MASTERARBEIT / MASTER'S THESIS

Titel der Masterarbeit / Title of the Master's Thesis

„Lost in the past – Outlander and the perception of history"

verfasst von / submitted by

Iva Kreitmayer – Currid, BA

angestrebter akademischer Grad / in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts (MA)

Wien, 2020 / Vienna 2020

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my supervisor ao. Univ.-Prof. Mag. Dr. Monika Seidl for her help and support throughout my years at the Department.

Thank you to my husband Barry, for all his love and encouragement, especially the painstaking effort of proofreading. I know it was not easy. I love you.

To my son Culann, who went to collect books from the University Library with me, and really tried to have patience while I was 'working the computer'. I love you to the Moon and back.

I would like to acknowledge the invaluable support of my friends and my sister Jelena throughout this journey.

And last but not least, I want to thank my Mom Milijana and my Dad Tihomil, who have been so supportive of me all my life. You never stopped believing in me.

This is for you.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. INTRODUCTION

History is in the past, it remains hidden from us regardless of how hard we try to reach it. It provides a glimpse into what is left behind - the people, their stories, written records, artefacts and the imagination and reason that merge it all into something we can understand.

History as we know it, originated through myths and then developed into what is known as historiography, history's written record. During the classical period, historiography was treated as a literary genre. It flourished side by side and as part of literature, philosophy and the arts through the centuries. In the eighteenth century, history was distinguished from scholarship by treating the historian as a writer, subject to the rules of rhetoric. Towards the end of neoclassicism, literature as a term had more to do with poetry, which contrasted with the realistic world of history and historiography, and the two disciplines gained independence from one another (Cf. Gossman 228-230). And while history aimed to join the ranks of natural sciences, versions of history however, remained and continue to flourish within the streams of literature.

With the birth of the historical novel in the early nineteenth century, new means of representation developed; focusing on the individual who lived through past events and the experiences they gathered. The characters themselves may not have been real, but what they are created from, and what they signify, show the reader possible aspects of that reality. The genre developed as a hybrid that merged the imagination with historical facts and created possible, if not probable, worlds for the reader not only to know, but to experience as well.

The historical novel enables us to travel into unknown realms of history, and leaves us wanting to know more about the world we immerse ourselves in, in order to visit the landscapes of memory and the trails of the forgotten. Whether we realise it or not, the historical writer simultaneously imparts fragments of that recorded history which then take root in our minds.

Diana Gabaldon is one of those writers that, if one finds themselves diving into one of her novels, they are compelled to stay and explore - she makes it easy to forget the outside world. Even though some critics define her novels as romantic historical

fiction, Gabaldon's works contain more of a blending of the genres within the historical fiction subdivisions. Ultimately, even though all the volumes of the *Outlander* series share some of the same characteristics, such as love story, adventure and being linked together with the time travel feature, others contain more elements of one genre than another; for example *Dragonfly in Amber* (1992) has more military history because its setting deals directly with the culmination of the Jacobite Rising of 1745, while *Outlander* (1991) has more features of romance and fantasy. Regardless of its representations, the book series contains an abundance of historical events, characters, and anecdotes. One of the aims of this thesis is to find the historicisms within the first three books, namely *Outlander, Dragonfly in Amber* and *Voyager* (1993)*.* The third book will only be treated insofar as it pertains to the subject matter of the 1745 Rising. Throughout the analysis, the author's representation of those events will be examined. Ultimately, the object of this work is to show that Gabaldon's books can transfer historical information and the purpose they serve. Some of the most relevant historical information found in the novels will be analysed and compared with the relevant peer-reviewed contemporary popular history books in order to uphold the level of objectivity, and if that is not the case, it is clarified beforehand. There are also several older sources from the late eighteen and early nineteen hundreds that were consulted for their specificity and the intricacy of information provided.

Through a case study of Diana Gabaldon's first trilogy of *Outlander* series*,* this thesis will examine how a historical novel can spark an interest in a historical period, namely eighteenth-century Scotland, the era known for its Jacobite rebellions and Bonnie Prince Charlie. It will discuss how historical fiction and characters can be used to transmit historical detail and their use in representing history.

In order to achieve this, the first step one must take is to delve into the idea of history and historiography, as well as into the background and the analysis of the historical novel. With the clarification of the genre and the subgenres necessary for the understanding of the *Outlander* books as historical fiction novels, this thesis will continue to elucidate this significance based on recorded historical events and characters.

Another objective of this work is to extricate the most important elements which need to be involved in historical fiction in order for it to motivate an interest in a specific historical period, and even if not followed up by historiographical texts, could in itself carry historiographical function for didactical purposes.

This thesis aims to analyse Gabaldon's historical fiction novels with regard to her representations of historical characters and events, but also the idea of Scotland and its people before a defining moment in history that shaped the nation. While making reference to stereotypes when discussing representations of the English, this thesis does not negotiate the concept of Scottishness, for it would guide the thesis into a much wider field of analysis. The main focus of this work remains on Gabaldon's use of historical data to represent a past era in her works of historical fiction.

2. HISTORY, HISTORIOGRAPHY AND HISTORICAL FICTION

History as a term signifies a study of past events, something real and true that has already happened. When we take into account that historical discourses are "narrative interpretations of their subject matter" in a written form, we are dealing with historiographical texts (Cf. White, *Realism* 3).

But is history only "a domain of an objective reality" (Shaw in White, "Introduction*"* 150)? Is it bound by its own constraints of the past it belongs to? Or is it a living organism, something that is a part of all of us, of every individual, group, nation, or even the world? When one thinks of history in general, what comes to mind can be conflicting. History was first told and retold, and only then written.

It can be seen as "the literary productions of the [ancient] Greek historians" (Gossman 227), full of political intrigues and conquests that changed the shape of nations and kingdoms. It can also be viewed as a collection of facts, numbers and years, similar to that of the early Roman annalists. Both representations are equally viable. If we observe history until the end of the eighteenth century, what we encounter for the most part, are stories. History was narrative. History was epic. History had the freedom to fill in the gaps and recreate all we could imagine it to be. History was also literature.

But who were these writers of history? Who tells the story, and what purpose does it serve? A historian was an artist and a poet, someone who could take what is known and convey it to their audience. The audience would then continue to pass it on and tell the stories of time passed, battles lost and won, of tragedy and glory. However, the narrative itself could not be separated from the narrator, and by that reasoning, also their point of view. This idea was conceptualised in 1752 by Johann Martin Chladenius, a German theologian, who stated that "narration wholly abstracted from its own point of view is impossible, and hence an impartial narration cannot be called one that narrates without any point of view at all" (Gossman 230). This problem focused more attention on historiography as relating to historical knowledge and seldom to historical writing. The resulting breakup of the republic of letters – a society where historians shared experiences with poets, novelists, philosophers, and scientists and economists alike, affirmed these divisions. In the nineteenth century,

historians, including literary historians, retreated to the universities. The confines of scholarly studies abandoned the figurative freedoms once enjoyed by Herodotus, Plutarch and Voltaire (Cf. Gossman 230-231).

2.1. Historiography

Since the time of Herodotus, historiography was understood to be a composition of personal and collective stories which a historian would then incorporate into a single narrative. In this way, the only literary part of the narrative would be demonstrated by the language used to make the facts more interesting, and the poetic freedom of invention would be left to fictional narrative writers (Cf. White, *The Form* x). That is to say, there is a belief that fiction writers were able to create anything ranging from plotlines to settings to characters, whereas historians refrained from inventing anything.

Regardless of that notion, historiographies, even though they aim to be mimetic in their nature and form, can never really be fully accurate. They are produced by historians who studied previous historical texts that carry within them selections and interpretations from a previous scholar. Thus, if there was a past event with a number of observers, each of these would present a slightly different version of that same event. This, in turn, would make any recounting then mere enumeration. As Lévi-Strauss observes, the only way to construct a comprehensible story is to exclude some of the facts from that account of the past (Cf. White 44). If we accept that not every piece of information can be included in the text for the sake of coherence of the story, we can also conclude that with different historians there will be different representations. And thus, even though they might have the same event at their core, each historian will try and portray the 'truth' in the best way possible according to his own interpretation and understanding.

Hayden White, one of the most prominent scholars of historiography and literary criticism, approaches the narrative structure of history and literature in a unifying manner. His approach stems from the notion that history and literature in the West both originate from an even older form of historical discourse – myth. From these times, historiography and literature only differentiated in their subject matter rather

than the form, i.e. whether what was written about were either 'real' or 'imaginary' events. This affiliation of the three forms, myth, historiography and literature, and the ability to ascribe them with unified meaning are thus based on the cultural and historical experiences of people and are a part of our shared history (Cf. White 44-45).

When discussing historical research, White compares historians' research efforts to those of detectives or journalists. They recover information that might already have been forgotten or supressed, alongside those truths that are readily available, and try to make sense of them all in a comprehensive text. However, the importance here lies in the process of transforming gathered material into what will become written history (Cf. White, *Realism* 8). In this process, the historian has to choose only those elements that will be built into the story, find appropriate language to portray it, and through it ascribe meaning to that particular event.

It is the connection between language and history that White concerns himself with. He endeavours to show how figurative language can portray the reality as faithfully as literalist discourse might, and that the difference between them is purely conventional (Cf. White ix). That is to say, if we can claim that the two modes of discourse can faithfully portray reality, then the differences between these texts are reduced.

There are three kinds of historiographical representation - the *annals*, the *chronicle* and the *history proper*. The *annals* and the *chronicle* are not given a narrative form, but provide a mere chronological sequence of events. In order for something to be considered as *history proper*, it must include the narrative features, as well as keep to the chronological order of events in their original occurrence and treat the source material appropriately. The historical narratives, in contrast to the annals and the chronicles, create a coherency of past reality which can never be fully experienced, only imagined (Cf. White, *The Form* 5). They represent a world gone by, but still within our grasp. Historical materials organised in a chronological order have to be given meaning by the application of a narrative structure. When a historian chooses to include or omit data of a certain period from their narrative, they create an historiographical account of that time. As long as that account does not alter known

facts or events and can be objectively supported, it could be accepted as one of the possible presentations of that historical time or event.

However, if historical accounts were coherently connected into sentences, we would still be none the wiser about why things happened the way they did, what brought them on or what their passing signified. It is by providing meaning within the use of a narrative form that text holds a didactic element, which is something that history shares with literature.

2.2. History and the narrative

Narrative is the universal code that can be interpreted throughout different cultures without losing its meaning (Cf. Barthes in White, *The Form* 1). It is a meta-code, that provides meaning to experiences, "a human universal on the basis of which transcultural messages about the nature of a shared reality can be transmitted" (White, *The Form* 1). Therefore, when we present events through a narrative, we endow them with meaning.

R.G. Collingwood also agreed that stories have to be construed from 'facts' that when isolated, were actually devoid of meaning. However, he believed that historians themselves have to extricate the 'true' story that lies hidden or within the 'apparent' story. They have to use something he called 'the constructive imagination' through which something that is not shown can be connected with logical assumptions of what must have happened, given the evidence provided (Cf. White, *"Historical Text"* 47). Collingwood thus presupposed these facts were already part of history itself, and the historian's role was only to extract it. White, on the other hand, opposes this view and argues that at the most, historians only perceive the story elements from recorded historical events. What they have to do then is develop it (Cf. 47). And when a story is developed, it is given meaning in order for it to be understood.

How we make sense of texts depends on many different factors, and most of them lie beyond the control of the author. However, what a historian *can* do is encode their text in a specific way, in order for the reader to recognise it as something they have

seen before. In order to do this, historians must follow specific steps. They have to arrange their stories in a particular order, with a specific selection of events to suit the purpose of the story. For example, White states that in a chronicle, the death of the king is just stated as a fact, whereas in three different stories it can function as a beginning, part of the middle or the ending. The historical fact is merely present, and the historian is the one who needs to assign its' function within a story in a comprehensible way (Cf. White, *Metahistory* 6). The questions that make the narrative followable, such as "Why did that happen?" and "How did it all come out in the end?" (7) differ from questions of the entire set of events. These consist of three stages of explanation: by emplotment, by argument, and explanation by ideological implication (Cf. 7).

The first of these steps, according to White, is *emplotment*. He explains that "histories gain part of their explanatory effect by their success in making stories out of mere chronicles; and stories in turn are made out of chronicles by […] 'emplotment'" (White, "The Historical Text*"* 46). He defines *emplotment* as the encoding of facts and turning them into segments of plot structures (Cf. 46). However, by choosing which of these facts to include, and through which mode of writing the plot is conveyed, historians construct the story so it can be understood by the audience it was intended for.

Illumination of the meaning through the identification of the type of story is called explanation by emplotment. White distinguishes between at least four different types of emplotment: Comedy, Tragedy, Romance and Satire, as well as Epic (Cf. White, *Metahistory* 7). What arises from this notion is that each historical event can be emplotted in a different way, depending on the message it means to carry. By setting the event within a structure understandable to the reader, one could say that the historian gives it meaning and explanation specific to their understanding.

This understanding is something that could be culturally shared between the author and the audience. For instance, White gives an example of how and why a historian chooses to emplot his narrative into a certain kind of story. The aim of this process is to bring the 'data' closer to comprehension, it being unfamiliar simply by its temporal distance, and having roots in a different way of life. A reader, in the process of decoding this narrative, observes what type of story that account is – a comedy,

tragedy, romance, or epic etc. By categorising the events described through that specific mode, they understand its meaning as well as its intention. The story becomes comprehensible not by its details, but by belonging to a particular familiar structure (Cf. White, "Historical Text" 49). This proves that by reading, we are actively decoding the information provided to us, while at the same time taking into account the cultural text within which that information is embedded in. Thus, because the author presents the unknown material in a recognisable form, the reader is able to accept, understand and acknowledge its educational aspect.

Another level of conceptualisation beside emplotment of the narrative on the level of "what happened," is the level of discursive or formal argument. It tries to extract "the point of it all" from the conceptualised emplotment used in the text through the application of so-called nomological-deductive arguments. These arguments formally answer the question *Why*? and argue that the changes in the base bring changes to the whole. White gives an example of these observations in their generalised form where phenomena like the Fall of the Roman Empire or the Great Depression are explained through simplified arguments of "What goes up must come down" (Cf. White, *Metahistory* 10-11). In its basic form, an historian has four options of formal argument that they can apply to their text: Formist, Organicist, Mechanistic, and Contextualist (Cf. 13).

Lastly, White's third explanation of a historical account is by ideological implication. It questions past events and analyses them in order to better understand the present. He differentiates four ideological positions: Liberalism, Radicalism, Conservatism and Anarchism, which in themselves emphasise the values of either "reason", "science," or "realism." However, the form through which an historian chooses to emplot their narrative and what formal argument they choose to explain it with, should not be considered their own ideological perspective, but only that these perspectives are more inclined to one or other of these positions (Cf. White 23). However, seeing that the mode of emplotment is the most important part of historiographical textualization used in the historical novel, the other parts, while significant, will not be developed further.

In order to constitute a point for encoding and decoding to happen on a general scale, some modes of storytelling have to be universal and generalised. This only

happens because the way historians create structure is largely governed by their own cultural and written heritage. However, White adds that even though this is a "literary, that is to say fiction-making, operation," it does not diminish the knowledge a historical narrative provides (White, "The Historical Text" 48-49). Namely, simply because a historical event is shown from a certain perspective, with an emphasis on a specific meaning that is to be conveyed, does not take away from its truthfulness. It only has to be understood with the message it tries to impart.

Another important aspect of narratology within historical writing is the idea of temporal distance. Hamish Dalley expands on Bakhtin's idea that time is created within the narrative, not as a passive form within which stories happen, and presents the notion of *temporal systems* within historical novels. He argues that "historical novels generate complex temporal structures through an array of narrative strategies" and that "temporal distance complicates the relation between" history and fiction (33). The point of distance between the two is primarily specified with proper historical writing making a clear line of distinction in regard to now and then, whereas historical novels try to bring the reader into the story, thus obscuring this temporal distance. Dalley however, suggests the idea of 'temporal systems', which he defines as "multiple overlapping constructions of time organised into a more or less coherent order" (34). It contrasts and expands on the idea that historical novels blur this distance, and explains it as part of the narrative structure within the text. Essentially, the notion of distance that history bases itself upon is shown to be a textual construct created by historians. In historical writing, that distance serves to ensure clear divisions between then and now, whereas in historical novels generally, the blurring of the same serves as a tool of bringing that period closer to the reader. In Gabaldon's case, she makes these distinctions by incorporating both of these aspects with the notion of time travel, and whereas history is remote at first, the character's own involvement in it fulfils the purpose of participation and proximity to the subject matter.

The past is something that Michel de Certeau perceives as 'silent', the domain of 'the dead', which is then brought to life by a historian in textual form. In this way, the historian both surmounts and recreates this distance. However, the concept of historical novel generally bases itself on characters' reactions to social situations in the imagined present, and the fact that history creates distance, and distance makes

history into something passive, how can the novel's open-endedness function within that history? Even if the final outcome of an historical situation is known, characters still carry the thread around which the narrative is structured (Cf. Dalley 35).

One suggestion for dealing with this issue was provided by Roland Barthes who differentiates between narrative *hinge points* and *fillers. Hinge points* are there to mark character's decisions that directly influence the course of the story and create uncertainty, whereas *fillers* create the atmosphere within the novel and, if removed, would not change the course of the narrative. In this way, the present and the past are kept separate. The sphere of the individual characters is kept within 'life sequences' (Bakhtin), which are then connected with the 'public' events with hinge points. In this way, the recorded history remains within the further, objective sphere. Hence, historical novels contain a 'bubble' of present within the history, which brings the story closer to the reader, and leave narrative possibilities open (Cf. Dalley 36). Hence the readers still find the historical novels with a definite historical outcome compelling, even if they know what comes next in history. It is the narrative bubble of characters' lives that maintains interest, and how these characters will act and react within the historical events.

Dalley calls this division of narrative time, the temporal system of the text. He divides it into two model structures. The first type corresponds to the historical novel's 'classic model'. An example of this structure would be Scott's *Waverly*, in which the main history of the Jacobite rising is unchanged, but the dependence on which political side Waverly will take lies with his choice of a wife. This decision makes no difference to the outcome of history, even though it is important for the character and the fate it determines for him. The line between the two worlds is one-directional (Cf. 37). "The protagonist's public irrelevance forms a kind of membrane around the contingent temporal sphere he occupies, dividing it from documented events that remain distanced, objectified and fixed" (37). In this way, history moves within its own timeline, uninterrupted by anything that an individual character does, whereas the character's life and story is significantly affected by the forces that surround historical events in the novel.

This absence of control from the individual on a grand scale is something that Gabaldon utilises in her novels. The main protagonist is Claire, a time traveller who

is aware of the course of Scottish history. However, in spite of her best efforts to alter the outcome of the 1745 Rising, she finds that in the grand scheme of events, things remained unchanged. Her only comfort is that she can influence minor details within that history.

Dalley's second model is the alternative temporal system which changes the solidity of the bubble and allows for alternative historical possibilities. The purpose of this is to allow 'utopian counterfactual narratives.' As an example of this mode, Dalley refers to historical re-enactments. Individuals that embody public historical characters can change the course of the re-enactment by behaving freely within the bubble of the twenty first century, but within (what is supposed to be) a historical setting (Cf. 38). In doing so, the doors to other possible worlds remain open. In its extreme, it is also a model used by a subgenre of historical fiction that deals with utopian, or alternate realities where history takes a different turn at a specific point in the past, and thus exists within the reality of a so-called parallel universe.

2.3. From historiography to historical fiction

The questions of boundary between academic history and historical fiction have been the subject of debate since the late eighteenth century. The recognition for historical fiction as a genre developed, not only visibly through the interest of the readership, but also in its dominance of bestseller lists and literary awards, most notably the Booker and Orange Prizes, as well as the recently established Walter Scott Prize – specific to historical fiction (Cf. Mitchell, Parsons 1). As mentioned above, the use of the narrative form in both historiography and historical fiction makes these boundaries even more questionable. The novelist can perform the same background research as a historian does, and then endeavour to impart it to the reader in the same way a historian would. From this perspective, i.e. in terms of representing history as well as learning from it, one can only take precedence over the other depending on which scientific community it belongs to.

Whilst both forms use narratives as their means of representation, they are differentiated with what Scott H. Dalton calls the *level* and the *focus*. In their quest for

the truth, they approach events from different angles. Historians concentrate on events, while fiction writers focus on the characters involved in those events. Whereas historical fiction contains 'elements of history', history itself contains 'elements of fiction'. The distinction between the two is that the former asks the questions 'what' and 'why' something happened, whereas fiction explores 'what was it like?' (Cf. Dalton in Rodwell 50-51). Even though historians can conduct historical research based on gathered sources and texts, they still have to utilize their imagination to connect them in some meaningful way with the plot, characters and events. The writer of literature has the liberty to describe, use imagination to portray and create what remains unknown within these past events. However, the historical facts continue to nourish and drive the narrative.

While there are clear differences between the two forms, based on the aforementioned points, one can still see how much they have in common. White uses the term *mutual implicativeness* to show the connections – "techniques of composition, description, imitation, narration, and demonstration" – between the "literariness of historical writing and the realism of literary writing" (White, *Realism* ix). And indeed, instead of thinking about the differences between the two, we can achieve much more by accepting the other mode of presentation while presenting reality. They should not be pitted against one another, but instead should be regarded as independent bodies both serving the same purpose of giving a realistic account of history. Knowing the narrative and author-based nature of both, one can then only attempt to discover the possibilities and versions of the truth in either.

This is to assume that both novelist and historian share a notion of representing the past as realistically as possible. The didactic purpose of a novel has always been to engage the reader and evoke an emotional response.

White also expands on Michel de Certeau's claim that "fiction is the repressed other of historical discourse" (White, "Introduction" 147). He argues that historical discourse bases itself on the idea of truth, while fiction is there to present the real, all the while trying to fill in the gaps with possibilities and imagination (Cf. 147). For when we look at the notions of true and real, we can see the true fitting into that reality, but the 'what it must have been like' has far greater scope in depicting the world that once was. Seeing that only a certain amount of evidence can be claimed to be absolutely true, using only this evidence to portray a time period could result in

an inadequate narrative, depending on the availability of records. However, the aspect of the real is its ability to depict all things which are true, and all of its possibilities.

