

## Fingalian Topographies: Ossian and the Highland Tour, 1760-1805

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**Abstract:** If Ossian validated the Highland landscape for eighteenth-century tourists, the landscape, in turn, seemed to authenticate poems whose authenticity never ceased to be doubted; but text and topography alike ran the risk of dissolving into insubstantiality. Many tourists cited 'local tradition' in order to embroider existing (or to invent new) Fingalian place-names. Ranging over a wide variety of eighteenth-century travel-writers, this article casts new light on the relations between Ossian, travel-writing and Highland topography. It concludes by discussing the 'fieldwork' tradition of Ossianic tourism after 1800, which sought out local tradition bearers, rather than attempting to authenticate Macpherson's 'translations'.

**Keywords:** Ossian, Macpherson, Highland tour, travel-writing, topography, Romanticism, Gaelic language and literature

Sailing through the Sound of Mull in the summer of 1772, the sight of the wooded shores of Morvern to starboard kindled in the English naturalist Joseph Banks a mood of sublime enthusiasm, given the peninsula's identification as the home of Fingal, the legendary 'King of Morven', the site of his court at Selma and the tomb of his grandson Oscar. As he noted in his journal:

Morven the land of heroes once the seat of the exploits of Fingal the mother of the romantick scenery of Ossion [*sic*]. I could not even sail past it without a touch of enthusiasm sweet affection of the mind which can gather pleasures from the empty elements & realise substantial pleasure which three fourths of mankind are ignorant of. I lamented the busy bustle of the ship & had I dar'd to venture the censure of my companions would certainly have brought her to an anchor. To have read ten pages of Ossian under the shades of those woods would have been luxury above the reach of Kings.<sup>1</sup>

Banks's enthusiasm exemplifies the mood aroused by the publication of James Macpherson's 'translations' from the Gaelic of the poems of Ossian, the son of Fingal. Like many readers in the sentimental era, Banks identifies not so much with the heroic Fingal as with the melancholy blind bard Ossian, 'the last of his race', who laments: 'Where is Fingal the King? Where is Oscar my son? Where are all my race? Alas! In the earth they lie. I feel their tombs with my hands.'<sup>2</sup> Dafydd Moore has argued that Ossian 'presents a world dominated by [...] the archetypal myth of *sparagmos*', and quotes Northrop Frye: 'the sense that heroism and effective action are absent, disorganised, or foredoomed to defeat, and that confusion and anarchy reign over the world'.<sup>3</sup> Commentators have linked this to Macpherson's own Jacobite roots, and his sense that the old world of Highland clanship had been destroyed on the battlefield of Culloden in 1746.<sup>4</sup> Macpherson's preface to *Fingal* ([1761] 1762) describes the taste of modern Gaels for their 'ancient poetry' as being 'at a low ebb' (*Poems*, p.51), thereby representing his own undertaking as a form of 'salvage ethnography'.

Yet the cultural politics of Ossian are by no means limited to *sparagmos*. In articulating the sentimentalised voice of 'Bardic nationalism', Macpherson sutured Highland and Lowland identity in creating an integrated national *mythe histoire* for Scotland within the Union that played well with its sponsors, the Enlightenment Edinburgh literati.<sup>5</sup> Ossian also played a crucial role in the 'improvement' of the Scottish Highlands, underpinning its ideological ambivalence as both nationalist and colonial discourse. In his influential interpretation Peter Womack proposed that 'The Ossianic version of the Highlands [...] doesn't resist the Improver's view of its moors and rocks as scenic negations [...] on the contrary, it makes negation into a style'.<sup>6</sup> This perfectly encapsulates the colonising myth of the Highlands, the bleak reality of a post-Culloden *Gàidhealtachd* internalised in the minds of enthusiastic travellers (many of them agents of economic improvement), resulting in mass emigration, military recruitment and catastrophic sheep clearances. As I am going to argue in this article, however, this was only part of the Ossian story, ignoring the extent to which the poems also provided a focus for cultural resistance to the imperatives of economic modernisation and a rallying cry for Gaelic language and culture.

### I. *Fingal's Cave*

A few days later Banks's party visited the small Hebridean island of Staffa, which they proceeded to explore, measure, describe and draw. Banks's famous description of Staffa and 'Fingal's Cave' was published in his friend Thomas Pennant's *Tour in Scotland and Voyage to the Hebrides in 1772* (1774), together with engravings of the island and its cave by John and James Miller and John Cleveley. The enthusiasm kindled in Banks's mind by the sight of Morvern was exceeded by the 'wonders' of Staffa and its basaltic caves, reinforced by the revelation of its Gaelic name, which led him straight back to Macpherson:

We asked the name of it. Ouwa Ehn said our guide the cave of Fiuhn. What is Fiuhn said we Fiuhn Mac Coul whom the translator of Ossians Works has called Fingal. How fortunate that in this cave we should meet with the remembrance of that cheif whose existence as well as that of the whole epick poem is almost doubted in England.<sup>7</sup>

If Ossian validated the Highland landscape, the landscape, in turn, seemed to authenticate the poems, but as we will see, text and topography alike ran the risk of dissolving into insubstantiality. In his illuminating essay 'Ossianic Geography' Paul Baines notes that 'the fusion of etymological extrapolation, poetic interpretation, and landscape mood was a potent one, capable of very general application', so that scores of travellers and tourists in the decades after 1760 gave new life to Macpherson's poems by 'discovering' their settings in the Gaelic landscape.<sup>8</sup>

Banks had recently returned from the *Endeavour* voyage to the Pacific, where he had been party to what David Simpson has termed an 'onomastic orgy' that trampled over indigenous place-names, often preferring to re-designate Pacific coastal sites with names like 'Port Famine', 'Cape Disappointment' and 'Thirsty Sound'.<sup>9</sup> Had Banks turned over a new leaf on Staffa, then, rejecting the 'static imperial gaze' that characterised his Pacific travels? At least here in 'Fingal's Cave' a local toponym is translated, purportedly from local Gaelic tradition, although there's no record of a 'Fingal's Cave' before Banks, and all subsequent visitors associated the name with his 'discovery' of Staffa. Banks's Gaelic interpreter was the bilingual (and educated) Charles Maclean, son of the laird of Drimnin.

