



Stone

LANDSCAPE: ICON OF SCOTTISH NATIONAL IDENTITY

by

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Landscape: Icon of Scottish National Identity

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Abstract

My project is a reflection on my experience in Graduate Liberal Studies 819, Landscape, Memory & Identity; The Scottish Experience. This course was a combination of historic readings, novels and travel through several areas of historical interest in Scotland. Throughout the project, I illustrate various landscapes with my own photographs from Scotland and a brief explanation of my response to these landscapes. My project is an attempt to explain my reactions by examining the ways landscape acquires meaning for a nation and for those who identify with that nation.

In the Introduction, I describe the conflicts between my Scottish heritage, my English birth and my Canadian citizenship which have left me with ambiguous feelings about Scotland. I start by looking briefly at the meaning of nation and the development of nationalism in Scotland. I then look at how landscape acquires meaning for a nation and how it is used to promote national identity.

In the second section on James Macpherson and The Poems of Ossian, I describe why issues of authenticity became an important factor in nationalism. I also discuss how Macpherson's Scottish landscape imagery was especially important in establishing the poems in Scottish mythology.

In the third section on Sir Walter Scott, I use his three novels, The Heart of Mid-Lothian, Old Mortality and Waverley to show how Scott uses landscape to symbolize aspects of national identity. I will argue that Scott uses the landscape of homes and contrasting landscapes to define national identity.

I conclude with my readings of the landscape based on my personal background and the meanings I have derived both from my own experiences in Scotland and my readings of both Ossian and Sir Walter Scott.

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Introduction

My project started as an attempt to explain my experiences during the trip to Scotland associated with the Graduate Liberal Studies course, Landscape, Memory and Identity: The Scottish Experience. I was disappointed and saddened by my lack of emotional response and attachment to the various historic sites and to the landscape in general. Before I left Vancouver I had assumed that my residual childhood memories would somehow connect the landscape with my current identity.

When I returned to Vancouver, I wanted to find out why the connection had not happened. After extensive research into ideas about landscape, memory and identity, I was unable to find any reference to a theory which would connect them. However, I did find a considerable amount of material which worked on the assumption that landscape and national identity were connected. In order to explain my own experience, I needed a model describing how they were connected or why they were, in fact, not connected.

Since I could not find an existing theory, I decided to start from the basic assumption that landscape did contribute to the development of a national identity. I could see that merely looking at landscape would not create feelings of national identity or every tourist would develop nationalistic feelings wherever they traveled. When I found David Lowenthal's statement that "European landscapes everywhere remain compelling icons of national identity" (12), I used it in the context of Erwin Panofsky's theory of iconographic interpretation. I thought that with these two approaches I had found a description of how landscape might work to create a national identity.

I decided to apply to landscape Panofsky's idea that there are three levels of interpreting art; the basic, the historical and the general. If this worked on an historical example drawn from literature, I could use it to look at my own experience. The idea

being that my problematic experience may have been the result of not going beyond a basic level of interaction with and interpretation of the landscape. As the response at the basic level is one of aesthetic evaluation rather than emotional involvement, it would explain my flat emotional response and lack of feelings of attachment.

As I was developing my ideas, I hypothesized that although I had two distinct parts to my project, the personal and the historical, there would be a point at which they would come together, that the two lines I was pursuing would cross over or meet at an end point. In fact, however, what I really had were two parts which occupied parallel lines which would never meet.

With hindsight, I think these lines turned out to be parallel for two fundamental reasons. The first reason was not recognizing the implications of the problem I had in finding a definition for landscape which had wide usage and acceptance. I assumed that landscape was a concrete word because that is how it is used and understood colloquially and in many academic studies. Scenery, environment, location and place exist as definable, objective entities. Landscape, however, is a socially constructed category so it is always contingent.

