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*Susan Manning*

Ossian, Scott, and Nineteenth-Century  
Scottish Literary Nationalism



The "Celtic Revival" of the later eighteenth century formed part of the wider European movement away from literary neoclassicism towards a primitivist stance which looked to the barbarous past of "uncivilised" nations as the true well-spring of untutored inspiration and poetic truth. Research into the nature of the Celtic past was chiefly carried out by such accomplished classical scholars as Thomas Gray and Evan Evans, who gave respectability to the enterprise, and produced such work as the latter's *Specimens of the Poetry of the Antient Welsh Bards*.<sup>1</sup>

In Scotland a young Highland schoolmaster, James Macpherson, was quick to grasp the Rousseauistic mood of the times, and while travelling as tutor to a young nobleman, he met the playwright John Home (the celebrated author of *Douglas*) to whom

he showed what he said were fragments of ancient Gaelic poetry still recited in the Highlands. One of the pieces, *The Death of Oscar*, he translated at Home's request. It greatly pleased Home, the Rev. Dr. Alexander Carlyle, and others, and when Macpherson produced and translated some fifteen or sixteen more pieces, they strongly urged him to publish them. They were finally

turned over to the Rev. Dr. Hugh Blair, Professor of Rhetoric in the University of Edinburgh, for that purpose, and they appeared in a thin volume in July 1760...<sup>2</sup>

The work, entitled *Fragments of Ancient Poetry, Collected in the Highlands of Scotland, and Translated from the Gaelic or Erse Language*, purported to be versions of the ancient Celtic poems of Ossian, miraculously preserved in the Highlands for over fifteen centuries. The tone of the spurious translations was accurately gauged; the work impressed even such experts in the field as Gray, and Ossian enjoyed a vogue and sparked off a controversy unprecedented in literary history. Blair, who became one of Macpherson's chief supporters, and an ardent believer in the authenticity of the poems, wrote a "Critical Dissertation" on the origin and nature of the supposed translations which was prefixed to subsequent editions of the complete "cycle." As late as 1894, editions of Ossian accompanied by Blair's "Dissertation" were being published. The circularity of Blair's argument, whereby the poems were both validated by theories of primitivism, and proved by their existence that primitivist ideas of early literature were correct, did not prevent the dissertation from becoming a central document in the controversy which surrounded the Poems of Ossian, and the mainstay of the case for the defence of their authenticity. Later arguments tended to repeat Blair's premises, and to use the same similes and comparisons when discussing Ossian; with Homer, for example, and the other great pagan epics of the past.

Although the *Fragments of Ancient Poetry* date from as early as 1760, the controversy over their authenticity was artificially maintained into the nineteenth century, as the issues at stake became confused with contemporary national antagonism between England and Scotland. In the years following the first publication, the most prominent literary figures of the time interested themselves on one side or the other: in his *Life of Johnson*, Boswell cites the letters which passed between himself and Johnson on the subject, and gives an account of the controversy, in which Johnson became personally involved to the extent of at one stage receiving a threatening letter from the perpetrator of the poems himself, James Macpherson. The main reasons for Johnson's scepticism were that the "Erse" which the work purported to translate had never been a written language, and that the manuscripts on which the translations were based had never been produced:

Where are the manuscripts? They can be shewn

if they exist, but they were never shown....No man has a claim to credit upon his own word, when better evidence, if he had it, may be easily produced. But so far as we can find, the Erse language was never written till very lately for the purposes of religion. A nation that cannot write, or a language that was never written, has no manuscripts.<sup>3</sup>

Johnson believed the whole affair to be "another proof of Scotch conspiracy in national falsehood," and his journey to the Western Islands of Scotland only confirmed his opinion of the spuriousness of Ossian.<sup>4</sup>