The only other Gaelic speaker present was Staffa's (unnamed) tenant, probably illiterate and with only a few words of English, who may have provided Maclean with the local name for the cave.<sup>10</sup>

Visiting Staffa twelve years later, in 1784, the French volcanologist Barthélemy Faujas de Saint-Fond suggested that Joseph Banks, 'the first who gave the cave of Staffa the name of Fingal', had been misinformed about the name, which actually translated as 'the melodious cave', on account of a small submarine cavity, 'which sends forth a very agreeable noise every time that the water rushes into it', and which 'might be truly regarded as an organ created by the hand of Nature'.<sup>11</sup> In a learned footnote Saint-Fond claimed that

the true name of the cave is *an-ua-vine*. *An*, the; *ua*, grotto, cave, cavern; *vine*, melodious. The name of Fingal in the same language is spelt and pronounced *Fion* in the nominative. But the Earse nouns are declinable, and the genitive of Fingal is *Fine*; so that if one wished to express the cave of Fingal in the Earse language, he would write *ua-an-fine*.

Because only a tiny phonetic shift separates the Gaelic for 'melodious cave' (*Uamh Bhinn*) from 'Fingal's Cave' (*Uamh Fhinn*), he speculated that 'some person not very well versed in the Earse language, might have translated to Sir Joseph Banks the name 'Fingal's Cave' instead of 'melodious cave'.<sup>12</sup> Actually, Saint-Fond was probably wrong: although the Gaelic genitive for 'Fingal's Cave' is indeed 'Uamh Fhinn', the initial 'F' is silenced by lenition, whereas the initial consonant of 'Uamh Bhinn' (the melodious cave) is pronounced as a 'v'. Banks's phonetic rendering of the cave's Gaelic name ('Ouwa Ehn') accurately transcribes it as it would have been spoken by a Gaelic speaker, although this has been disguised by Pennant's transcription of the original journal in his published version, where the Gaelic name is rendered in English as 'the cave of Fhinn'. The French ideologue's attempt to correct Banks seems impelled by a desire to 'decompose' language. Gaelic scholarship and careful enquiry into physical phenomena reveal the cave's true name, which turns out to describe a verifiable natural (rather than a nebulous Ossianic) sublimity. Whether Banks's or Saint-Fond's version was correct, the name 'Fingal's Cave' appeared on Stevenson's *Chart of the Coast of Scotland* in 1832 and remains on Ordnance Survey maps and tourist brochures to this day, the world's most celebrated site of Fingalian topography.<sup>13</sup>

## II. Ossian's Cultural Politics

Whatever the truth about Fingal's Cave, Fingalian topography long pre-dated Macpherson's translation of Ossian, extending across the North Channel from the Scottish to the Irish *Gàidhealtachd*. Uncertainty still surrounds the etymology of many such features marked on modern maps, such as 'Fingal's Cave' itself. As well as 'melodious' (*binn*), the proper name *Fionn* is easily confused with the Gaelic for 'white' (*fionn*) or 'wine' (*fion*).<sup>14</sup> Moreover, as Baines points out, after 1760 'Ossianomania' replaced an earlier indifference to recording Gaelic toponyms in accounts of the Highland landscape, making it hard to distinguish authentic from invented traditions in place-names.<sup>15</sup> The same is often true of Ossian's relations to its Gaelic sources, although scholars have conclusively established Macpherson's debt to contemporary Scots and Irish *fianaiagecht* or *fian*-ballads, which he collected on a series of 'ethnopoetic' field trips through the Highlands and Islands in 1760-61, financed by the Edinburgh literati.<sup>16</sup> Valuable source material was also gathered by correspondence with Gaelic ballad collectors, many of them Presbyterian

ministers, such as Revd John Macpherson of Sleat, or Revd James MacLagan of Blair Atholl.<sup>17</sup> Macpherson's publication inspired subsequent collectors of Ossianic verse, such as the Revd John Smith (*Sean Dana*, 1777) and the English Quaker Thomas F. Hill (*Ancient Erse Poems*, 1784), as well as, of course, the tours of sceptics such as Dr Johnson and his Gaelic disciple Revd William Shaw.<sup>18</sup>

Macpherson's Ossian presented its readers with an ideologically as well as aesthetically doctored version of Gaelic tradition. Richard Sher has read Ossian in the context of the 'Poker Club's' campaign for a Scottish militia in the 1760s, one aspect of Macpherson's nationalistic bid to bolster the myth of Caledonian resistance to foreign invaders.<sup>19</sup> The extent to which Fingal is the offspring of Calgacus (the heroic leader of the Caledonians at Mons Graupius, in Tacitus' *Agricola*) has never been adequately grasped by commentators, however. Ossian's third-century setting permitted Fingal to be represented as the leader of Scotland's Iron Age tribes against the Roman *imperium* in the figure of 'Caracul, the son of the *King of the World*' (*Poems*, p.47), a metaphor for post-Culloden Hanoverian triumphalism. Anachronistically, *Fingal: An Ancient Epic Poem* is concerned with his defeat of the Norse invader Swaran: both campaigns, however, asserted Scotland's flagging national pride during the crisis of the Bute administration. As Murray Pittock writes, 'though [Macpherson] might talk the talk of sympathy, sentiment, and elegy, he walked the walk of the taxonomy of glory'.<sup>20</sup> If, influenced by Camden's *Britannia* (1586), the tourist itinerary of Highland Scotland pre-1760 made by antiquarians such as Alexander Gordon, Sir Richard Burrell or Richard Pococke was largely concerned with Roman camps and battlefield sites, the publication of Ossian reinvented the Highland landscape as the scene of heroic Fingalian resistance.<sup>21</sup> The famous boulder burial in Perthshire's 'Sma' Glen', for example, was initially identified as a 'Roman' tomb by Hanoverian soldiers constructing General Wade's road network in the 1730s, but sometime after 1760 it was renamed 'Clach-Ossian' or 'Ossian's Grave', and it became an obligatory site on the eighteenth-century tourist circuit, invoked, for example, in Wordsworth's 1805 poem 'Glen-Almain': 'In this still place, remote from men,/ Sleeps Ossian, in the NARROW GLEN.'<sup>22</sup>

Colin Kidd had argued that 'Macpherson's researches were intended to purify and simplify the Scottish past, liberating the true national history from beneath a palimpsest of Irish cultural imperialism and Romish priestcraft'.<sup>23</sup> Ossian's controversial historical and geographical setting underwrote its claims to present an unalloyed bardic nationalism quite distinct from the later traditions of the *fianaiqeicht* ballads, products of a Catholic popular culture common to Ireland and Gaelic Scotland. These claims were finessed in Macpherson's introductory dissertations, as well as in the copious footnotes to his poems, often overlooked by commentators.<sup>24</sup> The fact that its third-century provenance pre-dated Christianity in Scotland allowed for a sort of 'negative Protestantism' that mollified moderate Presbyterian opinion, whether that of the Edinburgh literati or Gaelic-speaking Highland ministers, struggling to purge their parishioners of pre-Reformation 'superstitions'. St Patrick, Oiséan's interlocutor in many of the source ballads, is airbrushed out by Macpherson as a historical anachronism.<sup>25</sup> The same is true of the poem's geographical settings. Womack claims that these are 'topographically null: the place names are meaningless, and the scenic components [...] remain arbitrary and inexplicit, wrapped up in the mystique of tradition'.<sup>26</sup> In fact, the explanatory *mythe histoire* permeating Macpherson's prefaces and footnotes encouraged the reader to perform ideological acts of geographical as well as historical localisation, clues to which are sown like cryptic seeds in the verse itself, inspiring travellers to visit the Highlands in search of Fingalian locations and bardic fragments.