What a historical writer does is fill in the gaps within a historical record, in this way fictional historical narratives are created. In its broadest definition, a literary genre that describes past events is called the historical novel. It attempts to restore a version of the past, play on the reader's imagination and recall events, customs or people that would have otherwise been forgotten.

Jerome de Groot asserts how historical novelists can "take the bare bones of 'history', some facts, some atmosphere, some vocabulary, some evidence, and weave a story within the gaps" (de Groot, *Novel* 9-10). That is to say that the writer can have access to historical sources, and create a story from and around them. A historiographer can also have access to those same sources, but has to create a story within them, as well as remain within the limits of their own compositional structure. Since we have no direct insight to the past within the present, we rely on all of these accounts to give us some idea of how things used to be. And so the historical novelist bridges the gap between pure fiction and historiography. They choose a plot and characters, set them against a specific historical background and then decide a perspective to use in viewing a given moment in history. Knowing that the narrative is not supposed to include all points of view, it strives to relate the history included for educational, as well as recreational purposes, as realistically as possible.

Fleishman defines this differentiation of historical writing, as opposed to novels and even to historiography itself: "When life is seen in the context of history, we have a novel; when the novel's characters live in the same world with historical persons, we have a historical novel" (qtd. in Akman 89). What Fleishman means is that the life and story of the novel is not only set in a specific time and place of the past, but that the characters have to truly live within it. Akman explains that if we were able to transfer a story to another time and place and if it remained unchanged, then this specific historical backdrop is simply picturesque. In a real historical novel, the context should be fully part of the story and its characters (Cf. 89). Universal human feelings of love, anger and fear have been the same throughout the ages, and these

are the traits that the writer has to find and focus on. Primarily through these emotions, empathy and connection with the reader is achieved. And if the author can enable the reader to understand the attitudes specific to that time and place, the novel is successfully established within that time.

As for the distinction between historical novel and historiography, Fleishman argues that the form is a hybrid in which "history [i]s a shaping force – acting not only upon the characters in the novel but on the author and readers outside it" (qtd. in Akman 90). It deals with the universal without compromising the historical aspects. This way, the historical novel does not have to deviate from the facts while transforming them into fiction, but dramatize and shape these facts through an artistic lens and thus make them more 'historical' and closer to reality. While historiography provides us with documented facts, such as military records or statistics, it cannot bring us closer to the heroism of the warrior or the fears of a general before a battle (Cf. 89-90). When an author has the capacity to imagine themselves within the time period represented, it follows that they are then able to portray their characters freely, as well as remain within the boundaries of their historical research.

The contemporary historical novel blends real and fictional characters and portrays actual historical events through them. It developed as an amalgamation of history and fiction, and required readers to merge both aspects of reading – reading for plot, identification with the characters and emotional involvement, as well as reading for the facts and a moral understanding of historical narratives. The term *factual fiction* emerged, signifying a fictional story that nevertheless resembles the real world. It became accepted as a version of truth, and introduced fiction as a category and novels as a genre (Cf. Stevens 20). But even in the eighteenth century, critics were concerned that the readers of historical romances would not be able to distinguish between history and invention. Some writers even added historical notices at the end of their works or made historical references in the text to prevent confusion between the factual and fictional information.

One of those writers was Mme de Genlis, who in her 1808 work *Belisarius*, added a lengthy 'Historical notice' that discussed the term of historical romance. She argued that even though critics might accuse her of mixing fact and fiction, the notice and footnotes would make these distinctions very clear. Moreover, the work might prove educational through enjoyment (Cf. Stevens 24).

The genre established itself in its own right over the course of two hundred years. However, the form has grown and changed since the publication of *Waverly* -it has expanded and developed various subgenres.

"[T]he historical novel is a 'form' of history. It is a way of treating the past" (Butterfield in de Groot, *Novel* 48). One important aspect of the historical novel is its ability to transform the mind of a present reader and open it up into a world of historical imagination. When the historian Herbert Butterfield wrote a treatise on historical novels in 1924, he had a clear view of the form as more inextricably linked to history as opposed to other forms of literature. He too saw it as a hybrid form, or a 'fusion' merging both disciplines (Cf. de Groot, *Novel* 48). In other words, it provides us with a story and characters who exist during specific events, leaving it up to the reader to open up the world of their imagination and immerse themselves in that world.

Jennifer Howell suggests that not only that the writer has to do extensive research, but they have to use that information, combine it with their imagination of how people who were present at the time would have felt, acted and reacted, and present it in the written text for the reader to experience. For Howell, there are two types of historical fiction – one that works with historical events and characters, and the other that uses fictional characters to present a historical period (Cf. 4). Either of these types of presentations are able to present rich narratives, and if they are based on factual historical data, they are able to bring history to life.

When dealing with representations of important historical events, and specific characters existing in these settings, a classic historical novel by Sir Walter Scott serves as an example. *Waverly* shows the 1745 Jacobite uprising from the viewpoint of the main character Edward Waverly, a young Englishman in the midst of the Stuart uprising. The reader only discovers what is witnessed by the character himself. Similar to what Gabaldon utilises more than a century and a half later, Scott omits certain information about the uprising from his narrative. The most important omission would be the final battle of Culloden, which was short but signified a brutal ending for the Jacobites. As we are not given much information from an English perspective, it suggests to us that this narrative does not presuppose to know the whole picture of how things happened in that given past event (Cf. Scott, *Waverly*). Akman states that when looking at Scott's novels, "it is seen that when applied

properly, history and fiction complement one another and function quite harmoniously, rather than being opposites of each other" (92). The historical novel does not claim to bring the truth of a general history to the foreground, but by selecting events which support the plotline, attempts to give a glimpse into one particular aspect of that history.

"Most authors of historical fiction […] would argue that they write novels not to compete with historians but do so for the sake of their chosen art form. While they may 'pillage' historical facts, they do so for a different purpose than do historians" (Rodwell 148). The studies of this genre were largely focused on the lack of historical accuracy - historical fiction was treated as if it were still part of history and not of fiction. Historiographical elements of the text had been the primary focus, rather than the fiction itself. Throughout the studies of Scott's *Waverly* novels, critics have found that he actually defied the rules of accuracy by not only writing what is known, but also complementing the facts by filling in the gaps. He told an interesting story of a young man within a period of historical turmoil and made it exciting without distorting history (Cf. Mitchell, Parsons 3). This shows how the use of the narrative form combines historical fiction with historiography, and its use as an exploratory and explanatory technique, illuminates the historical events included in the story.

Nevertheless, the claim of historical accuracy or truth remained problematic, and that is why James Ward introduced the term *authenticity* to describe the notion of a plausible representation of the past. A novel is *authentic* if it deals with ideas and notions closely related to the truth, without a claim on empirical certainty (Cf. Mitchell, Parsons 7). Thus, one could safely say that if the historical novel had based itself on the evidenced truths only, we would hardly have any reason to separate it from historiography in the first place.

2.4. Historicity and its representation

In the *Figural Realism* chapter concerning the problem of 'truth' in historical representation, Hayden White breaks down the misconception of the nature of narrative, and its purpose in presentation of historical facts. He cites the following three issues:

first, narrative is regarded as a neutral 'container' of historical fact, a mode of discourse naturally suited to representing historical events directly; second, narrative histories usually employ so-called natural or ordinary, rather than technical, languages both to describe their subjects and to tell the story thereof; and third, historical events are supposed to consist of or manifest a congeries of real or lived stories that have only to be uncovered or extracted from the evidence and displayed before the reader to have their truth recognized immediately and intuitively. (27)

White finds these notions 'naïve' at best, while the concept of stories belongs to the order of discourse and should be discussed as such (Cf. 28). When we imagine what the notion of 'truth' might mean in historical fiction, we have to return to White's term of historical emplotment. Every historical event has to be emplotted in a certain way. The question which arises is, whether the historian has complete freedom of choice concerning this emplotment, or do they as well as the writer, have to think about the implications of these emplotments on a specific culture or society in general.

Naturally, it is a useful tool for the reader to encounter different points of view rather than only those of established narrative styles. But there are also those narratives that do not lend themselves to be emplotted from different perspectives. The question White asks is whether all events can be emplotted through different plot devices without changing the plausibility of factual events, or are some events intrinsically comic, tragic or epic in their nature? Does the question of perspective come into play in every case? When providing us with an example of presentations of the Nazi regime and genocide, he concludes that, on the whole, there is a general consensus that difficult and serious events should only be presented within an epic or tragic form, while comic or ironic presentations would be considered unsuitable (Cf. 29-31). By according more gravity to these stories, they then have the capacity of providing the readers with proper representation. However, White continues his argument to add that

> unless a historical story is presented as a literal representation of real events, we cannot criticise it as being either true or untrue to the facts of the matter. If it were presented as a figurative representation of real events, then the question of its truthfulness would fall under the principles governing our assessment of the truth of fictions. (30)

For if a story has the capacity to figuratively and artistically depict an event, even one considered difficult and upsetting, then it follows that even though these events are not portrayed literally, we cannot say they are not representing the truth and enabling the reader to connect, empathise and understand the subject matter described in the narrative.

The capability of being allowed to deviate from and work around the historical evidence in order for the spirit and mentality of the depicted era is presented as another artistic freedom the authors have over historians in their presentations. Ultimately, some piece of historical evidence could be omitted, without changing the feel of the depicted time. It is up to the author's own skill to create a world as accurately as possible, and to be able to represent an idea through factual as well as fictional portrayals.

Rodwell also deals with the presentations of facts in the historical novel, primarily from an educational aspect. He analyses the characterisations of historical figures and their possible and probable actions and emphasises the idea of learning about history through vicarious experiences (Cf. Rodwell 173). Realistic presentation of historical data within the realms of the possible and the probable could serve as a basis for transferring information without the feeling of reading raw data from a textbook.

2.5. Historical fiction from the perspective of romance

In the early 1800s, historiography moved gradually towards the field of science, and tried to separate itself from literature. With advancements in technology, especially in the field of printing, "novels became the first mass-market literary medium" and *Waverly* was the first novel to have such a global influence. At the same time, the historical novel as a form was introduced, and illustrated the wide spectrum of audience it would have (Cf. de Groot, *Novel* 17). The publication of *Waverly* in 1814 is significant as the birth of the historical novel as we know it. One would find it hard to ascribe such a clear date to the origins of any other literary genre.

When discussing the birth of the historical novel, it would be hard not to mention the importance of Georg Lukács and his deductions about the form. In his work *The Historical Novel* from 1955, Lukács discusses the significance of Scott and the changes he introduced to existing novels with 'historical themes'. Unlike those novels however, Scott didn't simply situate his characters within a historical backdrop, but tried to understand the nature of an individual existing within that backdrop historically (Cf. de Groot, *Novel* 24). In this way, the understanding of historical period brings with it a feeling of the imagined experience of living, and experiencing that period first-hand.

By making an ordinary character the main protagonist of the story, Lukács adds, Scott was able to move through different layers of society and perceive historical events from within. Well known figures such as Prince Charles Stuart are utilised to represent significant historical events, but are kept in the background (Cf. Dalley 37). These important historical figures are present to maintain the time-frame within the narrative, and even though the storyline of the novel can be invented, historical events remain undisturbed. This same principle, and not coincidentally, seeing that Scott was visibly one of her main influences, is used by Gabaldon. Her main characters move through different layers of society – ranging from outlaws, to farmers and landowners, through aristocratic circles to battlefield surgeons and commanders. Through all of these societal levels, they then serve as observers of society in general, so that the world they inhabit can be thoroughly portrayed.

Another point Lukács elucidates is that the time of the emergence of these novels was quintessential. The Napoleonic and other revolutionary wars at the turn of the nineteenth century contributed to the emergence of a sense of national identity. The capitalism which was a result, was mirrored within the novel (Cf. de Groot, *Novel* 24). It "evolved into something which reflected a new sense of 'the concrete (i.e. historical) significance of time and place, to social conditions, and so on, it created this spatio-temporal (i.e. historical) character of people and places'" (qtd. in de Groot 24). De Groot claims that for Lukács, history, as it is now understood, did not exist before the Enlightenment, without perception of change and progress. The French revolution and the wars that followed 'made history a mass experience', and gave individuals a sense of that history. This in turn was connected to the emergence of

nationalism and one of the ways of sharing that national history was through the realist novel, especially in its historical form (Cf. 25-26).

Because of this Lukács necessitates that the historical novel "demonstrate[s] by artistic means that historical circumstances and characters existed in precisely such-and-such a way" (qtd. in de Groot 26). For de Groot, as well as for other literary critics such as Lukács, but also the historical novelists themselves, the creation of a human connection is essential. Lukács thus demands of a historical novel the creation of empathy, and not only for the purposes of retelling the stories of significant events of the past, but also to poetically awaken the people who were part of them. "What matters is that we should re-experience the social and human motives which led men to think, feel and act just as they did in historical reality" (qtd. in de Groot 27). Thus, concludes de Groot, it is the historiography of the historical novel that enables the empathy and politicised connections mostly found in "the minor details and marginalised characters in order to communicate the 'social and human motives of behaviour'" (28).

Sequentially, reality has to be shaped and some things imagined in order to communicate the past events through characters. Lukács uses the term *necessary anachronism* for the process of creating fictional narrative from reality in Scott's writing (Cf. 28). He argues that even though Scott allows his characters to voice their opinions and sentiments in a way much clearer than the people of that specific time period could have done, "their relation to their real object is always historically and socially correct" (qtd. in de Groot 28). Because the reader always approaches these works from the present point of view, one could almost find it a relief to have these types of anachronisms for the sake of a better understanding of the environment the novel is set in. So it is not only that the anachronisms are present, but it could be argued that they are unavoidable.

When looking at the body of research available on historical writing, the main lines that authors tend to follow are the theories of critics such as Lukács and White. De Groot's considerable examination of the history of the novel serves as a solid foundation in order to present the background necessary for this analysis. To summarise, as history developed from its oral traditions, it travelled hand in hand with literature. With its separation in the eighteen-hundreds, the historical novel form

was born. To this day, this form of writing carries the essence of both history and fiction. As a form, its value was not appreciated by every community for its properties, but it is precisely these properties which make it valuable artistically as well as didactically. The critics emphasise its unprecedented ability to read between the lines of history, blur the temporal lines set upon by historians, all along imagining the truth in all of its probabilities.

Romances

What *Waverly* came out in contrast to, something which some critics still clung on to in their classification of the work, were the so-called *romances*. Scott clearly had separated himself and actually blamed romances for presenting a skewed version of history. Lukács admittedly simplifies Scott's version of the historical novel as a hybrid form that combined elements of romance with a social commentary on the culture of a time it was placed in (Cf. Nagy 14). But it is precisely that hybridity of the form of historical fiction that shines the light on historical representation and its subjective nature.

In an article for *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Scott defined all forms of romance as "a fictitious narrative in prose or verse; the interest of which turns upon marvellous and uncommon incidents" (qtd. in Dekker 20). In opposition to *romance*, he defines the novel as "a fictitious narrative, differing from the Romance, because the events are accommodated to the ordinary train of human events, and the modern state of society," while adding that there could be works which are "difficult to assign precisely or exclusively to the one class or the other and which, in fact, partake of the nature of both" (Scott in Dekker 20). While Scott was trying to distance his works from the romances, elements of both forms are so interwoven, that even in *Waverly* 'ordinary events' merge with 'uncommon incidents'. Albeit the case, Dekker claims, critics seemed to recognise the scope of opposing elements that Scott united in his work. By mixing the ideal with the common, contrasting the opposites and joining what some of his reviewers called "irreconcilable forms," he brought about this "combination of novel and romance" (Cf. 21). By merging what he called 'ordinary' and placing the protagonist among the common, Scott was able to demonstrate the extraordinary and 'uncommon' through a realistic point of view.

Throughout his writings concerning Scottish history, Scott shaped a recognisable form of historical narratives which was identifiable in three ways. First and foremost, he presented a flexible model for showing historical conflict which could be both universal as well as authentic for specific nations. Secondly, it expanded the novel form through historical consciousness, and finally, it encouraged historians to expand on their research interests, thus bringing literary and historiographical values closer together (Cf. 29). But by far his most significant contribution was the shift of focus from kings and policy makers down to ordinary men and women who lived within that age. Dekker highlights the influence Scott had on the development of research methodology of the time. He did not only just follow the accepted protocol of historians of the day, but went directly to the source, exploring oral accounts, legends, customs, popular literature and private documents. These direct insights into the private lives of ordinary people gave his writing authenticity and closeness (Cf. 30). By introducing these elements into the story, Scott was able to present persuasive portrayals within a historical setting, and give an all-encompassing overview of the time period.

At the time, there were also critics who saw the benefit of historical nature within the romances. William Goldwin, a prominent 18th ct. English journalist and novelist, argued that *romance* might be "one of the species of history." The main distinction being, that the writer has the freedom to combine his sources whereas the historian's purview was quite limited. He concludes by calling it a "bolder species of composition than history" (qtd. in de Groot, *Novel* 18). What Goldwin highlights is that, whereas both the writer and the historian try to portray a particular historical period and/or character, the historian is very limited in his choice of sources, how reliable they prove to be and what purpose or individual they serve. The writer, on the other hand, has the freedom of choice – the capacity to use any or every source available to them, merge them, generalise, and use their imagination to add the missing pieces of information and ascribe them to individual fictional or non-fictional characters.

Writers of 'pure' fiction create a novel world; they alone decide what is important to include in the story. On the other hand, historical fiction writers use some of the aspects of 'objective' history, and incorporate it into that novel world. This is arguably why Shaw believes that rather than thinking of Scott "as someone who romanticized

history," we should consider him as "one who brought a new kind of realism to the novel" (qtd. in White, "Introduction" 150). *Waverly* itself, as de Groot acknowledges, is a work that merges English realism and the romantic passion of the Highlands (Cf. de Groot *Novel*, 22). Thus, at a time when history was trying to break free of literature, literature was bringing history into the domain of an imagined reality. It is no coincidence that Scott chose a young Englishman as his hero, and inserted him into the wild and passionate Highlands, the imagery of which has been associated with it until this day. This same imagery and even the historical period it portrayed, is the same foundation upon which the world of *Outlander* was created and explored.

Definitions

Defining the historical novel as a genre has proven to be quite challenging on the basis of its multifaceted composition from the time of its conception. The main point however, centres on the temporal distance between the author's time of writing and the time when the historical theme. When *Waverly* was written and published, it was sixty years after the events described which the subtitle *'Tis Sixty Years Hence* discloses. The Historical Novel Society, an organisation comprised of historical fiction authors and readers, defines this as the most important aspect of the form:

> [T]o be deemed historical (in our sense), a novel must have been written at least fifty years after the events described, or have been written by someone who was not alive at the time of those events (who therefore approaches them only by research). (qtd. in Rodwell 47)

The exception of the temporal distance could only be made if the author had not been born at the time that the events took place, and thus could have no recollection of that event or the time and place influenced by it. However, seeing that the form has been developed over the course of the years, and in many ways expanded, it is understandable that this rather simple classification should now be updated. They add that more styles can be added to this definition, namely alternate histories, pseudo-histories, time-slip novels, historical fantasies and multiple-time novels (Cf. HNS in Rodwell 47). Moreover, fiction can be deemed historical if it deals with actual as well as fictional historical characters. According to Dalton, writing about historical figures in real or imagined situations already qualifies a work to belong to this category. However, in the case of the latter it is crucial that they be placed in a

historical context, whether documented or fictional (Cf. Rodwell 49-50). This definition gives the writer quite a lot of freedom within the imagined text. While the text can be based on realistic presentations of historical events, it can move within those boundaries and place the focus on real situations, actual characters or a factual time period. If either of these is chosen, the rest can be adjusted to suit the storyline. The 'permutations' of historical fiction such as the time-shift stories, whose characters are displaced in time, alternate histories of possible realities if history had taken a different turn, or historical fantasies in which fantastical occurrences are present (Cf. Dalton in Rodwell 50), are still considered to be part of the wider historical fiction genre. In contrast with the notion of historiography, they are obviously some distance from attempting to portray or imagine things as they really happened. However, if surreal elements are excluded or taken as metaphors, the historical aspects of these novels can be said to have their claim as possible presentations of historical elements.

The fact that all of these aspects are included to delineate a specific literary form (and many more out there that are not), it demonstrates the broad spectrum of the subject matter it encompasses. One could be guided by the most basic categorisations and succeed in its presentations, or follow more specific guidelines and yet still stray widely from this classification. In order to solve this issue, Beyazit Akman, himself an academic and author of many works of historical fiction, suggests seven theoretical rules that should serve as basic criteria for historical fiction framework. These can be summarised as follows:

1. Historical fiction is based on solid historical research.
2. The historical context needs to be intricately connected with the characters and the story.
3. Readers contemporary to the author need to find their historical work accessible.
4. The artistic licence of a writer is contained within the bounds of historical facts.
5. Even though historical data is freely accessible, works of historical fiction are one hundred percent original, copyrighted work.
6. Historical fiction is a work of literature, and not of historiography.
7. Historical fiction deals with the "truth", while historiography deals with the "facts" of history. (Cf. Akman 101-104)

The first point has been previously expanded on, and bases itself on the fact that research must be thorough, which connects to the fourth point where Akman

emphasises that the historical facts cannot be altered for the sake of the story. The second point deals with the fact that historical fiction should not be what Lukács called "mere costumery". The setting of the novel, its time and place should be an integral part of and specific to the story, but also universal enough to be transferrable to today's readers. This leads us further into the subsequent argument of accessibility to the readers. If the novel is set five centuries ago, the language needs to be modified so that it is easily understandable to today's readership, but should also preserve some feeling of the time it depicts. All of these narrative inventions that shape the story are naturally the property of the author. The aspects of 'truth' and 'reality' are explained in the chapter on historicisms in the thesis. And finally, Akman makes the point that a work of historical fiction is primarily fiction, and as such, part of literature. Therefore, it is not meant to be viewed as a historiographical text, regardless of comparable elements between the two.