David Hume, who according to his friend Alexander Carlyle "was at first quite Delighted with Ossians Poems and gloried in them," on going to London "went over to the other side, and loudly affirm'd them to be Inventions of Macpherson."<sup>5</sup> Hume, a friend of Hugh Blair, subsequently wrote an essay "Of the Authenticity of Ossian's Poems" in which he refuted the conclusions of Blair's "Dissertation," but which he for some time "withheld from publication out of a kindly feeling towards Dr. Blair."<sup>6</sup> Nevertheless, Hume's refutation became the basis for later arguments against the authenticity of the poems, as Blair's "Dissertation" was the central document in their defence. Boswell, writing in 1791, talks of the controversy as "a subject now become very uninteresting";<sup>7</sup> even in Johnson's lifetime, a number of convincing refutations had appeared, for example that of the Reverend Mr. Shaw, a native of the Hebrides. As the fashions of primitivism *per se* were abandoned in favour of the more down to earth Romanticism of the nineteenth century, poets began to find the form and sentiment of Macpherson's work unacceptable. Wordsworth declared the style alone to be conclusive evidence against Ossian's authenticity:

Having had the good fortune to be born and reared in a mountainous country, from my very childhood I have felt the falseness that pervades the volumes imposed on the world under the name of Ossian. From what I saw with my own eyes, I knew that the imagery was spurious. In nature everything is distinct, yet nothing defined into absolute independent singleness. In Macpherson's work it is exactly the reverse; everything (that is not stolen) is in this manner defined, insulated, dislocated, deadened--yet nothing distinct. It will always be so when words are substituted for things.<sup>8</sup>

In 1802 Malcolm Laing, an acquaintance of Scott, published a "Dissertation" on the supposed authenticity of Ossian's poems which was "a somewhat merciless exposure of the Ossian delusion, and caused much perturbation and no little indignation in the highlands."<sup>9</sup> Laing, whose object was "to establish, from historical and internal evidence, that these noted productions are totally and absolutely spurious,"<sup>10</sup> based his refutation on the names of the heroes of Ossian, which had been taken from the map of the channel between Skye and the mainland. One of these names was indisputably of eighteenth-century origin.<sup>11</sup>

Despite the apparent absurdity of continuing the controversy in the light of such diverse and conclusive evidence against the poems' authenticity, the issue remained a live one, at least in Scotland, well into the nineteenth century. The question of the authenticity or otherwise of Macpherson's "translations" was submerged by the national significance attached by Scots to the poems. "Fingal" and the other fragments were felt to express an ancient though non-Classical mythology, peculiar to the Celtic race--distinctively Scottish--which the discoveries of Macpherson had conveniently made available to those contemporaries interested in preserving and revivifying their national heritage. As late as 1867 Matthew Arnold was able to write (in *The Study of Celtic Literature*),

Make the part of what is forged, modern, tawdry,  
spurious, in the book, as large as you please; strip  
Scotland, if you like, of every feather of borrowed  
plumes which on the strength of Macpherson's *Ossian*  
she may have stolen from that *vetus et major Scotia*,  
the true home of Ossianic poetry, Ireland; I make  
no objection. But there will still be left in the  
book a residue with the very soul of the Celtic genius  
in it, and which has the proud distinction of having  
brought this soul of the Celtic genius into contact  
with the genius of the nations of modern Europe, and  
enriched all our poetry by it.<sup>12</sup>

The immediate (and lasting) European success of Ossian was a result of Macpherson's acute perception of the Romantic needs of the age to have its own ideas legitimated by the past. In 1774, a passage from the translations appeared in Goethe's *The Sorrows of Young Werther*, and Schiller, *à propos*

of Ossian, wrote that truer inspiration lay in the misty mountains and wild cataracts of Scotland than in the fairest of meadows and gardens.<sup>13</sup> Herder, contemplating a visit to Britain, was enabled by his reading of Ossian to distinguish between the English and the Scots, greatly to the advantage of the latter:

When I still cherished in my mind the thought of a journey to England, you little know how I counted on these Scots! One glance, I thought, at the public life, the stage, the whole lively spectacle of the English people...Then the great change of scene,--to the Scots!--to Macpherson! There I would fain hear the living songs of a living nation, witness all their influence, see the places that the poems tell of, study in their customs the relics of this ancient world, become for a time an ancient Caledonian...<sup>14</sup>

Napoleon "was moved to admiration for 'Ocean,' as he spelt it, carrying it with him as his favourite reading during his campaigns,"<sup>15</sup> and Mme. de Staël felt that the word "Romantic" "is virtually synonymous with Northern, the poetry of Ossian, as opposed to the Southern, the poetry of Homer."<sup>16</sup>

When the "translations" inspired such emotions in foreigners, it is scarcely surprising that nationalistic Scots felt a vested interest in upholding their authenticity. Byron and Burns (and a host of lesser poets) composed Ossianic imitations, and Scott himself, as will be shown later, adroitly clambered aboard the bandwagon, so that his European reputation followed in the wake of that of Ossian.

The "translations" were eighteenth-century in sensibility, but were projected onto a supposedly ancient epic form. Popular primitivist ideas suggested that the northern nations had once possessed a poetry that knew nothing of classical laws, and "uncivilised" Scotland was a prime candidate for possible survival of this prelapsarian art. Ossian's provinciality was, ironically, his chief virtue as a poet:

Ossian, confined as was his sphere of observation, unacquainted with the history of other nations, and with the variety of human characters, could scarcely have an idea of any other excellence or accomplishment than what distinguished the most renowned of his contemporaries and particularly his own father.<sup>17</sup>

The virtues of primitivism were, however, associated with those of the highest civilisation: the Classical. The Homer-

ic parallel, drawn by Blair and then by countless others, validated the Classical status of this production of "Natural Genius." Having once accepted its authenticity, the writer influenced by Ossian could feel that his own work in turn received validation from its august background. "In emulating this supposed epic, in allowing its rhythms, its sentiments, its images, to affect their own work, Goethe, Herder, and others were giving what they supposed to be a historical legitimation to tendencies of their own time--tendencies they had themselves helped to shape and direct."<sup>18</sup>

This summary should serve to indicate, in the context of early nineteenth-century cultural nationalism, why the Ossian controversy remained a live issue in Scotland long after the epic's claimed antiquity had been discredited. The Scots/English conflict inherent in the dispute gathered momentum with the decline of cosmopolitan interest in the "translations." From the first appearance of the poems, there had been a political and national aspect to the defence of their authenticity, which was doubtless what led Johnson to see the whole affair as "another proof of Scotch conspiracy." Evan Evans, writing to Thomas Percy of the Ossianic controversy, said, "The Scots have made it a national affair, and therefore what they say in its plea ought to count the less."<sup>19</sup> The Earl of Bute, who became Prime Minister in 1762, in his rôle as Chancellor of Marischal College in Aberdeen patronised Macpherson and supported the authenticity of the productions. Bute's Administration employed his fellow-Scot Smollett as a paid writer; in 1761 and 1762 alone, it was calculated that Bute spent £30,000 on hiring and pensioning writers to support his government. His overt patronage of Scots, and the foundation of the Scottish-dominated Administration paper, *The Briton*, with Smollett as its editor, lent political animus to the literary and historical scepticism surrounding Ossian, and contributed directly to the founding of the anti-Scottish paper *The North Briton*, with its notorious moving spirit John Wilkes.<sup>20</sup> This anti-Administration propaganda represented Bute as a butt tied to the Tories, and thus linked to the Jacobites; his characterisation as a Scot was largely achieved by identifying him with the two national issues of Ossian and Jacobitism.<sup>21</sup>

