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ALBA LITERARIA

A HISTORY OF SCOTTISH LITERATURE

Edited and introduced by
Marco Fazzini

AMOS EDIZIONI

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VALENTINA BOLD

Ossian and James Macpherson

*By the side of a rock on the hill, beneath the aged trees, old
Oscian sat on the moss; the last of the race of Fingal. Sightless
are his aged eyes; his beard is waving in the wind. Dull
through the leafless trees he heard the voice of the north.
Sorrow revived in his soul: he began and lamented the dead.¹*

Ossian, also known as Oisín or Oiséan, is a legendary warrior Bard of Scotland. His father was Finn (Fionn ma Cumhaill, or Fingal), his grandfather was the giant Comhal, king of Morven in modern Argyll and his son, Oscar, was also an heroic warrior. Ossian, like the classical blind bards Thamyris and Tiresias, had prophetic powers. These heroes were celebrated in the Gaelic literature of Scotland and Ireland: the Fenian, or *Ossianic, heroic cycle*, set in the third century, focusses on Finn and his warriors, the *fianna*; the *Ulster*, or *Cù Chulainn, cycle*, is based around the first century Cù Chulainn. From an early period, motifs associated with the Cù Chulainn cycle were often incorporated into the Fenian, along with additional elements from legends about the Viking period. By the eighteenth century, the two cycles were very often mixed.

In the Scottish tradition, early examples of Gaelic Ossianic ballads include those in the 'Book of the Dean of Lismore' manuscript (c.1512), the Ardchonaill MSS (1690) and the Turner MS. Important collections of Ossianic texts also include those made by Jerome Stone (1727-1756), Eobhan MacDiarmid (1762 and 1769), Archibald Fletcher of Achalder (born c.1735), the Rev Donald MacNicol (1736-1802) and the Rev James Maclagan. Many of their ballads are reprinted in J.F. Campbell's *Leabhar na Fèinne* (1872)

and in Alexander Cameron's *Reliquiae Celticae* (1892-94).

James Macpherson (1736-96) was Ossian's literary translator. Born at Invertromie on Spey, in Badenoch, he was related to the Jacobite Ewan Macpherson of Cluny. His castle burnt after Culloden, Cluny spent nine years in hiding – his adventures feature in *Kidnapped* (1866) – before finally escaping for France. As Fiona Stafford suggests in her critical biography, *The Sublime Savage*, the repression Macpherson experienced in his childhood no doubt influenced his mythopoetic imagining of a lost golden age.² His upbringing in the Highlands, equally, made Macpherson familiar with the Gaelic language and tales of the *fianna*, transmitted by local *seanchaidhean*, or tradition bearers.

Macpherson also drew on the polite culture of Enlightenment Scotland. As a student at the University of Aberdeen (1752-55) he was influenced by Thomas Reid and James Beattie and the Common sense input on his work should not be underestimated. An interest in the vitality of early societies, as expressed in William Duncan's translation of Caesar's *Commentaries* (1753) and Blackwell's *Enquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer* (1735), perhaps led Macpherson towards seeking a social and poetic prototype. Primitive cultures, such as the ancient Highlanders', were thought to express themselves in specific ways: Edmund Burke stated in *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful* (1757) that: 'uncultivated people are but ordinary observers of things... but, for that reason, they admire more, and are more affected with what they see, and therefore express themselves in a warmer and more passionate manner'.³ Macpherson's 'noble savage' Ossian draws directly on such eighteenth century notions.

Macpherson was a pioneering fieldworker who, as Thomas McKean says, 'not only helped preserve valuable Gaelic manuscripts but also contributed to the emergence of the proper study of Celtic literature, drawing attention in particular to its ballad heritage'.⁴ His active collecting may have begun when, after a period in Edinburgh in 1756, he was a schoolmaster at the Charity School at Ruthven, near his home. He returned to Edinburgh and, by 1758, was a tutor to the Grahams of Balgowan. At this time, he was definitely collecting in earnest.

In 1758 Macpherson combined his interests in Gaelic and Enlightenment cultures, publishing *The Highlander*, an heroic poem. Its story bears similarities to the legend of Fingal and there are allusions to the *Iliad*, the *Aeneid* and *Paradise Lost*. As Colin Kidd has shown, this poem exhibits dual affiliations to 'both the libertarian freedoms of the ancient Caledonians and the glories of the Anglo-Saxon constitution'.⁵ Adam Ferguson, whom Macpherson met in 1758, provided Macpherson with an introduction to John Home, the author of the *Douglas* (1757) and, when the writers met in 1759, Macpherson showed Home 'The Death of Oscur', partly modelled on Jerome Stone's Gaelic translations in the *Scots Magazine*.⁶ Home showed this, and additional pieces, to his *literati* friends in Edinburgh. Encouraged, in particular by Hugh Blair, Macpherson published his *Fragments of Ancient Poetry* in 1760.