Being able to identify historical fiction based on the previous definitions would not be too difficult in itself and in contrast to other literary works. However, the literary world of the living past is vast, and the works differentiate from one another. In *The Readers' Advisory Guide to Historical Fiction*, Jennifer S. Baker gives an overview of the various genres that mix in with historical fiction. She argues "that great stories often defy classification" (179). And while it is difficult to ascertain which genre is prevalent in each particular novel –that of history or mystery, history or fantasy etc., she adds that "[i]f the historical aspect of the novel is secondary to the mystery plot, it is historical mystery, but if the historical setting is integral to understanding the mystery, it's historical fiction with mystery" (179). It is up to the individual to recognise the most important aspects of the specific books and define what connects them (Cf. 179). These classifications, even though they are digressing into genre analysis, must be mentioned before working with Gabaldon's *Outlander* book series. For the purposes of this analysis, *romantic historical fiction, historical fantasy* and *time slip* classifications are explained.

Romantic historical fiction

Historical novels with a love story aspect added for good measure could be classified as *romantic historical fiction*. Among other authors, Baker cites Gabaldon's

Outlander as a fusion of different genres – is it "historical romance or romantic historical fiction?" (180). "The differences", she argues, "are matters of degree", but in general, "the historical aspect of a blended novel needs to be emphasized as much as or more than the romance for it to be considered historical fiction." She adds that the Outlander series "is a good example of great historical detail mixed with compelling, steamy romance" (Cf. 197). The identifiable plot of romance between the two main characters is really what ties the story in throughout the book series and binds all of the other elements together in a whole.

Historical fantasy

Similar to the other historical fiction subgenres, Baker claims, "historical fantasy needs to have a recognisable setting complete with characters who talk and act like people living in the time period" (199). Fantastical elements such as magic, supernatural beings, mythical characters etc. can be included into the past events, "but do not ultimately detract from the historical setting" (Cf. 199). In the Outlander series, there are several fantastical aspects, from the allusion to the creature from Loch Ness, the stories of the water horse, belief in the sea legends and changelings, and the most important one being the 'magic' stones that transport Claire through time, which connects the novel to the specific subgenre of time-travel. Their presence, however, serves a very specific purpose in *Outlander*, and will be expanded on in the further analysis.

Time travel (time slip/time-shift)

Baker highlights the *Outlander series* as a prime example of time travel historical fiction. In time travel novels characters either go back, forward, or randomly in time, and sometimes even to a parallel universe. In historical fiction, the characters go back in time to "personally experience events and locations from the past" (204) This, in turn, connects the readers with the past through the eyes of a 'modern' protagonist (Cf. 203-204). When Claire disappears through the stones, she travels two hundred and two years into the past. What that means for the reader is that even though she is a character from the 1940s, her first-person outlook is closer to the views of the modern readers than 18th century Scotland would be. In this way, her

character is tasked to interpret historical events and settings of that time, and serve as a mediator between the two worlds.

2.6. *Outlander* as historical fiction

Gabaldon states that the first book was originally sold as 'historical romance', simply because it was the largest market it might have appealed to, but reiterates that she never wanted to write a romance – and as many actual romance authors note to her – the books do not follow the conventions of a modern romance. *Outlander* includes some elements of it, but the subsequent books deal with a lasting relationship and all that it brings with it. According to Gabaldon, the Outlander cycle is "primarily an adventure story, in which history is as important a player as any of the individuals [, and without] guaranteed happy endings-which you really must have in a romance" ("The Outlander Series"). Gabaldon adds that she has seen it sold as "Literature, Fiction, Historical Fiction, Historical NON-fiction […], Fantasy, Mystery, Romance, Military History […], Gay and Lesbian Fiction, and…Horror" ("The Outlander Series").

So, what is a historical romance composed of, and why do some authors shy away from being categorised as the writers of such, even though their books could technically be assigned to this category? Even though *historical romance*, as Helen Hughes explains in her book *The Historical Romance*, is a term used "indiscriminately by publishers and booksellers for historical novels of all descriptions", it is also an appropriate name for novels that have a romantic story at their centre (2). Hughes lists eight or nine common features of the 'romance' genre, as outlined by Gillian Beer in 'Critical Idiom' series. It is set in some past or socially distant world, which is either aristocratic or idealised. The descriptions of the settings and characters, along with their emotional connections, are given in profound detail and the main themes of adventure and sexual love act as a binding. Romances serve as a means of escape for a reader into another world, where the stories are freeing and reassuring. Beer's characteristics of romance share many features with romantic historical fiction, justifying the general title of 'historical romance' (Cf. 2). Even though the historical 'cloak-and-dagger' fiction, with mysterious identities, kidnappings and rescues, escapes and disguises has served as the backbone of

romantic plots throughout the ages, Hughes goes on to show that regardless of their shared characteristics, these novels differed from each other and were widely read by both sexes. By the 1930s they had, however, lost their attraction, and after the 1950s, historical romances became a genre predominantly targeted towards women (Cf. 3). However, one could not say that that in the process of reading a historical romance where a love story is set at the centre, the historical information imparted is any less true or significant for the time period described.

Umberto Eco differentiates between three types of writing about the past: "fantasy, swashbuckling romance, and novels which give a strong feeling of a specific time and place," out of which the latter two at least give a pretence of historical authenticity (qtd. in Hughes 3). Eco emphasises the manner in which the presence of actual historical figures in 'cloak-and-dagger' fiction brings legitimacy, and makes the setting a "'pretext'" in which one can "'enjoy the fictional characters'", even if they are not "especially characteristic of their place and time." And even though the characters could also be fictional in actual historical novels, they aim for a more truthful representation of past events, and as a result, an understanding of the present (Cf. 4).

Hughes argues that this classification, although useful, is limiting and that their features are not "mutually exclusive" (4). She adds that even in historical romance, the author arranges materials based on their own idea of how the history should function for their story, thus creating different effects within the genre. For some romantic writers, the past can be presented as an "escape", as well as a "mirror for the present", while for others, who follow in Scott's footsteps, it presents "a different kind of human nature, so that historical periods are seen as self-sufficient with no overt link to the present," their focus being on facilitating the reader's ability of reconstructing of the past (5). This, in turn, comes from what Raymond Chapman explains as a "Victorian sense of 'modernity', an awareness of the age as different from the past" (5), and Avrom Fleishman describes as a result of the Romantic movement, i.e. the notion that industrialisation had created a division of the present society from the world as it was before (Cf. 5). Although this separation was crucial to the development of the historical novel, the idea that the reader's present 'history' might influence their view on the historical text was not taken into account at the time.

Hughes clarifies that this "notion of a 'real' past […] captured undistorted in a historical text [which] is itself a product of history", is not automatically any more real than the "'escapist' fiction" that is, as Cockburn claims, also "conditioned by perceptions of the society" (7). Historical facts may be used in these novels, but how and to what extent they are used, as well as the manner and purpose for which they are interpreted, give historical romances validation as much as invention like the story itself (Cf. 8).

Outlander as an adventure story

Hughes states that while "authors of women's fiction have tried to create a seductive past world whose chief attraction is its essential difference from the present," writers of adventure stories have derived "tension from some impending danger to the state or to society. Hence, the setting is often a time of revolution or of war" (10). This gives validation to Gabaldon's setting of *Outlander* in mid-18th century Scotland, in the years leading up to the Jacobite Rising of 1745, while the second and third book deal with a short period before and also during the Rising, as well as its aftermath. We are introduced to, and familiarised with the battle of Culloden as the inevitable outcome. This is then contradicted by Jamie and Claire's consistent efforts to alter that same result.

In this vein, the books follow the framework of adventure stories from the turn of the 20th century, centred "around a mission whose outcome was of public significance" (14), here being the attempt to restore a Stuart (Catholic) King to the throne of England. In historical romances, public action and political and military activity were presented as prestigious and rewarded with success (Cf. 14). This may be the case concerning several twists and battles within the plot, but the ultimate position our protagonists occupy is that of history's losing side, and their anticipated 'happy-ending' remains elusive.

The basic structural identity of *Outlander* could be analysed with Hughes's description of historical romance, with "their stock situations and character-types which can be found in book after book" (13). For example, we have the character of Jamie, who falls within the characterisation of a romance hero - 'gentleman', 'courageous', and 'good at commanding men' – a 'natural leader of society' (15), but

he is also, although reluctantly, part of the rebellion against the aforementioned stability.

Other distinctions of historical romance which are connected to the 'public' mission, are the motifs of conflict, abduction, rescues and disguises (Cf.16). The heroine of the *Outlander series*, Claire, regularly finds herself in situations from which she needs to be rescued, even though she is by no means helpless. She organises the rescue of Jamie from a terrible predicament, i.e. his captivity in Wentworth Prison towards the end of the first book, and correspondingly, the first season of the series adaptations.

Hughes asserts 'disguise' to be one of the most significant and oft repeated motifs (Cf. 15) interwoven throughout the narrative. The characters consistently have to conceal their motivations, as in the first part of the second book, *Dragonfly in Amber*, where the protagonists join the Jacobite movement in Paris, under the pretence of support, all the while trying to thwart its efforts - not because of malice and deceit, but in order to save lives and the Highland culture, that ends on Culloden Moor.

On an individual character basis, disguises are used as a device from the very beginning of the first novel – Claire has to hide the fact that she is a time traveller and she comes up with a plausible story about being attacked and deserted while travelling. She is introduced to Jamie, who is also hiding his true identity because of the price on his head. Jamie reveals himself to Claire when they get married, which occurs quite early on in their acquaintance. Claire then only shares her secret after her narrow escape from being burned at the stake as a witch, one of her many near-death experiences.

In the second book of the series, the characters find themselves in Paris, at the court of King Louis XV, and thus possesses some of the settings of the later historical romances which focus their social activity on the life of the aristocracy, with all its politics and intrigues. However, unlike the romantic heroes, neither of Gabaldon's protagonists, especially Claire, having been reduced to 'tea parties' and gossips in ladies' saloons, feel too comfortable in these roles, and upon leaving Paris, find themselves in the midst of a major historical event.

Although the books share quite a number of characteristics with romances in the way they are set up, it is their character's actions which willingly alter the pre-set rules

and roles given to them. As in all romances, the ultimate focus becomes the strife for a blissful domestic life. In Gabaldon's narrative it remains elusive, and continues to place its protagonists in danger, crisis, adventure and ultimately, war.

2.7. Historical fiction as a part of popular culture

These days, history as a subject is often utilised by writers of fiction, television shows, films and even children's cartoons. The public's interest in anything 'historical' seems to be at its height. But how much of that should be left within the realms of popular culture, or might it be used as a tool to spark an interest in history and transmit historical details to the audience? How do these works of fiction represent historical characters and past events? Do they have the capacity to, respectfully and accurately, inform the audience about the time period in question?

These are questions educators have been asking for decades, and which have sparked further discussion. In an article on the use of historical fiction by teachers, Jennifer Howell presents the case for the popularisation of history, while teachers and students of history are actually in decline. She argues that while many teachers would implement historical fiction as one of their teaching methods, there is an underlying concern about its accuracy (Cf. Howell 1-2). Popular historical novels, television shows and other 'revivals' of history can elicit an interest in the subject matter, while seamlessly integrating historical information to the best of their ability, i.e. without deliberate alterations of crucial historical data that defines the epoch it depicts.

In this way, if the works are provided "for entertainment or amusement", i.e. as "irreverent-reverence" (Bell in Howell 2), then they can be viewed as an introduction into the field itself. This, Howell argues, only becomes an issue if the work itself is not used as a supplement to academic works, but as the sole source of information. Even though these arguments seem to have some validity, there are many critics who argue that this forces academics to rely on modes of presentation, as well as leading to the history itself being 'dumbed down' for the masses (Cf. 2). One could argue that these popular works are already in the public domain. Some even have a

loyal following, and as the times and modes of production of texts change, why not use all resources available to transfer important historical information?

The foundation of these criticisms, Howell argues, seems to overlook the origins of history as a discipline. History was collected through narrative accounts which were themselves passed on and written down again in narrative form and then presented in accordance with contemporary norms. Howell then claims that the transference of history into popular forms of today only mimics that original formula. Presenting history in this way, focuses on these narratives and anecdotal evidence, something that echoes its historical origins (Cf. 3). This leads us back to White's arguments concerning the narrative nature of historiography and its representations of reality, similar to that of historical fiction. Just as these are shaped by an author's choices regarding the inclusion of historical data so do these other modes of presenting history exist in popular culture today. That is the basis of Howell's argument concerning inclusion for the purpose of transmitting historical content to its chosen audience.

That historical fiction can serve as a part of historical literacy is something that this thesis will demonstrate by focusing on the accuracy of historical characters and events throughout Gabaldon's *Outlander* series. By recognising historical data and crosschecking them with the facts available from several chosen historiographical texts, it will be shown that even a text belonging to popular historical fiction subgenres of romance and adventure, and even containing elements of fantasy, can give an insight into a particular historical period. The book series also provides historical information and interesting anecdotes that readers would probably not encounter, unless they had undergone the intense historical research themselves. By immersing themselves in the plot of a novel and consuming the work with what Bell called 'irreverent-reverence' (in Howell 2), readers can inadvertently expand their historical knowledge of that period.

The power of historical fiction lies in its ability to impart historical information to its readers. However, in order for it to fulfil this didactic function, the manner in which facts are represented in the text must be accessible to the reader. "A story is more easily understood than is expository text …. As the facts find places within the broad framework provided by the story, they are retained in memory" (Nawrot qtd. in

Rodwell 178). Ease of retention is a tool that historical fiction can use over historiographical texts. However, in order to answer the question of how historical fiction can be used to transmit historical data, we have to look at how literary critics have defined its role for didactical purposes. At its very core, the novel as a form exists to communicate and educate through fiction. The historical novel, Lukács claims, needs to be able to poetically awaken people who were part of historical events, while the retelling of those events is of less importance (Cf. de Groot, *Novel* 26-27). If, in the process of awakening historical imagination, one could retain actual historical facts, the mission of the historical novel with the purpose of a historiographical text would be successful.

Ernest Baker attempted to emphasise the global aspect and significance of the genre in his 1908 two-volume *History in Fiction*. He defines it as stories that depict life in the past, despite the exclusion of historical figures and events. This definition is vague at best, but adding an emphasis to the reader's reception of the work can be make it a little more specific. The main distinction from the mainstream novel is in the manner in which its readership utilises it, i.e. teachers and students of history (Cf. de Groot, *Novel* 46-47). The purpose of a novel intended for this audience is quite clear. Whether students have the inclination to study history or not, the historical novel might be more approachable and, in some cases, more memorable.

> Historical fiction is not history, but it is often better than history … may easily teach more and carry a deeper impression than whole chapters of description and analysis … will probably succeed in making a period live in the imagination when textbooks merely give us dry bones. (Baker in de Groot, *Novel* 47)

When stating something such as, 'better than history', Baker endeavours to emphasise the impact that these novels can have on its readership. He delineates the educational factor of the novel by highlighting its variation from history. He proceeds to underline their similarities, i.e. foundations based on the same principles, while their methods of development differentiate.

> [It] is as sincere and valid reconstruction as the best efforts of the serious historian, and much the same methods are employed. Neither can possibly be more than an approximation to the reality; neither can help us to anything but a partial realization of the past which is no more. (47)

From the beginning of the twentieth century, the historical novel was recognised for its educational worth. In the preface to the *Guide to British Historical Fiction*, there is an emphasis on the value of the historical novel as a pedagogical supplement. The guide lists around 700 items covering different, and sometimes even conflicting points of view from the Eolithic Age until 1900 (Cf. 48). This signifies that the potential of the form's advantage as an educational tool was recognised, i.e. as an introduction for readers to a specific time period.

Critics have noted that in conversations on the meaning of historical fiction, the role of the reader has been largely overlooked. An observation by Astrid Erll states that "the potential of fiction to produce historical consciousness must be '*realised* in the process of reception' and, consequently, the meaning of a text must be traced beyond its own borders" (Mitchell, Parsons 2). On the other hand, several critics point to the fact that readers should be given guidance in order for them to develop this sense of understanding. They specify that recognising the writing process itself would enable additional insight into the historical period and the work itself.

The process of being able to really comprehend history, as opposed to merely knowing about historical figures and events can be challenging. In order to simplify this, Rodwell points to several ways that educators can help their students with understanding history. In order to produce meaning out of historical data, historians use 'second-order' concepts of "historical significance, evidentiary warrant, continuity and change, progress and decline, empathy and moral judgement and historical agency" (Seixas in Rodwell 179). Out of these, particular emphasis is placed on the concept of *historical agency.* It plays as an essential part in conceptualising the past. The key understanding of this comes from the relationships between individuals and the socio-economical forces around them.

Seixas, Fomowitz and Hill define it as

> the relationship between structural forces that shape historical events and the ways people influence, shape, and are affected by these events. That is, human beings are autonomous agents with abilities to affect change, yet there are social structures that constrain and limit what individuals can do. (qtd. in Rodwell 179-180)

When studying specific historical events and figures, it is important to determine the extent to which these characters had an influence on their surroundings, and also to analyse the level of impact their decisions actually had on the course of history.

Within historical novels, it becomes possible for readers to experience historical figures as everyday people, with human qualities. They are imbued with a human factor by virtue of being parents, children, friends or partners who participated in a particular event, which the readers can then follow with a degree of emotional involvement. The stories are then narrowed down to historical characters in their reaction to human influences within an historical context (Cf. Herz). As a result, while the distance of a historiographical text can cause the readers to think of the past as spectacular and unreachable, the historical novel can actually bring it closer to them and aid in the understanding of a particular historical period or event.

In order to achieve this, Herz suggests holding to certain guidelines for analysing historical data. These can be ordered as *setting* (time and place)*, characters, plot* (story line) and *theme*. Questions that focus on the historical authenticity of a certain time period and its place within the novel, are emphasised for the *setting* analysis. For *characters*, the attention rests with real historical figures and their recognition and authentication, as well as to how fictional characters illuminate the time period they exist in, and their involvement in shaping historical events and so on. It needs to be determined whether the *plot* is focused on the real or fictional event and the extent to which the reader is familiar with that event. The *theme* deals with the author's ability to realistically depict the past through their use of people and events (Cf. Herz). By being able to approach historical novels from an analytical perspective, the readers then gain the tools to critically discern fact from fiction as well as acquire an unconscious competency for their future readings and retention of historical material from fictional works.

In this way, readers can understand how historical data is used within historical fiction writings, and glean the purpose historical and fictional characters have in order to transmit historical details. Ultimately, if a work of historical fiction can not only impart historical knowledge, but also awaken an interest in the subject matter, it fulfils the ultimate didactic goal.

3. *OUTLANDER*

3.1. Looking through the lens of a historical fiction writer

DeGroot argues that one of the main reasons novelists 'stick to their own' past is a lack of confidence, limited access to resources and language barriers. He quotes L.P. Hartley's phrase, "the past is a foreign country," and that digging through someone else's history might precipitate difficult situations (Cf. *Novel* 95-96). However, he then adds that "if all the past is foreign then it surely does not matter if the reader has any connection with the history being fictionalised?" (96).

One such case, arguably less politically loaded, is Diana Gabaldon's *Outlander* series, primarily the first three novels, which are for the most part, set in Scotland. There is a small section set in France, but it still deals mainly with the Scottish Jacobites. The second part of the third book, *Voyager*, translates the storyline to the Caribbean, which is not relevant for this analysis. Gabaldon's research appears to have been made easier by the fact that the original language of reference was primarily English, and as an assistant professor at the university, she had an extensive library of resources at her disposal. Issues of confidence and fear did not arise for her, since according to the author's own claims, the first novel was written only for practice with no intention of publication.

One of the questions de Groot asks, is whether "historical novels cater to international audiences who might fetishise epochs from the history of another nation" (95). In some cases, historical novels themselves develop interest and/or fixation for another nation's history in their readership.

For an author who admits that she knew nothing of Scotland's history to begin with, this is no small feat. As for the readers, one does not need to be familiar with Scottish history in order to enjoy the books. One could say, while Gabaldon was researching a topic she knew nothing of before, she made it her mission to impart that knowledge to a reader. De Groot claims that while, for reader's understanding "it might be important to have a grasp of its original context, setting and moment" of historical fiction, the novels do reach "far beyond their primary instance and purpose" (97).

In *The Outlandish Companion's* 'Frequently Asked Questions' section, Gabaldon clarifies a point on "appropriation of voice" and whether writing about Scottish issues raises an issue with Scottish readers (Cf. 394). She disagrees with the notion that one can only write about topics and persons of specific heritage "if one happens to have a genetic membership in that group" (394). Or that, "one can write well about a given group only because one belongs to it" (394).

Gabaldon also adds that she hasn't had any complaints from Scottish readers, and not only did her fourth book reach second place on the Scottish bestseller list, she is frequently asked how long she had actually lived in the Highlands before settling in Arizona (Cf. 394). She recaps by stating that on her first book tour in Scotland, she found her books placed in the "Scottish Fiction" section and while flattered, asked a manager why this was so - he replied that "GuhBALDun" being an odd name could also be Scottish. "In short, far from the Scots objecting to my appropriating their voice – I rather think they've appropriated me" (395).

While Gabaldon considers imagination to be "its own country" (394), de Groot also finds that historical fiction's 'distinctive outlandishness' further suggests that previous knowledge is "of little consequence" (97). He adds that, when historical fiction provides an educational factor, the reader willingly delves into something unknown (Cf. *Novel* 97). The reader finds themselves in another world, one different enough to be acceptable for its setting, but also similar enough in its universal themes to draw them into the story in the first place. For Lukács, the impetus behind the historical novel is to demonstrate history as a process, which in turn, can speak to a reader, regardless of nationality (Cf. 97). Surely, if we accept the notion that 'the past' is the other, or as de Groot calls it 'unknowable', and it is only when we give it meaning that we can understand it; then by providing it with that same meaning it is brought closer to our own understanding of life in the present. Thus, "since 'the past', by definition, does not exist, surely we can 'know' it only by way of representations" (Case in de Groot 111). Hayden White has strongly asserted the claim "that 'History' is a narrative form itself rather than an account of historical 'truth'" (qtd. in de Groot 111), whereas Munslow adds that "the genuine nature of history can be understood only when it is viewed not solely and simply as an objectivised empiricist enterprise, but as the creation and eventual imposition by historians of a particular narrative form on the past" (qtd. in de Groot 111).