The element of national pride remained long after the issues had ceased to be alive for the rest of Europe. As the "assimilationist" ideology of the eighteenth century gave way to the cultural nationalism of the nineteenth, Ossian achieved symbolic value as yet another index of Scottishness, a key to the country's cultural independence and unique traditions following the loss of its political independence

with the Act of Union of 1707. It was, of course, a matter of particular importance in the Highlands: Mrs. Grant of Laggan, who prided herself on being a spokesman for this oppressed area, provides a typical example of such feeling:

I forgive the Reviewers, like a Christian, for what they say of myself [in the review of her *Letters from the Mountains*, 1803]; but I feel as revengeful as a Malay for what they say of the Highlanders; for their silly and absurd attempt to prove the fair-headed Fingal and his tuneful son nonentities, includes an accusation of deceit and folly against the whole people. Arrogant scribes that they are, to talk so decidedly of the question, of all others, perhaps, which they are least qualified to determine! They are doubtless clever, but intoxicated with applause and self-opinion. Why should they wish to diminish the honour their country derives from the most exalted heroism, adorned by the most affecting poetry that ever existed? They disprove their own assertion; for had Ossian's poetry been the shadow of a shade, a mere imaginary imitation of what, if it ever did exist, had been long lost in the clouds of remote antiquity, it would be utterly impossible that it should communicate to all Europe the powerful impulse they are forced to acknowledge. An author, describing a fictitious character, may make us weep and tremble; but then he is impressed by some real one with the image he conveys to us. The double deception of a feigned poet celebrating a feigned hero, could never have power to reach the heart.<sup>22</sup>

Scott, himself a non-believer, wrote to Miss Seward "on the great national question of Ossian...I should be no Scottishman if I had not very attentively considered it at some period of my studies," referring presumably to his early paper of February 1792 to the Speculative Society in Edinburgh, "On the Authenticity of Ossian's Poems."<sup>23</sup> Mrs. Grant split those who believed in the poems, and those who did not, into two camps, the "Philosophers" (sceptics) and the "Enthusiasts" among the literati. The latter, amongst whom she counted herself, "believe all that our fathers believed; nay more; we believe in the existence of the fair-headed Fingal and the sweet voice of Cona." The support of Ossian had become a question of traditional pieties, against those historical Luddites, the "Philosophers," who had lately "clubbed their whole stock of talent to prove that no such person as Fingal

ever existed; that our Celtic ancestors were little better than so many northern ourang-outangs; that we should never think of or mention our ancestors, unless to triumph in our superiority over them; that the Highlands should be instantly turned into a sheep-walk, and that the sooner its inhabitants leave it, the better for themselves and the community."<sup>24</sup> All the emotive local issues are raised in this diatribe: belief in Ossian is associated with the valuing of tradition and the past, with national loyalties, natural goodness, and local and ancestral allegiance. Disbelief on the other hand, is connected to all the contemporary marks of "English" oppression of the Highlands; there can be no meeting-ground between the two. Such was the range of association surrounding the very name of Ossian, even after the main spate of imitations had subsided. George Pratt Insh has suggested the important relationship of Ossian to Culloden and the Jacobite lost cause; spurious as the "translations" were in terms of their Celtic ancestry, they undoubtedly expressed an important aspect of the melancholy lost cause of the Highlands in the eighteenth century.<sup>25</sup>

Ironically enough, Macpherson himself had early in the controversy begun to abandon his own cause, and to hint at the originality of some of his work. The first edition of 1760 declared unequivocally that "The public may depend on the following fragments as genuine remains of ancient Scottish poetry....The translation is extremely literal. Even the arrangement of the words in the original has been imitated ..."<sup>26</sup> In the Preface to the complete edition of 1773, however, Macpherson seemed anxious to claim something more for himself:

Without increasing his genius, the author may have improved his language, in the eleven years that the following Poems have been in the hands of the public. Errors of diction might have been committed at twenty-four, which the experience of a riper age may remove, and some exuberance in imagery may be restrained, with advantage, by a degree of judgment acquired in the progress of time.

...In a convenient indifference for a literary reputation, the author hears praise without being elevated, and ribaldry without being depressed...