Fragments reflect Enlightenment aesthetics, making unfamiliar, and hence exotic, Gaelic idioms accessible to its polite audience. As was the convention, Macpherson created composite texts. At times, he followed his sources closely; using Gaelic forms such as dialogue and parallelism, and even enhancing their dramatic style. Elsewhere, he sometimes misinterpreted Gaelic orthography and, at times, tampered with texts to their detriment. In a profound sense, in translating for an English-reading audience unfamiliar with Gaelic idioms or tales, Macpherson attempted to mediate between two cultures.

He establishes an affiliation with classical writers with a quote from Lucan and the work is presented as evidence of a national epic cycle, composed by a group of Bards. The Preface sets out an agenda shared by Macpherson and the *literati*: 'though the poems now published appear as detached pieces in this collection... most of them were originally episodes of a greater work which related to the wars of Fingal'. The imitative and non-interventionist nature of Macpherson's translation is emphasised, presumably to establish credibility: 'the translation is extremely literal. Even the arrangement of the words in the original has been imitated; to which must be imputed some inversions in the style'.⁷

Macpherson, then, was charged with restoring Scotland's national epic to its original purity, anticipating nineteenth-century nation-

alist reconstructions, such as Finland's *Kalevala* (1835) edited by Elias Lönnrot. The lost, long 'heroic poem' had a straightforward plot. Swarthan King of Lochlyn (Denmark) had invaded Ireland. Cuchulaid, the Irish general, was forced to submit. Fingal 'The Desert of the Hills' and King of Scotland arrived, triumphed over the Danes, and returned home. It was the work of a poet who had accompanied Fingal, and 'of greater antiquity' than the other *Fragments*. The final three *Fragments*, 'tho' very imperfect' were supposedly parts of this Epic: 'if the whole were recovered, it might serve to throw considerable light upon the Scottish and Irish antiquities'. Blair stresses that these pieces were 'not set to music, nor sung', presumably to stress the epic over their ballad associations.⁸

Oscian, in the *Fragments*, is the most prominent of a group of bards including Carryl (*Fragments*, III), Alpin 'the son of song' (*Fragments*, XII) and Armyn, 'last of his race' (*Fragments*, XIII). Their collective memory is negatively selective; the young die and the old live on, in small numbers, to grieve. Oscian is presented as tearful, elderly and melancholic: 'Memory, son of Alpin, memory wounds the aged. Of former times are my thoughts... The race of the king return into my mind, and wound me with remembrance'. The poet bewails the loss of Oscar, while recalling his heroism in killing the murderer Ullin, who had bound Fingal's three younger sons, 'Carryl expert in the bow; Fillan beloved of the fair; and Fergus first in the race' (*Fragments*, VI). This combination of eulogy and despair is highly characteristic of the Ossianic style.

The *Fragments* are loosely-grouped. They are self-sufficient episodes except in two cases: XIV is a fragment of a call to war; XVI, ends the book in cliff-hanger fashion, with a battle in the making. Some are interlinked: *Fragment* VII, explains the death of Oscar, bewailed by Oscian in VI; Dargo, in V, is the enemy of Connal; Dargo's death at the hands of Oscar and Dermid features in VII. In a non-linear way which is typical of oral histories, there is no chronological order: Oscar's killing of Ullin is recalled in VI but Ullin is a current menace in XVI.

This is a narrative of loss: 'the cry of the hunter is over. The voice of war is ceased' (*Fragments*, VIII). The bards' mission is to remember those who have been lost to the living and, in this

respect, Macpherson acts along with his readers. Death is not straightforward. Warriors in combat expire simultaneously. One death leads to another, sometimes through error. In *Fragment IX*, Ronnan kills Connan, the lover of his sister Rivine, by mistake, and dies, with his rival Durstan. Rivine dies too. Oscur tricks his lover, the daughter of Dargo, into killing him when he has killed his friend; she is 'well pleased' to die and kills herself (*Fragments, VII*). Women die for their lost lovers: Vinvela for Shilric; the wife of Malcolm; Crimora for Connal (*Fragments, II, III, IV*). The natural and supernatural worlds exist alongside: 'my ghost shall stand in the wind, and mourn the death of my friends. The hunter shall hear from his booth. He shall fear, but love my voice. For sweet shall my voice be for my friends; for pleasant were they both to me' (*Fragments, X*). Even those who have no mourners left are commemorated: Alpin celebrates Morar who has no mother or child left: 'the song shall preserve thy name. Future times shall hear of thee' (*Fragments, XII*).

