Saxon heritage, which creates a cognitive dissonance that renders him as biologically inferior as the French. Therefore, defining Anglo-American identity allows the formation of a hybrid nation founded on both masculine and feminine ideals; the Anglo-American gentleman who uses sympathy to unite an imperialistic nation. The French fail to control the Hurons, who carry out the massacre and expose Montcalm's "false feeling and affected sympathy," a mimetic violence that the Hurons apply in their revolt against Anglo-Saxonism (Shields 148). Their massacre of

British settlers shows how the French influence Native Americans to become unsympathetic. Through the scapegoat mechanism between the British and French settlers during the American Revolutionary War, they unite against Britain whilst disavowing their imitation from Native Americans and Scottish Highlanders. Thus, the disavowed Hurons mimic the hypocrisy of the American and French Revolutions in their attempt to claim independence.

Conclusion

Despite the novel being about America's history, it is more of a Scottish novel that discusses Scottish Highlanders and Native Americans' interaction with English imperialism. With the Scottish Highlanders becoming more of a colonizing weapon for the British nation, they use chivalry as a way to fashion a new nation that is both anti-imperial and imperialist. However, the unity between the Scottish and English shows a continued displacement when the English fail to protect the Scottish from Native American threats. It also highlights the antiquity of the Scottish Highlanders with the Native Americans as it is used as a reproductive heterosexual economy that drives the narrative for power over the New World. But that imagined unity fails to remain stable for its inability to ensure America's nation to grow without the inclusion of the homo economicus. America's social memory also constructs a hybridity between Native Americans and British settlers through Hawk-eye adopting Native American traits, but also in shaping the Native Americans under literary techniques that present them as Gothic figures that threatens either America's abortion into the native Other or assimilation to the British empire. Cooper's attempt to recapture America's social memory to mimetically rival Walter Scott in the publishing market only exemplifies the displacement that Native Americans and Scottish Highlanders continue to face by subjugating them under stereotypes to make the

white colonial settler the prime agent of historical progression. Cooper imitates Scott's novels but simultaneously disavows him, portraying Scott as the specter of Anglo-Saxon domination in the formation of an Anglo-American identity.

Chapter Three: Hope Leslie: Fantasy Echoes and Imitating the Indigenous Body

The story of Pocahontas and John Smith has been a powerful British narrative that has shaped both British and American cultural identities. In *The Generall Historie of Virginia, New England & The Summer Isles*, John Smith recounts his captivity and near execution, claiming that Pocahontas intervened and saved his life, "and how he should have beene executed, was preserved, saved James towne from being surprised… [and] how Pocahontas… saved him" (Smith 89-96). The enduring image of Pocahontas shielding Smith from execution has come to symbolize the possibility of Native American assimilation into British colonial society. Pocahontas is remembered as one of the earliest examples of the "noble savage" stereotype, a figure portrayed as morally pure and naturally aligned with the values of the British colonizers. She later married John Rolfe who "had beene in love with Pocahontas, and she with him," and gave birth to their son, Thomas Rolfe, who was of mixed Native American and English heritage (Smith). She eventually traveled to England, where she died from an illness she contracted during her time there. As a feminine figure, Pocahontas's depiction reinforces the colonial idea that her "sublime" nature made her an ideal bridge between cultures and a symbol of the British settlers' supposed destiny to claim and civilize America.

As male authors dominated the historical fiction genre, Catherine Sedgwick opens a unique perspective that challenges the preconceptions of how history remembers Native Americans and Scottish Highlanders. Predating the Trail of Tears to displace the Native Americans from their home in southeastern United States to Oklahoma, "the novel is set in the colonial era that many writers of the antebellum era found so appealing… implicitly to the debates taking place in her time over forced Indian removal, especially of the Cherokees" (Stadler 42). Sedgwick writes when the Cherokees were being relocated from Massachusetts,

being pushed West for American landowners to claim territory. Arguments of biological inferiority were prevalent, and Cooper attempts to present this distinction between the British and the vanishing Indians of the Mohican tribe. Sedgwick replicates history anachronistically, showing how her Native Americans defy being the subjects of time like Scott's Highlanders or Cooper's Native Americans. She re-imagines history like Pocahontas and John Smith to consider the parallels between indigenous tribes and British settlers, using social memory to attack a patriarchal Anglo-Saxonism in displacing Native Americans and Scottish Highlanders.

The Mohican tribe was destined to vanish due to their irrational violence and inability to exist within a capitalist modernity, but their chivalry to defend the British and Duncan's genealogy to Scottish Highlanders create the American identity through its intersection with the British gentleman. With Hawk-eye desiring to remain with the Mohicans for their chivalric values, both the Mohican and Huron tribes suffering mistreatment by the British, including Colonel Munro's experience of abandonment by the English as a Scottish Highlander, the values learned from the Mohicans and the Scottish Highlanders expose British corruption. Their pursuit of national wealth under the homo economicus ideal of self-interest, rationality, and an "abhorrence" for anything threatening the nation's preservation through economic gain leads to a greediness that displaces Native Americans and Scottish Highlanders for profit. The British justify this through claims of biological inferiority to Anglo-Saxons, which evokes anxieties over a hybridity that grants Native Americans and Scottish Highlanders power over British settlers. British imperialism breeds violence, demonstrated in Munro's mimicry of the British as he beats the Huron Magua and sparks his vengeance against the British, which leads to the Fort William Henry Massacre. To imagine the American nation, these values of honor, respect, and bravery must apply to the British gentleman through Duncan's social memory of the Mohicans.

However, Duncan's passivity as a gentleman prevents him from acting in the American forests, so he uses sympathy to incite Hawk-eye and the Mohicans to defend British imperialism. Thus, sympathy assimilates Native Americans and Scottish Highlanders to Anglo-Saxonism, who vanish into social memory and remain commodified for a British audience.

In Cooper's narrative, the American forests operate patriarchally, where chivalry's sexual economy forces women to play as maidens for men to secure power in the American nation. But where Cooper aims for historical accuracy and remembers America's past medievalistically, Sedgwick uses anachronism to challenge Romantic conventions that confine Native Americans and Scottish Highlanders to the past. She constructs the same traits that define the "noble savages" of Uncas and Chingachgook in Magawisca, "Chingachgook and Uncas were fading figures of… benevolent patriarchy… For Sedgwick, Magawisca provided many of the same qualities: morality, honor, martyrdom… [and] offered an unfamiliar historical narrative of Indian victimization" (Stadler 44). In representing gender, she reveals the disparity between femininity and masculinity, paralleling the patriarchy's control of Native Americans with its control of British women. Sedgwick re-performs America's age of chivalry by reversing gender roles, allowing her female characters to become the chivalric heroes traditionally reserved for men. However, she breaks this chivalric economy by claiming that "marriage is not essential to… the happiness of woman," further displacing conventional temporality in the historical novel (*Leslie* 371). Thus, Hope Leslie and Magawisca's alliance dismantles the notions that frame Native Americans and Scottish Highlanders as figures of antiquity; they coexist in the modern day. But the anxieties about Native American violence toward British settlers impose the borders that separate Native Americans from British civilization.

Hope Leslie; or, Early Times in the Massachusetts by Catharine Sedgwick centers on Hope Leslie, the elder sister of Faith Leslie, during the Pequod War. After their parents die in England, the Fletcher family in Massachusetts takes in the sisters, who then confront the Pequod tribe. The first volume centers on the Fletcher family at Bethel, focusing on Everell Fletcher and his family when they capture two Pequods, Magawisca and Oneco, and force them to serve the Fletcher household. However, the Pequot tribe discovers Oneco and Magawisca's whereabouts, which prompts them to retaliate by murdering members of the Fletcher family and capturing Everell Fletcher and Faith Leslie. The following episodes portray the Pequot tribe as driven by vengeance in response to the violence committed by British settlers, choosing Everell Fletcher as the victim to satisfy that vengeance. As Everell's execution approaches, Magawisca's love for him compels her to intervene by placing herself between her father and Everell, which results in her father accidentally amputating her arm. Magawisca instructs Everell to escape if he survives, which leads him to leave Faith Leslie behind.

The second volume then primarily focuses on Hope Leslie's desire to see her sister again while also struggling with her growing love for Everell Fletcher. However, Hope mistakenly believes Esther Downing to be Everell's love interest, not realizing he shares the same feelings for Hope. During this time, the antagonist Sir Philip Gardiner arrives from England and falls in love with Hope Leslie. Wanting to distance herself from Philip, Hope devotes herself to redeeming her sister Faith. She eventually reunites with Faith, but they remain permanently separated because of Faith's preference to remain with the Pequot tribe. Without Hope's knowledge, Philip manipulates the British into pursuing her, which leads to the capture of both Faith and Magawisca; Magawisca being accused of conspiring against the British colony. The court places Magawisca on trial, where she defends herself and exposes Philip's hypocrisy,

demanding her freedom. The novel concludes with Everell and Hope Leslie rescuing Magawisca and Faith Leslie, Everell and Hope marrying, and Sir Philip dying after his failed attempt to kidnap Hope.

In imagining the temporality of a nation, Joan W. Scott describes the usage of "fantasy echo," in which historical resemblances appear to recur throughout memory. To imagine America through fantasy echo is to reimagine present-day beliefs onto history; Sedgwick replicates historical moments like the Fort William Henry Massacre and Pocahontas in different time periods, characters, and situations to criticize male authors' depiction of America and Scotland as savage landscapes. It is through fantasy echo that she is able to combine both history and memory to question the emotional impacts that both Native Americans and British settlers have towards each other, "fantasy echo combines the objectivist ambitions of historiography to achieve replication (a mimesis of the past), its inevitable failure, and its imaginative recompleting through memory… a reconciliation between memory and history" (Emerson 35). *Hope Leslie* enacts mimetic desire by imitating indigenous tribes as models for Anglo-Saxon identity, seeking to reclaim an imagined pure historical past. Sedgwick projects contemporary sympathies onto early America, making Native Americans desirable figures whose individuality Anglo-Americans imitate.