Not only is what counts as landscape always changing but every interpretation of a landscape is created out of the viewer's own life experience. There may be levels of interpreting landscape but they are, in fact, as individual as the landscape being interpreted. I now find it difficult to imagine the type of national identity I thought could be constructed out of this essentially subjective concept.

The second reason was misunderstanding the process which connects landscape and national identity. National identity is part of the social underpinning of landscape: national identity constructs landscape, landscape does not construct national identity. I only discovered this reversal of cause and effect after I had completed my

project. However, I do not think this is a simple one directional relationship, I still think that there is some reciprocity between landscape and national identity.

James Macpherson and Walter Scott use their understanding of and concerns about Scottish nationalism to construct the landscapes they use in their fiction. Both authors create a Scottish landscape, they do not look to landscape to create a Scottish national identity.

Macpherson creates Morven as the source and home of the idealized Scottish ancestors, Fingal and his extended family. If we think of Macpherson's early life in the Highlands "in the context of systematic cultural destruction" (Gaskill X), his work takes on a role of a nationalistic, cultural reconstruction. The landscape he creates could be seen as a nationalistic attempt to "repair some of the damage to the Highlands sustained in the wake of the Jacobite Risings" (Gaskill X).

Scott creates landscapes which always contain multiple meanings. They are the location of historical and cultural events where the many perspectives of the Scottish people meet and confront each other. The landscape is constructed to contain and accommodate the diversity which makes up the Scottish national identity.

The literary landscapes of Scott and Macpherson, therefore, were created to fulfill several functions within their writing. I think one of the major functions was defining the borders of the "embodied argument" (Craig 23) which constitutes the Scottish national identity. The discontinuity between the aims of literary landscapes and the aims of an individual looking at landscape ensure that any discussion will always run parallel and never intersect.

In spite of the fundamental problems, my project did help me to understand my experiences on the Graduate Liberal Studies course, Landscape, Memory and Identity: the Scottish Experience and our travel through Scotland in 2001. It also gave me a

better understanding of the historical and cultural background to the current issues of Scottish nationalism and devolution.



Glen Coe

Glen Coe

The day we went to Glen Coe was cold and windy. We went straight to the Viewpoint because we thought the rain would start at any minute. We were lucky. The clouds started to move up the hills and the narrow valley cleared of mist.

My first thought was how ordinary it looked, indistinguishable from the dozens of little side valleys we passed every day. Only the Visitors' Centre and the large parking lot made it stand out.

I looked up the Glen, not sure what I expected to see. There was only a shallow river, several rock outcroppings and some scrubby trees. Peggy Lee's song "Is That All There Is" popped into my head and I couldn't will it away. I took a couple of pictures hoping that I might inadvertently capture something which had eluded me as I stood there.

While we waited for the next audio-visual presentation, I browsed through books with lurid covers showing terrified, tartan clad women and children pursued by the English Army waving bloodied swords.

The presentation was a film of still images with a loud sound track of shouting, screaming and bagpipe music. The narrator's quiet accent reminded me of my father. "... and thirty-eight men died that night." Only thirty-eight dead, not much of a massacre. I cringed at my callousness but there are so many worse cases with no Visitors' Centre or film strip.

By the time we left the Centre the rain had started and we wandered back to the van. As we reached the car park I turned and looked back towards Glen Coe. Even with the details of its history so clearly in my mind, the only thing that surprised me was

the emotional flatness of my response. I wasn't incensed or indignant, merely curious.
The landscape had no deep meaning for me, only general historic interest.

A Personal Journey: Searching for Context

I had looked forward to GLS 819 Landscape, Memory and Identity: The Scottish Experience because it was my last course in Graduate Liberal Studies and it seemed like a perfect conclusion. I was also taking the trip to learn about Scotland, the Scottish people, my family and perhaps something about myself.

My sister and I had the humiliating distinction of being the only members of our extended family not born in Scotland. Our parents had moved to England to find work after the Second World War. They could not go back because my father was a therapeutic radiologist and there were no radiation treatment centres in Scotland at that time. I think my mother was very lonely so my sister and I went back to Scotland with her five or six times a year.