Despite their lugubrious nature, most of the *Fragments* are brisk and economical, paced out by genealogies, formulae and epithets. Formulae include phrases such as: 'the hope of the isles, Malcolm'; 'Ullin famous in war... His stature like the oak of Morven' (*Fragments, III, VI*). Lovers, like Carmor, are 'like a sun-beam on the hill, in the day of the gloomy storm' or 'white as the driven snow' like Daur (*Fragments, XV, XI*). There are epic-style similes which, although not as lengthy as the *Iliad's*, are still substantial: 'I saw them return from the chase, like a stream of light... like a ridge of fire' (*Fragments, IV*); Morar was 'swift... as a roe on the hill; terrible as a meteor of fire' ('meteor' is an image also used in *Paradise Lost*). As Stafford has noted, Macpherson also, 'appears to have been using the Bible as a model.'⁹ The description of the daughter of Dargo – 'fair as the morn; mild as the beam of night. Her eyes, like two stars in a shower: her breath, the gale of spring: her breasts, as the new-fallen snow' – for example recalls the 'Song of Songs' (*Fragments, VII*).

In a form of pathetic fallacy, perhaps reflecting Macpherson's experiences of the post-Culloden atmosphere, storms and winds surround the *fianna*: 'Autumn is dark on the mountains' and misty 'grey mist rests on the hills' (*Fragments, V*). King Lear's rants are

recalled when Armin bewails the loss, through the trickery of Earch, of his daughter Daur, her lover Armor, and his son Arindel: 'rise, winds of autumn, rise; blow upon the deark heath!... howl, ye tempests, in the top of the oak... bring to my mind that sad night, when all my children fell' (*Fragments*, XI). In passages like this, Macpherson achieves a high level of poignancy.

Fragments was hugely successful; it ran into a second edition within a year. Supported by Blair and Henry Mackenzie, Macpherson then made two collecting tours of the Highlands: in August 1760, accompanied by Lachlan Macpherson of Strathmashie (c.1723-c.1797), throughout the North West Highlands, Glenelg and Skye; in June 1761, with John Home, to the West Central Highlands, including Argyll and probably Mull. These tours led to the publication of *Fingal: An Ancient Epic Poem* (1761-62) and *Temora: an Ancient Epic Poem* (1763). *The Works of Ossian* was published, as a collection, in 1765. Derick Thomson, reviewing the sources for *Fingal*, suggests that Macpherson used relatively late material, as can be seen by the way the texts mix the Norse and Fenian heroes and, in particular, fourteen or fifteen Gaelic source ballads.¹⁰

Fingal (1761) develops the semi-classical bard of the *Fragments* into the major author of a national epic. Its melancholia and sentimental retrospection are even more highly developed than in the *Fragments*, anticipating Mackenzie's *The Man of Feeling* (1771). Here, for instance, Cuchullin bemoans his losses:

O ye ghosts of the lonely Cromla! ye souls of chiefs that are no more! be ye the companions of Cuchullin, and talk to him in the cave of his sorrow. For never more shall I be renowned among the mighty in the land. I am like a beam that has shone; like a mist that fled away, when the blast of the morning came, and brightened the shaggy side of the hill... departed is my fame. (*Fingal*, Book IV)

The plot of *Fingal* complies with the expectations of the *Fragments* 'Preface'. It opens at the same point as *Fragments* XIV, where Cuchulaid was warned, by the scout Moran, that the ships of Garve and sons of Lochlyn are landing. In essence, the *Fingal* passage is the same, although there are additional details: Cuchullin, for instance, now sits by Tura's wall, rather than 'by the wall', as Swaran's ship lands. Cuchullin – commanding the Irish

tribes while Cormac is in his minority – then assembles his forces to oppose the invaders. The consequent war, including councils and engagements, lasts six days and nights, for the six books of the poem. Cuchullin is defeated but Fingal, king of Scotland, arrives, wins the day, and routs the invaders. Unlike the disparate *Fragments*, this poem not only has a unified plot, but also a happy ending, as Fingal comforts Cuchullin: 'we feasted, and we sung. The soul of Cuchullin rose. The strength of his arm returned; and gladness brightened on his face' (*Fingal*, Book VI).