In doing so, it stages a fantasy echo: repeating a present-day desire for moral legitimacy by locating it in the nation's origins. Scott argues that fantasy echo is like writing oneself into stories, becoming "a way of writing oneself into history" to idealize the nation's past (Scott 290). To re-imagine Pocahontas and John Smith with Magawisca and Everell Fletcher using Romantic sentiments, it allows a British audience to understand and sympathize with the characters. Sedgwick uses fantasy echo to show how Native Americans and Scottish Highlanders are figures

shaping the present. In embodying national values that are fantastically echoed, Sedgwick argues that the American and British nations have learned their identity from mimicking indigenous tribes. Yet, she also risks perpetuating the stereotyping of Native Americans as noble savages through reimagining the characters as Anglo-Americans.

Remembering the Native Americans lets the British audience acknowledge their advancement as a civilization by mourning the Native Americans' disappearance. Cooper and Scott apply sympathy to their British characters in interacting with Native American and Scottish Highlander characters to realize the national values that British settlers failed to acknowledge. However, Sedgwick opposes using sympathy to assimilate indigenous tribes into the past, a stance that critics discredit, "Cooper's explanation of the cyclical nature of history… of one inferior culture by another superior one… was a much more palatable representation… than was Sedgwick's vastly more critical one" (Kalayjian 71). Indigenous tribes are presented in this cyclical nature, whereas American and British civilization argues that they are emerging from a calendrically form of time that makes Native Americans and Scottish Highlanders subjected to time. This parallels Benedict Anderson's claim about national temporality, particularly how the English language links the past to the present, "they get a ghostly intimation of simultaneity across homogeneous, empty time. The weight of the words derives only in part from their solemn meaning; it comes also from an as-it-were ancestral 'Englishness'" (Anderson 145). By using fantasy echo, Sedgwick writes the "Englishness" upon Native Americans who simultaneously exist with the British settlers. Anglo-Americans project their ideals of liberty, bravery, and national virtue onto Native Americans, attempting to absorb them into a shared narrative of American identity. Yet, Sedgwick complicates this fantasy by revealing how Native

Americans and Scottish Highlanders both inhabit and resist these imposed roles, exposing the constructedness of national memory.

As a Unitarian female author, Sedgwick actively challenged a male-dominated interpretation of national history, though critics often suppressed her voice in favor of her male contemporaries. They praised authors like Walter Scott and James Cooper for embracing Romantic ideologies and reinforcing masculine power over femininity, particularly through depictions of uncontrolled passions that displaced Edgar Ravenswood and the Hurons. This framing places Sedgwick anachronistically as she argues that the disavowal of such feminine emotions remains mimetically desirable: "a white woman writing a historical novel with a noble, honorable, erotically attractive, powerful Indian female character did not quite make sense to the bourgeois public sphere of 1827" (Stadler 45). Sedgwick distinguishes Magawisca from Uncas by granting her feminine autonomy outside British control. She constructs characters like Sir Philip to critique patriarchal ideologies such as chivalry and to offer an alternative perspective that humanizes Native Americans. Sedgwick exposes British corruption by revealing Sir Philip's hypocrisy as a Catholic disguised as a Puritan, reflecting her view of Calvinism as hypocritical for favoring artificiality over nature (Bell 214). Although she uses Romantic conventions to aestheticize her Native Americans, invoking the vanishing Indian, and the noble/ignoble savage stereotype, Sedgwick empowers Magawisca to embody the ideals of a national hero.

In opposing the hypocrisy of acclaimed "knights" like Sir Philip, who racializes Magawisca to control her power and uphold the patriarchal government of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, Sedgwick allows many of her female knights, including Magawisca, to claim liberty through femininity. Magawisca conveys much of the novel's moral and philosophical teachings through her wisdom that fantastically echoes Romantic beliefs of sympathy and

individuality. Sir Philip uses the illusion of chivalry to impose racial subordination onto Native Americans and Scottish Highlanders, while Everell foils him by acting "like a good knight" and learning moral virtue from Magawisca to become a true gentleman (*Leslie* 42). At the same time, Sedgwick questions the temporality within the historical romance, arguing that unity remains possible if society removes the Indian policies that enforce exclusion. While most male authors use social memory to depict Native Americans and Scottish Highlanders as relics of the past, Sedgwick presents both indigenous tribes and Anglo-Americans under parallel circumstances that should unite through sympathy. Both groups face corruption from the British nation, driven by the ideology of the self-interested homo economicus. What Anglo-Americans learn from Native Americans, they align with them to oppose British dominance and to help form a distinct American nation. Sedgwick shows that America's social memory originates from the cultural hybridity shared between British settlers and indigenous tribes. Their deep similarities explain why Faith Leslie chooses to remain with the Pequots rather than remain with the British.

The gender politics in chivalry also shift to align more with Sedgwick's feminine characters, who represent knights. In her letter to Edmund Burke, Mary Wollstonecraft argues against his claim that "the age of chivalry is gone.— That of sophisters, economists, and calculators, has succeeded; and the glory of Europe is extinguished for ever" (Burke 331). Burke insists that without the English value of chivalry, the British nation will decay as it embraces the homo economicus driven by self-interest. However, Wollstonecraft challenges this idea by defending the rights of women, explaining that the chivalric economy "vitiates them, prevents their endeavouring to obtain solid personal merit; and, in short, makes those beings vain inconsiderate dolls, who ought to be prudent mothers and useful members of society" (Wollstonecraft 55). The narrative supports Wollstonecraft's argument: Sedgwick presents Philip

as the embodiment of English knighthood, who hypocritically enforces his masculinity, while she strips Rosa of power. Philip objectifies Rosa and uses her as a form of transactional currency to pursue Hope Leslie. In doing so, he exposes chivalry as a masculine fantasy and reduces it to an undignified economic exchange. In *Wealth of Nations*, Smith describes how the self-interested homo economicus that emerged from England enabled the prosperity of the American colonies, "it bred and formed the men who were capable of achieving such great actions, and of laying the foundation of so great an empire" (Smith). This Anglo-Saxonism cultivates a collective narcissism, and Philip actively participates in it by attempting to exchange Rosa for Hope for his self-interest. He wields chivalry to gain economic power over women and tries to return to England with them to reinforce his Anglo-Saxon whiteness. His Anglo-Saxonism earns him a welcome as a knight in America, yet his performance threatens to drag him back into primitivism.

Unlike Hawk-eye's mimetic violence, which assimilates the Mohicans into Anglo-Saxonism, Faith Leslie expresses a mimetic desire with the Pequots that shows a hybridity reversing the Pocahontas myth. This reversal reveals how Native Americans and Scottish Highlanders construct America's social memory. In *The Dawn of Everything*, David Graeber and David Wengrow provide examples like Helena Valero, whom the Yanomami abducted; after returning to Western civilization, she chose to return to them. Their argument extends to others captured by Native Americans, who also desired to return because of "the virtues of freedom they found in Native American societies, including sexual freedom, but also freedom from the expectation of constant toil in pursuit of land and wealth" (Graeber and Wengrow 33). Instead of following the self-interest that the homo economicus demands in a patriarchal and capitalistic nation, Native American and Scottish Highlander communities offer a shared freedom that

empowers everyone. Rob Roy's wife, for example, holds power among the Scottish Highlanders and resists British imperialism in the Highlands.

In *Hope Leslie*, Faith Leslie declares her desire to remain with her Pequot husband Oneco, "Faith Leslie's emotion at the first sound of the sailor's voice… was in reality Oneco, and that they had effected their escape together" (*Leslie* 358). This escape from the homo economicus symbolizes the pursuit of freedom outside American and British civilization. Distraught by her sister's decision to remain with the Pequots, Hope grants Faith permission to return to the tribe, recognizing in her retention of a Christian cross as a symbolic gesture that reconciles indigenous hybridity with spiritual continuity (*Leslie* 359). This historical allegory constructs a narrative in which the hope in imagining a new nation must be by placing faith in the freedom of indigenous tribes. By letting Magawisca and Faith Leslie return to the forests, Hope's sympathy creates a mutual understanding that can counter the mimetic violence seen in *Mohicans*. At the novel's heart, sympathy can provide freedom and equality between indigenous tribes and British settlers. Yet, this faith becomes complicated when reflecting an Anglo-American's hope for a cultural hybridity that assimilates indigenous tribes into Christianity under the pretense of granting them freedom.

The pursuit for freedom and equality for Magawisca reflects what Graeber and Wengrow explain in *The Dawn of Everything* as an "indigenous critique." This idea highlights how European imperialists in contact with indigenous tribes record oral accounts that pass down philosophies and beliefs derived from indigeneity. They construct ideas such as the noble/ignoble savage, the vanishing Indian trope, or indigeneity as hunter-gatherers reflecting the primitive stage of civilization from these encounters, "when it came to questions of personal freedom, the equality of men and women, sexual mores or popular sovereignty… indigenous

American attitudes are likely to be far closer to the reader's own than seventeenth-century European ones" (Graeber and Wengrow 53). *Hope Leslie* draws parallels between indigenous tribes and British settlers such as their conflict with being separated from home, indigenous teachings that shape mimetic violence to claim liberty in America, and reinterpreting the Pequot's Great Spirit as the Christian God. Indigenous critiques of British narratives enable Rousseau to construct Native Americans and Scottish Highlanders as sublime bodies closest to pure nature. The idea of indigenous tribes united as an egalitarian community re-imagines the United States as a nation whose freedom originates from Native American social and political institutions that oppose monarchical tyranny.

The "savagery" that Native Americans and Scottish Highlanders hold towards Anglo-Americans and Anglo-Saxons are such criticisms that critiques those institutions for instigating and imitating violence. This realization constructs how Anglo-Americans mimetically rivals with indigenous tribes, "the ambivalent progress of human civilization, where freedoms are lost as societies grow bigger and more complex – was invented largely for the purpose of neutralizing the threat of indigenous critique" (Graeber and Wengrow 44). The nostalgia to return to an egalitarian community like the Native Americans and Scottish Highlanders are those neutralization of indigenous critiques. Walter Scott in his novels demonstrates that the return to indigeneity risks reverting into a medievalist primitivism before Enlightenment that causes irrationality and violence. Cooper's Mohicans show chivalric values in their defense of the British nation formed by Hawk-eye's sympathy, yet the death of their tribe is the price of forming the United States. This includes the Hurons where their deaths is the natural progress of American civilization displacing violently unenlightened emotions for a civilized whiteness.