The following Poems, it must be confessed, are more calculated to please persons of exquisite feelings of heart, than those who receive all their impressions by the ear...

The writer has now resigned them for ever to

their fate.<sup>27</sup>

The "translator" has become the "writer," his "Fragments" are now "Poems." The perpetrator himself having resigned the works "to their fate" in such summary fashion, the Highlanders were prepared to take up the cause of Ossian against his originator, if need be, so strongly did they feel their national honour to be involved in the issue. Hume wrote to Blair that

They are, if genuine, one of the greatest curiosities, in all respects, that ever was discovered in the commonwealth of letters; and the child is, in a manner, become yours by adoption, as Macpherson has totally abandoned all care of it.<sup>28</sup>

And as Scott said,

There is something in the severe judgment passed on my countrymen 'that if they do not prefer Scotland to truth they will always prefer it to enquiry.' When once the Highlanders had adopted the poems of Ossian as an article of national faith you would far sooner have got them to disavow the Scripture than to abandon a line of the contested tales.<sup>29</sup>

The Reviewer who attracted Mrs. Grant's ire in the first of the two letters quoted above was probably Scott. His anonymous review of Laing's edition of Ossian and of the Highland Society's report on the question (under the editorship of the "Man of Feeling," Henry Mackenzie) appeared in the *Edinburgh Review* for July 1805, and dismissed the matter of authenticity as a generally settled point. Scott, whose "O Caledonia! rude and wild" from *The Lay of the Last Minstrel* Mrs. Grant instructed a correspondent to read on her knees,<sup>30</sup> could not be regarded by anyone as "no Scottishman," but he refused to accord Ossian the full range of powers with which it was credited by the militant Highlandwoman. Apart from being convinced of its spuriousness, Scott found the work ultimately tedious, as he explains in the "Autobiographical Fragment" prefixed to Lockhart's *Life*:

I became intimate with Ossian and Spenser. I was delighted with both, yet I think chiefly with the latter poet. The tawdry repetitions of the Ossianic phraseology disgusted me rather sooner than might have been expected from my age.<sup>31</sup>

In the letter to Miss Seward, cited above, answering her inquiry about his opinion of Ossian, Scott had no doubt that most of the work "must be ascribed to Macpherson himself and that his whole introduction notes &c &c is an absolute tissue of forgeries."<sup>32</sup> He felt that Macpherson had cunningly adopted the beginnings, names, and leading incidents of traditional tales; the Highlanders, recognising these, had been seduced into imagining that his sentimental elaborations were the same poems that they had heard in their youth. "Were the ballad of Chevy Chase to be dilated into an Italian epic poem, those who were desirous of ascertaining its authenticity would find no difficulty in procuring abundance of testimonies from persons who, in England, had heard it sung in the nursery."<sup>33</sup> Scott's *Review* article of the same year reproduces many of the same arguments as the letter to Miss Seward, and supports his assertion that "I have gone some lengths in my researches."<sup>34</sup> It reveals his vast store of antiquarian knowledge as well as his familiarity with previous episodes in the controversy.

This article, which caused Mrs. Grant so much pain, betrays Scott's characteristic conciliating tone; strategically establishing himself as a mediator, he first "endeavoured to fix the points which the disputants respectively seem willing to concede," before proceeding to explore the gap between them, "a space somewhat narrowed, yet still ample and broad enough for all the fair play of controversy."<sup>35</sup> The whole discussion of both the works under review is dominated by a scepticism which by its very confidence defies contradiction:

There is one circumstance, indeed, which greatly diminishes our danger. The state of the question is very much altered since the days of Macpherson's first publication; and we believe no well-informed person will now pretend that Ossian is to be quoted as historical authority, or that a collection of Gaelic poems does anywhere exist, of which Macpherson's version can be regarded as a faithful, or even a loose translation...<sup>36</sup>