Fingal's plot is largely drawn from two ballads: 'Garbh mac Stairn' and 'Magnus' or Manus'; the main episodes are derived from 'Fingal's Visit to Norway', 'Duan na h-Inginn' (The Maid of Craca) and 'Ossian's Courtship', with elements from, 'Sliabh nam Ban Fionn', the 'Praise of Gol', and other oral and literary sources dealing with the Ulster and Fenian heroes. As Thomson says, 'Macpherson took considerable pains in constructing "Fingal"'.¹¹ Episodes are cleverly interwoven into the plot, such as the story of Grudar and Brassolis (Book I); the appearance of the ghost of Crugal (Book II); Carril's songs relating Fingal's actions in Lochlin, and the death of Swaran's sister, Agandecca (Book III); Ossian's description of his actions at the lake of Lego, and courtship of Evirallin, the mother of Oscar (Book IV). The style is slightly more elaborate than that of the *Fragments* – Ossian now has the honorific 'king of songs' – the speeches are lengthier and the sentiments, on the whole, more fully expressed. The title poem is accompanied by sixteen 'Other Poems'. These sustain the gloomy atmosphere, and storyline, of the main poem.

The plot of *Temora* (1763) is more complex than that of *Fingal*. Its action takes place over four days and nights. In the First Book Cairbar, the son of Borbar-duthul, lord of Atha in Connaught, has murdered Cormac the son of Artho, the young king of Ireland, at Temora, the royal palace. Fingal, who is related to Cormac, enters Ireland and Cairbar assembles his troops to fight them. He calls a feast, resolving to kill Oscar the son of Ossian; Oscar and Cairbar kill each other. Fingal arrives, and the Irish fall back to the army of Cathmor, the brother of Cairbar. In Book II, Ossian mourns Oscar and, meeting Cathmor, promises to sing an elegy over the grave of Cairbar, thereby ensuring his soul will be content; the bard Carill

the son of Kinfena is sent to sing the elegy over Cairbar's tomb. In Book III, Fingal passes the command to Gaul, the son of Morni, and the king and Ossian watch the conflict from the rock of Cormul. Gaul, kills Tur-lathon, chief of Moruth; Foldath, the Irish commander, kills Connal, chief of Dun-lora (by now we are up to the second day from the poem's opening). In Book IV, at the feast, Fingal tells the tale of his first expedition to Ireland, and his marriage with Ros-cr-na, the daughter of the Irish king Cormac. The ghost of Caurbar appears to Cathmor and foretells the outcome of the war. In Book V, Ossian describes the arrangement of the forces by the river Lubar; Foldath commands the army of the Fir-bolg, Fingal gives his command to Fillan and orders Gaul to aid him. Fillan kills Foldath and puts the army of the Fir-bolg to flight. In Book VI the king sends Ossian to aid Fillan, then retires behind the rock of Cormul, so as not to see Ossian fight Cathmor. Fillan dies and Ossian lays him to rest. The Caledonian army return to Fingal, who hears that his son has died. The book ends with the song of Sul-malla. In Book VII, a mist rises by night from the lake of Lego, where the souls of the dead stay between their decease and funeral song. The Ghost of Fillan speaks to Fingal, and the king strikes the shield of Trenmor, which means he will take arms. Sul-malla wakes Cathmor and asks him to sue for peace but he resolves to fight. She retires to the valley of Lona, where an old Druid stays, till the next day's battle is over. In Book VIII, on the fourth morning, Fingal orders Gaul, Dermid and the bard Carril to the valley of Cluna, and to conduct Ferad-artho, the son of Cairbre, to the Caledonian army. The king prepares for battle, and marches to the cave of Lubar, where Fillan's body lay, with his dog Bran guarding the entrance to the cave. In the conflict, the Fir-bolg are routed and the kings engage. Cathmor is killed and Fingal gives the spear of Trenmor to Ossian. Cathmor's spirit appears to Sul-malla. A feast is prepared and the poem ends with a speech by Fingal.

The main poem of 'Temora', like 'Fingal', was accompanied by additional material; here there are five shorter pieces ('Cath-loda', one of these, is in three duans), as well as 'A Specimen of the Original of Temora. Book Seventh' and 'A Critical Dissertation on the Poems of Ossian, the Son of Fingal' by Hugh Blair, reprinted from *A Critical Dissertation on the Poems of Ossian, The Son of*

Fingal (1763), and an expanded 'Appendix' which appeared in 1765, just before *The Works of Ossian* (it was included in the second volume). Blair emphasised Ossian's position as a leading representative of the Celtic college of bards, equivalent to the Homeric *rhapsodes*, who exhibited a particularly developed emotional sensibility.