Hope Leslie differs in Sedgwick's attempt to emphasize the indigenous critique on America's manifest destiny. Although the narrative emphasizes how British settlers cause Native Americans and Scottish Highlanders to lose their freedom, it argues that the American and British nations should turn to indigeneity to understand unity. Hope loses her identity while living in the British colonies, revealing how their social and political government separates from indigeneity and leads her to say "her mind [being] in a tumult; she knew not what to believe – what to expect – what to hope" (*Leslie* 194). In other words, British civilization's artificiality through material clothing, Christian indoctrination to justify indigenous displacement, and racial and gender beliefs that claim the White man's superiority does not reflect a natural progress of human society. Anglo-Saxon characters like Sir Philip hypocritically claim to bring "freedom, democracy and women's rights" while they push Anglo-Americans further from imagining a nation by confining indigenous tribes and women in the "dark ages" (Graeber and Wengrow 444). Characters like Magawisca, rather than European philosophers, actually represent freedom, democracy, and women's rights and uphold their power against British civilization. Faith Leslie's desire to remain with the Pequots represents the equality that the British fail to achieve. The novel uses an indigenous critique to break the notion that nations exist as subjects to time, and show that nations had always been imagining the American and British nation through indigeneity. It is this argument of indigenous participation in imagining the nations that *Hope Leslie* encourages to unite with Native Americans and Scottish Highlanders to form a natural civilization built on equality and freedom for all.

Fantastical Reimaginings

Fantasy appears throughout *Lammermoor*, showing how medieval superstitions threaten to drag characters like Edgar and Lucy back into a "savage" past. Fantastical imaginings also emerge in the character of Rob Roy, who almost magically saves Frank Osbaldistone before any harm reaches him. *Hope Leslie* employs fantasy to reimagine Native Americans as shaping American national identity. This becomes most evident through Magawisca, whose independence and demand for liberty embodies the national values that Anglo-Americans would imitate. When Magawisca first appears in the novel, the narrator describes her as a symbol of America's nationalism,

> Magawisca, clothed in her Indian garb… having shewn a loathing of the English dress… her face, although marked by the peculiarities of her race, was beautiful even to an European eye… the mantle and her straight short *petticoat or kilt* of the same rare and costly material, had been obtained, probably, from the English traders (*Leslie* 22–23, emphasis added).

By refusing to wear English attire, Magawisca symbolizes both Native Americans and Scottish Highlanders in their revolution against Anglo-Saxonism. Sedgwick echoes American history to parallel Scotland's, with Magawisca's body being a cultural hybrid of Highlanders. Mrs. Grafton tells Hope the importance of attire for women in the British settlements, "dress and ornaments! They are the most likely things in the world to take the mind off from trouble… I never saw that woman whose mind could not be diverted by dress and ornaments" (*Leslie* 281). Ironically, Magawisca's Native American attire provokes anxieties about an uncivilized lifestyle, in contrast to "the bright halo that encircled the pilgrims' head; and not mark the dust that sometimes sullied his garments" (*Leslie* 163). The racial ambiguity shared by Native Americans and Scottish

Highlanders positions their bodies as natural and authentic in contrast to the artificiality of Calvinist pilgrims. Sir Philip Gardiner, for instance, wears the guise of a Puritan to conceal his Catholicism and pursue his lust for Hope Leslie, revealing the performative and deceptive aspects of colonial religious identity. While Gardiner wields power as an Anglo-Saxon male, Magawisca's cultural hybridity challenges British religious orthodoxy and gestures toward a more inclusive vision of an American identity. Hope, in turn, mimetically desires the freedom and independence embodied by Magawisca as a form of resistance against the constraints of patriarchal Christian civilization.

Magawisca's kilt, likely obtained through English trade, marks her as a consumer within the British imperial economy. Her clothing signals a forced incorporation into transatlantic capitalism, reflecting how Indigenous identity becomes entangled with British material culture. In *Rob Roy*, Frank describes Scotland's rise through participation in free-trade capitalism, "an extensive and increasing trade with the West Indies and American colonies… laid the foundation of wealth and prosperity… the union had, indeed, opened to Scotland the trade of the English colonies" (*Roy* 236). Magawisca's English-acquired clothing echoes this logic of integration, where British imperialism claims legitimacy by projecting unity through trade. Like the Highlanders, she must preserve the American nation not as a citizen but as a symbolic figure aligned with the homo economicus—a subject defined by consumption, not production.

Her consumer status, however, stems from exclusion: Anglo-America denies her the agency to produce or fully participate in nation-building. Instead, her body becomes a site of cultural projection. Scott even draws a direct comparison between Highlanders and Native Americans, calling Rob Roy a figure who blends "the wild virtues, the subtle policy, and unrestrained license of an American Indian" (*Roy* 5). Both Magawisca and Rob Roy embody a

Romantic hybridity imposed by the British, who aestheticize and commodify their identities under sympathy. They do not choose this hybridity; the British construct them as fantasy echoes, idealized cultural others who reflect back the values of Anglo-Saxonism while remaining outside its power structures.

This mimetic desire reimagines Magawisca under a fantasy echo that romanticizes her as embodying American values. While this generalizes Magawisca's body as Native American and Scottish Highlander, her autonomy to use her body against the patriarchy incorporates emotions that Hope desires for herself. While the audience is aware of King Philip's War, the French-Indian War, and the Indian policies that attempted to displace Native Americans, these histories fail to capture the emotions and experiences that both sides are facing. Thus, Sedgwick uses social memory to expand upon the relationship by a fantastical reimagining of America's past to sympathize with the Native Americans and Scottish Highlanders. It is fantastical for being a constructed social memory that is reimagining Romantic individualism, then fragmented to question indigeneity constructed by male historians. Joan W. Scott in *Fantasy Echo: History and the Construction of Identity* defines "fantasy echo" as the concept of a person whose actions in the past are similar to the present, "retrospective identifications, after all, are imagined repetitions and repetitions of imagined resemblances. The echo is a fantasy, the fantasy an echo; the two are inextricably intertwined" (Scott 287). How Sedgwick uses fantasy echo is to imply that the construction of the homo economicus, Anglo-Saxonism, and national identity comes from Native Americans and Scottish Highlanders. Using fantasy echo creates the Romantic notion that indigeneity possesses an original identity embodied from nature. The British settler's mimetic rivalry to be seen as original makes them blind to realize they are imitators of indigenous tribes.

Thus, Sedgwick uses history anachronistically through fantasy echo to argue why Native Americans and Scottish Highlanders should continue their existence in the present. When the Pequot chief Mononotto invades the Fletcher's home at Bethel to free his children, Magawisca and Oneco, and to avenge his eldest son's death by the British, the narration describes how Mrs. Martha Fletcher and her baby dies, "the knife struck at her own heart… the infant boy [fell] to the ground… Mononotto's heart melted within him; he stooped to raise the sweet suppliant, when one of the Mohawks fiercely seized him, tossed him wildly around his head, and dashed him on the doorstone" (*Leslie* 67). The scene resembles the spark that began the Fort William Henry Massacre, described also in Cooper's *Mohicans* the same way with the mother and her baby's death. Where Cooper's Hurons ruthlessly kill without remorse, Sedgwick incorporates Mononotto's sympathy and breaks romantic conventions of Indian stoicism by showing his emotions as a father placed upon the baby. It is one of many scenes where Native Americans and British settlers have similar values, but are primarily divided by their mimetic rivalry. The resemblance to Fort William Henry with its alteration to a household being invaded, the motive to free Mononotto's children, and his sympathy demonstrates fantasy echo by reimagining why Native Americans seek vengeance – to remove "every mark of the captivity of my children… with the badge of thy people" (*Leslie* 67). With the narration referring to him as a "savage," he mimics indigenous displacement and captivity by imposing them onto the Fletcher's (*Leslie* 86). Reminiscent of the Indian captivity narratives, both Everell Fletcher and Faith Leslie would be captured where Everell would risk being sacrificed by the Pequots.

Fantasy echo applying sympathy onto Magawisca to protect Everell also shows how indigeneity possess qualities that Anglo-Americans and Anglo-Saxons imitates from. David Hume's *A Treatise of Human Nature* describes sympathy as understanding the struggles of

another person that opens comparison, "any expression of pride and haughtiness, is displeasing to us, merely because it shocks our own pride, and leads us by sympathy into a comparison, which causes the disagreeable passion of humility" (Hume). Furthermore, Adam Smith explains in *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* that sympathy arises from an "impartial spectator," an imagined figure that represents the conscience and helps judge what is universally right or wrong. Smith explains how this impartial spectator judges without personal biases,

> we conceive ourselves as acting in the presence of a person quite candid and equitable, of one who has no particular relation… but is merely a man in general, an impartial spectator who considers our conduct with the same indifference with which we regard that of other people (Smith 188).

Sedgwick constructs Native American pride as a force that resists erasure by British settlers, using it to mourn their disappearance in the novel. She aestheticizes sympathy toward Native Americans to highlight the humility that American civilization must embrace in order to progress. Through sympathy, she also creates a hybridity between Native Americans and British settlers that helps construct an American identity rooted in independence and liberty. However, this framing distances the impartial spectator when British settlers engage in mimetic rivalry, disavowing the indigenous mediator and preventing them from fully understanding the motivations behind indigenous revolt.