My parents were always happiest when they were in Scotland because they never felt at home in England. My mother in particular never fitted in: an educated, teetotal, Presbyterian Scotswoman was thought to be wildly eccentric in suburban Manchester in 1946.

My parents disliked the English and resented their complete ignorance about Scotland and the Scots. They laughed at English foibles and never tired of telling us how everything was so much better in Scotland. Looking back, I think my parents were very sad they had been forced to leave Scotland and always thought of themselves as living in exile. My sister and I were relieved that, to our parents, we did not really count as English and that our birthplace was regarded as an unfortunate necessity.

Although I was only eleven on the last visit before we emigrated to Canada, some of my memories of Scotland are very clear. I remember my grandparents' homes filled with their large families. For some reason, I was always surprised that everyone

spoke with Scots' accents. I recall Sunday afternoon drives when my grandfather took us everywhere to see Scottish scenery. I also remember that my Scottish family felt they needed to explain to everyone that we had been born and continued to live in England. The response to this was always pity for someone who had suffered such a terrible misfortune.

I was always aware that the accident of my English birth had permanently excluded me from something but I was never quite sure exactly what it was. We were never excluded from our family but were never able to forget that we were not Scots. Our cousins teased us about being Sassenachs and mimicked our posh English accents. The local shop keepers called us 'The wee English girls' and my grandparents' friends were always commiserating with my parents about having to live in England. My sister and I were too young to understand about nationalism but we knew living in Glasgow was much better than living in Manchester.

Our family moved to Canada in 1957 for various reasons to do with my father's work and the feeling that we had no future in England. Our move to Regina was a great adventure for all of us. We were overwhelmed by the kind and generous people who did everything they could to make us feel at home. Almost from the day we arrived, I do not think my sister or I ever thought of England or Scotland as home. My parents encouraged us to lose our accents and to become as Canadian as possible. Perhaps this was easy for us because we had moved back and forward between Manchester and Glasgow so often that we did not feel deeply attached to either place.

My parents became enthusiastic Canadians. Having made a partial break with Scotland when they moved to England, they found coming to Canada much easier. I think they no longer thought of themselves as Scots in exile once they came to Canada. We applied for our citizenship papers exactly five years and one day after we arrived in

Regina. As British subjects we were not required to attend the citizenship ceremony but my parents insisted we go. They considered it a very important day and thought we should be with all the other people who were lucky enough to be getting their citizenship. They never considered for a minute returning to Scotland or England and were puzzled by their friends who planned to retire 'back home.'

My parents continued to return to Scotland even after there were no longer any close family connections. I do not really know why they went back and I am not sure they knew either. Every three or four years my father would say, "I think your mother and I will go to Scotland this summer." As I get older myself, I wonder if at least part of the attraction was to return to places like the University of Glasgow and Mull where they had been young. Neither my sister nor I ever went with them, in fact, neither of us went back until we were adults.

When we came to Canada it was considered almost treasonous to suggest that one might want to go back to the 'old country.' When immigrant women were lonely and homesick; they were 'cured' with a trip back home. Women who took the 'cure' were considered weak and ungrateful for the benefits they had in Canada. Any longing I had for Scotland or England was repressed because I thought it threatened my status as a 'real' Canadian.

In recent years, it has become much more accepted for Canadians to show an interest in their family's origin. When my daughter chose the University of Glasgow for her exchange year because her grandparents and great-grandparents were alumni, I started to think seriously about my Scottish background for the first time. I had gone back to Scotland but never had any interest in going to Manchester. After forty years in Canada, the part of me that was English seemed to have dropped away but I still felt an attachment to Scotland.