This material should be set beside *The Report of the Committee of the Highland Society of Scotland, appointed to inquire into the nature and authenticity of the poems of Ossian* (1805), convened by Mackenzie. It included testimonies from witnesses to Macpherson's collecting, as well as evaluative comments. It distinguishes traditional materials from Macpherson's interpolations and, as Thomson comments, 'seems to have been realised that Macpherson used his materials freely. Dr Blair admits this, nor, he says, did Macpherson himself seem to disavow it'. Mackenzie argued that, 'such poetry did exist... in great abundance... of a most impressive and striking sort, in a high degree eloquent, tender, and sublime', even if Macpherson had added, 'what he conceived to be dignity and delicacy'. It seemed, then, that Scotland had its own Ossianic epic; collected and corroborated, if not authenticated. As Thomson says, Macpherson's 'most important tenet was that Fingal and his followers were of Scottish rather than of Irish origin, and he was concerned to refute the arguments of Irish historians... In place of this Irish system he strives to establish a Scottish one based on true, as opposed to corrupt, tradition'.¹²

Some scholars of course, including David Hume, suspected Macpherson of forgery. There were negative responses from Ireland, from Charles O' Connor and Sylvester O' Hallohan, based on Macpherson's use of traditional materials. Famously, Johnson attacked Macpherson's Ossian as a fraud, in *Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland* (1775). Ossian was cruelly parodied in the anonymous 1762 *Gisbal, An Hyperbolean Tale*. In contrast, James Boswell, Lord Kames, and Thomas Gray, were all great admirers of the Ossianic works.¹³

The Ossianic verses were equally popular, if not more so, outside Britain and translated into German, Italian, French, Spanish, Dutch, Danish, Russian, Swedish and Polish. Herder, Schiller and Goethe were all admirers of Ossian, as was Napoleon. As Susan

Manning has observed: '*The Poems of Ossian...* became a source text for European Romanticism'. In America, too, Macpherson's work was hugely popular. His famous admirers including Thomas Jefferson. He was a literary influence on poets as diverse as Joel Barlow, H.H. Brackenbridge and Whitman, as well as being parodied in John Trumbull's *McFingal*. Andrew Hook has suggested convincing reasons for the enthusiastic, international response to Ossian, commenting that readers appreciated: 'the vision of a strange, remote, exotic ancient world' and, especially, 'the note of Ossianic gloom and melancholy'.¹⁴

Macpherson profited from the success of his work. He moved to London and, through the patronage of the Earl of Bute – and perhaps because of a perceived affinity with primitive peoples – in 1763 Macpherson was granted a sinecured post in the newly created province of West Florida, as Surveyor General and provincial Secretary to Governor George Johnstone. He was part of a literary coterie around Johnstone's resented administration. Stationed in Pensacola, then a violent and disease-ridden frontier town, Macpherson soon fell out of favour with the irascible Johnstone. He spent less than a year in the province, although he retained his salary for seventeen years, and spent some time travelling, including to the West Indies, before returning to Britain in 1766.¹⁵

Macpherson's later work includes *Original Papers*, containing the *Secret History of Great Britain from the Restoration to the Accession of the House of Hanover, with Memoirs of James II* (1775) and *The Rights of Great Britain asserted against the claims of America: being an answer to the declaration of the General Congress* (1776). He published a revised edition of *Ossian*, and translated *The Iliad* (1773) in an Ossianic style. He became London agent for the Nabob of Arcot and, in 1780, Member of Parliament for Camelford, Cornwall. By the late 1780s he had a house in Westminster, a villa on Putney common and a Robert Adam-designed house, Belleville, on his Badenoch estates. He died at Belleville in 1796 and was buried, at his own expense, in Westminster Abbey.