With the understanding that history itself is a form of narrative, Jenkins highlights that scholars should identify "history not as an epistemology but as an aesthetic" (qtd. in de Groot 111). And if history in itself is partial, then historical novels are indeed another form of writing and understanding history. The authors use historical details to embed the storyline into a timeframe, and weave an imagined narrative within it. But far from remaining within the lines of accepted historical accounts, the historical novel also has the opportunity to dig deeper and visit alternative points of view, to perhaps try to see the world from a different perspective, or to review past events with knowledge of the present.

De Groot holds that "these reconsiderations of past events have significance for present identity, particularly national, and therefore these novels suggest the ways in which the historical novel might make a clear contemporary political intervention" (140). It confronts subjectivities, questions ideas and provides possibilities. It can present the same event from different points of view and avail of the use of several identities and story lines. It also has the ability to reveal an unpopular side of history in a fictional setting and through it, question and dispute the accepted versions of those who wrote it. It has the power to mourn and glorify, attack or reaffirm (Cf. 139-140).

In this way, a novel can present an account of living within oppression without the necessity of endurance, but nevertheless connect with a part of a shared national history. It has the ability to evoke stories, customs and traditions long forgotten, and in this way, plays its own part in keeping them alive for future generations.

When discussing the topic of writing historical novels, Gabaldon states that in these works, almost everything "will be unfamiliar to the average reader, and has to be 'drawn' – setting, physical description of city, countryside, homes, details of daily life, social customs, and – most important – the characters" (*Companion* 258). Apart from creating a proper historical setting for the sake of the novel, the readers of these works can appreciate the information obtained on place and customs set at an earlier time (Cf. 257-258). Furthermore, the bulk of the research necessary and the vast amount of information collected must be presented in a readable and interesting way. However, Gabaldon argues, acquiring the information is the first step. She

divides research into 'Basic Skills' and 'General Principles'. 'Basic skills' encompass the notion of 'How to Use a Library' and a 'Card Catalog', namely university libraries being much more desirable for specific references, and card catalogues which are these days, mostly transferred into an electronic form. She argues that it is important to 'cast a wider net', i.e. not only search 'Scotland Highlands Eighteenth Century' but also only 'Scotland' after that – and then to sort through the volume of titles to ascertain which seem most interesting. If these, in turn, share 'call numbers', and if they are placed in open stacks, the physical act of going there and browsing through them may uncover more relevant sources not listed in the card catalogue. Another important skill to acquire is, 'how to read a book for information'. She stresses that research for a historical novel and for a Ph.D. thesis are very different. One of the most important distinctions is that of sources. For any academic body of work, one has to ensure the sources are well substantiated, cross-referenced and peer reviewed. For a work of fiction, the author *could* go through this process, but it is not obligatory. The author of a fictional work has the freedom to pick and choose the information pertinent to *their* story, and for the most part, ignore contrasting arguments. Even when examining a book at first glance, one can discern whether it was meant for the general public or as a dissertation. Furthermore, checking the table of context, the index (if available) and flipping through some pages will demonstrate to what extent the subject matter is covered, and in which detail. Online research, Gabaldon argues, is useful, but only as an addition to library research and not exclusive to it (Cf. 259-261).

As one example of her own 'browsing expedition' in the library, Gabaldon recalls an anecdote where she was browsing through a table of contents of a seemingly dull book, and right above it, was a book (on) *Muster Roll of Charles Edward Stuart's Army*. Even though the subject matter was covered in *Voyager*, published a few years prior, she looked up the regiment of Master of Lovat. The name of an officer James Fraser was in it, as were Duncan McDonald and Giles McMartin on the following page. The beginning of Voyager lists these names as some of the men executed after Culloden (Cf. 262).

The 'General Principles' for Gabaldon encompass an 'overview', 'locating specifics' and 'organizing stuff' [!sic] (262).

'Overview'

Choosing a time period for a historical novel is individual for every writer - whether they already have substantial knowledge of it, are simply drawn to it, or, like Gabaldon, know nothing of the time and place in which they wish to set the novel in. Thus, having all the information prior to writing is nigh impossible, there always being more to investigate. Having a good overview is however vital, and a convenient way of acquiring this, Gabaldon suggests, is looking for the subject matter in the children's section of the library – those books being shorter, more to the point and which also include interesting 'fun' facts. Another good overview section would be 'popular accounts', while more particular texts are better left for specific references during the writing process (Cf. 262-263).

'Locating Specifics'

Before and during the course of writing, very specific information will be needed from reference books (e.g. Claire being a healer, Gabaldon collected more than thirty various herbals from different regions and cultures relevant for her novels). Gabaldon also recommends looking through the 'remainder' stacks for interesting oddities. For more specific historical and regional references, important sources are found within the bookshops of museums and national parks, where books by local researchers can be found, which would not be available from the general bookstores (Cf. 263-264).

'Organizing Stuff'[!sic]

When it comes to the organising of material, Gabaldon highlights the major differences between writing a scientific paper and that of writing a novel. In the former, one must note every reference, and "leave clearly marked trails and well-built walls; it's a professional obligation" (265). When writing a novel, the only reason to track and sort the collected research is for own personal preference, as well as for further reference if a series of books are in question. When it comes to purpose, a scientific paper is based on facts, whereas a novel is based on an invented story (Cf. 265-266).

One can however, Gabaldon claims, lose oneself in the 'unnecessary' specifics during the course of historical research, and thus lose a lot of time that could have been spent on writing. If it is indeed a fictional book of any sort, it might be easier to simply invent things instead. "Don't forget that the purpose of research is to support the story; not the other way around", Gabaldon adds (Cf. 269).

As an illustration of using historical research as a foundation and binding element, Gabaldon gives an example of creating a fictional character based on a historical fact. In the origin of writing and researching *Outlander*, Gabaldon knew that one of her main characters would be a young 18th century Scotsman by the name of Jamie, but his surname remained elusive. However, one day in the course of her research Gabaldon came across Eric Linklater's book *The Prince in the Heather* about Culloden, and in the very beginning there was a passage:

> After the final battle eighteen Jacobite officers, all wounded, took refuge in the old house and for two days, their wounds untended, lay in pain; then they were taken out to be shot. One of them, a Fraser of the Master of Lovat's regiment, escaped the slaughter; the others were buried at the edge of the domestic park. (Linklater 14)

Even though Gabaldon had only envisaged the story up until Culloden she thought it prudent to give the character a means to survive the battle, in case there was ever a sequel (Cf. *Companion* 135). And thus Jamie got his surname - Fraser. It was only much later on that she found a more extensive account of the legend of Dunbonnet, which she appropriated for her second book, *Dragonfly in Amber*. In this source, Gabaldon claims, the name of the lord hiding within the caves of his estate for seven years after Culloden was one James Fraser (Cf. 136).

When considering how history is represented in the *Outlander* book series, one would have to look closely at Gabaldon's references and how they were approached. It is also important to examine to what extent they influenced her description not only of historical events, but also of historical figures. Were they developed just enough to add some colour to the love story, or is there a position that Gabaldon wanted to take through her writing? Thus, if her work of historical fiction is to be considered as an acceptable introduction to a historical period, we would have to examine her outlook of creating the stories and placing them in chosen historical settings.

Gabaldon's novels, like other works of historical fiction, are based on source material. These sources are not cited at the end of each book, but a good portion (if not all), can be found in the 'references' section of the author's *Companion*. This in itself, distinguishes the work from other similar works of fiction. De Groot asserts that historical novels should strive for reality while simultaneously separating themselves from that same reality – even having a bibliography makes them sit "uneasily between authenticity and imaginative writing" (Cf. *History* 218). By inhabiting both worlds, the one dealing with 'facts' and the other with fiction, the reader can maintain the fantasy of these events -until Claire meets the Loch Ness Monster or 'falls' through time, of course.

3.2 *Outlander,* folklore and stereotypes

Initially, Diana Gabaldon's *Outlander* series founded itself on the popularised representation of Scotland – a young gallant Highland warrior, naturally dressed in a kilt. Gabaldon's inspiration was a Scottish Jacobite warrior from a PBS Dr. Who episode (*Companion* XX). Since she was not familiar with Scottish history, everything she wrote came from research and the subsequent assumptions as to how things would have progressed within the realm of this collected information.

When examining the manner in which history is represented between *Outlander* and *Dragonfly in Amber* and *Voyager*, it is discernible that the amount of specific information borrowed from history books, anthologies and biographies is significantly greater in the latter. Gabaldon's world of *Outlander* is represented as a mythical place, full of magic and tradition. Book two, *Dragonfly in Amber*, is concerned with a world of historical characters, politics and battles. Historical background is present in both; however, they are shaped differently, each with a distinct objective. The first part of book three, *Voyager*, is significant for its revisionary aspect, i.e. how the Jacobite rebellion and its aftermath are approached from a future perspective, where it is primarily investigated or retold.

In Outlander, a young English ex-combat nurse Claire reunites with her historian husband Frank for their second honeymoon in the Scottish Highlands after both serving during WWII. While exploring flora and fauna in the vicinity of ancient standing stones, she is accidentally transported two hundred years into the past. There, she spends time with the MacKenzie clan, witnessing their way of life and the politics of the time. In order to save herself from her husband's tyrannical ancestor, who happens to be an English officer, she legally binds herself to Jamie, a gallant young Scot, who is himself on the run from the English. The story leads them through the Highlands, where she experiences the culture, the people, and life as an outlaw. Even though Claire has the opportunity to return through the stones, she decides to remain with Jamie so they can continue their life journey together.

The first book deals with the general state of affairs in the Scotland of the time, i.e. the pre-Jacobite Rising of 1745. Gabaldon's focus is concentrated more on the 'English as oppressors, and the Scots as wild and passionate,' descriptions that prevail within the popular romance genre. However, while there is an emphasis on setting a love story within this particular timeline, Gabaldon consciously decided to use more specific descriptions of the Scotland of the time, its customs and surroundings. She describes the simplicity of the Highland way of life, clan politics, including their customs and traditions. These representations do not attempt to embody themselves within the boundaries of a particular historical person, but more so on intricate portrayals of the surroundings these fictional characters find themselves in. Specific historical details are woven into the fabric of the story, which relies on the assumption that they are historically probable.

In *The Forms of Historical Fiction: Sir Walter Scott and His Successors* (1983), Cornell University professor Harry E. Shaw analyses the term *historical probability*. He explains it as a method for reading historical fiction – one as representations of people, cultures and events that existed at some point in the past, and the other for the creation of historical effect, which serves as the means of bringing the reader 'into the past'. The first method directs the probability away from the work into the represented world, whereas in the second case, the probability is directed inward (Cf. 21). Both of these principles, when applied to Gabaldon's novels make the division of historical probability evident. She represents people, societies and events as they were recorded, such as the Scottish lairds and the life of the people of the

day, as well as important battles that occurred during the 1745 Rising. The second probability focuses on the character of Claire, who accompanies the readers not only through the novel, but through the series as a whole. Through Claire's perspective, the readers have the opportunity to empathise, and are then able to subjectively experience the historical force.

At the end of *Outlander*, Gabaldon adds something resembling a 'disclaimer' that even though the "historical details and backgrounds […] are based on published historical sources, and are accurate so far as is possible, some minor events and details have been altered slightly" (*Collection,* "Author's Note"). Furthermore, she admits to the troubling anachronism of the witch-trial in the book, seeing that the last burning of witches last occurred in Scotland in 1722. However, the improbability of time-travel and the encounter with the Loch Ness monster within the same book make this a very slight omission by comparison. Thus, the author states that she uses history "both as foundation and as jumping-off point" in hope that it would not be a cause of discomfort for anyone (Cf. "Author's Note"). The reader is reminded that even though there is a wealth of historical information within her books, the novels are works of fiction, and ultimately should be considered as such.

However, identifying historicity within the *Outlander* series clarifies to the reader the degree to which history serves as a defining force within the novels. Yet, if economic and social history shape the lives of those at a particular time, is it possible for an author to faithfully represent those influences in a historical novel? This probability can be presented in many different ways, but by creating a 20th century heroine who guides a mid-eighteenth-century plot setting with a semi-modern way of thinking, Gabaldon can circumvent this issue to a degree. The most important feature however, is the author's interpretation of this past world as different from the world of today. At its most basic level, life's themes are universal; the story of love, marriage, family etc., but on the level of socioeconomic circumstances and beliefs, the world of *Outlander* is very different to that of the reader. This recognition is something Harry E. Shaw calls "the past as past" (*The Forms* 26). Through this cognition lies the acceptance that such a world is very different from ours, and even though we are provided with a reflection of it, we can never truly know it. By accepting that historicities are used as a mechanism, all the fictional elements that lie in the spectrum of the *probable* do not detract from the story, but complement it instead.

The first book guides the reader through the post-WWII era into the world of mid-eighteenth-century Scotland. The story follows the path of a young English woman who has served as a nurse during the war. She had quite an unorthodox upbringing, moving around as company to her archaeologist uncle. Now she returns to life as the wife of a slightly older historian after their time apart during the war. Subsequent to establishing the initial setting, the protagonist Claire Beauchamp Randall, steps through ancient standing stones and finds herself two hundred and two years in the past. At first, the change in the scenery is only slight, nature is wilder, roads are unpaved and overgrown. However, the first encounter with kilted men on horseback, English soldiers in red uniforms, and the lack of electricity, slowly opens her eyes to her predicament. The narrative unfolds slowly with descriptions of nature, surroundings and the way of life. Claire is thought to be a healer, but at the same time a suspected English spy, so she is allowed to participate in the life within the castle wall, albeit at a distance. Thus, the reader becomes an observer with a 20th century point of view, of the traditions and intricacies of the Scottish clan system. The reader becomes not only an observer, but through Claire's character experiences the everyday of a bygone era. Her story works to convince the reader that it could have been written between the lines of recorded history.

Of all the books within the series, *Outlander* exhibits most of the characteristics of the historical romance genre. In the first book, the characters are introduced and fleshed out, and the romance is unfolded. The language Gabaldon uses to navigate through this world is mostly the British English of WWII, "articulate, educated, but slangy and humorous, spiced with casual profanity" (Gabaldon, *Companion* 521). This is because the main protagonist Claire is providing us with the narrative. She witnesses the use of Gaelic, but it is from the point of view of somebody who knows nothing about it, like the author herself at the time of writing, and presumably the majority of the readership. Coincidentally, the Gaelic language and its correct usage was one of the main issues Gabaldon encountered when writing the book. The phrases used were either dictionary based, from "historical documents (which often featured highly creative spelling), and imagination" (238), and she was only advised by a Gaelic speaker after the second book was published. As a result, there are discrepancies, one of which is a commonly used phrase in the first two books, in which Jamie refers to Claire as 'mo duinne'. It is supposed to mean 'my brown one',

but the correct form is 'mo nighean donn'. The author acknowledges her mistake in *The Outlandish Companion* (Cf. 242), and then goes on to use the correct form in book three (*Voyager*) and all subsequent books.

These inconsistencies, however, do not detract from the notion that 'the past is a foreign country', and Claire's impressions aim to awaken the reader's interest in that specific time and place. The use of historical background in *Outlander* aims to add dramatic energy and provide direction within the plotline. Shaw points out that the history within standard historical fiction, is utilised in three different ways – whether with a sole purpose throughout the work, or coexisting side by side. These are 'history as pastoral', followed by history employed for its dramatic energy within a fictional story, and history as the subject. The objective of understanding the work of historical fiction is based on our comprehension of the purpose history serves within it (Cf. *The Forms* 52). To expand on this point, Shaw explains that the aim of history as pastoral is to project present day issues into a past setting in order to give them voice, or it could even serve as a metaphor. For Shaw, even though this use could create a powerful story, it makes historical occurrences trivial (Cf. 70). The second use of history is for the purpose of dramatization and colour, which is the case in Gabaldon's *Outlander.* He argues that the world these stories inhabit is more intense, passions are simpler, the men brave and the women beautiful (Cf. 82). The third purpose of history in historical fiction is where it is dealt with as the main subject. And even though the previous two versions could be analysed as such, Shaw argues that this would misrepresent their true intent (Cf. 100). In Gabaldon's first three books of the series, the most prominent use of history according to Shaw would be the second, where history is used for its intensity in the turbulent pre-war setting.

In *Outlander,* the tensions between the Scots and the English regiments occupying Scotland are palpable. The premise of the historical background used bases itself on the understanding and progress of oppression and resistance. Claire's character, is that of an onlooker who is aware of the actual outcome. However, she refuses to remain an outsider witnessing history with a reluctance to react. Through her actions, she resists the present status of oppression she also finds herself in. She refuses to accept that things are the way they have always been, without any possibility of change. In that respect, as a modern-day Englishwoman within mid-eighteenth-

century Scottish Highlands, she also mirrors the Scottish struggle against the English. Claire, as a person arriving directly from a wartime conflict, where England and Scotland are just some of the nations united against a foreign enemy, finds herself to be an outsider, a 'Sassenach'. Still reeling in disbelief at her circumstances, she identifies herself with the English, but gradually realizes the situation she is in. The Scots are first represented as outlaws, rough and wild - rebels against outside authority, but within those actions, she also witnesses truthfulness, honour and community structure.

3.2.1. Myth, folklore and the 'others'

> "In the country, amidst the sights and sounds of nature, men are prone to cherish the beliefs and ways of their forefathers. Practices born in days of darkness thus live on into an era of greater enlightenment."
>
> (Mackinlay, *Folklore* 14-15)

In post WWII Scotland, Claire experiences her surroundings with an awe of nature, culture and magic. Her husband Frank Randall is a historian with an interest in genealogy, especially that of his own 18th century predecessor, a notorious captain Black Jack Randall. He introduces Claire and the reader, to the folk tales and superstitions of the Highlands. His professional and personal interest in the past and anything historical is fuelled by an enthusiasm not shared by his wife, Claire. She was raised by an archaeologist, and then married a historian, and while she understands and supports their passion for the past, she is more interested in the now – the tangible world. In the Highlands, however, they come across situations where these two worlds merge. They witness the 'blessing' of new houses through a ritual sacrifice (a rooster rather than a human sacrifice):

> 'There's no place on earth with more of the old superstitions and magic mixed into its daily life than the Scottish Highlands. Church or no church, Mrs Carson believes in the Old Folk, and so do all the neighbours.' […] 'In the old days,' he explained as we went, 'and not so long ago, either, when a house was built it was customary to kill something and bury it under the foundation, as a propitiation to the local earth spirits. (Gabaldon, *Collection,* Book 1, Ch.1)[1]

---

[1] For readability, *Outlander* books 1-3, and their respective chapters will be referenced in a shorter way. Book 1, Ch. 1 will be referenced as 1.1., Book 2. Ch. 7 as 2.7, and so on.

Special importance is attached to the feasts of the Old Days: "'The ancient feasts,' he explained, […] 'Hogmanay, that's New Year's Eve, Midsummer Day, Beltane and All Hallow's, Druids, Beaker Folk, early Picts, everybody kept the sun feasts and the fire feasts, so far as we know" (1.1). During these times, according to old beliefs, the 'other' world is the closest to our own. Frank and Claire even manage to witness one such gathering on Beltane morning, when fifteen women from the town joined together in a ritual dance around ancient stone circles at Craigh na Dun. While this particular place is actually fictional, the other customs and culture are not.

When the couple travels throughout the countryside to see the usual tourist attractions, they are told stories and legends associated with these places. For example, during the trip to the Loch Ness, they hear the story about Urquhart Castle, whose ruins lie on its shores: "'Twas cursed by the witches of the Glen," the guide tells them, "and saw one unhappiness after another" (1.2). The lake itself carries the famous legend of its monster even to this day, and the guide continues: "Weel, the loch's queer, and no mistake. There's stories, to be sure, of something old and evil that once lived in the depths. Sacrifices were made to it - kine, and sometimes even wee bairns, flung into the water in withy baskets" (1.2). This represents that, within the people that Claire encounters in the Highlands, albeit those living in the present and ruled by reason, there exists a deeper foundation in which these beliefs are still rooted. Something that was passed on through generations, the stories and ancient rules their ancestors lived by.

As seen with the Loch Ness example, special attributes were given to bodies of water, whether these powers come from the water itself or the creatures that might inhabit them. In his book on *Folklore Of Scottish Lochs And Springs* from 1893, J.M. Mackinlay describes the stories and traditions behind the magic attributed to the waters of Scotland. He claims that these beliefs were firmly established within Celtic culture well before the arrival of the missionaries. With the introduction of Christianity, some of these customs were incorporated into religious practices and in this way, early missionaries did not have to disregard ancient beliefs absolutely, but merely modify them to suit. As a result of this, pagan wells and springs were sanctified and from then on carried the protection of a specific Saint. In most cases, these bodies of water carried special powers, mostly healing, but some could also do

harm. It would not be uncommon for simple offerings of coins, rags or nails to be made at the shores of these waters (Cf. 24-28).

In *Outlander*, one of such places is the Saint's pool to which Dougal MacKenzie brings Claire to investigate the truthfulness of her story:

> He nodded at the spring, and at the worn figure etched in the rock. […] 'St Ninian's spring. […] They call it the liar's spring, as well. The water smells o' the fumes of hell. Anyone who drinks the water and then tells untruth will ha' the gizzard burnt out of him.' (Gabaldon, *Collection* 1.13)

There were several wells and springs in Scotland named after St. Ninian, also called Ringan, a Christian missionary responsible for the conversion of Celts and Picts. With the help of French masons, he constructed the first church out of stone in Scotland in 397 (Cf. Mackinlay, *Folklore* 47). Gabaldon adapted ancient beliefs from her research and then imagined a new location within the background of Scottish folklore. This is a significant example of a situation where a writer of historical fiction collects historical data and combines it with folklore, in order to create a fictional location to demonstrate the specific historical beliefs.