When I read about the Scottish course in the 'GLS Newsletter,' I was interested in taking the trip. Of course, the travel made it sound very attractive and many people were skeptical about the relative proportion of study to holiday. I never really thought of it as a holiday; it was more like research. Although I did not think of Scotland as a foreign country, it was not home either. There were so many things, my own childhood, British devolution and Scottish nationalism, which I did not understand. I think I was also looking for my parents and what it was that took them back to wander around Scotland together. Exactly what I was looking for was very unclear. I was sure that with the background from the course and an adult's perspective, I would be able to put my own experience into some type of context. However, even before I left Vancouver to start the course, I was aware that I did not really know what I was looking for.

After finishing the collection of course readings I was confused about Scotland and the Scots. There seemed to be no point when the Scots were not fighting the English or fighting amongst themselves over territory, political power or religious differences. It also seemed that no conflict was ever resolved by a clear victory but in a truce where both sides 'agreed to differ' and no one ever changed their mind. The 'loser' in these conflicts was usually temporarily subdued only to reappear later. Even a defeat as apparently conclusive as the Battle of Culloden in 1746 did not prevent Highlanders and Highland regalia from decorating Queen Victoria's family visits to Balmoral less than a hundred years later. The differences underlying these disagreements were not trivial. They were strongly held and incompatible beliefs. The conflicts were often very violent, with great loss of life followed by long periods of hardship.

This was not the Scotland of my childhood, which seemed a cozy group of like and right minded people. A few might be misguided on religious matters or make poor political judgements but they were still Scots. Although this may seem naive and

simplistic, I think to some extent that it represents the day to day understanding of even the more educated among my parents' and grandparents' generations.

Even people from as diverse regional and economic backgrounds as my grandparents were willing to let the old battles fade away. Regional loyalties still persisted but they were outweighed by the fear of being overwhelmed by the English. The pressure exerted by the British Broadcasting Corporation to conform to English cultural norms, such as Christmas Day celebrations, was proving to be more irresistible than military pressure had been in the past. People knew that it was easier for the English to nibble away at Scotland than to swallow it whole. Alienating one's fellow Scots was simply dividing the nation into easy bite size pieces.

I think the suppression of diversity in the interests of unity is one of the most interesting issues in Scottish history. How and why bitter regional and sectarian enmity was overcome is an important part of the story of Scottish nationalism. Our course gave us a fundamental understanding within an historic context of the sources of diversity, regionalism and religion. It focused on four distinctive groups, the Celts, the Jacobites, the Presbyterian Protestants and the leaders of the Enlightenment in the periods of history they dominated. Each group arose and played itself out in a particular landscape and cultural context before becoming part of myth and history.

The process of integrating these various strands into the story of Scotland has been the subject of academic debate and fictionalized accounts. The course readings gave us an opportunity to understand the issues and conflicts, such as the Jacobite Risings and the Covenanters, which are integral to any understanding of modern Scotland.

When we arrived in Scotland and were able to visit historical sites such as Finlaggan and Culloden, we were able to place events into the context of a landscape.

This gave the novels and history a 'reality check.' Finlaggan is so small, desolate and remote, it is a clear illustration that the pervasive influence of such a landscape is inescapable. The memorials to the fallen at Culloden were a stark reminder of the devastation such losses would cause in communities immediately after the battle and for the following generation. When I thought of the background materials and the landscape together, the connection of landscape, memory and identity was more apparent. The connection has a recursive aspect, that is, each element circles back and reinforces the connection. In this type of relationship the landscape influences the memories which shape the national identity which, in turn, valorizes the landscape.

This connection seems obvious at an intuitive level. Feelings of attachment to a landscape were formed through the memory of significant events which occurred in that landscape. National identity was built from the feelings of connection found in communal memories. Over time, the landscape acted as a prompt for the memories which brought to mind feelings of connection with the nation. When a nation remembered important events, they also remembered the landscape. This reciprocal action between landscape and identity reinforced the memories which connected them.