Sympathy casts characters like Mononotto and Magawisca as Romantic commodities who embody British values, and Sedgwick uses fantasy echo to incorporate Romantic stereotypes such as the noble or ignoble savage and the vanishing Indian archetype. The narrative encourages British settlers to express sympathy by placing them in situations similar to those of Native Americans, "home can never be transferred; never repeated in the experience of

an individual. The place consecrated by parental love, by the innocence and sports of childhood, by the first acquaintance with nature" (*Leslie* 17). It compares British settlers to Native Americans and Scottish Highlanders by showing how both experience separation from their homeland. The narrative uses this parallel to expose the settlers' hypocrisy in displacing indigenous tribes, when they are foreigners themselves to indigenous lands. A scene when a Pequot spy observes the Fletcher's home returns to the concept of medievalism to Native Americans and Scottish Highlanders, "the stranger's skin was the colour of cowardice—that they served their women, and spoke an unintelligible language" (*Leslie* 89). Through the Pequot's mimicry of Anglo-Saxonism, Sedgwick portrays whiteness as "cowardice," and suggests that the colonizers apply this unintelligible language to Native Americans to frame them as biologically inferior. However, this mimetic violence reveals how Anglo-Saxonism inaccurately claims moral superiority, "domination, and cynical self-interest, have always been the basis of human society… that force us to confine our worst impulses to socially useful areas like the economy, while forbidding them everywhere else" (Graeber and Wengrow 17). The homo economicus originates in indigeneity, but outside capitalist logic, which repositions British settlers as savages by their own definitions. By exposing this hypocrisy, Sedgwick uses moral sympathy to help create a coherent Anglo-American identity that relieves guilt for past wrongs against Native Americans and Scottish Highlanders.

Walter Scott evokes sympathy toward his Scottish Highlanders through characters like Rob Roy and Edgar Ravenswood to show Scotland's humility in remembering its past. He helps define Scottish identity but still enforces a cultural border that ensures the Highlanders remain antiquated. Sedgwick's narration replicates this dynamic in the novel's conclusion, where the "Pequod race" becomes displaced from Massachusetts, "[they] began their pilgrimage to the far

western forests. That which remains untold of their story, is lost in the deep, voiceless obscurity of those unknown regions" (*Leslie* 359). The narrative consigns them to memory, emphasizing the border between the "savage" forests and British civilization. It assumes the antiquity of Native Americans while still extracting their teachings for British benefit. Sedgwick's use of the vanishing Indian archetype exposes how manifest destiny removes the voice of indigenous tribes. Referring to their displacement as a Christian pilgrimage, their mimicry re-enacts how Scottish Highlanders have been displaced by the British nation. Magawisca's disappearance is symbolic of how her cultural hybridity disappears into a supernatural space that is an idealistic form of nature. Sedgwick's sympathetic language exposes the separation that British settlers enforced on Native Americans and Scottish Highlanders.

With Magawisca falling in love with Everell Fletcher, his captivity shows their relationship being a reimagining of Pocahontas and John Smith. Throughout his captivity, Everell's stoicism during his journey through the forest is praised by the Pequots,

> this continued and difficult march had been sustained by Everell with a spirit and fortitude that evidently won the favour of the savages, who always render homage to superiority over physical evil… Mononotto noted the boy's silent endurance, and even contempt of pain. One noble victim seemed to him better than a 'human hecatomb' (*Leslie* 85).

Indian captivity narratives written by male British imperialists often write Native Americans facing execution with expected stoicism to preserve their dignity. The narration describes Everell as a "noble victim," a label that both aligns him with and contrasts him against the "noble savage." His stoicism connects him with the Pequots and casts them as noble victims too, while still reinforcing social separation between the British and Native Americans. However, Everell's

connection with the Pequots stems from the close friendship he forms with Magawisca during their time in Bethel, a bond that loosens her own stoicism, "the girl's voice faltered… she burst into tears… she had an habitual self-command that hid the motions of her heart from common observers… he felt reproached and touched by her distress" (*Leslie* 47). The impartial spectator within Magawisca moves her into saving Everell, believing in the universal injustice that Everell's punishment is undeserved.

With Everell's ability to see past Magawisca's stoicism, she breaks Romantic conventions that equate emotional expression with a loss of identity. This moment recalls Adam Smith's assertion that showing emotion would degrade Native Americans, "the savages in North America, we are told, assume upon all occasions the greatest indifference, and would think themselves degraded if they should ever appear in any respect to be overcome, either by love, or grief, or resentment" (Smith 280). The Pequot and British settlers' mimetic violence leads to both of them being indifferent to each other. With Magawisca abandoning indifference for sympathy, Magawisca embodies an Anglo-American whiteness under her Scottish/Native American attire. Such as how the Mohicans are noble savages for their defense of Anglo-Americans, Magawisca noble savagery is from her performance of whiteness. Thus, Sedgwick uses fantasy echo to express the mimetic desire of an Anglo-American to possess a sublime body.

The scene where Magawisca saves Everell Fletcher also echoes the Pocahontas myth, but Sedgwick alters it to show how sympathy can unite opposing social memories. Before executing Everell, Mononotto tells the Pequots that he wants to avenge his son's death, "he dies by my hand – for my first-born – life for life," a declaration that casts Native Americans as antiquated for following Old Testament style justice (*Leslie* 96). Just as Mononotto swings his axe to behead Everell, Magawisca intervenes, "the stroke aimed at Everell's neck, severed his

defender's arm, and left him unharmed… 'fly, Everell – nay, speak not, but fly – thither – to the east'" (*Leslie* 97). Unlike Pocahontas, who remains unharmed while protecting John Smith, Magawisca's sacrifices reverses chivalric gender roles. Magawisca's severed arm is a castration of her masculinity, which makes her mimetically desirable for her sympathetic identification with Everell. However, this justifies the separation between indigenous tribes and Anglo-Americans, claiming that sympathy can only be obtained through interaction with the British settlers. Furthermore, the narration reinforces the inevitability of Native American displacement, distinguishing Magawisca and the Pequots with the West while it aligns Everell with the East. This symbolic contrast signals the Native Americans ending and the Anglo-Americans beginning; the Pequots disappearing into the West, which calls forth Anglo-Americans from the East to claim territory. Although performing as an Anglo-Saxon, her non-White and non-male body is threatened by the British patriarchy.

By showing how Native Americans protect British settlers, Sedgwick reveals how they risk being replaced as a dominant force in North America. Mononotto might have supported the British if they had not killed his eldest son and ridiculed him as feminine, "my people have told me I bore a woman's heart towards the enemy. Ye shall see. I will pour out this English boy's blood" (*Leslie* 96). Magawisca reclaims masculine power through her defense, while Mononotto's vengeful outburst feminizes him by portraying his irrationality as weakness. Magawisca's amputation reinforces this gender reversal: by sacrificing her arm, she gains symbolic power in a patriarchal world shaped by both British and Native traditions. The novel evokes the fantasy echo of Pocahontas to suggest that traits such as noble sacrifice, morality, and symbolic resistance have always defined Native American identity. Although Native Americans and British settlers briefly share a vision of unity, their violent conflicts create a social memory

of betrayal and pride that neither side can forget or forgive. Helen MacGregor, Rob Roy's wife, tells Frank in Rob Roy, "all may be forgotten… all—but the sense of dishonour, and the desire of vengeance" (*Roy* 413). Helen's claim feminizes the Highlanders for their irrational violence. Sedgwick uses Mononotto's desire for vengeance against the Anglo-Americans as an expression of mimetic violence, generalizing both Native Americans and Scottish Highlanders as irrational because of British imperialism. Yet, she feminizes Mononotto to give masculine power to Magawisca through her sympathy, which moralizes her as a noble savage. Magawisca embodies the virtues that an Anglo-American should adopt, making her mimetically desirable.

Magawsica's "natural sympathies" to protect Everell elevates her into a figure of sublimity. Although Fulford focuses on Wordsworth's poetry, his portrayal of a "forsaken Indian woman" still applies: "the Indian woman is allowed her cultural difference – and admired for it – because she looks calmly at death without fear even though she has no Christian anticipation of an afterlife. She is, then, sublime – a human who speaks from as close to nature as it is possible to get" (Fulford 174). Sedgwick fantastically echoes sublimity, the noble savage, and the vanishing Indian trope to help an Anglo-American audience recognize Native American identity as familiar and identifiable. However, Sedgwick aestheticizes Magawisca as a Romantic Indian, and as Stadler notes, "she is aligned with a host of traits which on the one hand idealize her and on the other [hand] make her an aestheticized outlet for liberal guilt over the Indian removals taking place as Sedgwick was writing" (Stadler 47–48). The guilt of displacing Native Americans reflects what Homi Bhabha describes as how the American nation "fills the void left in the uprooting of communities and kin, and turns that loss into the language of metaphor" by making Native American social memory as a foundation for America's national identity (Bhabha 200). Walter Scott and James Fenimore Cooper construct metaphors of the Scottish Highlanders

and Native Americans as primitive foils to civilized progress. Sedgwick adopts similar metaphors for her Native American characters, but she challenges the conventions male authors establish by portraying Magawisca through the lens of gender.

Magawisca demonstrates her mimicry of Christianity through her cultural interpretation of the "Great Spirit" within Pequot belief. During Everell's captivity, Mononotto mimics the motives of Christian imperialism when he commands his tribe, "sound through the nations the cry of revenge! Linked together, ye shall drive the English into the sea. I speak the word of the Great Spirit—obey it" (*Leslie* 54). Using fantasy echo, Sedgwick suggests that the Great Spirit parallels the Christian God, and shows how the Pequots turn religious imperialism back against Christianity through mimetic violence. Calvinist pilgrims justify their demonization of indigenous tribes through similar beliefs, "catechised Indians had confessed that when they were pagans they were pow-wows, devoted in their infancy to demons" (*Leslie* 111). Sedgwick draws a parallel to characters like Edgar Ravenswood and Rob Roy, whose non-Anglo-Saxon bodies were similarly marked as demonic. This belief system extends to the Pequots, where forced catechism reinforces Anglo-Saxon ideology that Americans have a divine duty to bring morality to indigenous tribes during westward expansion. Magawisca also mimics Christianity by invoking the Great Spirit, but she does so to reveal how their cultural differences are still similar under a spiritual love, "life is nought but the image of the Great Spirit… the Great Spirit, and his ministers, are every where present and visible to the eye of the soul that loves him" (*Leslie* 270, 351). Sedgwick uses fantasy echo to reimagine Christianity through a Native American lens. This evokes settler anxieties that Christianity may not be distinct from the paganism they reject. Sedgwick portrays this cultural appropriation as a potential point of unity, implying that Native Americans and Scottish Highlanders can join with Anglo-Americans and Anglo-Saxons through

shared spiritual values. Sedgwick shows that only sympathy can unite these groups, which is why she uses fantasy echo—to draw Christian audiences into sympathizing with the disavowed Native Americans who adopt and reflect their own beliefs.