Other examples in *Outlander* affirm how rooted these ancient beliefs were within the people of the time – some were invented, borrowed and modified by Gabaldon, while others spring from well-known Scottish tradition. For instance, while travelling through the Highlands collecting rents, the Mackenzie men keep themselves entertained by telling stories "about fairies, ghosts, the *tannasg* or evil spirits, and other inhabitants of the Highlands such as the waterhorse. These beings […] inhabited almost all bodies of water, being especially common at fords and crossings, though many lived in the depths of the lochs" (Gabaldon, *Collection* 1.18). And the story unfolds of a water horse from Loch Garve, whose human wife does not appreciate the cold and the damp of the bottom of the lake, so he changes his shape into a beautiful horse and has a builder mount him. The waterhorse then brings him to his home to build his wife a big hearth and a chimney to keep her warm, after which he is released. And that is why the water at the east end of the Loch never freezes (Cf. 1.18). In his book on folklore, Mackinlay's writes about water-spirits who, in either human or animal form, "delighted in human sacrifice" (156). He also states that "[t]he lochs o Llundavra and Achtriachtan, in Glencoe, were at one time famous

for their water-bulls; and Loch Treig for its water-horses, believed to be the fiercest specimens of that breed in the world" (173). These creatures, he maintains, were especially prevalent in the highlands, and remote lochs were their habitat.

Another supernatural theme presented in *Outlander* is the belief in Fairies or the Wee/Old Folk. The belief in their power is demonstrated by people's fear of them, but also in their acceptance of situations they cannot rationally explain and these superstitions exist to the present day. For example, Frank tells Claire in 1945 that "[c]hurch or no church, Mrs Carson believes in the Old Folk, and so do all the neighbours" (Gabaldon, *Collection* 1.1), Gabaldon wants to create an awareness as to how deeply these superstitions are rooted. These stories shape the everyday reality of the people Claire meets in 1743. In an encounter with a sickly child left alone in the forest, it is explained to Claire that the place is a fairy's hill, and that the ill child is a changeling. The child's parents believe that if the changeling is left there overnight, the fairies will return their human child to them. If the changeling dies, their own child will still be living in Fairy Land (Cf. 1.24).

Folklorist Joyce Underwood Munro explains that these fairy changeling beliefs were very common throughout northern Europe, and even as far away as India and China, but were more prevalent within the Isles. She classifies the changeling as an "ill-thriven" infant or a shrivelled old man that replaces a healthy human child. The child bears a close resemblance to their own, but doesn't grow and cries constantly (Cf. Munro 251). As Claire herself tries to make the point that it is a sick child, the explanation given to her by Jamie, who is educated and well travelled despite being local to the area, is that the people living there have

> 'ne'er been more than a day's walk from the place they were born […]. They live among the glens and the lochs, and they hear no more of the world than what Father Bain tells them in chapel of a Sunday. That and the old stories. Those tales are naught but entertainment[.]' […] 'Out here, though, and even in the village – nay, that's something else. Folk live by them. I suppose there's some truth behind some of them.' (Gabaldon, *Collection* 1.24)

What is visible from this paragraph is that, when confronted with the powers of nature, especially in solitude, these beliefs emerge with little regard for rational thinking. Claire comes from a 20th century background, she is in possession of a rational mind through which she tries to 'translate' the otherness of these beliefs to

the reader of today. This attitude and her assertive opposition to superstition, lead her condemnation as a witch, which Gabaldon uses as a necessary anachronism of a historical occurrence; the aforementioned witch trials took place about two decades before the story is set. The author recognises her 'mistake' and excuses it at the same time by incorporating the explanation in the plotline: "I […] had thought it a practice common to the seventeenth century, not this one. On the other hand, I thought wryly, Cranesmuir was not precisely a hotbed of civilization" (1.25). Cranesmuir is a fictional village in the Highlands of Scotland, but it serves as a historical backdrop not so much because of the events that take place there, but for the dramatization of the historical society. Through the actions of the country folk, Gabaldon symbolically focuses on the effect of superstitions and ignorance on an uneducated society.

The life within Castle Leoch is given more attention than that of the village itself. Within the castle, Gabaldon is able to show the layers of clan society, its structures and traditions. One of the more colourful details of the way of life of a clan chief, was the presence of a bard. In *Outlander,* Gwyllyn the bard is Welsh, and has been a guest there for the most part of a decade. Every evening he entertains in the Great Hall and tell stories, sings songs and plays the harp or the pipes (Cf. 1.8). In Gaelic culture, bards occupied a very special place in clan society, keeping songs and stories alive through a long oral tradition. They were also excellent musicians who often spent more than a decade learning their instruments. According to Frank Adam in his extensive publication *The Clans, Septs & Regiments of the Scottish Highlands* (1908), the custom of Scotland's hereditary clan bards and pipers died out in the early 18th century. Even the "cultivation of the *clàrsach* [Celtic harp]*,* like so many other aspects of Gaelic culture, suddenly lapsed in the middle of the eighteenth century" (416). Perhaps this is one of the reasons Gabaldon chose to make her bard Welsh, where the tradition lived on for much longer. The Heritable Jurisdiction Abolition Act of 1747 removed all power from clan chiefs and abolished the whole clan system. As a consequence the pipers, whose instrument was viewed as a weapon of war as a result of its significant presence within every Scottish regiment of 1745 rebellion, were either stripped of their lands, executed or managed to escape to the Colonies (Cf. 239).

Another important tradition Gabaldon describes in the first book, is that of the Clan Gathering. It is described as the mighty assembly of the whole clan including the tenants of the clan lands, in order to pay homage to the clan chief. It was customary during the Gathering to trade in the market or participate in traditional games. When Jamie tries to dissuade Claire from running away, while all the fighting men are inside the hall taking part in the Oath-taking procession to the Chief, he tells her that guards have been posted all around the castle to protect the house from burning down. Claire realises that he is referring to the Glencoe Massacre (1692) that took place only half a century before, and was still fresh in people's minds: "I gathered he was referring to the infamous Glencoe Massacre, when one John Campbell, on government orders, had put thirty-eight members of the MacDonald clan to the sword and burned the houses above them" (Cf. Gabaldon, *Collection* 1.10). The order for this massacre was given by William of Orange, who in Highland memory will be remembered as "the Butcher of Glencoe" (Cf. Adam 70). Even though this was a political matter, executions were carried out by another clan, which shows the extent to which the promise of land, money and power, was a prominent cause of contention between the clans.

In *Outlander,* a rent collection party is formed and dispatched to the tenants unable to attend the Gathering. The party covered villages that resided on clan lands and the tenants would then bring them what was owed for their rent and protection. Sometimes these payments were not only given in coin, but substituted with grain or livestock. The reader experiences what Claire witnesses during this journey. In the gathering party within the book, Ned Gowan, an Edinburgh lawyer in service of the clan chief is also present. He is in charge of ledgers and coin collections. The party of "twenty or so men," fully armed, was also present to protect the collection from robbery by neighbouring clans (Cf. Gabaldon, *Collection* 1.11). It is at this point in the story that Claire notices the storage of some collections in a separate pouch.

During this period she begins to make out words in Gaelic and she also hears the familiar name of Prince Charles Stuart.

> Rebellions, like most other business propositions, require capital. The raising and provisioning of an army takes gold, as does the maintenance of its leaders. And from the little I remembered of Bonnie Prince Charlie, the Young Pretender to the throne, most of his support had come from France, but a

small part of the finances behind his unsuccessful rising had come from the shallow, threadbare pockets of the people he proposed to rule. (1.11)

Gabaldon now sets the stage for the main historical event that shapes and guides the plotline of the following book, *Dragonfly in Amber*. Other historical details included for the reader are the detailed descriptions and explanations of the 18th century dress, especially the Highland garb. The chieftain's ceremonious dress consisted of a gold laced coat with silver buttons and silk cuffs, the clan's wool tartan and stockings, and the bonnet with the clan's symbol and a motto. The MacKenzie clan had the emblem of a piece of holly with the motto "Luceo Non Uro" (I shine not burn), whereas Jamie's clan Frazer was that of a stag with the motto of "Je suis prest" (I am ready) (Cf. 1.10). Frank Adam writes that "[e]ach clan had its own war-cry, or slogan, and also its badge of pine, heather, or some such plant. The sett, or pattern, of the tartan enabled each clan to distinguish friend from foe" (Adam 29). Gabaldon also describes a Catholic wedding, coupled with the Highland tradition of hand-fasting, where a couple could live as a man and a wife for a year and a day. However, the actual ceremony presided over by a priest would have to be performed for the marriage to be valid.

3.2.2. Representations and stereotypes

In the first chapters of the book, Frank and Claire visit Scotland after their separation during the war. Frank as a historian is fascinated with all things past whereas Claire, although impressed by this aspect of the magical, gently mocks the 'old-fashioned' beliefs of the Highlands. When she 'falls through time', her true feeling emerges in the line: "I sighed with impatience. I knew the Highlands were primitive, but this was nearly unbelievable" (Gabaldon, *Collection* 1.3). This speaks also to the reader's initial stereotypical perception of Scotland. It is only through her captivity and the ensuing time that she begins to recognise the structure of not only the place but the time period as well. Lukács makes this point about the historical novel. The historical circumstances have to be presented artistically in a specific way in order for them to prove why the people in the 18th century Scotland acted the way they did, and explain why that resulted in historical events in the way they happened (Cf. de Groot, *Novel* 26). The political situation of the pre-Jacobite rising is introduced slowly,

through small conflicts with the English dragoons along the journey to begin with, and then the slight wariness towards Claire's character because she was English (and thus, a possible spy). Their attitude is clearly expressed is these lines at the beginning of Claire's 'captivity':

> 'Wherever the redcoats are now, they'll be here by dawn, which is no so far off, considering. If this woman's an English spy, we canna risk leaving her here to tell them which way we've gone. And if she should not be on good terms wi' them' – he looked dubiously at me – 'we certainly canna leave a lone woman here in her shift.' (Gabaldon, *Collection* 1.3)

Remarks like these, as well as the behaviour of an apparent group of outlaws toward her, have no direct historical meaning, but when studied from a distance, they go beyond the stereotype and foster a feeling of allegiance and protectiveness, primarily for her physical safety in this unknown world. This mode of representation of a marginalised group serves to spark empathy within the reader, after the initial shock of the protagonist's displacement.

What is important to understand about this work of historical fiction, is that it does not represent all the points of view present in the years leading up to the rebellion in Scotland. Gabaldon's descriptions of the mind of an individual are those of a mid-20th-century English woman, and her views are filled with stereotypes, mainly in the beginning. It is only through these descriptions that people and events are viewed.

The cultural practices of the Highlands and the customs she bears witness to, have a rational basis for readers, which not only comes from the character's, but also the author's academic background. The mimetic strength of this work has to found itself on the historical and cultural portrayal of a society before its collapse. The English represented in *Outlander* are soldiers, with the exception of a nobleman (the Duke of Sandringham – a person highly caricaturised). In contrast, the historical milieu of the Highlands is extensively covered.

The main antagonist of the story is Claire's husband's ancestor, 'Black Jack' Randall. He embodies how we are conditioned to look at the English presence in these surroundings – educated and well-mannered on the outside and to those who are deemed worthy by their own standard - but in reality, ruthless, abusive and cruel.

Even the image of the red coated uniform sears in contrast with the earthly tones of the Highlands.

The brutality of Randall, who is the garrison commander at Fort William, changes Claire's perspective as to where her loyalties lie. It is already implied at an earlier stage when she encounters English soldiers at an inn: "After six weeks among the Scots of Clan MacKenzie, the presence of English dragoons made me unaccountably nervous. I told myself I was being silly. After all, they were my own countrymen, out of time or not" (1.12). This passage gives a timeline of the character's immersion in her present historical surroundings, as well as it giving the reader time to ally themselves with a side chosen and represented by the author.

Within the first book, the role of the English within 18th century Scotland is represented by Frank and Black Jack, his ancestor. Claire's husband Frank is present, known and safe, contrasted with Black Jack, who is strange and perilous. Gabaldon describes him as someone intimately familiar to Claire physically, while at the same time, his character and manner remain as something foreign and intrusive. One cannot deny the correlation this draws between Claire's present and the past she finds herself in. The past is foreign, violent and intrusive, although this is transferred not only to the past, but to the English soldiers in particular. Subsequently, as Claire familiarises herself with the Highland way of life, the English identity, as well as her 'present', become more and more distant.

Gabaldon further emphasises this distance with brutal presentations of English rule, the instances of flogging, or whipping, inflicted on young Jamie simply for being protective of his paternal lands and family. By developing a strong character like Jamie, stubborn and shielding to those who matter to him, as well as educated and intelligent, Gabaldon adds another side to the representation of Scotland and the Highlands. In contrast to the idea of simple folk living off the land, the lairds are shown to be more civilised than their so-called 'cultured' invaders. Gabaldon uses the scars on Jamie's back as a permanent symbol of the Highland struggle for freedom. In support of this argument, the village inns' collections for the rebellion were often secured by the display of Jamie's injuries, if an additional incentive was necessary.

From a historical point of view, flogging was indeed practised widely throughout history as a means to administer punishment. In the 18th century especially, it was commonly implemented by the British army and navy. As Kathleen Wilson describes it in her book *The Island Race: Englishness, Empire and Gender in the Eighteenth Century*, "[f]logging was always intended to disgrace" and if "done coolly and deliberately, 'directed the gaze from the man in power to the power itself'" (175). Apart from using it on the soldiers themselves in order to impress the power of the superior, the lash was also used in the "civilizing process" and assertion of British authority (Cf. 175). In *Outlander*, Jack Randall states: "I am the commander of the Fort William garrison. As such, I am empowered to take certain steps in order to secure the safety of this area against traitors, spies and any other persons whose behaviour I consider suspicious" (Gabaldon, *Collection* 1.12). Whereas his orders are to protect the crown's interests and subdue any Jacobite sentiment, he exercises this power to disproportionate levels which include causing bodily harm even to women, as well as torture and rape. His character is fictional, but as the representation of an oppressor in historical circumstances, also, arguably quite probable. The use of Randall as an antagonist in the story serves on an individual character level – it connects his obsession for Jamie and the otherness of Claire's husband from the future. As the embodiment of the familiar and the strange, Randall supplies an excuse for Claire's distance from her husband Frank. Through that rejection, she releases herself from her old present, and enables the reader to follow in her footsteps. The hypothetical choice she is given, i.e. whether to go with the English or the Scottish is really suggested by the author as a choice between the difficult but honest road, or a path of pretence. On a more symbolic level, Randall embodies the English army and their presence in the Highlands. As a character not actually based on a specific historical figure, in a novel that seeks to portray a historical setting, Randall's role needs to be understood as a connection between fictional and historical plotlines and an amalgamation of the representations of the English in Scotland.

Other individual or lower ranking English soldiers who are given a voice by Gabaldon within the book, are exhibited on a wide spectrum of personality – from meek and subordinate, unintelligent but mannerly, to clever but compliant. Their purpose serves as decoration, they are also the author's attempt to show that not all the

English are bad and that even opposing armies are composed of different types of human character.

The protagonist enters the past world naïvely thinking that she can return to her own time as soon as she escapes her captors, and that she can outsmart the people of the time by simply being aware of what the future holds for them. She overestimates the potential that her knowledge about the future can bring. Even though it proves useful in certain situations, she misjudges the power of the historical mindset. Gabaldon tries to show that even somebody as clever and resourceful as her protagonist, still has to abide by the rules of the particular time she finds herself in. In this way the temporal distance within in the same place is not as simple as the reader might assume. Throughout Claire's experience, the author continually reiterates that the past is indeed a foreign country.

The general distinction between the representations of the English and the Scottish is in accordance with contemporary stereotyping: the clean and formal vs. the rough and uncouth. However, in providing a detailed historiographical background, Gabaldon injects appreciable depth into one of these stereotypes. The notion of English superiority and the continuous subjugation of Scots, aligns the reader with the Jacobites in their struggle for freedom.

Gabaldon's utilises her portrayals of clan chieftains to serve as historical embodiments of a political perspective, namely that of Dougal MacKenzie, the war-chieftain, and his brother Colum (Callum), a strong-willed but deformed chieftain of clan MacKenzie. Through Dougal, Gabaldon imparts to the reader the idealistic side of Jacobitism. Dougal is willing to fight for who he sees as the rightful king and he collects as much as possible, in the way of funds and arms, to help the rebellion regardless of the cost. Colum (Callum) on the other hand is more calculated, and regardless of his circumstances as a remote ruler, his only interest is the well-being of the clan. Another important point is that he is fully aware of the consequences if this, like many other rebellions before, should fail. It shows two sides: one where the fervour of Jacobite sentiments is still strong, and the other, where people have become accustomed to the present way of life and want to be left in peace. By dividing attitudes towards the Jacobite movement between specific characters, especially brothers, Gabaldon is able to present different political positions and

enable the reader to have enough validation for whichever side they feel more passionate about.

The information Gabaldon conveys to the reader throughout the first book is an introductory specification of the historical setting. In order to understand and become immersed in *Outlander*, the reader does not require any previous historical knowledge of 18th century Scotland. The information the author introduces does not depend on specific dates and events, apart from the fact that the 1745 Jacobite Rising lie in the not too distant future. Instead, historical descriptions base themselves on the exploration of what was it like to be present in that time. The context of the work is intertwined with the plot itself, something that Fleishman emphasises as an important point for the categorisation of historical novels. By including the time traveling heroine, Gabaldon is able to circumvent the necessary anachronisms of attitude and perspective and use her as an 'interpreter' for the reader. Even when Claire is perplexed by the actions and behaviour of the people of that time, it only serves to emphasise the otherness of a different time period. Through her comprehensive study of Scottish history, its customs, the beliefs and traditions significant to the time period, Gabaldon is able to paint a detailed historical picture of Scottish Highlands, and go beyond typical Scottish stereotypes. Her research methodology, stemming from an academic career secures the world that she portrays with solid foundations for the development of the plot line, not only in the first book, but in the sequels as well.

A useful tool to approach history employed by Gabaldon is to make some of her characters historians. Primarily, we have the character of Frank, Claire's first husband, who is an academic and fervent researcher of traditions, military history, his own genealogy and anything that could be specified as historical. In the second book, there is the character of Roger, the young historian, who shares the same passion, but is interested not only in the bare facts of history, but of what could have happened in between as well. And it is within this subtext that Gabaldon's story evolves.

4. *DRAGONFLY IN AMBER* AND *VOYAGER*

Dragonfly in Amber is the second book of the *Outlander* series, and it continues the story of *Outlander*. Before it progresses however, there is a brief framing narrative set in 1968 Inverness. Claire, now a surgeon, returns from Boston where her family relocated after she came back from the past, to where it all began when she and Frank went on their second honeymoon more than twenty years ago. Accompanying her is her red-haired daughter Brianna, who we suspect is actually Jamie's child. Claire entrusts Roger Wakefield (MacKenzie), a young historian, to investigate the fates of the men she knew during the Rising. During that search, Brianna, Claire and Roger visit Culloden Field and other historical locations relevant to the time period. Through their findings the reader is made aware of certain historical facts relating to the 1745 Jacobite Rising, but from the characters' present perspective.

Within that framing narrative of 1968, Claire recounts the story of her and Jamie's exile in France and their subsequent return to Scotland in the years 1744 and 45, respectively. In this short period of time Gabaldon lays the foundation for the events of the rebellion to come – namely that the reader is introduced to the principal characters in non-military, social settings. The aim of this, apart from the objective of the dramatization of the narrative, is for the reader to become emotionally invested in the cause. Charles Stuart depends on the backing of his Royal cousin, but it does not stop him procuring loans and trying to organise the rebellion himself. The political and private intrigues of the French court are represented, partly to emphasise the Prince's dependence on Louis, but mostly for the historic local colour they bring to the story. And there is also the issue of *how* Gabaldon portrays the Prince, which will be expanded upon in the following chapter.

When the Frasers return to Scotland and the Rising begins with Charles's raising the royal banner in 1745, Gabaldon then engages another type of historical fiction. By following the device of the rising, the author introduces a different dynamic to the book. The reader either witnesses what Claire sees of the battles, battle preparations and the aftermath, or what she has been told by Jamie directly afterwards. From a didactical perspective, these chapters of the book are by far the most imbued with historiographical detail pertaining to the Stuart restoration. As before, Gabaldon

retains her position of representing Scotland's role in this fight, whereas the information concerning the English, remains markedly underdeveloped. However, the feelings relating to the morality of either side are diminished within these chapters. The author, through her narration, wills the characters into modes of strategic thinking and survival. All of the rebellion's major battles and tactical manoeuvres are described or referred to, with the deliberate omission of the final battle at Culloden Moor.

The story concludes with Claire's return through the stones to save herself and the child she is carrying. Jamie returns to Culloden field and certain death. After this revelation, Roger recounts his findings to Claire about the fates of the men she entrusted him with. What Claire is not prepared to find out though, is that Jamie survived!

In *Voyager,* Roger, Brianna and Claire continue their search until Jamie is found. The reader is then given an insight into Jamie's story, in a world uninhabited by Claire. It conveys the aftermath of the failed rebellion, his survival and time in prison. What follows is ultimately the semblance of a normal life, not only for him, but for Scotland itself. That is, until Claire decides to return to the past.

As Gabaldon's research corpus grew, so did the volume of final material. In *Dragonfly,* the historical data collected is not only incorporated into the story, but fully drives the plotline through the chronological order of historical events. The descriptions of the historical settings do not base themselves solely on the explorations of what it was like to be present in the pre-rebellion period, but also expand on specific historical events, especially battles, as well as many historical figures. The events are presented with an underlying hope of changing the future on the one hand, but also their disillusionment at the inability to do so on the other. In this book, Gabaldon has two parallel goals. First is developing the story of Jamie and Claire as well as introducing the legacy characters of Brianna and Roger, and second is imparting historical information to the reader through the direct experiences of the characters. By emotionally involving the reader, the author is able to introduce specific historical detail the reader might not otherwise have had any interest in, whether it be the politics of the 18th-century French court or the military history of the Rising.