As part of his attack on 'the Hibernian system' (which since Fordun and Buchanan derived Scottish Gaels from Ireland), Macpherson's footnotes claimed Scottish descent for Fingal, Cuchullin and many of the Fiana, even if most of the heroic action in *Fingal* and *Temora* actually takes place in Ireland, with episodes set in the Hebrides and Orkneys, as well as 'Lochlin' (Scandinavia). The Scottish Fingal flew in the face of popular legends: in 1703 Martin Martin had associated Fingalian toponyms in Skye with 'Fin MacCoul' of popular fame, a

gigantic man [...] reported to have been a general of a militia that came from Spain to Ireland, and from thence to these isles. All his soldiers are called Fienty from *fium* [...]. The natives have many stories of this general and his army, with which I will not trouble the reader.<sup>27</sup>

In exemplifying the complex traffic of *fian*-ballads between medieval Ireland and Scotland, Donald Meek has shown that the medieval Scottish version of the 'Lay of Diarmaid' transposes the Irish setting of Ben Bulbin, near Sligo, to Perthshire's Ben Gulabin, in Glen Shee, also mentioned in the ballad.<sup>28</sup> But Macpherson and his followers employed topography to refute the claims of Irish Ossian. In his polemical *Ossianio* (1818), for example, Hugh Campbell concluded that 'Fingal's progress in Ireland never exceeded twenty miles from the coast of Ulster', which he took to be conclusive proof of his Scottish rather than Irish provenance.<sup>29</sup>

Little wonder that Irish antiquarians such as Charles O'Connor and Sylvester O'Halloran were outraged by Macpherson's provocative description of ancient Ireland as a virtual Caledonian colony, even if, as Clare O'Halloran notes, the debate stimulated a defensive revival of interest in Irish Gaelic traditions.<sup>30</sup> In her 1806 novel *The Wild Irish Girl*, Sydney Owenson's 'Prince of Inismore' insisted that Fingal's denomination 'King of Morven' didn't refer to the Highland peninsula of that name, but rather signified *Riagh Mór Fhionne*, 'King or Chief of the Fhians, or Fians, a body of men [...] which [...] in the annals of Scottish history or Scottish poetry, would be vainly sought'.<sup>31</sup> And if by the 1790s Scottish Gaelic poets such as Duncan Ban Macintyre were enlisting the Fiana for loyalist purposes, Luke Gibbons has described how Irish antiquaries at the turn of the nineteenth century reclaimed the Irish Oisín for a more radical version of bardic nationalism.<sup>32</sup>

### III. *Ossian and the Highland Tour*

Ossian loomed large in the Welsh naturalist Thomas Pennant's *Tours in Scotland* in 1769 and 1772, the first systematic and illustrated description of a country that he described as 'almost as little known to its southern brethren as Kamschatka'.<sup>33</sup> Pennant endorsed Macpherson's claims for the authenticity of Ossian when he reported in Inverness-shire that 'they still have fragments of the story of *Fingal* and others, which they carrel as they go along; these vocal traditions are the foundations of the works of *Ossian*'.<sup>34</sup> Passing *Fraoch-Eilan* on Loch Awe, he acknowledged the island as 'the Hesperides of the Highlands', the setting of Jerome Stone's Ossianic translation 'Albin and the Daughter of Mey', published in the *Scots Magazine* in 1756.<sup>35</sup> In Glen Coe, Pennant described 'the river Cöan, or Cona, celebrated in the works of Ossian. Indeed no place could be more happily calculated than this for forming the taste and inspiring the genius of such a poet'.<sup>36</sup>

The high point of Pennant's 1772 tour was his 'Voyage to the Hebrides' on board the *Lady Frederick Campbell*, which took his expedition through the Inner Hebrides and Skye

as far as Wester Ross. Although unable to visit Staffa, he had earlier visited another Fingal's Cave at 'Drum-an-Dùin' on the isle of Arran, purportedly used as a hunting lodge by 'Fin MacCoul, or Fingal' *en route* between Morven and Ulster. Here Pennant allowed his imagination free rein in describing 'heroes of old devour[ing] their meat half raw', cooked in skin bags hanging from the cavern roof. He also described cave paintings that depicted 'rude figures, cut on the stone, of men, or animals, and of a claymore and two handed sword', although he remained unsure whether these were the productions of Fingalian or later ages.<sup>37</sup>

Pennant described the Hebrides as partaking of an Ossianic *sparagmos*: everywhere he went, he found a depressed and impoverished population on the brink of starvation. Although never quite sharing Banks's Ossianic enthusiasm, he overtly enlisted Macpherson's poem in the service of social critique in perhaps the most remarkable passage in the 1772 tour.<sup>38</sup> In the 'Vision at Ardmaddie', which concludes his 'Voyage to the Hebrides', Pennant 'imagines himself again gently wafted down the Sound of Mull; bounded on each side by the former dominions, of mighty chieftains; or of heroes immortalized in the verse of Ossian'.<sup>39</sup> Ruminating on this Fingalian topography as he nods off to sleep, he is promptly visited by an Ossianic spectre, 'a figure dressed in the garb of an ancient warrior', who 'floated in the air before me: his target and his claymore seemed of no common size, and spoke the former strength of his hero'.<sup>40</sup> At one level identified with Fingal, the 'King of Morven', the spectre also announces himself as a Highland chieftain of the sixteenth century, collapsing modern Gaeldom into the same imaginative space as the Ossianic past. After praising the chivalric and paternalistic aspects of the traditional clan system which now lay in ruins, the spectre delivers a jeremiad against the contemporary Highland elite, who have degenerated from Fingalian 'mighty chieftains' to 'rapacious landlords'.<sup>41</sup> But although the spectre tasks the chiefs to return to their estates and introduce the peaceful arts of fisheries and textile manufactories, the priority here seems to be military recruitment, in line with the atavistic clan militarism personified by Fingal and his Fiana. However problematic (as Andrew Mackillop has argued) the idea of transforming Gaeldom into a 'military reservoir' for the service of the British state proved in practice, Pennant's appropriation of Ossian as 'a usable past', from which to deliver his critique of Highland landlordism contrasts with Joseph Banks's solitary reveries in the woods of Morvern, a prototype of Womack's 'aestheticized' Highlands.<sup>42</sup>