Magawisca's trial scene employs elements of fantasy echo to assert her masculinity over the British. Governor Winthrop of the Massachusetts Bay Colony expresses his prejudice against Native Americans when he declares, "they have ever been a hateful race to the English. And as the old chief and his daughter are accused [Mononotto and Magawisca], and I fear justly, of kindling the enmity of the tribes against us, and attempting to stir up a war… it will be difficult to make a private benefit outweigh such a public crime" (Leslie 288). Esther Downing supports Governor Winthrop's view by urging Magawisca to abandon her Indian customs: "to remain here, and join the catechised Indians… to overlook her past misdemeanors, and grant her Christian privileges" (*Leslie* 293). These attitudes reflect how Massachusetts, in the novel's depiction of 1643, views Native Americans in the aftermath of the Pequot War. As the British seek to establish America as a nation grounded in British identity, they perceive Magawisca's resistance as an affront to their pride. In response, Magawisca asserts her cultural and national identity: "her national pride [manifested] in the care with which, after rejecting with disdain the Governor's offer of an English dress, she attired herself in the peculiar costume of her people" (*Leslie* 297). The narrative presents Magawisca as a national hero who defies the injustice imposed by British rule. While Scott and Cooper exoticize Scottish Highlanders and Native Americans through their distinctive "costumes," Sedgwick uses Magawisca's appearance to symbolize a resistance to British domination. Her body becomes a symbol of emerging American values such as independence and pursuit for liberty, asserting cultural independence and moral integrity against colonial oppression.

Consider how Magawisca calls out the hypocrisy of the British for their unchristian practices. In her trial scene, she tells the court "to my dying mother, thou didst promise, kindness to her children. In her name, I demand of thee death or liberty" (*Leslie* 309). The conclusion of her speech is an anachronistic reference "[alluding] to Patrick Henry… the most important early national icon of political oratory, she becomes not simply heroic, but more specifically an embodied voice in the young United States' discourse of nation-founding" (Stadler 51). The phrase became popular during the American Revolution, in which Patrick Henry's speech in Virginia uses the phrase, "give me liberty or give me death" (Stadler 51). By evoking the fantasy echo and resembling the words of Patrick Henry, Magawisca obtains power that translates how the American liberty derives from the Native Americans. The irony in implying that the Native American tribes intentionally caused a war against the British settlers is inverted, it is their revolutionary sentiments that Anglo-Americans would imitate to oppose the British nation. But it is particularly from Magawisca's speech within the natural spaces of America that she becomes a sublime subject; her rhetoric comes from nature, untouched by white European civilization. Thomas Jefferson would even acknowledge how Patrick Henry's speech of death or liberty was notable for his "astonishing command of spoken language… [from] his lack of learning and written skills; his speech was unmediated by the writerly mind" (Fliegelman 95). This oratory invocation of the nation in the making is thoroughly indigenized in *Hope Leslie*. Since Magawisca does not possess European education, she is romanticized as being closer to nature in her mimicry of Anglo-Americans.

Representing chivalric values of honor and bravery, Magawisca uses her body to challenge the masculinity of Sir Philip. Claiming the role of the knight to assert power, Philip encourages the displacement of Native Americans, "he intimated that the Lord's chosen

people… [have] been selected to exterminate the heathen… to enlarge the bounds of God's heritage, and to convert these strangers and aliens, to servants and children of the most High" (*Leslie* 298). Philip weaponizes his masculinity to diminish Magawisca's power, particularly the power her body holds as a visual and moral spectacle, "Philip's strategy is to re-embody and re-racialize Magawisca… he attempts to discredit Magawisca on the basis of what has been serving her so powerfully in the novel, the power of her body as a spectacle" (Stadler 51). The trial scene performs a gender reversal when Magawisca quotes Patrick Henry, adopting a masculine identity that feminizes Philip. By declaring her demand for "death or liberty," she assumes the role of the knight, exposing Philip's false chivalry and rallying the courtroom to demand her freedom (*Leslie* 309). This collective unity reflects how Magawisca, through her knightly stance, contributes to the shaping of America's national identity. Although the narrative casts her as a figure of the past, through her archaic language and the vanishing Indian trope, it uses chivalry to position Magawisca as a knight of American medievalism who revolts against injustice toward herself and the Pequots. She becomes a national hero by masculinizing herself through chivalry to resist patriarchy, "chivalry provided a vocabulary for refashioning the gentleman as masculine, integrating national identity with enlightenment notions of progress and civilization" (Cohen 315). As British settlers seek independence from the British Empire, Magawisca symbolizes a national identity that drives American nationalism forward. Her unwavering honor to protect Everell and resist Native American displacement without formal British education serves as a natural and authentic counter to Philip's artificial authority.

The fantasy echo also harms the Romantic representations of Native Americans during Sedgwick's time. Magawisca powerfully persuades the court with her speech, "the white man cometh – the Indian vanisheth. Can we grasp in friendship the hand raised to strike us,"

demanding “liberty” for herself (*Leslie* 309). She thus embodies the nationalism of a future America. By reaccessing social memory, Sedgwick shows Native Americans as progressive rather than antiquated figures, positioning them and Scottish Highlanders as modern figures that continue to shape America and Britain. This sentiment drives Hope Leslie to save Magawisca from imprisonment, reversing the Indian captivity narrative by portraying Magawisca as captured by the British. Hope Leslie’s philosophy parallels Magawisca's speech against the government when she says, “as to authority, I would not be a machine, to be moved at the pleasure of anybody that happened to be a little older than myself. I am perfectly willing to submit to Mr. Fletcher, for he never… requires submission” (*Leslie* 189). By inverting gender roles, Hope Leslie imitates Magawisca to have the capability of masculine chivalry. Both refuse to submit and instead demand respect for their love of liberty. Hence, Hope Leslie’s submission to Everell Fletcher’s father reenacts a revolutionary nationalism that maintains her feminine liberty.

Although the plot centers on Magawisca’s actions, Hope Leslie demonstrates how remembering Native Americans can teach America to form a unitarian bond between Native Americans and British settlers. This bond encourages understanding each other’s social memories rather than enforcing the racial barriers that fuel colonial violence. Hope Leslie and Magawisca act as spirited women who help shape America’s national identity. The novel shows female characters like Magawisca and Hope as active agents during an important foundational period for the American nation and uses their relationship to highlight the public power of fantasy and identification (Stadler 44). This unitarianism is observed in the parallels with Native American culture to the British settlers. Although driven by mimetic violence, there is a spiritual resemblance between Christ and the Great Spirit that can encourage sympathetic identification

between both sides. When Magawsica expressed her frustration that Hope Leslie would be distraught at imagining her sister, Faith, living with Native Americans, she watches Hope's grief, "there was a chord in Magawisca's heart, that needed but the touch of tenderness to respond in harmony; her pride vanished, and her indignation gave place to sympathy" (*Leslie* 197). Magawisca as an impartial spectator demonstrates that her similarities with the British setters allows a sympathetic identification with Hope. Instead of remembering Native Americans and Scottish Highlanders to bring humility to the Anglo-nations, Magawisca performs sympathy to Hope. This shows how sympathy is being imitated by the nations, in which it is after the disavowal of the Pequots that the Anglo-nations are comfortable to acknowledge their imitation. In learning sympathy from Magawisca in her protection of Everell, Hope would use sympathy to protect Magawisca from her captivity.

Hope Leslie helps free Magawisca from imprisonment alongside Everell Fletcher, and this act binds Hope and Everell together in the novel's conclusion through marriage. However, the time period cannot support a possible union with Native Americans due to the British settlers' lack of sympathy. Magawisca explains this impossibility to Hope and Everell, "you say you have a written rule of forgiveness – it may be better – if ye be guided by it – it is not for us – the Indian and the white man can no more mingle, and become one, than day and night" (*Leslie* 349). Magawisca asserts that unity between Native Americans and British settlers remains unattainable. Echoing Cooper's use of streams as metaphors for racial intermarriage, Sedgwick reassures her audience's anxieties about racial mixing through Magawisca's voice, "think ye that your blood will be corrupted by mingling with this stream" (*Leslie* 197). Although Magawisca mimics Anglo-Americans, her racial difference restricts her to unite with the British settlers of her time period. Similar to the Mohicans and Munro, the American and British nation denies

Magawisca for her racial and gender performance despite her assimilation to protect British characters who express sympathy.

Furthermore, Magawisca's interactions with the British emphasize the impossibility of unifying with them. Bhabha explains that mimicry exposes the contradictions of colonial discourse, revealing "the difference between being English and being Anglicized; the identity between stereotypes which, through repetition, also become different… these instances of metonymy are the non-repressive productions of contradictory and multiple beliefs" (Bhabha 128). Magawisca's anachronistic actions mimic the development of American nationalism while simultaneously reinforcing and disrupting the stereotype of the Native American as a figure rooted in nature and antiquity. Native American characters like Mononotto and Magawisca speak in Middle English, which justifies their ability to express modern values such as liberty and individuality. Their speech anglicizes their voices, just as *Lammermoor* blurs the line between being an English or Scottish novel. Similarly, Native Americans, through their interactions with the British, struggle between being fully English or remaining distinctly other. By recalling Native Americans through anglicized stereotypes, antebellum American authors attempted to construct "the people's history," a version of the past that, as Bhabha argues, "destroys the constant principles of the national culture that attempt to hark back to a 'true' national past, which is often represented in the reified forms of realism and stereotype" (Bhabha 218). These fantasy echoes, which repeat and reshape historical events remembered by Anglo-Americans, create an imagined identification with a national past. As a result, British settlers selectively preserve an anglicized version of Native American identity, shaped by Romantic idealization and racist conventions.

Gendered Chivalry

Male authors like Walter Scott and James Cooper have primarily dominated the genre of historical fiction, portraying Scottish Highlanders and Native Americans as antiquated savages frozen in a nation's past. Indian captivity narratives and accounts of events such as the Fort William Henry massacre often center on violence against settler culture while ignoring how British settlers provoked many of these conflicts. To uphold British nationalism, male authors depicted modern civilization as struggling against the perceived savagery of Native Americans, while also appropriating their memory through anglicization and displacement. This masculinization of history prompted Sedgwick to use historical romance to blend "fiction and history" and challenge patriarchal portrayals of Native Americans (Insko 185). Sedgwick uses fiction to access social memory and reinterpret how Americans remember Native peoples, portraying the relationships between Native Americans and British settlers during the Pequot War not through conquest, but through conflict, sympathy, and misrecognition (*Leslie* 3). There emerges a tension between indigenous tribes and Anglo-Americans in the language of US citizenship. The question of who has a right to belong in the democratic nation built on white settler colonial exclusions Sedgwick answers by reimagining Native Americans not as savages, but as assimilated national citizens who helped shape the emerging American identity.