For book two, a different approach was necessary to perform the historical analysis and what it illustrates. As opposed to *Outlander, Dragonfly in Amber* and the first part of *Voyager* which deals with the rebellion and its aftermath, form a whole. For the purposes of this thesis, book two and several of the initial chapters of book three, will be treated as a unit. This unit contains an inclusion of Shaw's third notion of representing history, in which history is used for its sole purpose. There are two distinct, though interwoven plots – the chronological progression of historical events that involve actual historical figures, and the storyline which follows the fictional characters, using the historical setting for the purposes of dramatization. The plotlines are connected by certain hinge points in which both of the stories merge. The first point that needs to be made however, is the use of actual historical data and its purpose.

The clearest way to delineate a specific timeframe within historical fiction is to use a specific past event, a well-known historical character, or both. Gabaldon describes the time before the 1745 Jacobite Rising, but through her introduction of Prince Charles Edward Stuart, the narrative is then given distinct boundaries. What needs to be addressed in the following pages is how these factual characters are portrayed and whether they serve the purpose of giving the narrative legitimacy in terms of the timeline; and also whether Gabaldon's creation of fictional characters and events in order to transfer important historical information, serves to fulfil the same goal.

In order to give background to this information, I will include a short historical prelude to the rising and the rising itself which will serve as a basic introduction into the past world of *Dragonfly in Amber* and *Voyager.*

4.1 Historiographical background

Jacqueline Riding, a historian and the author of a book on *Jacobites: A New History of the '45 Rebellion* (2016), traces the story of the 1745-46 rebellion all the way from Rome, through France, to Scotland and England and back. Her book is based on the accounts of those who either took part in the rebellion itself, or bore witness to it. Based on its sources and its expansive but pacing account of the rise and fall of

Prince Charles Stuart and his efforts to win back the English throne, this book will be the main reference on historical data for comparison and background information.

Another reference book which distinguishes itself by its contributions to the subject matter, is *Culloden: The History and Archaeology of the Last Clan Battle* (2009), edited by Tony Pollard, who specialises in battlefield archaeology. The main text referenced in this work is by Christopher Duffy, a military historian whose most prominent work is *The '45: Bonnie Prince Charlie and the Untold Story of the Jacobite Rising* (2003). This book is chosen for its acknowledgement of different perceptions of the rising (or rebellion?) and the particular historiographical detail pertaining to it.

4.1.1. History before the Rising

While another Jacobite uprising remained in the minds of Stuart supporters and was a constant source of fear to the Hanoverian government, it was a plausible hope within the Highlands. So, when in 1742 King George sent British troops into Flanders to support Hanover's interests in what became known as the Europe wide War of Austrian Succession, it seemed like a good opportunity for another rebellion. Seeing that France was already supporting her Prussian ally, it seemed inevitable that Britain and France would be at war. This subsequently improved the chances of the King of France supporting his Royal cousin on the mission to restore the Stuart dynasty to the throne (Cf. Riding Ch. 2).[2]

That same year, Cardinal Fleury, who had been Louis's XV trusted tutor and advisor since Louis was only five years of age, received a letter from a group of Scottish peers that called themselves the 'Association' or 'Concert'. They proclaimed their willingness to rise for the Stuart King, but even though they professed to have 20,000 men for the cause, they would still require French backing, mainly with arms, munitions … and of course, money. It was clear from the letter that the 'Association' was more focused on returning James to his Scottish throne, rather than the throne of the United Kingdom of Great Britain, proving that they considered the Union itself,

---

[2] For the purposes of readability, chapters from books by Riding and Duffy will be marked only by numbers, e.g. (Riding 2) for Riding Ch. 2, and (Duffy 1) for Duffy Ch. 1.

to be a betrayal. They were hoping to easily overcome the British troops who were not fighting wars on the mainland (Cf. 2). When the Stuart king was back on the throne of Scotland, they would then proceed with "the recovery of these other States, which will be all the easier since our neighbours of England are not less wearied than we are of the odious tyranny under which we all equally groan" (qtd. in Riding 2). They honestly believed that the people were "thoroughly determined to unite with us, and with any power whatever that would give them the opportunity they require to place themselves once more under a legitimate and natural Government" (qtd. in Riding 2). The declaration was then signed by "James Drummond, Duke of Perth; Lord John Drummond, his younger brother (both Catholic Scots raised in France); Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat, Chief of Clan Fraser; Lord Linton, heir to the Earl of Traquair; Donald Cameron of Lochiel; Sir James Campbell of Auchlinbreck and William MacGregor [Drummond] of Balhaldy" (2).

In his response, Riding states, Cardinal Fleury simply asked the clans to do - nothing. However, Lord Balhaldy had received a letter from a friend stating that the Prince had expressed his great desire to be with them, for he was tired of Italy, where his only amusement was to go out shooting every morning. The hope of France's support heavily relied on James Stuart's chief adviser Cardinal Guérin de Tencin succeeding Fleury after his death in January 1743. Louis, however, unexpectedly declared himself to be prime-minister, and later gave only non-committal assurances of his backing to James and to the Jacobite English Lords, who had proclaimed their support and "requested 10,000 French troops and arms" (Cf. 2).

By November 1743, Louis didn't need any more convincing. The plans to invade England were in place. King Philip of Spain was informed and came out in support of his nephew to destroy "suddenly, and completely, the League of Enemies of the House of Bourbon" (2). Now more than ever though, all plans had to be kept secret, especially since Britain and France were not yet officially at war, and by helping the Stuarts they would be in breach of a 1718 Treaty of the Quadruple Alliance that forbade France harbouring any of the Stuart line. Nevertheless, Louis needed a letter from James as well as the presence of Prince Charles in order to convince the English people that this was not merely a French invasion. The veil of secrecy had to be absolute, and that is why even Cardinal Tencin and most of Louis's ministers

were kept in the dark. That is why the following actions remain a mystery. If Louis had indeed needed full secrecy, he would not have invited Charles to Paris. Thus, when Lord Balhaldy was sent to Rome, perhaps it was to buy some time and temporarily hinder Charles. Whatever truly happened is unknown, but James had apparently given Charles the freedom to act as he saw fit, and consequently, Charles wanted to act as soon as possible (Cf.2). "I take the case to be now or never in relation to France, & therefore we must all act accordingly" (James in Riding 2). Those were James Stuart's concluding words in a letter to Lord Sempill on 2 January 1744. A week later, Charles had left Rome (Cf. 2).

4.1.2. Short History of the Rising

After the planned French invasion of 1744 was deferred by heavy storms and what came to be known as 'The Protestant Wind', Charles had lost hope of any further imminent support from his French cousin and turned to finding funding on his own. The fact that he dared to sail with only one other ship, carrying 700 troops from the Irish Brigade and artillery, the broadswords and muskets on the other – conveyed the Prince's state of mind – to seize the moment, the 'now' or 'never' to return. After encountering a British warship, the *Elisabeth* had to turn back to France, bringing the troops with it. *Le du Teillay* continued on its journey, and Charles landed on the small island of Eriskay on the 23 July, and two days later on Arisaig, an isolated coastline on the mainland of western Scotland (Cf. Duffy 1).

Riding states, that when rumours started that the Prince was on his way to Scotland, Lord President Duncan Forbes of Culloden, who was no friend of the Stuarts, said in a letter dated 2 August 1745 that

> 'that Young Man cannot with Reason expect to be joined by any considerable Force in the Highlands.' Perhaps some 'loose lawless Men, of desperate Fortunes, may indeed resort to him', but 'I am persuaded that none of the Highland Gentlemen who have ought to lose will, after the Experience with which the Year 1715 furnish'd them, think proper to risque their Fortunes on an attempt which to them must appear desperate; especially as so many considerable Familys amongst themselves have lately uttered their sentiments'. (Riding 7)

And indeed those seemed to be the prevailing sentiments in some parts of Scotland, but as Riding points out, Forbes "may have been underestimating the allure of a Stuart prince when actually present on Scottish soil – an event not witnessed since 1715" (7).

And so it came to pass - the Prince landed with a tiny group of associates, also known as the 'Seven Men of Moidart', which among others included Sir Thomas Sheridan, Charles's tutor who had been involved in the '15 Rising, John William O'Sullivan and Sir John MacDonald who, like many other Jacobites of the time, had served in the French army. He also brought Aeneas MacDonald, a banker who had helped finance the purchase of broadswords for the conflict (Cf. Pollard). Gabaldon conveys this information in a short summary of the event through Claire's narration of Jared's letter. In the same vein, with the 'Highland grapevine' mentioned as the source, she mentions Charles's crossing to Glenfinnan, where he "waited, accompanied only by several large casks of brandywine, to see whether the clans would answer the call to his standard" (Gabaldon, *Collection* 2.35). He had received an initial, valuable contribution from Donald Cameron of Lochiel, who on not being able to dissuade HRH from returning home, decided to join him. On the 19 August, the standard of red and white was raised at Glenfinnan (Cf. Pollard).

It is noted in both Duffy and Riding that the Jacobite army made its way unobstructed into the Lowlands by mid-September 1745, and arrived unopposed into the partisan Edinburgh. Several days later, on the 21st of September, the battle at Prestonpans was waged and General Cope's troops were overcome by the Highlander's march in the advantage of surprise. Cope's casualties came to more than 1300 – the Jacobites', a mere 30. On that day, Charles ensured that all due care and attention was given to those of his father's subjects who had been wounded. Following the success of this battle, the French pledged their support. The army made its way south all the way to Derby on 4th December, but because of the harsh weather conditions, the lack of provisions and the pressure on Scots to return home to tend to their farmlands. Two days later, the decision was made to retreat after the battle of Falkirk. In the meantime, command of the English army was assumed by the Duke of Cumberland, a strategic and methodical man, who made sure that his army was well-nourished and trained. Ultimately, the two armies - one strong, the other weakened, one well fed, the other sick and starving - met in battle on Culloden Moor,

on 16th April 1746, in what is now known to be, the last great battle fought on British soil. What followed over subsequent years, was the complete annihilation of the Highland clan system, its culture and people (Cf. Duffy 1, Riding 49).

4.2. Historical characters

One of the advantages of using actual historical figures when writing a historical novel is that there is an abundance of information available to browse through, choose distinct characteristics from, and then shape to fit the story. In her book, *The Character of Truth: Historical Figures in Contemporary Fiction*, Naomi Jacobs points out that these "[r]ecognizable historical figures have [been used to create] a reality effect around the fictional characters" (19). Even Gabaldon argues that the difference between doing real historical research and the research for a historical novel is, "that with the latter, one need not be quite so picky about the reliability of sources" (*Companion* 138). However, she asserts that, out of obligation and respect to these historical figures, one should aim to research these characters as accurately as possible, "and then to do nothing to discredit them, beyond the bounds of their known reputations" (138).

For the sake of credibility, the descriptions of these historical figures should be such, as to make them "immediately recognizable," Jacobs argues, that even if they remain anonymous, "[s]uch a character – a monarch, a head of state, or a national hero," should be recognisable to the average reader. Obscure figures, she adds, cannot aid this credibility, simply because they do not "evoke the note of recognition that causes the fictional world to intersect the historical world in the reader's mind" (20). Regarding historical figures which readers have no individual background knowledge of, they tend to respond in the same way as they respond to fictional characters in the book – accept them as real within the confines of the book, but remain sceptical about them outside of it (Cf. 20).

Another point that Jacobs makes, is that the character description within a book cannot diverge too much from the stereotypes readers already foster with relation to a historical figure, otherwise the sense of 'reality' they provide in the novel will be lost. This does not necessarily mean that the descriptions of, and the situations

these characters find themselves in within the novel, must revolve around documented facts, or match these shared impressions exactly, but only that they are "reconcilable with those expectations, reconcilable with the historical persona, as distinguishable from the historical person" (20). This 'person' is a human being, with an identity available by way of historical fact and records but never fully known, whereas a 'persona' is the image of that person, "idealized or vilified in the public imagination" (20-21). The goal of a work of historical fiction is to acquaint the reader with the 'person' without making significant changes to the 'persona' (Cf. 21). As Gabaldon has previously stated, the information collected and conveyed about the person should be interesting for the reader. However, it should also give as accurate a portrayal as possible to suit the story, while ensuring that the persona behind it is not discredited.

4.2.1. Charles Edward Stuart

When conducting her research pertaining to Prince Charles Edward Stuart, Gabaldon cites as her main reference a particular biography from 1988, published the year before she started writing *Outlander.* This biography, published on the three hundredth anniversary of Charles Stuart's death, was written by Susan Maclean Kybett, a work which, after an apparent fifteen years of research, produced a book that the Scottish Historical review describes as having a "'pretty good slam' at the romantic image of the bonnie prince" (Lenman 72). Not only is Charles described as a "spoiled, wilful child who grew up dyslexic and sub-literate in several languages," but also as "irresponsible, […] with the combination of alcoholism and self-centredness of the most graceless kind" (72). The reviewer then concludes that the book is "marred by far too many slips and errors of fact," possessing a one-dimensional aspect, it is also careless and that it was a wonder that it topped the American non-fiction sales charts (Cf. 72). On the basis of this, it is not surprising that Gabaldon's portrayal of the Prince is coloured with descriptions of alcoholism and recklessness, all through his bad English. She, however, perceived it as a well-researched account by a respected British historian, which was found very engaging (Cf. Gabaldon, *Companion* 138). And while she claims that she tried to keep within

the boundaries of the character's known persona, the persona that she chose to examine had already been influenced by the biographer's own perceptions.

However, as Gabaldon herself has noted in her references, the sheer volume of information available with regard to such an important historical figure was overwhelming, even at the time of her writing. Nowadays, one could argue, this is even more apparent. For example, in *Jacobites*, Riding claims that the Prince spoke with a British accent, and cites a record of Andrew Henderson, an Edinburgh schoolmaster who stated that Charles's "'Dialect was more upon the English than the Scottish Accent, seem'd to me pretty like that of the Irish, some of whom I had known" (qtd. in Riding 15). This would be explained by the British and Irish courtiers in the exiled court in France, and then Italy (Cf. 15). One wonders why Gabaldon chose an account that deconstructs a historic Scottish symbol of resistance and reduces him to that of an irksome young man, as opposed to what she claimed as "glamorized, inaccurate and wildly misleading" (Gabaldon, *Companion* 138) portrayals of the young Prince, which may have complemented a plotline in which a Jacobite warrior is the main protagonist.

In Dragonfly in Amber, the first 'visual' the reader has of Charles is through Claire's eyes, and he is described as

> a sturdy, good-looking lad, with thick, light-brown hair curling loose upon his shoulders, and a fair face, cheeks flushed red with cold and exertion. […] Bonnie enough, to be sure; at least to look at. He seemed very young […]. His Highness did have considerable charm of manner, though, and quite a bit of self-important dignity. (Gabaldon, *Collection* 2.11)

In this passage Gabaldon portrays the Prince as a young man, with all the commendable qualities that come with that age. It is a pivotal time for the reader to perceive him in this way, for the first time through Claire's eyes as the reader's direct link to the past – knowing who he will become. It distils a legend down to the simple level of a youth in love. She concludes the description with a mention of his natural charm, royal dignity and apparent self-importance.

In more recently published historiographical accounts of the Prince, he is very similarly described as "not only tall, physically perfect with refined features, pale red hair and stunning dark brown eyes," but he also carried himself with dignity and air

"which inspired awe in those who witness it, making him 'without Exception the most surprisingly handsome Person of the Age'" (Murray in Riding 1). One description contemporary to the Prince comes from schoolmaster Henderson, who described him in his work *The History of the Rebellion* (ed. 1-5, 1748-53), as "a Slender young Man, about five Feet ten Inches high, of a ruddy Complexion, high nosed, large rolling brown Eyes, long Visage; his Chin was pointed, and Mouth small, in Proportion to his Features; his Hair was red, but at that Time wore a pale Peruke" (qtd. in Riding 15).

By all accounts, Charles appears to have made quite a royal impression on those around him. While Gabaldon's portrayal holds to that charm, determination, and hunger for action, she does emphasise the reckless nature of a young man with a weakness for women, drinking and a desire for things to go his own way.

This is significant on two levels – the didactic and as an emplotment technique to aid the storyline. On the first level, the reader is brought closer to the character, who is drawn in such a way as to be visually likeable, as well as multifaceted. If he had not been in possession of these qualities, he would not have had such an impact, or had so many gather under his banner. The character also invokes in the reader feelings of a shielding nature, in the form of a desire to instruct or protect him - something which could prove to be useful to a future monarch. On the other hand, further description of his character and his propensity for recklessness and drinking warns the reader not to take him too seriously. "The Bonnie Prince was not behaving. He was rude and overbearing to his most loyal followers, ignored those who might be of help to him, insulted whom he should not, talked wildly, and – reading between the lines – drank to excess" (Gabaldon, *Collection* 2.31). Within those few months, the protective feelings are only surpassed by the exasperation at what his character has become. This account is offered by Gabaldon to provide emotional, as well as physical distance, from the Prince who remained in France while the story follows the protagonists in Scotland. These characterisations from a distance prepare the ground for what is yet to come within the story, and serve to show how time has progressed within history.

Christopher Duffy, a military historian who in 2003 published *The '45: Bonnie Prince Charlie and the Untold Story of the Jacobite Rising*, writes quite differently of the

Prince. In Pollard's *Culloden* (2009), he argues that the Prince was very much unlike "the comatose Polish-Latin hermaphrodite" (ch.1) as he was presented in many accounts.

> On the contrary, the prince was clear-headed and determined, he was flexible enough to adapt himself to the most varied people and circumstances, and he had a rare gift for raising sunken spirits. Physically he had trained himself for his role by a taxing regime of hunting and exertion, showing a self-discipline that abandoned him entirely in later years. (Duffy)

Duffy concedes to the less flattering side of the Prince as well, but only to the degree of providing reasons for the despair of his later years. He maintains that Charles was focused and charming, and that it was precisely this focus and charm, which brought him as far as it did (Cf. Duffy). In *Dragonfly*, in the scene following the battle of Prestonpans, the reader can experience the capacity for human connection that the Prince was purportedly endowed with. Claire, who had been a WWII battlefield nurse before she time-travelled back to the past, was in charge of attending to the wounded after battle. What she witnessed was the natural humility of the young Prince, who made rounds among the men, plaid trailing in mud, as he finally bowed his own head in front of an injured friend and softly uttered "Thank you". "And just for that one moment," Claire thinks, "I thought perhaps he might have made a king, after all" (Gabaldon, *Collection* 2.36). These characterisations contribute to the emphasis made by critics such as Lukács and de Groot, as to the necessity contained within a historical novel in creating human connection to historical characters (de Groot, *Novel* 26). Another point raised by Riding, which Gabaldon skilfully incorporates into the text, are the descriptions of the Prince during the campaign. On the one hand, he insists on residing at the Royal apartments in Edinburgh's Holyrood house and also pays close attention to the fact that his clothing maintains the royal image. Even the detail of borrowing a Black Horse from Col. Gardner (Cf. Riding 34) is transferred in *Dragonfly,* but in the book this black horse was Jamie's 'Donas'. On the other hand, in *Jacobites,* Charles is witnessed as being rash in his decisions and lacking in sensitivity to the problems of his army and the people who have risked their livelihoods to support him. Gabaldon also delves into this side of him by describing the frustrations of his generals and the resulting divisions among them (Cf. Gabaldon, *Collection* 2.36).

In breathing life into the character of Charles Stewart and making him human, complete with many positive attributes as well as flaws, Gabaldon enables his existence in historical reality, and by proxy, the existence of her fictional characters.

What results from her decision to present Prince Charles in such a way, drives the story in a fluid direction and lends greater depth and dimension to her main fictional characters. Despite the invented 'factoids' about him, the portrayal of the Prince in the *Outlander* series, helps to ground Gabaldon's purely fictional characters within a specific temporal setting, and brings general readers closer to the imagined reality it represents. This is in alignment with Jacobs' statement, that "the presence of recognizable historical characters raises the possibility that all other characters may be similarly historical or "real", and our imaginative engagement with the story makes us want to accept that possibility" (Jacobs 19). By positioning her invented characters in the vicinity of Charles Stuart, and subsequently the failed 1745 Jacobite Rising, it could be argued that Gabaldon narrows down and 'legitimises' the timeframe of her fiction.

4.2.2. Notable historical characters

Throughout the book series, Gabaldon also uses other historical figures that do not possess such direct implication, or an in-depth characterisation. They exist only to reaffirm the time-line of the story or to highlight an historical anecdote to the reader. They may well also, ground the story more firmly within this imagined setting.

The principal of these 'supporting' historical figures, is that of Louis XV, also known as Louis the Beloved. His presence serves as Gabaldon's 'homage' to the courtly romances with a twist. The character's stay in Paris had to be justified in order to display the Prince's intrigues within the French court. As Charles himself was not permitted to be seen at court (for doing so would make public France's support for the Stuart cause), he had to have somebody else stand for him. This provided Gabaldon with another role for one of her principal fictional characters, namely Jamie. By locating Jamie and Claire at court, the author offers the reader historical insights into the etiquette of the time – including its intrigues and manipulations, from both a female and male perspective. The reader discovers the King's *lever*

(ceremonial rising with a few invited courtiers present), which gives an insight into the 'private' life of the King, and the way of life at court before the French Revolution in 1789 (Cf. Gabaldon, *Collection* 2.7).