The discussion which follows is conducted by Scott in a strictly non-partisan antiquarian spirit. He notices the anachronistic tone of the work, where "all is elegance, refinement, and sensibility; they never take arms, but to protect the feeble, or to relieve beauty in distress; they never injure their prisoners, nor insult the fallen; and as to Fingal himself, he has all the strength and bravery of Achilles, with the courtesy, sentiment, and high-breeding of

Sir Charles Grandison."<sup>37</sup> The characteristic "aura" of these pieces, Scott suggests, has given them an influence quite independent of their authenticity. Emulation of "those flowers of sentiment which Macpherson has taught the public to consider as the genuine attribute of Ossianic strain" has given the fraud a status amongst poetasters comparable to that of "the Ayrshire Ploughman."<sup>38</sup>

It is in this context that Scott laments the narrow nationalism which finds it necessary to place the whole weight of the "translations" significance on the question of their authenticity, when Macpherson's true importance for Scotland lies quite elsewhere:

...while we are compelled to renounce the pleasing idea, 'that Fingal lived, and that Ossian sung,' our national vanity may be equally flattered by the fact, that a remote, and almost a barbarous corner of Scotland, produced, in the 18th century, a bard, capable not only of making an enthusiastic impression on every mind susceptible of poetical beauty, but of giving a new tone to poetry throughout all Europe.<sup>39</sup>

It was this aspect of Macpherson's success that was to prove an inspiration to Scott in his own work, and to give Ossian a symbolic rôle as an index of Scottishness in nineteenth-century fiction, in the full knowledge that the work, as such, was a fraud. As has been noted, Scott's adroit use of Ossianic language in his novels increased the spread of his reputation in Europe;<sup>40</sup> he played on associations (such as those of Herder, quoted above) as an economical means of evoking the Scottishness which was integral to his theme. Even before *Waverley*, Scott perceived the potential for "Scottishness" that Macpherson's treatment of the Highlands and their traditions had made viable by their great success for other writers. In the letter to Anna Seward which discusses the Ossian question fully, Scott adds

I have had for some time thoughts of writing a Highland poem, somewhat in the style of the Lay, giving as far as I can a real picture of what that enthusiastic race actually were before the destruction of their patriarchal government. It is true, I have not quite the same facilities as in describing Border manners, where I am, as they say, more at home. But to balance my comparative deficiency in knowledge of Celtic manners, you are to consider that I have from my youth delighted in all the

Highland traditions which I could pick up from the old Jacobites who used to frequent my father's house...<sup>41</sup>

A letter from Scott to Lady Abercorn, written in 1806 when the same project was occupying his attention, indicates a similar difficulty: "being born and bred not only a lowlander but a borderer I do not in the least understand the Gaelic language and am therefore much at a loss to find authentic materials for my undertaking."<sup>42</sup>

The poem was *The Lady of the Lake* (1810), and in his introduction to the 1830 edition of the work, Scott indicated the example which enabled him to overcome the difficulties of unfamiliarity:

The Poems of Ossian had, by their popularity, sufficiently shown, that if writings on Highland subjects were qualified to interest the reader, mere national prejudices were, in the present day, very unlikely to interfere with their success.<sup>43</sup>

The ambiguity of "mere," which could be read ironically or literally depending on the reader's personal predilections, is a good example of the assimilative nature of Scott's style: radically opposite viewpoints are conciliated and made to co-exist within single words or short phrases; readers of widely varying opinions, representing the "English" and "Scottish" viewpoints, can be satisfied without compromising either themselves or the prose. Scott as author, the creator of such tight conjunctions, remains opaque behind his phrases, and can be tied to neither one meaning nor the other.