One feature that challenges the patriarchal structure in *Hope Leslie* is Sedgwick's reimagining of chivalry. Whereas Cooper's characters battle the Huron tribe as emblems of noble masculinity confronting ignoble savagery, Sedgwick refuses to reinforce such a binary. Instead, she presents a more nuanced ideology that intersects Native American and British settler values. Like the Hurons, Mononotto becomes feminized not through weakness, but through his emotional excess and irrational violence, which distort his masculine authority. In contrast,

Magawisca asserts her own masculine power through her courageous defense of Everell, prompting readers to question how "noble" and "ignoble" become gendered traits. As Cohen explains, "nineteenth-century chivalry was precisely that, a fusion of notions of an ancient liberty with modern manliness and civilization… [revealing] how one hegemonic ideal of masculinity can be displaced or replaced by another" (Cohen 328). In Cooper's *Mohicans*, chivalry operates as a sexual economy in which men gain power through marriage to idealized women, reducing women to objects that affirm male heroism. This same structure appears in *Rob Roy*, where Frank Osbaldistone passively gains power through gender privilege, and Edgar Ravenswood effeminacy from his irrational disavowal of Lucy. When Edgar confronts Lucy about her supposed infidelity near the novel's conclusion, he declares, "I am a desperate man—and I will not die without ample vengeance" (*Lammermoor* 323). Believing Lucy has betrayed him, he lashes out at Craigengelt, "giving way to the passion he had hitherto restrained," and hurling him "down the steps… and departed with the speed of a demon" (*Lammermoor* 329). Edgar's disavowal leads to Lucy's death which also feminizes him through his irrational violence, and racializes him as a demon because of his Highlander origins, paralleling the Hurons who were similarly depicted as demonic. Sedgwick subverts this chivalric tradition by casting Hope Leslie and Magawisca as the true knights who are active agents resisting and exposing the hypocrisy of the Anglo-Saxons chivalric patriarchy.

This question of gender becomes especially prominent in the dynamic between Hope Leslie and Sir Philip Gardiner. He arrives in America with Rosa disguised as a male page named Roslin. Rosa's relationship with Philip is complex; he once fell in love with her for being a "noble mistress… whose melting eyes, naivete, and strong irrepressible feelings, enchanted him." But when Philip begins pursuing Hope Leslie, Rosa awakens from her dreams of love and

happiness into pangs of jealousy (*Leslie* 275). Although Hope shows no romantic interest in Philip, Rosa warns her, describing him as "nothing of the puritan but the outside," and pleads, "you will not love my master. Do not believe him, though he pledge the word of a true knight always to love you; – though he swear it on the holy crucifix, do not believe it" (*Leslie* 176). The novel critiques chivalry as a form of servitude embedded within the sexual economy, allowing Philip to wield power in the Massachusetts Bay Colony under the illusion of knighthood. By casting Rosa as a maiden in distress and Philip as a false knight, chivalry enforces a gendered hierarchy that renders Rosa socially subordinate. This system mirrors how the ideology of chivalry, like the assimilation of Native Americans into Christianity, subjugates both women and indigenous people under patriarchal authority.

Patricia Kalayjian argues that chivalry denies white women and Native Americans from achieving the same social status as white men. She notes that dominant narratives portray Native Americans as inferior,

> ruled more by passion than reason, incapable of reaching the intellectual achievements of white men, unable to produce enduring cultural artifacts, and in constant need of white patriarchal control. As a result, society forces both Native Americans and white women into a dilemma: either submit to the dominant culture or face demonization (Kalayjian 64).

Sir Philip imposes this ideology onto Rosa, and her emotional vulnerability leads to both of their deaths. After Magawisca exposes Philip's deception, Hope Leslie and Everell help Magawisca escape by disguising her in men's clothing. Cradock, Hope's tutor, responds to Magawisca's transformation by declaring, "thou woman in man's attire, it is given to thee to utter truth, even as of old, lying oracles were wont to speak words of prophecy" (*Leslie* 329). In this moment, the

narrative elevates Magawisca's chivalry and masculinity above that of the patriarchal men who seek to imprison her. Likewise, Hope and Everell embody chivalric virtue more authentically than the British settlers by acting out of sympathy to liberate Magawisca. Their actions challenge the exclusive language of citizenship and reveal how Magawisca's masculinity grants her moral authority in imagining a more inclusive American identity. In contrast, the narrative feminizes Sir Philip, whose false attire and irrational obsession with Hope undermine his authority, and casts him as a failed mimetic rival to Magawisca's power.

Philip's feminization comes when he mistakes the kidnapped woman for Hope Leslie, and his desperate pleas for her to never leave him drive Rosa into madness. Holding a lamp, she rushes toward the nearby explosive barrels and throws it, "the explosion was instantaneous – the hapless, pitiable girl – her guilty destroyer – his victim – the crew – the vessel, rent to fragments" (*Leslie* 342). Rosa's madness echoes Lucy's breakdown in *Lammermoor*, which results from her failure to marry her knight. By giving men the power to exploit women, the narrative exposes the sexual economy of chivalry as a regression into a barbaric past. Philip and Rosa both fall victim to this economy, which Philip reinforces through his obsession with returning to England. Rosa's objectification and servitude reveal a feminist critique embedded within the narrative.

This masculine economy also shapes how Hope experiences the sexual politics of chivalry. Governor Winthrop urges Mr. Fletcher to consider a potential union with William Hubbard to Hope, "to enforce the necessity of a stricter watch over this lawless girl. Would it not be wise and prudent… to consign her to some one who should add to affection, the modest authority of a husband" (*Leslie* 161). William Hubbard, later known for writing a narrative of King Philip's War, appears in the novel as the "future historian of New-England" (*Leslie* 161). The suggestion that Hope marry Hubbard reflects a patriarchal desire to control women's

historical significance by binding them to nationalist historians. Governor Winthrop calls Hope "lawless," likening her to a Native American whose natural instincts compel her to defend Magawisca. This comparison reveals how the patriarchs not only subject Hope to masculine authority but also link her to Native Americans to justify her exclusion from citizenship.

The reference to Hubbard further reveals how male historians attempt to dominate the historical record. Kalayjian argues that male-authored histories often erase emotional context and conceal agency, stating, "the language of the historical records disguises the horror of and dismisses the responsibility for… massacre by using euphemistic language and passive constructions that mask agency" (Kalayjian 66). These records foreground factuality while ignoring how British settlers incited violence, thereby reinforcing a narrative that places blame on Native Americans. Sedgwick reclaims Romantic and chivalric conventions to elevate women's voices, linking their marginalization to that of displaced Native Americans and Scottish Highlanders, and demonstrating how patriarchal narratives oppress both groups. In a scene where the Puritans prepare for the Sabbath, the narrator describes the women as "the good mothers, like Burns' matron, are plying their needles, making 'auld claes look amaist as weel's the new'" (*Leslie* 164). The allusion to Robert Burns's poem "The Cotter's Saturday Night" translates America into Scotland, where women remake old clothes into new ones. This image becomes a metaphor for how the British nation recycles itself into the American nation, reshaping gender and race. Women like Hope and Magawisca not only resist patriarchal control, but also reveal how America's citizenship and national belonging are recycled from Native Americans.

The novel frames the consideration for Hope to marry Hubbard as a conflict between nature and law that echoes throughout the story in the contrast between the American forests and

civilization. The chivalric economy places women into legal servitude, restricting their natural freedom to express individuality. As Emerson explains,

> wives make their contracts with husbands in marriage, and by virtue of the agreement, husbands use their 'superior strength' to stand as buffer between wives and the ownership and transaction of property, making of contracts, formation of businesses, holding of public offices, voting in elections… the whole point of the contract is to replace demonstrations of force with law (Emerson 30–31).

Hope Leslie's love for Everell subverts the conventions of chivalry because it does not require her to "submit" or serve him. It is through Magawisca that their relationship can be founded on mutual sympathy. Yet, it positions Everell as becoming an American citizen, while Hope remains a non-citizen, drawing a comparison to how Native Americans and Scottish Highlanders, under a masculine British nation, are feminized and controlled by a legal system that permits the removal of indigenous groups from their territorial land. However, the privilege that allows Hope to marry Everell, rather than Magawisca, emphasizes the disparity between a British woman and a Native American woman under the same patriarchal system. When Hope beholds Faith Leslie after her captivity among the Pequots, now dressed in Native attire and married to Oneco, she expresses her discomfort, "she thought that if Mary's dress… had a less savage aspect, she might look more natural to her… the mantle she wore, made of birds' feathers, woven together with threads of the wild nettle" (*Leslie* 239). This moment reflects the patriarchy's fear that British settlers might conform to a Native lifestyle and abandon Christianity. Hope voices this same fear, revealing how her patriarchal upbringing taught her to internalize these anxieties. But where Hope's nature is confined by the British patriarchy, Faith Leslie can find freedom with the Native Americans.

Although Faith Leslie continues to wear a cross, she asserts her autonomy through a cultural hybridity with the Native Americans. This initially prevents Hope Leslie from accepting her sister's adoption of the Native American lifestyle. However, she eventually accepts it due to Faith's marriage to Oneco under "Christian rites" and the symbolic reassurance of the cross, which suggests that God will still accept her (*Leslie* 359). Still, the biological separation between Native Americans and British settlers during this period evokes anxiety in *Hope Leslie:* "what so sickens Hope is that her sister is disguised as an Indian; she is, in Hope's view, passing, hiding what Hope believes is her true nature—whiteness—beneath Indian clothing" (Insko 197). However, the novel has consistently shown Magawisca to embody the fantasy echo of Anglo-Saxonism by wearing male attire and her performance of whiteness to protect Everell under sympathy. This moment also contrasts how the British and Native Americans conceptualize "nature," as reflected in Native American attire versus English dress. Faith Leslie's name itself—"Faith"—symbolizes the belief that, even as British settlers begin to adopt Native American customs, they can still retain their Christianity. Furthermore, the possibility of retaining Christianity acts as a colonial weapon against Native Americans to become catechised through the similarities between the Great Spirit and Christianity. This challenges British patriarchal control by allowing Faith Leslie the agency to remain with the Pequots, but it also threatens her visibility in the historical record as she ultimately disappears into the West.