A year later, in October 1773, Dr Samuel Johnson and James Boswell visited the Hebridean isle of Coll as a guest of the young Maclean laird in the course of what was in many respects a reprise of Pennant's 'Voyage to the Hebrides' of 1772. In his *Journey to the Western Islands* (1775) Johnson boasted that the island of Coll was exempt 'from any of the distresses, which Mr Pennant, in a fit of simple credulity, seems to think almost worthy of an elegy by Ossian'.<sup>43</sup> The Ossianic reference (coming from Dr Johnson's pen, compounding Pennant's political sin of 'simple credulity') leaves little doubt that it was a specific allusion to Pennant's 'vision at Ardmaddie', which he had just time to read in May-June of 1774, before delivering the manuscript of the *Journey* to his London publisher. However, the fact that Johnson's own reflections at Ostaig in Skye are similar to many of Pennant's criticisms, including a verbal echo of his attack on 'rapacious landlords', suggests that his main objection was to Pennant's adoption of an Ossianic figure of protest rather than to the spirit of the critique itself.<sup>44</sup>

Although Dr Johnson denied it, Revd Donald MacNicol probably wasn't far off the mark in claiming that 'from the first appearance of Ossian's Poems in public, we may date the origin of Dr Johnson's intended tour to Scotland, whatever he may pretend to tell us, in the beginning of his tour'.<sup>45</sup> Johnson's depiction of Scotland as a treeless waste encodes

his view of what Ian Duncan has called its 'metaphysical desertification'.<sup>46</sup> In the absence of Ossianic sublimity, Johnson suggests, 'an eye accustomed to flowery pastures and waving harvests is astonished and repelled by this wide extent of hopeless sterility'.<sup>47</sup> By the same token, the great lexicographer argued that 'Earse [Scottish Gaelic] was never a written language; that there is not in the world an Earse manuscript a hundred years old [...] *Earse* merely floated in the breath of the people, and could therefore receive little improvement'. Macpherson had artfully confected an epic tradition out of 'names that circulate in popular stories [...] and wandering ballads' in order to promote Scottish cultural nationalism.<sup>48</sup> 'If we know little of the ancient Highlanders,' cautioned Johnson, 'let us not fill the vacuity with *Ossian*.'<sup>49</sup>

Boating on Loch Bracadale on Skye on 22 September, Johnson and Boswell visited a cave 'remarkable for the powerful reverberation of sounds'. Although its exact location has not been traced, Johnson's description suggests that it was possibly another 'melodious cave', like that visited on Staffa by Banks the preceding summer.<sup>50</sup> Johnson was unimpressed when they reached their destination: 'as a new testimony to the veracity of common fame, here was no echo to be heard.'<sup>51</sup> Katie Trumpener notes that Johnson 'remains preoccupied with the cave's lack of echo, as evidence both of the fundamental unreliability of Highland tradition and of the fundamentally un-resonant character of the Scottish landscape, if viewed without nationalist sentimentality'. She also notes an implicit denial here of an Ossianic aesthetic that had 'turned the Highlands into one enormous echo chamber [...] [resonating] with the remembered voices of the past'.<sup>52</sup> Johnson was more impressed with Mackinnon's Cave at Gribun, on the west coast of Mull, from which his party could see the island of Staffa. Rough seas prohibited any landing on the island, so they were unable to add the recently celebrated 'Fingal's Cave' to their list of Hebridean sites. Nevertheless, Joseph Banks's description, published in Pennant's 1772 *Tour*, doubtless jarred in Johnson's mind when he narrated this episode in his *Journey*, especially Banks's onomastic identification of the cave with Ossian. Johnson would doubtless have been delighted with Saint-Fond's suggestion that 'Fingal' was a misprision of the Gaelic for 'melodious' cave. Looking beyond what he regarded as a bogus narrative of Fingalian warriors, denizens of a pre-Christian world, the climax of Johnson's tour of the Hebrides was his account of the medieval ruins of Iona, 'the luminary of the Caledonian regions, whence savage clans and roving barbarians derived the benefit of knowledge, and the blessings of religion'.<sup>53</sup>

Fingalian topography played a major role in popularising the Highland tour in the decades following the appearance of Pennant and Johnson's *Tours* in the mid-1770s. The arduous 'long tour' of the Highlands, following in their tracks, increasingly gave way to the more leisurely and accessible 'petit tour', following William Gilpin's two-week circuit of 1776, notable for producing the first accounts by women.<sup>54</sup> Like Gilpin, neither Eliabeth Diggle nor Mary Hanway nor Sarah Murray (at least in her 1799 publication) showed much interest in Fingalian topography, preferring the contemplation of sublime and picturesque scenery untrammelled by bardic associations.<sup>55</sup> Nonetheless, the anonymous *One Day's Journey to the Highlands of Scotland, 12<sup>th</sup> March 1784* provided a recipe of Fingalian wonders accessible from the town of Perth during a single day's outing: the climax of this tour was Clach-Ossian, or 'Ossian's Grave', but tourists could take in the iron-works where Fingal's swords and spears had been forged at Lochenlour, while the name of the village of Monivaird ('Bards Hill') undoubtedly commemorated the warrior-bard's encampment. Given that Selma in Morvern was only 60 miles west from Glenalmond, it would have made sense for Ossian to base his army just north of the Roman frontier after his father Fingal's death, thereby explaining the Perthshire location of 'Ossian's Grave'.<sup>56</sup>

Easily the most sensational site on the 'petit tour' was the duke of Atholl's 'hermitage' near Dunkeld, constructed in 1757 but re-designated 'Ossian's Hall' in 1783. This pavilion displayed the falls of the River Bran, described by Malcolm Andrews as 'one of the finest picturesque sites in Britain'.<sup>57</sup> In the words of the Londoner Elizabeth Diggle, visiting in 1788,

it is called a hermitage, but has more resemblance to a fairy palace called up in a moment by the stroke of her wand, & suspended among rocks, & close to a noble cascade, the entrance is by a rude gothic porch, a painting of the blind bard Ossian being the only figure that strikes the eye, he disappears at the touch of an invisible spring, & you are introduced to a most elegant room adorned in the most improved stile of modern art. I conceive both these apartments are meant as emblematic of the ancient & modern times.<sup>58</sup>