The success of *The Lady of the Lake*, aided by its Ossianic associations, opened up the Trossachs and the Highlands generally to tourism. The international interest aroused by the poem fostered and further Macpherson's initial creation of Scotland for the rest of the world as a "Land of Romance."<sup>44</sup> As Mrs. Grant said, "How much do we owe to Burns and to Walter Scott for...calling back the Caledonian Muse to her ancient haunts, and giving new interest to scenes dreary and forlorn if the light of song were once extinguished."<sup>45</sup>

The poem was of course followed by novels dealing with Highland subjects, and Scott soon had a reputation (despite his own consciousness of ignorance) as an expert on the Highland history and life. He followed Macpherson's lead in popularising the clans and their system of feudal allegiances, relying for his portrayal of Highlanders and their speech largely on conventions established by the Ossianic poems and

widely recognised by readers as archetypally "Highland." As an American periodical, Charles Brockden Brown's *Literary Magazine*, recognised, the symbolic importance of Ossian was not, for literary-nationalistic purposes, literal, as it had been for writers such as Mrs. Grant, but had a symbolic significance as another means of discussing "Scottishness"; and the conventions of Ossianic speech were adopted and adapted by such American writers as James Fenimore Cooper to express their own particular form of literary nationalism, especially in their attempt to characterise the American Indian, whose lost cause and dying way of life had obvious affinities with the story of the Ossianic Celts.<sup>46</sup>

The widespread European fame of Macpherson's "translations" ensured that when later writers adopted the Ossianic manner in dialogue, form, or subject, their intentions in using these conventions would be appreciated by their audience, and the appropriate range of associations called to mind. W.B. Yeats, writing at the end of the century on "The Celtic Element in Literature," gives some measure of Scott's success in adopting the ready-made form of Ossianic convention to express "Scottishness" when he notes how "at the beginning of our own day Sir Walter Scott gave Highland legends and Highland excitability so great a mastery over all romance that they seem romance itself."<sup>47</sup> In other words, Scott used the "Highland" conventions to such great effect that they became for the reader synonymous with the literary genre which he created out of them. Ossian, spurious as it most probably was, and as, by the beginning of the nineteenth century, it was generally accepted to be, thus provided the greatest Scottish author of the time (and his followers, Scots and others) with a mythologising impetus corresponding to the age's nationalistic literary needs.

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#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup>For an account of the revival, see Edward D. Snyder, *The Celtic Revival in English Literature 1760-1800* (Cambridge, Mass., 1923).

<sup>2</sup>George F. Black, *Macpherson's Ossian and the Ossianic Controversy* (New York, 1926), Introductory note, p. 7.

<sup>3</sup>James Boswell, *The Life of Samuel Johnson* (1791; London, 1973), I, 515. See also another pertinent letter quoted on p. 524 of the same volume.

<sup>4</sup>*The Works of Samuel Johnson*, IX (New Haven, 1977), pp. 117-119.

<sup>5</sup>Alexander Carlyle, *Anecdotes and Characters of the Times*, ed. James Kinsley (London, 1973), p. 140.

<sup>6</sup>David Hume, *Essays Moral, Political, and Literary*, ed. T.H. Green and T.H. Grose (London, 1875), II, 415, editor's footnote.

<sup>7</sup>*Life of Johnson*, I, 518.

<sup>8</sup>"Essay, Supplementary to the Preface [of 1815], in *The Poetical Works of William Wordsworth*, ed. E. de Selincourt (Oxford, 1944), II, 423-4.

<sup>9</sup>*Dictionary of National Biography* (1892), XXXI, 404.

<sup>10</sup>Scott's words in his review of the work, *Edinburgh Review*, VI, no. 12 (July 1805), 432.

<sup>11</sup>Sir William Gell, *Reminiscences of Sir Walter Scott's Residence in Italy, 1832* (London, 1957), p. 45, footnote 45.

<sup>12</sup>*The Complete Prose Works of Matthew Arnold*, ed. R.H. Super (Michigan, 1972), III, 370.

<sup>13</sup>J.S. Smart, *James Macpherson: An Episode in Literature* (London, 1905), p. 85.

<sup>14</sup>Cited by Smart, pp. 7-8.