By adopting the role of the knight, Magawisca mimics "savagery" through a gendered ideology from the British. Just as the patriarchy forces both Hope Leslie and Magawisca into obedience, the narrative reconfigures the term "savage" as "an act of appropriation whereby the savagery of the white soldiers resignifies the term 'savage,' which is simultaneously deracialized and reappropriated as a gendered signifier" (Kalayjian 67). The patriarchy deems both Faith,

Hope, and Magawisca as savages because they defy traditional gender roles. Labeled "lawless," Hope finds space to develop her individuality by mirroring how Magawisca asserts herself with masculine strength. Magawisca offers Hope a form of identification, "by which she can mimic the Indian girl's own capacity to resist disclosure. Magawisca's iconicity – not her self but her 'form,' not truth but its 'expression' – releases Hope from a crisis of interior conflict" (Stadler 43). This internal conflict reflects Hope Leslie's gradual acceptance of Native Americans. When she sees Faith Leslie again after years of separation, her acceptance signals a possible unification of Native Americans with White settlers. However, this union cannot last, as patriarchal control continues to dominate the narrative. Yet, the novel names both Magawisca and Hope Leslie as "heroines": Magawisca for her political resistance against colonial injustice and for her role in Everell's imagination, and Hope for being the novel's central figure whose growth through Magawisca's influence shapes the formation of an American national identity (*Leslie* 161, 193). Everell even pleads for Magawisca to remain within the British colony, saying she could "teach us to be happy, as you are, without human help or agency" (*Leslie* 352). But the conflict between the two cultures prevents this reconciliation, echoing the Indian policies being enacted during Sedgwick's time. In turn, the novel asks readers to honor Magawisca's memory. By identifying both characters as heroines, the narrative underscores how Magawisca and Hope Leslie intersect in their identities and together contribute to a reimagined American nation.

Hope Leslie and Magawisca unite through their shared identities as heroines reflect the potential unity between Native Americans and White settlers. As they observe their mothers' graves lying side by side, Magawisca affirms her bond with Hope Leslie, "mysteriously have our destinies been interwoven. Our mothers brought from a far distance to rest together here – their children connected in indissoluble bonds" (*Leslie* 201). Their graves symbolize a connection that

male authors often overlook—acknowledging that Native Americans and British settlers are destined to coexist and share the same fate. While Walter Scott envisions Scottish Highlanders fading into memory, such as Cooper's Native Americans, Sedgwick imagines a different future. Her narrative suggests that a cultural hybridity, when confronted with violence, can move toward reconciliation through sympathy. Both Magawisca and Hope Leslie face the violent deaths of their mothers, but their shared ability to grieve together sets Hope Leslie apart as a symbolic figure in the making of the American nation. Their freedom to stand together against patriarchy contributes to a national identity rooted in resistance. Sir William Fletcher's remark to Mr. Fletcher at the beginning of the novel, "liberty, what is it! Daughter of disloyalty and mother of all misrule – who, from the hour she tempted our first parents to forfeit paradise, hath ever worked mischief to our race," exposing his fear of female agency (*Leslie* 6). The knighthood represented by Sir Philip Gardiner and Sir William Fletcher proves hollow, as both embody English authority that threatens America's emerging identity. Through Sir William's misogyny, Magawisca and Hope Leslie as chivalric heroines prefigures America's future that encourages the patriarchy to give autonomy to women and indigenous tribes. The ability itself to express individuality against patriarchal control becomes a nationalistic act from the heroines. Faith Leslie's liberty also plays a crucial role. By embracing a Native American lifestyle through her marriage to Oneco, she asserts a rebellious identity that resists suppression.

Nonetheless, the novel accepts Hope Leslie more readily as a symbol of American nationalism than it does Magawisca or Faith Leslie, because her nature aligns more closely with British sentiments. Hope Leslie had revealed her anxieties about Faith Leslie's appearance, which she finds unnatural due to her Native American attire. This perception of the "unnatural" stems from the way the novel constructs the natural world inhabited by Native Americans:

"Magawisca represents the perils of nature. Hope Leslie… is also associated with nature, but hers is a tame nature that can be trusted completely… when Everell trusts Magawisca completely at the beginning of the book the result is that his mother and siblings are murdered before his eyes. Magawisca's nature, then, is wild and dangerous" (Bell 218). Hope Leslie's ability to connect with Magawisca reflects her emotional bond with nature. The contrast between tame and wild nature defines the distinction between Everell choosing Hope Leslie and Faith Leslie choosing Oneco.

Everell's fascination with Magawisca alters how the narrative depicts chivalry between knight and maiden. Before the Bethel massacre, Everell expresses his interest in chivalric romances, "Everell was at an age to listen with delight to tales of adventure, and danger" (*Leslie* 45). When Magawisca saves him, the narrative inverts the traditional roles: Magawisca becomes the knight and Everell the maiden. When authorities imprison Magawisca, the roles revert, with Everell rescuing her, though he does not marry the maiden because she is Native American. Instead, the novel encourages Everell's marriage to Hope Leslie, describing "the pure and perfect love that united these youthful beings" (*Leslie* 368). Despite the liberty both Magawisca and Hope Leslie pursue, the narrative eventually forces them to return to or disappear into the social expectations imposed upon them. While Hope Leslie accepts Everell without submitting to him, the novel reassures the audience that she will not become savage in nature, but remain tame under the guidance of a masculine figure.

Esther Downing is a figure who conforms to these social expectations, but she also establishes her feminine autonomy to the British patriarchy. Throughout the novel, Hope Leslie misinterprets Esther as Everell's love interest. Sedgwick describes Esther as having a "reserved, tender, and timid cast of character," and notes that "being bred in the strictest school of the

puritans, their doctrines and principles easily commingled with the natural qualities of her mind" (*Leslie* 140). Unlike Hope Leslie, whose liberal nature enables her to interact with Native Americans, Esther follows social conventions strictly. As a result, she hesitates to advocate for Magawisca's freedom or support Native American rights. However, she plays a crucial role by selflessly allowing Hope Leslie and Everell to be together, despite her own feelings for Everell. In doing so, she chooses to remain unmarried, affirming Sedgwick's feminist message that "marriage is not essential to the contentment, the dignity, or the happiness of a woman" (*Leslie* 371). Esther's adherence to British social norms highlights Everell's choice of Hope Leslie, who represents "nature over law, the heart over the head, resistance or rebellion over 'slavish obedience'" (Bell 219). While most historical romances conclude with marriage, Esther's decision not to marry reflects her liberty to act kindly and independently as she returns to New England at the novel's end. Her distance from Native American culture positions her as a symbolic border between British settlers and Native Americans. Though she asserts her independence from the patriarchy, she does so by separating herself from cultural hybridity. "Esther illustrates the ultimate fantasy of the antebellum white woman," Stadler writes, having "undergone a 'vast deal of misery' in her sexual role," yet becoming "safe, yet authoritative in a wide 'sphere,' once her place in the community is mediated not by a husband or potential husband" (Stadler 53). Her individuality contributes to the American national identity by rejecting marriage while simultaneously revealing how 17th-century British ideology cannot reconcile unity with Native Americans or with any deviation from social convention.

Esther openly opposes the concept of liberty and calls out Hope Leslie for embracing it. She criticizes Hope by saying, "you do allow yourself too much liberty of thought and word: you certainly know that we owe implicit deference to our elders and superiors; – we ought to be

guided by their advice, and governed by their authority" (*Leslie* 189). In doing so, Esther initially promotes a version of femininity that the patriarchy controls. She also extends this logic to Native Americans, implying that excessive liberty reflects social impropriety, echoing Sir William Fletcher's views. However, Esther's perspective shifts when she leaves for England after learning of Everell's attempt to free Magawisca. She admits, "my error hath been exceeding humbling to the pride of woman… [but] we should look back – not reproachfully – God forbid – but with gratitude and humility" (*Leslie* 367). In this moment, Esther invokes social memory and mirrors Hume's argument about sympathy, suggesting that one should remember the past with humility rather than guilt. She adopts Romantic ideals and claims the liberty to live independently of the patriarchy, making her character feel anachronistic in her time.

However, her anxieties about Native Americans conforming with British settlers project a contrast with Faith Leslie. She avoids Native Americans to ensure Anglo-Americanism controls nature, which encompasses both Native Americans and Scottish Highlanders. Faith's disappearance with the Pequots grants her liberty from "authoritarian rulers [and] ambitious warrior-politicians" of American and British civilization, but her cultural hybridity weaponizes indigenous tribes by guiding them toward Christian conversion (Graeber and Wengrow 18). Thus, the narrative primarily presents Magawisca and Hope Leslie as female knights who shape the Anglo-American identity through a sympathy that aims to assimilate indigenous tribes into the nation.

Conclusion

A white man cannot marry a Native American, just as an English like Waverley cannot marry a Scottish Highlander. Early 19th-century anxieties still reject such unity, treating it as

equivalent to death, paralleling Cooper's biological division between Magua and Cora. Magawisca may love Everell, but she holds firm in her belief that they cannot unite because of British prejudice. Sedgwick challenges these prejudicial beliefs by inviting the audience to reflect on the anachronisms and fantasy elements she weaves into the novel. In an era when American authors faced pressure to create literature that promotes nationalism, Sedgwick writes a historical romance that urges the American nation to confront its repressed memory and move beyond its collective narcissism. She compels readers to recognize that American identity formed through interactions with Native Americans. Her narrative opposes the patriarchy's tendency to cast Native Americans as savages by using femininity as a means of resistance.