Macpherson left a rich legacy in the Ossianic works, particularly for Scottish writers. Burns visited Ossianic sites during his 'Tour of the Highlands' and counted Macpherson's *Ossian* among his for-

mative influences. Scott pastiched the bardic Ossian in his *The Lay of the Last Minstrel* (1805). James Hogg drew on *Ossian* for his Highland Bard Gardyn in *The Queen's Wake* (1813) and used Ossianic material in his long narrative poem, *Queen Hynde* (1825). As Hugh Cheape has shown, the visual imagery of Ossian left a lasting mark on images of the Highlander at home, and for visitors. Visiting Ossianic sites became an important act for tourists, as Paul Baines has discussed. Intriguingly, Ossianic verse survived in oral tradition and, as Joseph Nagy argues: 'Macpherson's is but one chapter in a long-lived, and perhaps still not concluded, saga of the Gaelic use of Fenian story as a way to introduce cultural and political change, and to mediate between "native" and "foreign", and "old" and "new"'.¹⁶ Macpherson's stance, as Nagy suggests, is deeply ambivalent. His genius lay in drawing together Gaelic culture and the culture of the *literati*, to present the matter of Ossian in a comprehensible, and accessible, form.

NOTES

¹ James Macpherson, *Fragments of Ancient Poetry collected in the Highlands of Scotland, and translated from the Galic or Erse Language*, Edinburgh: G. Hamilton and J. Balfour, 1760, p. viii.

² F.J. Stafford, *The Sublime Savage: James Macpherson and the Poems of Ossian*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1988. See too Bailey Saunders, *The Life and Letters of James Macpherson*, London and New York: Swann Sonnenschein, 1894.

³ Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful*, (1757), rpt, edited by Adam Phillips, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990, pp. 113-114, 160.

⁴ T.A. McKean, 'The Fieldwork Legacy of James Macpherson', *Journal of American Folklore* (Special Issue: James Macpherson and the Ossian Epic Debate), vol. 114, no. 454, Fall 2001, pp. 447-463.

⁵ Colin Kidd, 'Macpherson, Burns and the Politics of Sentiment', *Scotlands* (Special Issue: Macpherson's Ossian), vol. 4, no.1, 1997, p. 29. See *The Scots Magazine*, XVIII, 1756, pp.15-17.

⁶ Qtd. from James Macpherson, *The Poems of Ossian and related works*, edited by Howard Gaskill with an introduction by F.J. Stafford,

Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996, pp. 5-6.

⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 6.

⁸ See Jan Vansina, *Oral Tradition as History*, Madison Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985.

⁹ F.J. Stafford, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

¹⁰ D.S. Thomson, *The Gaelic Sources of Macpherson's Ossian*, Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1952, pp. 10ff.

¹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 14.

¹² *Ibidem*, p. 74. *Report of the Committee of the Highland Society of Scotland, Appointed to inquire into the nature and authenticity of the poems of Ossian*, edited by Henry Mackenzie, Edinburgh: Constable, 1805, pp. 151-152. D.S. Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

¹³ F.J. Stafford, 'Introduction', *The Poems of Ossian and Related Works*, cit., p. vii. F.J. Stafford, *The Sublime Savage*, cit., pp. 163-176; qtd. Chauncey Brewster Tinker, *Nature's Simple Plan*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1922, p. 66.

¹⁴ Susan Manning, *Fragments of Union*, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave, 2002, p. 149. See Valentina Bold, "'Rude Bard of the North": James Macpherson and the Folklore of Democracy', *Journal of American Folklore* (Special Issue: James Macpherson and the Ossian Epic Debate), vol. 114, no. 454, Fall 2001, pp. 464-477. Andrew Hook, 'Scotland and Romanticism: The International Scene', in Andrew Hook ed., *The History of Scottish Literature: Volume 2. 1660-1800*, Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1987, p. 316.

¹⁵ See Paul Gategno, 'The Sublime Savage in America: James "Ossian" Macpherson's Tour of Duty in West Florida', *Scotia*, vol. 16, 1992, pp. 1-20.

¹⁶ See Valentina Bold, "'Poor as a Poet": Macpherson, Burns and the Peasant Poet', *Scotlands* (Special Issue: Macpherson's Ossian), vol. 4, no. 1, 1997, pp. 109-118. Hugh Cheape, 'The Culture and Material Culture of Ossian, 1760-1900', *Scotlands*, vol. 4, no. 1, 1997, pp. 1-24. Paul Baines, 'Ossianic Geographies: Fingalian Figures on the Scottish Tour, 1760-1830', *Scotlands*, vol. 4, no. 1, 1997, p. 44. Joseph Nagy, 'Observations on the Ossianesque in Medieval Irish Literature and Modern Irish Folklore', *Journal of American Folklore* (Special Issue: James Macpherson and the Ossian Epic Debate), vol. 114, no. 454, Fall 2001, pp. 436-446. See too Howard Gaskill ed., *Ossian Revisited*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1991.