Gilpin was less impressed, objecting to 'tricks below the dignity of scenes like this'.<sup>59</sup> In 1803 the kaleidoscopic hall of mirrors had both William and Dorothy Wordsworth in stitches, which, remarked Dorothy, 'no doubt [our guide] considered as high commendation'.<sup>60</sup> Like 'Ossian's Grave' in Glensalmond, in 1814 the hermitage inspired Wordsworth to compose an 'Effusion in the Pleasure-Ground on the Banks of the Bran, Dunkeld'. For all his doubts about Fingalian topography, Wordsworth sought to 'recall some feeling – to set free/ The Bard from such indignity!' (1.44-5). In place of the meretricious hermitage he proposed a rough-hewn statue of Ossian carved in rock on the banks of the Bran, so that

in some fit of anger sharp,  
The wind might force the deep-grooved harp  
To utter melodious moans  
Not unconnected with the tones  
Of soul-sick flesh and weary bones;  
While grove and river notes would lend,  
Less deeply sad, with these to blend!' (1.98-104).<sup>61</sup>

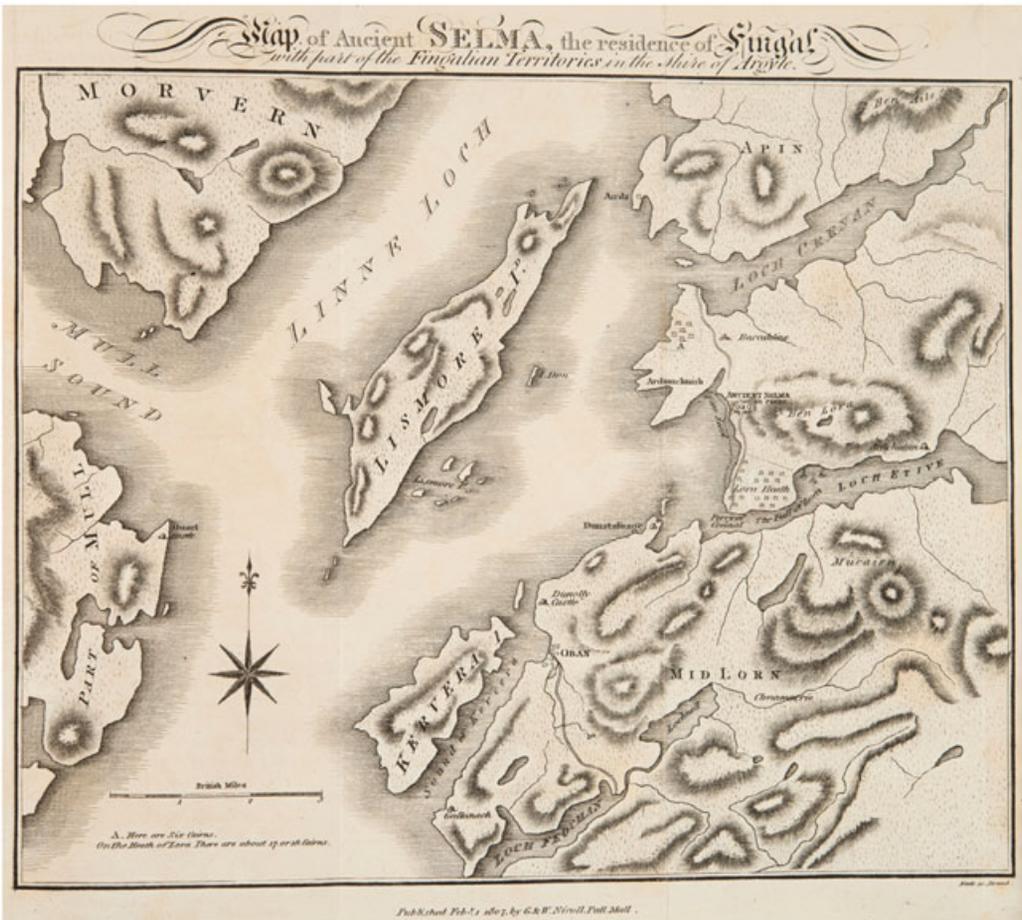
Like the natural organ sounded by the surging tide in Fingal's Cave, in Wordsworth's poem bardic nationalism gives way to natural supernaturalism, the romantic music of an aeolian harp.

#### IV. Fieldwork

In the years immediately following Macpherson's death in 1796, the Highland Society of Edinburgh appointed an investigative committee charged with laying to rest the Ossian controversy, alongside the bones of its instigator. Reviewing the society's cautious *Report* in 1805, alongside Malcolm Laing's damaging Ossian edition of the same year, Sir Walter Scott declared 'let us therefore hear no more of Macpherson'; increasingly the Trossachs of Scott's *Lady of the Lake* (1810) or Robert Burns's 'Birks of Aberfeldy' and other sites vied with Fingalian topography to inspire the tourist's gaze.<sup>62</sup> In 1807 Sir John Sinclair, sponsored by the Highland Society of London (as distinct from the Edinburgh society that had commissioned the 1805 report), supervised the publication of *The Poems of Ossian, in the Original Gaelic, with a Literal Translation into Latin*, which sought to balance the effects of Laing's damaging literary source-hunting by presenting the long-promised 'originals'. In 1952 the Gaelic scholar Derick Thomson described Sinclair's Gaelic texts as merely back-translations from Macpherson's English, and ridiculed

the execrable Gaelic of their author, 'one stage further removed from [the original] ballads than the English of 1763'.<sup>63</sup> Recently, Donald Meek has taken a different view, arguing that the 1807 Gaelic Ossian had 'a remarkably stimulating influence on nineteenth-century Gaelic literature' and, like Macpherson's original poems, 'exalted the status of the Gaelic language and culture' at a time of cultural and political crisis. The jury is therefore still out on Ossian's Gaelic legacy.<sup>64</sup>

Since Bank's 'discovery' on Staffa, Fingalian topography had offered a ready alibi for Macpherson's defenders, which Sinclair's volume now took to new extremes. He excerpted ministers' reports in the *Statistical Account* identifying Ossianic sites in their own parishes around Argyll and Lorne, and published a map showing the location of Fingal's Selma on the site of the ancient city of 'Beregonium' in Lorne (Fig. 1). A waterfall beside the Connell Ferry 'answers so well the description of the *Eas Laoire* of Ossian, and Macpherson's *Lora* [...] that it would be in vain to look for it anywhere else'.<sup>65</sup> In the words of Eric Gidal, 'tradition and information [here] become equivalent, and epic poetry and statistical analysis become interchangeable genres for recording the history of a land and its peoples'.<sup>66</sup> In initiating



1. Map of Ancient Selma, the Residence of Fingal, 1807. By permission of the University of Glasgow

Schliemann-style mapping, Sinclair may have promoted Scotland's burgeoning Romantic tourist industry, but did little to convince the scholarly world of the authenticity of Macpherson's *Ossian*: this hardly mattered, however, given that twenty-seven editions of the poem appeared between 1800 and 1830.<sup>67</sup>