The King himself is described as "[n]ot particularly handsome, he acted as though he were; an impression enhanced not only by the richness of his clothes, but by the attitude of those around him" (2.9). Further descriptions focus on luxury and wealth, in order to show contrast with the Stuart's inadequacy in this respect and the complete dependence on the mercy of Royal cousins and of course, the Church. As the Stuarts had very little of their own money remaining, they survived on the goodwill of others, through loans and favours from supporters, noble relatives and of course, the Pope. It must be remembered that the Catholic Church had, after all, a vested interest in a Catholic King sitting upon the English throne. In *Jacobites,* Riding cites one letter from James to his young son in Paris, stating: "'I have nothing particular to say to you now, but to recommend to you to be very attentive & exact in complying with all The King of France may desire of you & to be solicitous to maintain his kindness towards you'" (3). As can be seen here, there is no written evidence of James encouraging Charles to raise another rebellion, but only to make a good and noble life for himself in the court of the French King.

Similarly, Gabaldon endeavours to emphasise this to some degree. She provides a plethora of historical information by way of Jamie's reading of coded letters, the property of the Prince and his supporters.

> [W]hile the letters from supporters spoke hopefully of the impending restoration, James's letters to his son mentioned no such thing, but were all concerned with Charles's making a good impression upon Louis. Even the loan from Manzetti of Salerno had been sought to enable Charles to live with the appearance of a gentleman in Paris; not to support any military end. (*Collection* 2.15)

Signor Manzetti, the Italian banker, is another historical figure who serves to add a little more historical colouring. Jamie divulges that Charles received a loan of fifteen thousand livres from him, upon the advice of his father James, who thought it better that Charles got into Louis's good graces to begin with (Cf. 2.18). Gabaldon states that while some of the facts mentioned in her books were by necessity invented, information such as Manzetti's loan, the purchase of the Dutch broadswords and

Charles's affair with Louise de Rohan were not (Cf. *Companion* 138). Louise de Rohan is included as Claire's friend in Paris, but apart from her addition to the story as Charles's paramour and mother to their illegitimate child, she is also used by Gabaldon to give some commentary on the way of life of the French aristocracy. Through Claire's modern perspective, she ridicules the banality of intrigues and the conversations of the women of the court based on gossip, condemning their lack of awareness concerning the lives of ordinary people stricken with poverty and disease. Louise is described as "sweet, devoted and kind, and had precisely as much brain as the cuckoo clock in her drawing room" (Gabaldon, *Collection*, 2.26). Although Claire liked her despite her tendency to be a 'scatterbrain', she was also glad to devote herself to helping the sick at the L'Hôpital des Anges every afternoon. Through the device of these visits, Gabaldon contrasts the lavish existence of those at court, with the desperation of the sick and the poor. Through Claire, she expresses the incongruity of events culminating in the French Revolution. Even in passing, the author comments on the historical situation of the time. The hanging of the Huguenots and the persecution of 'witches' is referred to in a passage where Claire witnesses two men and a woman hung from a tree for their crimes of heresy, and suspected witchcraft (Cf. 2.26).

However, the characters' time spent in France serves mainly to outline the political and social climate of the mid-eighteenth century, and also to give background to the Rising's dependence on French finances.

4.2.3. History through fictional characters / events

When it comes down to the readership's knowledge concerning this particular period in history, on an individual level, such knowledge could range from minimal to quite extensive. From a familiarity with the name of Prince Charles Stuart or the battle of Culloden, to those interested in that particular era with a profound knowledge of Scottish history, the English monarchs, conflicts of the period, and even of military history. Regardless of the type of reader, *Outlander* does not rely on background knowledge to tell the story. Gabaldon gives basic introductions from Claire's 20th century perspective, which help to navigate 21st century readers through the political

affairs of mid-eighteenth-century Scotland. Through her depictions of historical figures and their purported actions, Gabaldon supports her own storyline and her perspective on the history of the time. However, within such an expansive historical novel series like the *Outlander* series, there is an abundance of invented characters whose purpose is to convey a historical message. For example, in *Dragonfly in Amber,* readers are introduced to fictional characters who expand on the state of affairs involved in the Stuart cause, and through this device, are informed without the feeling associated with a history lesson. These characters have the purpose of steering the plot in a necessary direction, but their primary purpose is didactical. Highlighting this is an example of Claire and Jamie's stay at the Abbey of Ste. Anne's in France. The couple are about to embark on a journey to Italy to join the Stuart's court with Jamie as translator to James Francis Edward Stuart – all with the intention of subverting the rising and subsequent clearances. Prior to their departure however, Abbot Alexander Frazer, who is also Jamie's uncle, confides in them (Cf. 2.6). The Abbot is a fully fictional character, but his character is developed as the representation of a close confidant of James. At that moment, he has just received a letter from the exiled King, which asks for Jamie to be a "loyal servant – and a friend" (2.6) and join the Prince, who will be in France within a week. Through Claire's voice, the Abbot gives an abridged version of the circumstances surrounding James's situation with his French cousin, Louis of France (Louis XV):

> 'His royal cousin Louis has been distressingly deaf to these entirely proper claims,' the Abbot had said, frowning at the letter as though it were Louis. 'If he's now come to a realization of his responsibilities in the matter, it's cause for great rejoicing among those who hold dear the sacred right of kingship.' (2.6)

Through these characters, the reader bears witness to a one-sided, encouraging attitude with relation to the Stuart restoration. The knowledge that the protagonists possess, concerning the future outcome of these events, is not only there to distance them from emotional involvement with the struggle, but also to encourage them to use their wit and intuition to prevent it from developing. Their ultimate goal is to stop the Highland clearances, and through that, preserve the livelihoods of the family and friends remaining in Scotland. All of the information they gather along the way is vital to the storyline, and Gabaldon provides it in abundance.

The Abbot of Ste. Anne's also exists to reveal King James' strong Catholic connection and to illuminate historical details with relation to the cause. In the following lines, Jamie explains why the Abbot's role is so important:

> 'The papal messenger system crosses Italy, France, and Spain faster than almost any other. And the papal messengers canna be interfered with by government customs officers, so the letters they carry are less likely to be intercepted.' James of Scotland, exiled in Rome, was supported in large part by the Pope, in whose interest it very much was to have a Catholic monarchy restored to England and Scotland. (2.6)

And so, even though Jamie's character apparently explains to Claire (and thus – the reader) why the papal messenger system was central to the Stuart cause, Gabaldon then expands on this line almost imperceptibly through Claire's voice and gives a wider rendering on why this was so important. This is highlighted in the couple's later conversation in Paris:

> Who would want to intercept His Highness's mail?' I asked. '[…] 'Almost anyone, Sassenach. Louis's spies, Duverney's spies, Philip of Spain's spies. The Jacobite lords and the ones who think they might turn Jacobite if the wind sets right. […] The Pope himself; the Holy See's been supporting the Stuarts in exile for fifty years – I imagine he keeps an eye on what they're doing.' […] 'The seal on this letter had been removed maybe three times before I took it off myself,' he said. (2.13)

Through this passage, Gabaldon outlines the significance of counterintelligence even in those times. And indeed, an article by Paul S. Fritz dealing with the Anti-Jacobite Intelligence between 1715 and 1745, reaffirms the extent to which the opening and copying of mail was carried out during this time period, and the importance of such for a government in fear of the Jacobite movement (Cf. 265). He writes that this "almost pathological fear of a Stuart restoration" (265) had been increasing with each passing year, fuelled by the movement's strength and previous plots, foreign aid and even open rebellion. One of the surest ways of securing intelligence pertaining to Jacobite activity was the post office, and the government made sure to keep only those post officials who showed full commitment in aiding them (Cf. 265-266). A 1731 warrant to the Postmasters-General "gave orders to open all 'suspected treasonable correspondence with France and Flanders'" (267).

From the early 18th century on, there had been a 'secret department' principally in charge of the opening of correspondence. Another department, named the 'Deciphering Branch', was also established and directly funded by the Secretaries of State. These two sections had four people employed respectively, and while opening, copying and resealing of the letters was tiring work in itself, the decipherers were considered to be 'artists' who had the ability to find out "the mysterious meaning of words, syllables, and letters" (Cf. 267-268). Some examples Fritz includes are 'the plague' – a standing army, 'a flock of geese' – a senate, 'a broom' – a revolution, and so on (Cf. 268). In *Dragonfly,* Gabaldon embeds the explanations of codes and ciphers within dialogue:

> 'the majority of the letters are in code […] But here –' […] 'It's a cipher, Sassenach, and no a verra complicated one. See, all ye must do is break the letters up into groups of five, to start – only ye don't count the letters Q or X. The X's are meant as breaks between sentences, and the Q's are only stuck in here and there to make it more confusing.' (*Collection* 2.15)

Other European countries also co-operated with the English government, either because they were under the sway of Robert Walpole, the *de facto* first Prime Minister of Great Britain, or one of his agents in the crucial postal cities concerned. A postmaster in Brussels had agreed to gather intelligence from Jacobite correspondence, but refused to open a Jacobite bishop's letters to Rome, which were in the papal nuncio's packet (Cf. Fritz 273-274). "To tamper with this route […] represented 'a sin against the Holy Ghost'" (275). And even though this was not strictly adhered to, this specific information is transferred the reader through the Abbot's character, inferring that in the process, no route was truly safe from spying. It also indicated the importance of maintaining a counter-espionage system which brought information from all over Europe and within Britain itself.

Another fictional character who is used as a bridge between the plotline and the historical setting, is the character of Jared Fraser, Jamie's cousin and a wealthy wine merchant in Paris. He serves as the representation of the numerous Jacobites who resided (or were exiled) in France during the eighteenth century. Upon first introduction to him, Gabaldon immediately lets the reader know where his loyalties lie, by way of the following historical anecdote:

'Well, a toast!' he exclaimed. 'To our association, Cousin – and to His Majesty!' He lifted the brandy glass in salute, then passed it ostentatiously over the glass of water and brought it to his lips. […], 'To His Majesty – over the water, Sassenach.' 'Oh?' I said, then, realization dawning, 'oh!' The king over the water – King James. (*Collection* 2.6)

Jared's character also serves as a strong symbol of all the exiles who settled in France subsequent to prior Jacobite rebellions, particularly during the time that the Stuarts held their court-in-exile near Paris at St-Germain-en-Laye. Many of these expatriates remained in France, and found influential positions within the court, or even raised regiments (Scottish and Irish) as part of the French army (Cf. Riding 1).

Through these anecdotal hints and also observations contained within the dialogue and descriptions, Gabaldon provides important insights into the attitudes of the exiled on the subject of the Stuart restoration and overall political circumstances. These encompass everything from the poverty, terror and lack of liberty from within Scotland, to the more idealised and euphoric feelings of the members of affluent society within France itself.

4.2.4. Historical characters of the Rising

In the pages detailing the chronological events of the rising, Gabaldon interweaves the fates of the protagonists and the other fictional characters, with those of some less known, albeit pertinent characters to that period. The first of these introduced to the reader, are the Jacobite earls and lords numbered among the Prince's companions and advisors in France, followed by the military commanders and Scottish clan chiefs who stood at his side during the Rising of '45.

The Earl of Mar was the most respected of the exiled Scottish Jacobites in Paris. […] [H]e had been the primary supporter of King James at the abortive Rising in 1715, and had followed his king into exile after the defeat at Sheriffsmuir. I had met the Earl and liked him; an elderly, courtly man with a personality as straight as his backbone. […]

I had met Thomas Sheridan, too; the Prince's tutor – an elderly man who handled His Highness's correspondence, translating impatience and illiteracy into courtly French and English. (*Collection* 2.12)

In the writings of Riding, John Erskine, the 6th Earl of Mar was not only a "primary supporter" but had actually *led* the Highland rising of '15. After James's arrival on the north-east coast of Scotland, the rising was crushed by Field Marshal John Campbell, also known as the 2nd Duke of Argyll. James and Mar then both fled to France. Sir Thomas Sheridan was an Irish under-governor of Prince Charles, and with the protestant Scot James Murray, serving as his governor, was "crucial in the forming of Charles' character" (Cf. Riding 1). Although both characters serve as an important backdrop in the legitimisation of the story, creating a plausible historical connection to the Prince, Gabaldon doesn't give a voice to their perspective.

Throughout the uprising in Scotland, the principal commander of the Jacobite Army was a character by the name of Lord George Murray. In *Dragonfly,* he is described as "not a man to stand on ceremony when action would better suit" (Gabaldon*, Collection* 2.36). Subsequent to his participation in the Rising of 1715, George Murray and his older brother William were exiled and their lands transferred to their pro-Hanoverian brother James. Although George had been pardoned for his previous involvement, he remained secretly loyal to the Prince, as opposed to his brother and even his son, who fought for the English. He and James Drummond, the Duke of Perth, joined Charles at Perth in early September 1745 and were named lieutenant generals and it was in their hands that the trust and action of the rising lay (Cf. Riding 12). Lord George is described as "tall and robust, and brave in the highest degree" (12). He was possessed of a "natural genius for military operations; and was indeed a man of surprising talents" (12). However, as he had taken part in two previous Jacobite risings and had the most military experience of all concerned, he found it difficult to take advice. He is also described as "proud, haughty, blunt, and imperious" (12). He, however won the hearts of the Highlanders, "and a general, who has the confidence of his soldiers, may do wonders" (12).

Another Irishman, Charles' confidant from Paris, O'Sullivan, was put in charge of the commissary. He is not given a voice, but mainly viewed with disfavour by the General and other Chiefs: "here comes His Highness's frog-spawn, O'Sullivan – pest! Simply because he landed at Eriskay with His Highness, the man thinks he – well, anyway" (Gabaldon*, Collection* 2.36), says Lord Murray in the heat of anger. Lord Kilmarnock, a Jacobite earl who was executed for treason after the Rising, exclaims "'O'Sullivan and O'Brien and the rest of the Irish; they risk nothing! If the

worst should ever happen, they can plead immunity from prosecution by reason of their nationality'" (2.36). The effect of these statements demonstrates the level of division which existed between the Jacobite generals under Charles's command during the course of the rising. However, an interesting point concerning Gabaldon's portrayals of these characters is that when they speak, it is merely an expression of their frustration with regard to the Prince or fellow commanders. The reader is not provided with a contrasting view of the leadership of the English armies but only their progression or delay, devoid of any influence on the actual state of affairs.

The Duke of Perth and Lord Lewis Gordon are only mentioned briefly. Lord Balmerino, a prominent Jacobite earl, even though referred to more often, nevertheless remains another character devoid of voice. We later discover that he was beheaded with Lord Kilmarnock on Tower Hill (Cf. 2.47).

Lord Lovat, the Old Fox, an important historical character with a fictional twist, is incorporated into the story and referred to on several occasions. Gabaldon herself states that she based his character "more loosely". "Though […] saddled […] with a thoroughly fictitious illegitimate grandson, the general depiction of his personality as wily, sensual, and politically astute is based soundly on a good many accounts of his life and behaviour - even though those accounts vary considerably in detail and reliability" (Gabaldon, *Companion* 138). In *Dragonfly in Amber*, Lovat is described by Jamie upon his first encounter of his grandsire as "Cold as the stone" (Gabaldon, *Collection* 2.51). Upon the request of Charles Stuart, following the Siege of Stirling Castle, Jamie and Claire ride to Beauly to request that Lovat honours his promise to provide men and support to the cause. As Jamie recounts, we discover the character's actual historical intrigues; from swearing fealty to the Stuarts, to his betrayal of them to William of Orange in return for his title and lands. He subsequently returned to James as a spy and was discovered and imprisoned in France. Nonetheless, he managed to escape and assembled the clans in 1715 at the Braes of Mar under a false pretext. He received credit from the English Crown for subjugation of the subsequent Rising (Cf. 2.51).

Whereas he was indeed a chieftain of clan Frazer, and is characterised by Jamie as having "a character that would enable him to hide conveniently behind a spiral staircase" (2.51), and he also had three wives, obtained through means of deceit.

Gabaldon's fictional (although not entirely improbable) addition to the character was an illegitimate son by the castle maid - Jamie's father Brian.

Simon Fraser, also called the Young Fox, is described by Gabaldon as about fifty years younger than his father, but just as impudent. He is later shown to be much braver than his father with a willingness to support the Stuart cause. Through Roger's research, the reader gains an insight into Roger's thoughts, and as a result, an insight into history itself: "The Master of Lovat's men had come late to the Rising; while desertion had been rife in other regiments, […] the Frasers had been remarkably loyal – and suffered in consequence" (2.2).

In historical records, the Fraser clan led by Simon, the Master of Lovat, arrived quite late to the Rising (Cf. Riding 49). The following description is based on actual historical facts and figures, but with added fictional elements to correspond with the storyline. In the mission of 'finding Jamie', Roger informs the reader of Master Simon Fraser, saying that "he's a well-known historical figure, and we know very well what happened to him. He retreated from the field—unwounded, mind you—with a group of his men, and fought his way north, eventually making it back to Beaufort Castle, near here" (*Collection* 3.2). Lord Lovat, the Old Fox's fate, has been recorded in various sources, unanimous in that he met his end by executioner's axe in the Tower of London. As a historian, Roger's research from Claire's present albeit future, timeline serves the purpose of legitimisation of Gabaldon's narrative. Through his accounts, the author has the ability to use stories and written accounts of the 1745 Rising that were available in the 1960s, such as the well-known Linklater book, and thus further blur the lines of 'real' and the imagined.

Another interesting historical anecdote within the books, is the story of a young man whose knowledge of the surrounding area helped the Jacobites win the battle of Prestonpans. Gabaldon introduces a man called Richard Anderson of Whitburgh, who shows the Highland army a secret path across the field at Prestonpans, in order to utilise the element of surprise in their attack (Cf. 2.36). Although she uses artistic licence to invent the conversation which took place, allowing the reader to experience it from Claire's point of view, Anderson of Whitburgh was a real historical person named Robert, rather than Richard (Cf. Riding 17, Duffy 1).

4.2.5. Representations of the English

Concerning her representations of the English, *Dragonfly* does not differentiate itself from *Outlander* – they are present, but at the same time an invisible 'other', used for the most part as historical colouring. General Jonathan Cope, who was the commander of the English army at Prestonpans, and the Duke of Cumberland are mentioned. However, their characters are again devoid of voice, apart from the impact of their respective military decisions. The Duke of Cumberland is described as the man behind the war machine, whose mission was to quell the Rising and subdue the remaining Scots. At the Culloden Visitors Centre, observing a wax figure of the Duke, who is described as "a few inches over five feet, powdered wig thrust belligerently forward over a low brow and pendulous, pink-tinged cheeks" (Gabaldon, *Collection* 2.4), Roger tells Brianna the story of Cumberland's actions after the battle of Culloden:

> 'They called him "Butcher Billy."' […] 'For excellent reason. Aside from what they did here' […] 'Cumberland's men were responsible for the worst reign of English terror ever seen in the Highlands. They chased the survivors of the battle back into the hills, burning and looting as they went. Women and children were turned out to starve, and the men shot down where they stood – with no effort to find out whether they'd ever fought for Charlie. One of the Duke's contemporaries said of him, "He created a desert and called it peace" – and I'm afraid the Duke of Cumberland is still rather noticeably unpopular hereabouts.' (2.4)

Within this paragraph, Gabaldon is able to summarise the aftermath of the battle and also remind the reader of the historical impact of a very important period of Scottish history. The Highland clearances do not receive either reason or justification. What emanates from this passage is the feeling, that regardless of who was in the 'right' before Culloden, the (re)action following it was clearly the wrong one.

This is something that Duffy also emphasises in his article. "It was rare at that period for a victory to be exploited so vigorously, and altogether unknown for the victors to ravage their enemy's homelands, and to proceed over the coming years to destroy the basis of their society" (1). The English army acted on the orders to extinguish the remaining spirit of a nation and with it any possible notion of pursuing the idea of restoration.

However, there is another aspect to the representation of the English that Gabaldon explores in *Dragonfly* and subsequently, *Voyager*. In Paris, the reader is acquainted with the fictional characters of Mary Hawkins and Alex Randall, Frank's actual ancestors, and they are portrayed as noble and kind. Later, the fictional character of Lord John Grey is introduced, who on his capture and subsequent release by Jamie, promises Jamie a debt of honour. Gabaldon appropriates this event to illustrate a historical account concerning an officer by the name of Fraser who was the single survivor in that little cottage after the battle of Culloden. Despite receiving orders by the Duke of Cumberland "[a]uthorizing the immediate execution of any man found to have engaged in the treasonous rebellion just past" (Gabaldon, *Collection* 3.1), commander in charge, who happens to be Lord John's brother, Lord Melton releases Jamie and thus keeps his brother's word of honour. Gabaldon thereby fulfils the purpose of keeping Jamie alive for the story to continue, creating a hinge point between historical fact and the storyline. Melton, as an English noble, is presented as principled and honourable in accordance with this aspect. Furthermore, almost a decade later in *Voyager*, Lord John Grey becomes the warden of a fictional prison of Ardsmuir, where some of the remaining Jacobites from the area are incarcerated. Despite the difficult circumstances, a lasting friendship develops between Jamie and Lord John. Although the reader is shown the narrow-mindedness of some of the English throughout the story of Jamie's imprisonment and subsequent indenture, they are, however, principally portrayed as honest and honourable, regardless of their opinions on the Jacobite issue.

Through these representations, the author's own perceptions from the time of writing emerge, her efforts to produce a work containing a different perception of people and places than is present in the society of today. It may be unfair to suggest whether such a representation is incorrect. After all, every writer of historical fiction has to question whether it is possible to truthfully represent the positions of characters set in some prior historical period. However, balancing the positive representation of characters from 'opposing' sides, regardless of their situation, makes the world Gabaldon is presenting, a little more probable.

4.3. Of stories and legends

> 'So far as the Scottish Highlands go, most of the history is oral, up to the mid-nineteenth century or so. That means there wasn't a great distinction made between stories about real people, stories of historical figures, and the stories about mythical things like water horses and ghosts and the doings of the Auld Folk. Scholars who wrote the stories down often didn't know for sure which they were dealing with, either—sometimes it was a combination of fact and myth, and sometimes you could tell that it was a real historical occurrence being described.' (Gabaldon, *Collection* 3.3)

As in *Outlander*, Gabaldon includes several instances of mythical or supernatural value in the subsequent books. However, in *Dragonfly in Amber* the storyline is founded to a greater degree on historical data and so these aspects are dealt with in a more rational way. The time-travelling aspect is the single suspension of disbelief necessary for the storyline to maintain its form. Tales such as the legends of Silkies (the seals that come ashore and shed their skin only to reveal a beautiful woman underneath) and the White Ladies (also called the White Witch, La Dame Blanche or Dame Aliset – a powerful magician), are merely used as folk tales with the intention to fascinate, impress and often intimidate.