<sup>15</sup>Black, *Macpherson's Ossian*, p. 9.

<sup>16</sup>Lillian Furst, *Romanticism in Perspective* (London, 1969), p. 19.

<sup>17</sup>William Duff, *Critical Observations on the Writings of the most Celebrated Original Geniuses in Poetry* (London, 1770), pp. 71-2.

<sup>18</sup>S.S. Praver, *Comparative Literary Studies: An Introduction* (London, 1973), p. 72.

<sup>19</sup>*The Percy Letters: The Correspondence of Thomas Percy and Evan Evans*, ed. Aneirin Lewis (Baton Rouge, Louisiana, 1957), pp. 121-2.

<sup>20</sup>For discussion of this episode, see Douglas Young, *Edinburgh in the Age of Sir Walter Scott* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1965), and Louis Kronenberger, *The Extraordinary Mr. Wilkes* (New York, 1974).

<sup>21</sup>Kronenberger, p. 28. For examples of anti-Scottish feeling during the Bute Administration, see Alexander Carlyle, *Anecdotes*, p. 98, Hume, *The Letters of David Hume* (Oxford, 1932), I, 378, 382-3.

<sup>22</sup>*Memoir and Correspondence of Mrs. Grant of Laggan* (London, 1844, I, 63-65.

<sup>23</sup>Cited by J.G. Lockhart in his *Memoirs of Sir Walter Scott* (1836-7; rev. ed. Edinburgh, 1882), II, 253, 257.

<sup>24</sup>*Memoir*, I, 81-2.

<sup>25</sup>George Pratt Insh, *The Scottish Jacobite Movement: A Study in Economic and Social Forces* (Edinburgh, 1952), p. 169ff. See also Andrew Hook, *Scotland and America* (Glasgow and London, 1975), pp. 119-127.

<sup>26</sup>*Fragments* (1760; Facsimile of 1st ed. Edinburgh, 1970), Preface, pp. iii, vi.

<sup>27</sup>*The Poems of Ossian*. Translated by James Macpherson (London, 1773), pp. v, vi, vii, xiii.

<sup>28</sup>Cited by Scott, *Edinburgh Review*, p. 435.

<sup>29</sup>*The Letters of Sir Walter Scott*, ed. H.J.C. Grierson (London, 1932-7), I, 321-2.

<sup>30</sup>*Memoir*, I, 67-8.

<sup>31</sup>Lockhart, I, 50.

<sup>32</sup>*Ibid.*, II, 253.

<sup>33</sup>*Edinburgh Review*, p. 437.

<sup>34</sup>Lockhart, II, 253.

<sup>35</sup>*Edinburgh Review*, p. 432.

<sup>36</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 429.

<sup>37</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 446.

<sup>38</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 450.

<sup>39</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 462.

<sup>40</sup>See R.D.S. Jack, "Scott and Italy," in *Scott Bicentenary Essays*, ed. Alan Bell (Edinburgh and London, 1973), p. 294.

<sup>41</sup>Lockhart, II, 257-8.

<sup>42</sup>Cited by David Daiches, in his "Scott and Scotland," in *Scott Bicentenary Essays*, p. 52.

<sup>43</sup>*Poetical Works* (1830; rpt. Edinburgh, 1855), p. 173.

<sup>44</sup>Hook, *Scotland and America*, Chapter V.

<sup>45</sup>*Memoir, Mrs. Grant*, I, 268. Letter of 17th September, 1810.

<sup>46</sup>The passage from Brown's *Magazine*, cited in Hook, pp. 122-3, is lifted almost directly from Scott's *Edinburgh Review* article. For Cooper's use of Ossian see, for example, Georg Friden, *James Fenimore Cooper and Ossian*, Essays and Studies in American Language and Literature 5-8 (Upsala and Cambridge, Mass., 1949).

<sup>47</sup>W.B. Yeats, *Essays and Introductions* (London, 1961), p. 186.