A more productive outcome of the Highland Society of Scotland investigation was the questionnaire circulated to native witnesses, which, as Maureen McLane has argued, represented a shift from the pursuit of Macpherson's 'original manuscripts' to 'producing native informants, oral testimonies, or more precisely "oral editions" [...] which would most likely be plural and various'.<sup>68</sup> The shift is emblematised in an incident from the 1790s, narrated in Faujas Saint-Fond's *Travels*, which occurred when the French traveller's chaise broke down between Oban and Dalmally. In an attempt to rally their spirits, one of the party, a young American called William Thornton, indulged in an Ossianic rapture: 'we are among those mountains which the exploits of Fingal have for ever signalised. The immortal Ossian has trod upon this ground. – His name is dear to the Muses. – My imagination warms!' <sup>69</sup> Instantly, in a literalist replay of Pennant's 'Vision at Ardmaddie', 'an old man, with his head uncovered, his hair white, and dressed in a floating drapery of the same colour, started up before us. "It is Ossian!" cried Thornton, "it is the divine poet himself! Let us prostrate ourselves before him!" ' But rather than launch into Pennantian social critique, the bardic figure 'suddenly disappeared', leaving the travellers asking themselves 'is it an illusion? Is it a dream?' The Fingalian landscape is here replaced by a prosopopeia of Macpherson's bard himself, a reversal of the trick in the Dunkeld hermitage. But Saint-Fond's Ossianic apparition rapidly collapses into burlesque when it turns out that 'the white phantom [was] an old miller, who, awakened by our cries, ran in his shirt bareheaded to our assistance', and having seen their plight, rushed off to seek help.<sup>70</sup>

The figure of the floury miller emblematises a shift of touristic attention from Macpherson's ancient bard to contemporary labouring-class Gaelic tradition-bearers in many of the accounts published during the period of the Highland Society enquiry. The narratives of Saint-Fond, John Leyden and John Stoddart in these years describe scouring the increasingly depopulated glens of Argyllshire for Ossianic fragments, hunting down contemporary bards such as the redoubtable blacksmith Alexander MacNab of Dalmallie.<sup>71</sup> Incapacitated by their ignorance of Gaelic, their researches reveal authentic Ossianic sources to be an elusive quarry, as they discover locked chests full of ancient manuscripts for which the keys are unobtainable, receive reports of *senachies* in ever more remote and inaccessible glens or else encounter monolingual cowherds and slate-quarriers, who sing Fingalian verse which they can't translate. Yet his fieldwork convinced Wordsworth's friend John Stoddart that Macpherson had employed 'great freedom in expunging the extravagances of superstition' from his sources, which still abounded in 'popular notions of the Highlands, respecting the Fions', and he grumbled at this 'fastidiousness'. He noted identical Fingalian toponyms occurring all over the Highlands, wherever *fian*-ballads had been disseminated, suggesting a more subtle relationship between tradition and topography than Banks's eagerness to claim that the name of 'Fingal's Cave' supported the authenticity of Macpherson's *Ossian*.<sup>72</sup> In later decades this fieldwork tradition flourished in the hands of Gaelic-speaking folklorists, such as J. F. Campbell and Revd J. G. Campbell, whose important published collections reveal the staying power of *fian*-ballads in Gaelic popular culture, and which did more to stimulate the contemporary revival of Gaelic song and oral culture than Macpherson's poems.<sup>73</sup> Nevertheless, across much of the Scottish *Gàidhealtachd*, Fingalian topography outlived the language and culture that created it, whether as authentic or invented tradition. It survives today mainly in the Gaelic toponyms, often misspelt on the OS maps, their meaning opaque to residents and tourists alike, which bear melodious witness to Ossianic 'songs of other times'.

## NOTES

1. Roy A. Rauschenberg, 'The Journals of Joseph Banks's Voyage up Great Britain's Coast to Iceland and to the Orkney Isles, July to October 1772', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 117: 3 (1973), p.205. This is the only available edition of Banks's Iceland journal and contains a useful introduction, although the annotation is unreliable regarding the Hebrides.
2. Howard Gaskill (ed.), *The Poems of Ossian*, with an introduction by Fiona Stafford (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996), p.18. Subsequent references to the *Poems* are to this edition, cited in parentheses within the text.
3. Dafydd Moore, 'Heroic Incoherence in James Macpherson's *The Poems of Ossian*', *Eighteenth Century Studies* 34:1 (2000), p.45, quoting Northrop Frye, *The Anatomy of Criticism* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1957), p.192.
4. See Fiona Stafford, *The Sublime Savage: James Macpherson and the Poems of Ossian* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1988), p.17-20.
5. Katie Trumpener, *Bardic Nationalism: The Romantic Novel and the British Empire* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997), p.3-34, 74-82.
6. Peter Womack, *Improvement and Romance: Constructing the Myth of the Highlands* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1988), p.78, 82, 99.
7. Rauschenberg, 'Journals of Joseph Banks's Voyage', p.207. In the version of Banks's journal published in Pennant the Gaelic is anglicised, appearing as: 'We asked the name of it. Said our guide, "The cave of Fhinn." "What is Fhinn?" said we. "Fhinn MacCoul, whom the translator of Ossian's works has called Fingal". 'Account of Staffa' in Thomas Pennant, *A Tour in Scotland and Voyage to the Hebrides, 1772*, intro. by Charles Withers, ed. Andrew Simmons (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 1998), p.258.
8. Paul Baines, 'Ossianic Geography: Fingalian Figures on the Scottish Tour, 1760-1830', *Scotlands* 4:1 (1997), p.49. See also Eric Gidal's *Ossianic Unconformities: Bardic Poetry in the Industrial Age*, (Charlottesville, VA, and London: University of Virginia Press, 2015), which was only available to me at a late stage in the preparation of this article. Gidal casts important light on the application by nineteenth-century Ossian scholars of 'historical geography, speculative geology, and a kind of nascent industrial archaeology to measure and map [the] vernacular environment of a displaced oral tradition [standing] in fraught relation to the official and normative landscape of a British industrial order' (p.182).
9. David Simpson, 'Wordsworth and Empire – Just Joking', in Peter de Bolla, Nigel Leask and David Simpson (eds), *Land, Nation and Culture, 1740-1840: Thinking the Republic of Taste* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), p.191.
10. 'Our guide' referred to in Banks's journal must have been a literate man like Maclean, in possession of the knowledge (as Banks spells out here) that Macpherson, 'the translator of Ossian's works' had rendered the 'Fionn McCumhal' of Gaelic popular tradition as 'Fingal'.
11. Barthélemy Faujas de Saint-Fond, *Travels in England, Scotland, and the Hebrides*, 2 vols (London, 1799), vol. II.49.
12. Faujas de Saint-Fond, *Travels*, vol. II.50-51. For a possible earlier source of Saint-Fond's hypothesis, see Donald B. MacCulloch, *Staffa*, 4th rev. edn (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1975), p.18. Thanks to Tom Furniss for this reference.
13. Baines, 'Ossianic Geography', p.47.
14. John Murray, *Reading the Gaelic Landscape* (Caithness: Whittles Publishing, 2014), p.90, 196.
15. Baines, 'Ossianic Geography', p.52.
16. This is well described in Stafford, *The Sublime Savage*, p.113-32.
17. Derick S. Thomson, *The Gaelic Sources of Macpherson's 'Ossian'* (Aberdeen: Oliver and Boyd, 1952), p.5-12; Donald Meek, 'The Gaelic Ballads of Scotland: Creativity and Adaptation', in Howard Gaskill (ed.), *Ossian Revisited* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1991), p.20. See also