4.3.1. The Legend of Dunbonnet

Of all the legends, the one examined in greatest detail is that of Dunbonnet, which does not fall within classification of a fully verified historical character or occurrence. In the book, following the battle of Culloden and the subsequent accusation of treason for which the punishment was death, Jamie hides out in a cave outside of his estate for seven years. Gabaldon cites in the *Companion* that she discovered this legend and appropriated it into *Voyager.* After the book was published, she actually stumbled upon a version of the legend citing the name of the Culloden survivor as one James Fraser (Cf. 136). Nonetheless, when attempting to locate the source of this legend today, most of the results refer to Gabaldon's own story, as though the process were reversed and a tale barely substantiated has now become re-inscribed into history. My research has produced a single source which Gabaldon possibly referred to. A booklet from cca 1925, *Extracts from Tales of Old days on the Aldourie Estate* by Neil Fraser-Tytler et.al., mentions a certain James Fraser, 9th of Foyers

who supported Lord Lovat in the 1745 Rising, and with Charles, escaped the battlefield of Culloden in 1746. For seven years he lived in hiding, mainly in a cave near the Falls of Foyers. The locals referred to him as "Bonaid Odhair" (Dun Coloured Bonnet) in order to keep his hideout secret. The booklet also gives precise directions to the cave, which was known locally as "Prince Charlie's Cave," even though the Bonnie Prince never occupied it (Cf. ch. "Foyers")[3]. The chapter on Foyers also mentions an incident possibly related to the Old Foyers. It refers to the "The Cask's Leap" spot near the Falls, where a boy carrying a small cask of beer (Tunna Leann) to his lord was intercepted by Cumberland's men. After he refused to disclose his master's hiding place, the cask tumbled off his shoulders and fell off the steep pitch into the water. The dragoons cut off the boy's hand with a sword for staying true to his master (Cf. ch. "Foyers"). In *Voyager*, Gabaldon incorporates the legend of "Leap O' the Cask" into an important part of the story in order to trace Jamie through historical records of events (Cf. 3.3). Further on in the book, the author develops the story from Jamie's perspective by making young Fergus the boy who loses his hand to an English soldier's saber (Cf. 3.6).

Another genealogical source mentions a Fraser of Foyers. This Fraser deeded his estate to his eldest son Hugh, before going to join Prince Charles in 1745. By dating the deed before becoming a traitor to the crown, he had hoped to save it for future generations (Cf. Mackenzie 701). James Fraser, IX Laird of Foyers, died about 1760 (Cf. ch. "Foyers"). In *Dragonfly*, Gabaldon also makes reference to this historic detail, when James asks Claire and Murtagh to witness his Deed of Sasine on the morning of the battle of Culloden. "It was dated 1 July 1745 – a month before Charles Stuart had launched his rebellion on the shores of Scotland, and made Jamie Fraser a traitor to the Crown" (2.46). By transferring the estate to his sister's eldest son, he was able to save the farm and lands from seizure by the Crown, a method used by many Scottish landowners during the time of the uprising.

---

[3] As I only had access to the PDF version of this booklet, which includes additions and corrections made in 2002, it is difficult to ascertain which information was contained in the original document.

4.3.2. Cluny's Cage

Another example of a Jacobite chief fleeing the Crown in the wake of Culloden is the story of Ewan MacPherson. Although his men had joined the Rising in 1745, on April 16th 1746 they were again en route to join the prince. They were not present for the battle, having guarded a mountain pass during that time. Knowing that MacPherson was still out there with his men, Cumberland's army occupied his lands, burnt down his estate, and put a bounty of 1000 guineas on his head. As a result Cluny hid in various huts and caves within the MacPherson lands for nine years before going into exile in France. A cave near his estate is called Cluny's Cave, (Uamh Chluanaidh) on Creag Dhubh, whereas the cave on the side of Ben Alder is 'Cluny's Cage'. The 'Cage' has been made famous by a chapter of Robert Louis Stevenson's acclaimed novel *Kidnapped* from 1886. It is in this spot that Cluny hid Prince Charles for six days during his flight from Cumberland's men, prior to setting him on a ship to France (Cf. Basu 133).

In the course of the third book of the series, *Voyager*, Claire returns to Lallybroch after twenty years of absence. She is accompanied by Jamie and their nephew Young Ian, when they discover a small hidden cave on their route. Young Ian is excited and inquires about it, making reference to a Jacobite chief who hid in the mountains after Culloden. Claire, not knowing much of the after effects of the battle is informed, and thus the reader discovers another Culloden story which has since been woven into Highland folklore. After the English destroyed his property, Cluny hid in a cavern near his estate that concealed it with shrubbery and mud. "Folk said ye could stand three feet away, and no notion that the cave was there, save the smell of the smoke from Cluny's pipe" (Gabaldon, *Collection* 3.32). It also provided shelter for Prince Charles while on the run, and it was so well concealed that the nearby English patrols were unable to find them.

In the *Jacobites'* chapter titled 'Cluny's Cage', Riding traces the Prince's hiding within the Highlands for months after Culloden, as many of his supporters had done at the time. At the end of August, he met up with the wounded Lochiel in Ben Alder forest. Cluny and a few others took care of him, making him a home in a simple hut. Cluny suspected that such accommodation might be too basic for a prince, especially if he had to spend any appreciable time hiding there. As a result of this, they moved the

company to a higher point of the mountain after a few days (Cf. 59). The structure he built was "oval-shaped with trees laid down to make a floor, which was then covered with gravel and earth. Branches intertwined with ropes of heath and birch twigs, all covered in moss, formed the walls and roof" (59). Cluny himself described it as "the face of the mountain had so much the colour and resemblance of smock [smoke], no person cou'd ever discover that there was either fire or habitation in the place" (qtd. in Riding 59). After six days, on the night of the 13th of September 1746, Charles Stuart and his party left the 'Cage' and made their way to the coast. Before he boarded *L'Heureux*, Charles reportedly informed the party 'it shall not be long before I shall be with you' (Cf. 59). It had been fourteen months since he landed at Eriskay when the prince left Scotland, never to return.

Within these examples, Gabaldon highlights the survival characteristics of a nation and its people which, in spite of the threat of prosecution, remained to preserve their spirit and customs, albeit in secret or abroad. These stories of resistance, based around a pertinent historical event, became celebrated and glorified to the extent that they incorporated themselves into Scottish traditions and folklore. The author herself comments on this notion through Claire's character when she is asked whether historians are to blame for different representations of historical events and figures.

> 'No, not them. Their greatest crime is that they presume to know what happened, how things come about, when they have only what the past chose to leave behind […]. 'No, the fault lies with the artists,' […] It's them that take the past and re-create it to their liking. Them that could take a fool and give you back a hero, take a sot and make him a king.' (Gabaldon, *Collection* 2.47)

This is a significant commentary on the representations of history itself. It demonstrates the value which the author accords to recorded accounts, while also acknowledging their inability of truthfulness. Achieving the objective of creating a past reality is nigh impossible, it can only be understood through the benefit of past experience. Apart from travelling though time, this objective remains unattainable for now. On the other hand, accounts given by writers and artists could bridge that gap, but as we can see from the passage above, these accounts have a tendency to be quite misleading. The real value lies in the merging of both aspects, recognising their shortcomings through detailed investigations. By immersing oneself so fully into the researched period, as to develop an intricate historical imagination, which then

complements the recorded data. Perhaps another working definition for historical fiction?

5. CONCLUSION

What Gabaldon paints is an impressionistic picture that gives interesting historical insights into a well-documented historical period. Her novels could also be described as over-abundant with historical information. On the other hand, even though some of the actions, especially those of the English army are overly simplified, they do fulfil a functional purpose of representation within these novels. By accepting her limitations with regard to a balanced representation, Gabaldon focuses instead on presenting significant historical events from a Scottish perspective. The storyline is then developed between the lines of documented history. The purpose the novel fulfils is the creation of a historical imagination, albeit heavily romanticised. The story provides an inviting atmosphere, and regardless of deliberate or accidental anachronisms, unintentional errors and fictional occurrences, Gabaldon succeeds in seamlessly imparting historical information to the reader, as well as providing the essence of authenticity for the rest. The fact that there are fantastical elements within the books does not adversely affect her strife for truthfulness in other sections of the work. For the reader, it is quite clear that an ancient time-travelling stone is pure invention and a literary device to transport the heroine from the 'now' to 'then'. However, they expect what they read about the specific progression of Jacobite forces during the '45 rebellion to be based on legitimate sources.

The didactic purpose of the first trilogy of the *Outlander series* succeeds for the most part. There is a strong likelihood that if a reader begins and remains engaged in a story of about a thousand pages or more (per volume), then it would suggest their interest in the plotline and the subject matter to be sufficiently strong. Considering the abundance of historical information provided and the plot and characters that centre themselves around one major historical event, the novels carry enough substantiated historiographical data to serve a didactical function.

Historical descriptions in these novels, while primarily used for dramatization throughout the trilogy, also carry their own weight of conveying history for its own sake, something which is particularly visible in the second book, *Dragonfly in Amber.* Gabaldon's use of history, while largely one-sided, could not be called prejudiced.

Stereotypes are included, on both the Scottish and English sides, and the Scots' perspective is used because the story is told through the heroine's point of view.

This paper has also investigated the substantiality of Gabaldon's historical references. Being aware that the only way history can be authenticated is through other historical input, this thesis has strived to compare the author's historical claims with those published in selected works of historiography. Taken together, these findings support the idea of Ward's notion of *authenticity* as a plausible representation of the past. Gabaldon, as an academic researcher herself, is aware of the shortcomings of trying to legitimise sources, but realises that the emphasis of her work lies in fiction, and not history itself. The historical information she aptly includes, serves as a foundation on which the plot can be built, and the characters are free to roam within it.

In conclusion, by making her protagonist a time traveller, Diana Gabaldon presents history in her novels in a cyclical way as opposed to a linear, chronological stream of events. Claire lives in both words, the past which is her present, and the present that is her future. Her life exists in both worlds, through both her husbands as well as her daughter. All three novels are grounded on the principle idea of history, which remains something that cannot be changed, only observed and experienced. And this is something Gabaldon provides unequivocally – a window to the past.

6. BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary literature:

Gabaldon, Diana. *An Outlander Collection: Books 1-3.* Kindle ed., London: Cornerstone Digital, 2016.

---. *The Outlandish Companion: the first companion to the Outlander series, covering Outlander, Dragonfly in Amber, Voyager, and Drums of Autumn.* 1999. London: Random House Group, 2015.

Secondary literature:

Adam, Frank. *The Clans, Septs & Regiments of the Scottish Highlands.* Edinburgh & London: W. & A. K. Johnston, 1908. Web. 15 Sept. 2019. <https://ia800108.us.archive.org/4/items/clansseptsregime01adam/clansseptsregime01adam.pdf>.

Akman, Beyazit H. "Fiction or History? A brief theoretical elaboration on historical fiction and fictional history." *Trakya University Journal of Faculty of Letters* 7.14 (2017): 85-107. Edirne: U. of Trakya. Web. 2 Aug. 2019. <https://dergipark.org.tr/en/download/article-file/591544>.

Baker, Jennifer S. *The readers' advisory guide to historical fiction.* Chicago: American Library Association, 2015.

Basu, Paul. "Macpherson Country: genealogical identities, spatial histories and the Scottish diasporic clanscape." *Cultural Geographies* 12.2 (2005): 123-150. Brighton: U of Sussex. EBSCOhost. Web. 5 March 2019. <http://search-ebscohost-com.uaccess.univie.ac.at/login.aspx?direct=true&db=hus&AN=16423091&site=ehost-live>.

Cunningham, Alastair. "Dun Bonnet's Cave." *Clans, Castles and the Scottish Borders.* Web. 13 March 2019. <http://alastaircunningham07.blogspot.com/2007/09/dun-bonnets-cave.html>.

Dalley, Hammish. "Temporal Systems in Representations of the Past: Distance, Freedom and Irony in Historical Fiction." *Reading Historical Fiction: The Revenant and Remembered Past.* Ed. Kate Mitchell and Nicola Parsons. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013. 33-49.

Dekker, George. *The American historical romance.* (Cambridge studies in American literature and culture). 1987. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1990.

De Groot, Jerome. *Consuming History:* historians and heritage in contemporary popular culture. London: Routledge, 2009.

---. *The Historical Novel.* London: Routledge, 2010.

Duffy, Christopher. "The '45 Campaign." *Culloden: The History and Archaeology of the Last Clan Battle.* Ed. Tony Pollard. Kindle ed., Barnsley: Pen and Sword Books Ltd. 2009*.*

Fraser-Tytler, Neil, Sinton, Thomas, and Gow, James. *Extracts from Tales of Old days on the Aldourie Estate.* [place and publisher not identified], cca. 1925. Ed. Iain Cameron 2002. Web. 20 Jan 2020. <https://southlochnessheritage.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2014/08/Tales-from.pdf>.

Fritz, Paul S. "The Anti-Jacobite Intelligence System of the English Ministers, 1715-1745." *The Historical Journal.* 16.2 (1973): 265-289. Cambridge: Cambridge UP. Web. 17 May 2019. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2638312>.

Gabaldon, Diana. "The Outlander Series." *DianaGabaldon.com.* Web. 15 Oct. 2018. <http://www.dianagabaldon.com/books/outlander-series/>.

Gossman, Lionel. *Between History and Literature.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990.

Herz, Sarah K. "Using Historical Fiction in the History Classroom." *Connecticut History -1931.* Ed. Christopher Collier. Yale-New Haven Teachers Institute. Web. 17 Dec. 2018. <http://teachersinstitute.yale.edu/curriculum/units/1981/cthistory/>.

Howell, Jennifer. "Popularising History: Re-igniting pre-service teacher and student interest in history via historical fiction." *Australian Journal of Teacher Education*, 39(12). (2014). Web. 16 Nov. 2018.<http://dx.doi.org/10.14221/ajte.2014v39n12>.

Hughes, Helen. *The Historical Romance.* Popular Fictions Series. London: Routledge, 1993. EBSCOhost. Web. 16 May 2018. <search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=95334&site=ehost-live>.

Jacobs, Naomi. *The Character of Truth: Historical Figures in Contemporary Fiction.* Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois UP, 1990.

Lenman, Bruce P. "Some Recent Jacobite Studies." *The Scottish Historical Review* 70.189 (1991): 66–74. Web. 27 Sept. 2019. <www.jstor.org/stable/25530491>.

Linklater, Eric. *The Prince in the Heather.* 1976. Frogmore: Panther Books Ltd, 1977.

Mackenzie, Alexander. *History of the Frasers of Lovat, with genealogies of the principal families of the name: to which is added those of Dunballoch and Phopachy.* Inverness: A. & W. MacKenzie, 1896. Web. 7 Feb. 2019. <https://archive.org/details/historyoffrasers00mackuoft/page/700>.

Mackinlay, James Murray. *Folklore Of Scottish Lochs And Springs.* Glasgow: William Hodge & Co, 1893. Project Gutenberg. 2017. Web. 27 Sept. 2019. <http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/56034>

Mitchel, Kate, and Parsons, Nicola. "Reading the Represented Past: History and Fiction from 1700 to the Present." *Reading Historical Fiction: The Revenant and Remembered Past.* Ed. Kate Mitchell and Nicola Parsons. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013. 1-18.

Munro, Joyce Underwood. "The Invisible Made Visible: The Fairy Changeling as a Folk Articulation of Failure to Thrive in Infants and Children." *The Good People: New Fairylore Essays.* Ed. Peter Narvàez. New York: Garland. 1991. The University Press of Kentucky. 1997. 251-283. Web. 27 Sept. 2019. <https://books.google.at/books?id=DLmoKKkxAX0C&lpg=PP1&pg=PA280#v=onepage&q=underwood&f=false>.

Nagy, Ladislav. "Historical Fiction as a Mixture of History and Romance: Towards the Genre Definition of the Historical Novel." *Prague Journal of English Studies* 3.1 (2014): 7-17. Web. 13 Dec. 2018. <https://doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.2478/pjes-2014-0014>.

Pollard, Tony. "Introduction: The Battle of Culloden–More than a Difference of Opinion." *Culloden: The History and Archaeology of the Last Clan Battle.* Ed. Tony Pollard. Kindle ed., Barnsley: Pen and Sword Books Ltd. 2009*.*

Reid, Stuart. *Culloden 1746: Battlefield Guide.* 2005. Kindle ed., Barnsley: Pen and Sword Books Ltd. 2018.

Riding, Jacqueline. *Jacobites: A New History of the '45 Rebellion.* 2016. Kindle ed., London: Bloomsbury.

Rodwell, Grant. *Whose History?* Engaging history Students through Historical Fiction. Adelaide: U of Adelaide P, 2013. Web. 13 Dec. 2018. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.20851/j.ctt1t304sf.9>.

Scott, Walter. *Waverley: Historical Novel.* 1814. Kindle ed., e-artnow. 2018.

Shaw, Harry E. *The Forms of Historical Fiction: Sir Walter Scott and His Successors.* Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1983. Web. 15 Sept. 2019. <www.jstor.org/stable/10.7591/j.ctt207g768>.

Stevens, A.H. "Learning to Read the Past in the Early Historical Novel." *Reading Historical Fiction: The Revenant and Remembered Past.* Ed. Kate Mitchell and Nicola Parsons. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.19-32.

Visser, Carla. "Historicity in Historical Fiction: Burning Water and The Temptations of *Big Bear*." *Studies in Canadian Literature / Études en littérature Canadienne.* 12.1 (1987) Web. 10 Dec. 2018. <https://journals.lib.unb.ca/index.php/scl/article/view/8058/9115>.

White, Hayden. *Figural Realism*: Studies in the Mimesis Effect. Baltimore: The John Hopkins UP, 1999.

---. "Introduction: Historical Fiction, Fictional History, and Historical Reality." *Rethinking History*, 9.2-3 (2005): 147-157. Web. 23 April 2018. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13642520500149061>.

---. *Metahistory:* The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe. 1973. Baltimore: The John Hopkins UP, 2014.

---. *The Content of the Form*: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation. Baltimore: The John Hopkins UP, 1987.

---. "The Historical Text." *The Writing of History, Literary Form and Historical Understanding.* Ed. Robert H. Canary and Henry Kozicki. Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1978. 41-62.

Wilson, Gordon. *A Brief History of Foyers.* Web. 13 March 2019. <http://www.caithness.org/caithnessfieldclub/bulletins/2004/historyoffoyers.htm>.

Wilson, Kathleen. *The Island Race: Englishness, Empire and Gender in the Eighteenth Century.* London: Routledge, 2003. EBSCOhost. Web. 2 Oct. 2019. <search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=790220&site=ehost-live>.

7. INDEX

8. APPENDIX

8.1. Abstract (English)

Historical fiction has at its very foundation the presentation of history. It is a version of history, recounted from the perspective and experience of fictional and non-fictional characters during a particular time period. This thesis is based on the premise that popular historical fiction can provide unique insight to complement the reader's historical literacy. It lays bare the foundations of historical writing and its role in representing history. The focus of this work is the initial trilogy of Diana Gabaldon's *Outlander* book series, namely *Outlander* (1991)*, Dragonfly in Amber* (1992)*,* and *Voyager* (1993)*.* This thesis argues that the historical milieu described in the books, affords the reader a singularly realistic and encompassing view of the era surrounding the Jacobite Rising of 1745. The representations of Scotland and the political situation involved in the Rising, introduce the most significant historical figures of the time, and include the 18th century attitudes and beliefs prevalent among the people of the Scottish Highlands. It plays with the romanticised imagery of Scotland while simultaneously depicting the harsh realities of living under oppression. It leads ultimately to depictions of war, culminating with the final battle on Culloden Moor. By cross-referencing the historical points with a number of well-known historiographical works, this thesis explores what lies behind the story of Bonnie Prince Charlie and the events surrounding the 1745 Rising.

8.2. Abstract (German) / Deutsche Zusammenfassung

Die historische Fiktion basiert auf der Darstellung der Geschichte. Es ist eine Version der Geschichte, die aus der Perspektive und den Erfahrungen von fiktiven und realen Figuren während eines bestimmten Zeitraums erzählt wird.

Die folgende Arbeit basiert auf der Idee, dass populäre historische Fiktion an der historischen Kenntnis des Lesers anknüpfen kann. Sie legt die Grundlagen des historischen Schreibens und seine Rolle in der Darstellung der Geschichte. Der Schwerpunkt dieser Arbeit liegt auf der ersten Trilogie von Diana Gabaldons Outlander-Buchreihe, nämlich *Outlander* (1991), *Dragonfly in Amber* (1992) und *Voyager* (1993). Die These argumentiert, dass das in den Büchern beschriebene historische Milieu den Lesern einen besonders realistischen und umfassenden Überblick über die Zeit um den Jakobitenaufstand von 1745 gibt. Die Darstellung Schottlands und dessen politische Situation rund um den Aufstand, liefern historische Figuren, die für jene Zeit als wichtig und einflussreich angesehen werden sowie die Einstellungen und Überzeugungen des 18. Jahrhunderts, die unter den Menschen im schottischen Hochland herrschten. Die Trilogie spielt mit den romantisierten Bildern Schottlands und zeigt gleichzeitig die harten Realitäten des Lebens durch Unterdrückung und letztendlich den Darstellungen des Krieges, die mit der letzten Schlacht auf Culloden Moor gipfeln. Durch die Querverweise der historischen Punkte mit mehreren ausgewählten historiografischen Werken wird untersucht, was hinter der Geschichte von Bonnie Prince Charlie und den Ereignissen rund um den Aufstand von 1745 steckt.