While Hope Leslie, Faith Leslie, and Magawisca develop their own social agency through their cross-racial resistive communities, the narrative still encourages separation from Native Americans. By inverting and challenging chivalry through the female characters, the narrative exposes the hypocrisy that privileges masculine deception over feminine truth, yet it continues to disavow any association with Native Americans. Drawing on Smith's moral sympathy, the novel stereotypes Native Americans and Scottish Highlanders as a single indigenous identity. By using fantasy echoes that position Native Americans as Anglo-Saxons, the narrative employs the noble savage stereotype and the vanishing Indian trope, deploying sympathy to justify Native American assimilation into British civilization. This approach reinforces cultural borders and reimagines Native American bodies, threatening to erase indigenous identities as it did with the Scottish Highlanders.

The novel actively risks colonizing Native Americans under an Anglo-American nation, much like the displacement and commodification of Scottish Highlanders under an Anglo-Saxon one. Although the narrative draws parallels between women and Native Americans, only

characters like Hope Leslie and Esther achieve happiness by staying within the British colony. In contrast, Magawisca and Faith Leslie vanish into social memory, which struggles to preserve them through fragmented recollections. Still, the novel holds out the possibility of union, achievable only through temporal repetition and recurring intersections between Native Americans and British settlers that challenge patriarchal hegemony and promote liberty and equality. Anderson explains how historical romance novels construct a nation's lost past: "All profound changes in consciousness, by their very nature, bring with them characteristic amnesias. Out of such oblivions, in specific historical circumstances, spring narratives" (Anderson 204). In attempting to recover what history forgets, *Hope Leslie* reimagines the past through sympathetic and chivalric frameworks that foreground the marginalized figures who shape American national identity. Through the conventions of historical romance, the novel reconstructs a past that invites Anglo-Americans to sympathize with the disappearance of Native Americans and Scottish Highlanders—figures who, despite erasure, remain foundational to imagining a nation.

Conclusion

Scottish Highlanders and Native Americans function as mimetic desires for Anglo-Americans and Anglo-Saxons. The emerging ideology of Anglo-Saxonism claims their biological superiority over indigenous tribes, "England was a nation with a continuity of law and institutions… a nation inhabited by Anglo-Saxons who had always been freedom-loving, and… an outstanding capacity for good government" (Horsman 14). Anglo-Saxons trace their lineage back to the Teutonic tribes and use this ancestry to justify bringing economic prosperity and Christian indoctrination to unenlightened indigeneity. At the same time, they romanticize the indigenous connection to nature and elevate these figures as sublime, embodying chivalric and national values that Anglo-Saxons and Anglo-Americans strive to imitate. Edward Waverley imitates both a European "knight of romance" and a Native American in the Scottish Highlands, "it is mentioned of the North-American Indians, when at the stake of torture, that one the least intermission of agony, they will sleep until the fire is applied to awaken them" (*Waverley* 112, 171). Waverley's mimetic desire to imitate Scottish Highlanders and Native Americans reveals his unstable identity as he "wavers" between roles. He shifts from aligning with the Highlanders to emerging as an Anglo-Saxon and becomes "the type of character which not only was to be imitated in innumerable later novels, but was to become a model for young men in life… amalgamating a medieval-knight errant with a modern gentleman" (Girouard 37). In other words, he represents the British and American nation that erases the indigenous mediator to claim originality. As a character, Waverley provides an imitable model for the Anglo-American and Anglo-Saxon identity by representing an honorable gentleman who embodies the self-interested homo economicus ideal while expressing sympathy.

However, Waverley becomes an imitable model only through fantasy echoes that project modern beliefs onto the nation's social memory. The homo economicus ideal, the use of sympathy, the noble/ignoble savage stereotype, and the vanishing Indian trope all rely on "collective memory to reconstruct an image of the past which is in accord, in each epoch, with the predominant thoughts of the society" (Halbwachs 40). By using Waverley as representing a gentleman whose moral sympathy guides him into the Highlands, he is a figure that a British audience can identify. However, the perception that Native Americans and Scottish Highlanders are biologically inferior and are representative of a form of primitive civilization that Anglo-Saxons have developed from become a unique subject to remember their violent past. As Waverley concludes America is similar to Scotland, he finds that native American lifestyle is mirrored with the Scottish Highlanders, "these deeds of violence… happening daily in the immediate neighbourhood, without his having crossed the seas… in the otherwise well-ordered island of Great Britain" (*Waverley* 78). The national term "Britain" implies an advanced civilization that justifies displacing indigenous tribes for their incompatibility with modernization. Since historical records offer uncertainty about how Scottish Highlanders or Native Americans truly behaved, social memory, shaped by modern stereotypes and tropes, makes the nation's past easier to identify. Through this recognition, and with the help of print culture, the British and American nations unite to trace their origins, and by doing so, imitate these figures as a means to amend the guilt of displacing indigenous tribes.

By presenting Native Americans and Scottish Highlanders through the temporality of history, the narrative depicts them as destined to vanish. Their medievalistic lifestyles centering on violence and chivalry may appear noble for upholding a moral code and honoring community, but the nation perceives their antiquity for their inability to participate in free-trade capitalism.

They cannot sustain the continued presence of the nation as a community if Scottish Highlanders and Native Americans do not contribute to the imagining of an Anglo-Saxon white nation. Imagining the nation through historical time encourages what Graeber and Wengrow call a "wistful pessimism about the human condition," which becomes "the natural result of viewing ourselves through history's broad lens" (Graeber and Wengrow 21). Waverley embodies this tension when he reflects on his body and identity while wearing Scottish Highland attire, "he saw the wild dress and appearance of his Highland associates… looked upon his own dress, so unlike that which he had worn from his infancy… 'am I then a traitor… to my native England'" (Waverley 236). His Anglo-Saxonism creates a tension adopting a Gaelic identity, and he fears wearing clothing of the Other risks reverting into primitivism. The body's link to national identity poses a threat to transform his Anglo-Saxon whiteness into Gaelic impurity that restricts him from returning to the modernizing British nation. By imitating the Scottish Highlanders, Waverley engages in mimetic violence, which places him in conflict with the very order and institutions that define the "well-ordered" British nation.

When an Englishman imitates a Scottish Highlander, he evokes anxieties that associate the white man with those deemed biologically inferior. Scott racializes Evan Dhu Maccombich's Highland identity, describing him as "a stout dark man of low stature, the ample folds of whose plaid added to the appearance of strength which his person exhibited" (*Waverley* 79). This emphasis on racial difference reflects Waverley's own anxiety about aligning with the Highlanders. Just as characters like Hawk-eye or Faith Leslie associate with Native Americans, such imitation threatens to taint Anglo-Saxon whiteness. Waverley's mimetic violence replicates a primitive culture that lacks the perceived enlightenment of Anglo-Saxon civilization. By introducing Anglo-Saxonism into the Scottish Highlands and America, the British claimed to

bring morality and prosperity. As Horsman explains, "the new racial ideology could be used to force new immigrants to conform to the prevailing political, economic, and social system, and… justify the sufferings or deaths of blacks, Indians, or Mexicans" (Horsman 5). The British used sympathy as a colonial weapon to assimilate revolting groups like the Highlanders and Native Americans into Anglo-Saxonism. Thus, Native Americans and Scottish Highlanders came to symbolize Anglo-Saxonism's primitive past, becoming Romantic subjects through whom the British could explore and reinterpret their origins. Anglo-Saxon characters identify with and imitate the indigenous Other to re-perform their national identity through chivalric values such as bravery, honor, and selflessness. They absorb the social memory of Native Americans and Highlanders and refashion it into the identity of the Anglo-American and Anglo-Saxon gentleman.

As Waverley encounters certain Scottish characters, he reveals his racial bigotry by emphasizing their biological difference. While detained by the British, he criticizes the Scottish magistrate Major Melville, declaring, "I detest that cold-blooded calculating Scotch-magistrate. I hope he and I shall never meet more: he had neither sympathy with my innocence nor with my wretchedness" (*Waverley* 179). The narrative marks Melville's lack of sympathy to underscore the perceived divide between Anglo-Saxons and Gaels. It portrays the Scottish Highlanders' inability to sympathize and their preference for violence over civility as evidence of their primitiveness. This mirrors Adam Smith's description of primitive civilizations as emotionally undisciplined children, "a very young child has no self-command; but, whatever are its emotions, whether fear, or grief, or anger, it endeavours always, by the violence of its outcries, to alarm… the attention of its nurse, or of its parents" (Smith). According to this view, Scottish Highlanders and Native Americans' failure to control their emotions prompts Anglo-Saxons to disavow them

as mediators that do not reflect the morally civil British and American nations. However, indigenous resistance against the British nation exposes their hypocrisy, which claims to impose order and law but instead mimetically rivals to indigenous autonomy. This mimetic rivalry drives the British and American nations to displace indigenous tribes in order to claim their own autonomy.

Fergus expresses his oppression by the British government when he tells Waverley about how English law has extended into Scotland. He describes to Waverley that British influence has caused the vanishing of Scottish Highlanders and Native Americans, "one of the blessings, Edward, with which your free country has accommodated poor old Scotland… but I suppose one day or other – when there are no longer any wild Highlanders… they will blot it from their records, as levelling them with a nation of cannibals" (*Waverley* 348). Portrayed as a noble savage, Fergus directly challenges the corruption embedded in the Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-American governments. Although modern society deems him unfit to exist, his indigenous critique exposes how the pursuit of wealth by the homo economicus corrupts both morality and the natural world. His prediction that future generations will remember Native Americans and Scottish Highlanders as "cannibals" highlights the hypocrisy of Anglo-American and Anglo-Saxon culture.

By mimicking and disavowing indigenous tribes to assert national originality, the British and American nations metaphorically consume the very indigenous people they commodify in historical romance literature. Yet, the American and British nations through building national mythologies upon indigeneity and imitating Native Americans and Scottish Highlanders reveals the British and American nation is founded from indigenous teachings. Their hybridity accumulates to how the historical romance novel uses imitation as a revolutionary act that

sustains indigenous presence in the national imagination. From this revolution, the indigenous critique exposes European civilization to be unnatural in their progression of human society for national wealth under the homo economicus. These historical novels unveil that uniting with indigenous tribes to better understand a community beyond capitalistic desires is the foundation for learning how to perform democracy, liberty, and equality.

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