Robert Dunbar, 'Vernacular Gaelic Tradition', in Sarah Dunnigan and Suzanne Gilbert (eds), *The Edinburgh Companion to Scottish Traditional Literatures* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013), p.51-62.

18. See Richard Sher, 'Percy, Shaw, and the Ferguson "Cheat": National Prejudice in the Ossian Wars', in Gaskill (ed.), *Ossian Revisited*, p.207-45.

19. Richard Sher, *Church and University in the Scottish Enlightenment* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985), p.242-61; Colin Kidd, *Subverting Scotland's Past: Scottish Whig Historians and the Creation of an Anglo-British Identity, 1689-1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p.219-39.

20. Murray Pittock, *Scottish and Irish Romanticism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p.80. See Juliet Shields's discussion of Ossian and race in *Sentimental Literature and Anglo-Scottish Identity, 1745-1820* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p.36-50.

21. Alexander Gordon, *Itinerarium septentrionale, or, A Journey thro' Most of the Counties of Scotland* (London, 1726); *Sir William Burrell's Northern Tour, 1758*, ed. John G. Dunlop (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1997); *Tours in Scotland, 1747, 1750, 1760 by Richard Pococke, Bishop of Meath, From the Original Manuscript and Drawings in the British Museum*, ed. with a biographical sketch of the author by Daniel William Kemp (Edinburgh: T. and A. Constable, for the Scottish History Society, 1887).

22. John O. Hayden (ed.), *William Wordsworth: The Poems*, 2 vols (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1977), vol. I.638. Dorothy Wordsworth noted that the 'poem was written by Wordsworth on hearing of a tradition relating to it, which we did not know when we were there'. Dorothy Wordsworth, *Reflections of a Tour Made in Scotland*, intro., notes and photographs by Carol Kyros Walker (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997), p.176.

23. Kidd, *Subverting Scotland's Past*, p.232.

24. Notable exceptions are Howard Gaskill's seminal essay 'Ossian in Europe' in *Canadian Review of Comparative Literature* 21 (1994), p.643-78, and Sebastian Mitchell's discussion in *Visions of Britain: Anglo-Scottish Writing and Representation, 1730-1830* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), p.126-43.

25. See, for example, Gaskill (ed.), *Poems of Ossian*, p.119, n.1 and 32, and p.219; Thomson, *Gaelic Sources*, p.43.

26. Womack, *Improvement and Romance*, p.78. For strictures on Macpherson's topography, see also Fiona Stafford, *The Sublime Savage*, p.103, and Luke Gibbons, *Edmund Burke and Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p.217.

27. Martin Martin, *A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland*, intro. by Charles Withers and R. W. Munro (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 1999), p.99.

28. Meek, 'Gaelic Ballads of Scotland', p.29. See 'Gleann Siodh an gleann-so rém thaoibh' (a version of the 'Lay of Diarmaid') with its numerous references to 'Beann Gulbainn', in Neil Ross (ed.), *Heroic Poetry from the Book of the Dean of Lismore* (Edinburgh: Olive & Boyd, 1939), p.71-7. The 'Book of the Dean', compiled in Perthshire around 1520, was in Macpherson's possession.

29. Hugh Campbell, *Ossiano: Being an Attempt to Ascertain the Battlefields of Fingal in Ulster* (1818), in Dafydd Moore (ed.), *Ossian and Ossianism*, 3 vols (London and New York: Routledge, 2004), vol.III.406-7. See Gidal, *Ossianic Unconformities*, p.103-24, for a nuanced account of Campbell.

30. Clare O'Halloran, 'Ossian and the Irish Bards' in her *Golden Ages and Barbarous Nations: Antiquarian Debate and Cultural Politics in Ireland, c.1750-1800* (Cork: Cork University Press, 2004), p.97-124.

31. Lady Morgan (Sydney Owenson), *The Wild Irish Girl* (1806), ed. with intro. by Kathryn Kirkpatrick (Oxford: World's Classics, 1999), p.108. In a note to *Fingal*, Book 3, Macpherson specified that 'all the north west coast of Scotland probably went under the old name of Morven, which signifies a ridge of very high hills' (*Poems of Ossian*, p.428, n.17).

32. See Macintyre's 'Oran do Iarla Bhraghaid Albann', l.5280-81, in Angus Macleod (ed.), *Orain Dhonnchaid Bhain* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1952), p.367; Luke Gibbons, 'From Ossian to O'Carolan: The Bard as Separatist Symbol', in Fiona Stafford and Howard Gaskill (eds.), *From Gaelic to Romantic: Ossianic Translations* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1998), p.226-51.

33. *The Literary Life of Thomas Pennant, Esq., by Himself* (London, 1793), p.10.
34. Thomas Pennant, *A Tour of Scotland in 1769*, 3rd edn ([1774] Perth: Melven Press, 1979), p.196.
35. Pennant, *A Tour of Scotland in 1769*, p.217. Stone's translation was based on the Gaelic ballad 'Bas Fhraoch'. See Stafford, *Sublime Savage*, p.64-5.
36. Pennant, *A Tour in Scotland in 1769*, p.210. This is based on Macpherson's note to *Fingal*, Book I (*Poems of Ossian*, p.424, n.94). See Baines, 'Ossianic Geography', p.47, for Pennant's visit to other Fingalian sites.
37. Thomas Pennant, *A Tour in Scotland and Voyage to the Hebrides in 1772*, intro by Charles W. J. Withers, ed. Andrew Simmons (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 1998), p.172-3.
38. On Pennant's politics, see Paul Smethurst, *Travel Writing and the Natural World, 1768-1840* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), p.119.
39. Pennant, *A Tour of Scotland and Voyage to the Hebrides in 1772*, p.364.
40. Pennant, *A Tour of Scotland and Voyage to the Hebrides in 1772*, p.365.
41. Pennant, *A Tour of Scotland and Voyage to the Hebrides in 1772*, p.367.
42. Andrew Mackillop, 'More Fruitful than the Soil': *Army, Empire and the Scottish Highlands, 1715-1815* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2000), p.240.
43. Ronald Black (ed.), *To the Hebrides: Samuel Johnson's 'Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland' and James Boswell's 'Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides'* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2007), p.299.
44. At one point, Johnson quotes these very words from Pennant. See Black (ed.), *To the Hebrides*, p.188. For Johnson's reading of Pennant, see J. D. Fleeman's introduction to *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), p.xvii.
45. Donald McNicol, *Remarks on Dr Samuel Johnson's Journey to the Hebrides* (London, 1779), p.10.
46. Ian Duncan, 'The Pathos of Abstraction: Adam Smith, Ossian, and Samuel Johnson', in Leith Davis, Ian Duncan and Janet Sorensen (eds.), *Scotland and the Borders of Romanticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p.39.
47. Black (ed.), *To the Hebrides*, p.88.
48. Black (ed.), *To the Hebrides*, p.209.
49. Black (ed.), *To the Hebrides*, p.210.
50. Black (ed.), *To the Hebrides*, p.176. There is no agreement as to whether this cave was 'The Piper's Cave' (*Uamh an Òir*) at Harlosh Point, or the sea cave on Harlosh Island, or else a cave on Oronsay, or one of the other sea caves on Loch Bracadale. See *To the Hebrides*, p.528-9.
51. Black (ed.), *To the Hebrides*, p.176.
52. Trumpener, *Bardic Nationalism*, p.70.
53. Black (ed.), *To the Hebrides*, p.380.
54. Pennant seems to have invented the term 'petit tour'. *Tour 1769*, p.91; Malcolm Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque: Landscape Aesthetics and Tourism in Britain, 1760-1800* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1989), p.206-7; William Gilpin, *Observations, Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty, Made in the Year 1776, On Several Parts of Great Britain, Particularly the High-Lands of Scotland*, 2 vols (London, 1789-90), vol. I.169.
55. Betty Hagglund, *Tourists and Travellers: Women's Non-Fictional Writing about Scotland 1770-1830* (Bristol: Channel View, 2010), p.24-8. Sarah Murray's interest in Ossian grew in her later tours of Scotland: see Hagglund, *Tourists and Travellers*, p.26.
56. *One Day's Journey to the Highlands of Scotland, 12th March 1784* (Perth, 1784), p.12, 13, 16. This locally printed 21-page pamphlet achieved nationwide circulation when it was incorporated in Thomas Newte's widely read *Prospects and Observations; on a Tour in England and Scotland*, published in London in 1791. Newte was the pseudonym of William Thomson, who hailed from Perthshire and may have been the author of *One Day's Journey* printed by John Gillies of Perth.
57. Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque*, p.214.

58. Elizabeth Diggle, 'Journal of a Tour from London to the Highlands of Scotland, 1788', in Alastair J. Durie (ed.), *Travels in Scotland, 1788–1881* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2012), p.25–6.
59. Gilpin, *Observations*, p.121.
60. Dorothy Wordsworth, *Reflections of a Tour Made in Scotland*, p.174.
61. 'Effusion in the Pleasure-Ground on the Banks of the Bran, Dunkeld', in Hayden (ed.), *Wordsworth: The Poems*, vol. II.300–01. For Wordsworth's doubts about Fingalian topography, see 'Essay, Supplementary to the Preface', in John O. Hayden (ed.), *Wordsworth: Selected Prose* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1988), p.404.
62. 'Report of the Highland Society upon Ossian', *Edinburgh Review* 6 (July 1805), p.429–62, 461.
63. Thomson, *Gaelic Sources*, p.85–9. The translations appear to have been by Macpherson himself, assisted by Captain Alexander Morison.
64. Donald E. Meek, 'The Sublime Gael: The Impact of Macpherson's *Ossian* on Literary Creativity and Cultural Perception in Gaelic Scotland', in Howard Gaskill (ed.), *The Reception of Ossian in Europe* (London: Thoemmes Continuum, 2004), p.41, 66. Meek notes that *Ossian* was enlisted by nineteenth-century Gaels in opposing forced emigration and sheep clearance, and in support of the Crofters' War (p.55, 58).
65. *The Poems of Ossian, in the Original Gaelic, with a Literal Translation into Latin, by the Late Robert Macfarlan, Together with a Dissertation on the Authenticity of the Poems by Sir John Sinclair, Bart*, 3 vols (London, 1807), vol. III.511. 'Port Selma' is still marked on the OS map of the site, in the modern village of Benderloch. See Eric Gidal, *Ossianic Unconformities*, pp.55–90, for a detailed account of Sinclair's edition.
66. Gidal, *Ossianic Unconformities*, p.64.
67. Dafydd Moore, 'The Reception of Ossian in England and Scotland', in Gaskill (ed.), *The Reception of Ossian in Europe*, p.30. A fantastical extension of Sinclair's project, integrating new geological theories against the background of industrial modernity, was P. Hately Waddell's *Ossian and the Clyde, Fingal in Ireland, Oscar in Iceland, or, Ossian Historical and Authentic* (Glasgow: James Maclehose, 1875), to which Gidal devotes an excellent chapter in *Ossianic Unconformities*, p.125–54.
68. Maureen McLane, *Balladeering, Minstrelsy, and the Making of British Romantic Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p.79.
69. Saint-Fond, *Travels*, vol. I.316.
70. Saint-Fond, *Travels*, vol. I.317. For a different interpretation of this passage, see Baines, 'Ossianic Geography', p.57.
71. John Leyden, *Journal of a Tour in the Highlands and Western Islands of Scotland in 1800*, ed. James Sinton (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1903); John Stoddart, *Remarks on Local Scenery and Manners in Scotland*, 2 vols (London, 1801). For MacNab, see Thomson, *Gaelic Sources*, p.8. Leyden's account of his visits to Donald MacNicol of Lismore and James MacLagan has been of great service to Gaelic scholars.
72. Stoddart, *Remarks*, vol. I.278, vol. II.32; Baines, 'Ossianic Geography', p.49.
73. John Francis Campbell, *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*, 4 vols (Paisley and London: Alexander Gardner, 1892), and *Leabhar na Féinne* (London: Spottiswoode, 1872); John Gregorson Campbell, *The Fians; or, Stories, Poems and Traditions of Fion and His Warrior Band* (London: David Nutt, 1891). The two Campbells were not related.

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