Landscape was only one of several elements which created the Scottish memory and national identity. The Scots were always aware of how the English were interpreting the political and cultural climate in Scotland. If Scotland was to fully participate in the Union with England, it would be necessary to modify their national identity to meet the expectations of the English. The Scots also had to take into account the expectations of the Scottish emigrant populations and the perceptions of the global community.

However, in the context of Scottish history, this reciprocal type of connection did not seem to work. As most events were conflicts, the winners and the losers would have significantly different memories. Winners would associate positive memories with a

particular landscape while for losers the landscape would be a reminder of defeat and humiliation. Differing memories should suggest different feelings about the landscape and have unpredictable effects on the national identity. This does not seem to be the case for Scotland, where many people are nationalistic and express feelings of deep personal attachment to the landscape.

I think what complicates this type of analysis are the number of events and the fluidity of loyalties. Scotland has a long history and it would be virtually impossible to take into account the effects of all the different types of confrontations from local cattle raids to the Battle of Culloden. When any segment of the population in a small subsistence level community is lost, the result is devastating, regardless of the size or importance of the cause. It seems unlikely that any group or community was always on the winning or losing side of these conflicts. There is probably not a single hamlet that does not have memories of glorious victories and terrible defeats.

An analysis of any historical event, such as Edward Cowan's "Clanship, Kinship and the Campbell Acquisition of Islay" (Cowan 132-157), shows most groups to be complex, unstable alliances of individuals motivated to a large extent by self-interest. In many cases, expediency was as important a factor in shaping loyalty as long standing commonality of regional, political or religious interests.

I am sure there were some events, such as the Highland clearances, which have fossilized mutual antipathy, particularly among emigrant populations. However, in the last two hundred years, emigration has worked against this underlying polarization. Along with the forced emigration of the clearances, there was a significant level of voluntary emigration particularly, from rural areas. Many Scots moved to British colonies such as Australia, New Zealand and Canada and some went to the United States. In all

these areas the majority integrated into the multi-ethnic population within one or two generations.

Another large group moved into the growing industrial areas around Glasgow in search of work. In the rapidly expanding slums, traditional enmity was overshadowed by the common experience of appalling poverty and exhaustingly long work days. Over time, intermarriage created an urban population who had ancestors on every side of all confrontations and who were less likely to identify with a single traditional group. As the rural population decreased as a percentage of Scotland's total population, the old Highland/Lowland split decreased in importance. Even the traditional factionalism in the Church of Scotland became less important as civic functions such as education and welfare were removed from church control.

Although emigration and urbanization went a long way to defusing interpersonal animosity, they did not resolve the partisan and confrontational past. While sites such as Culloden and Glen Coe were the locations of important events in the nation's history, they also generated basically two types of memories which attached to the landscape. As a result, the landscape contained ambiguous meanings because the Scots did not resolve the conflicts of the partisan and confrontational past. I think the persistence of ambiguity in the landscape has created problems for the development of a unified Scottish national identity.

As I reflected on my experience at Glen Coe, it was not so much disappointing as disillusioning. I was now certain that my intuitive understanding of the connection between landscape and identity did not work. After the massacre there were two distinctly different types of memories, those of the perpetrators and those of the victims. Glen Coe would have had a very different meaning for each group. How were such

different memories rationalized into a single Scottish memory? How could a place which had been the source of such divisiveness become a memorial of Scottish history?

I found this to be a very difficult problem. Although much is written which assumes landscape and national identity are connected, I could not find anything which suggested how they are connected. David Lowenthal's statement that "Europe's landscapes everywhere remain compelling icons of national identity" (12) started me on my pursuit of landscape, icon and national identity. Each of these topics was infinitely more complicated than I would have believed and none, by itself, answered the problem.

Traditionally anti-English feeling had united the nation. From the thirteenth century, the Scots had set aside their regional interests in order to present a united front against the English. The Scots defined themselves with reference to this united position for several centuries. As Scotland and England moved towards union after 1603, this basis for self definition became less and less plausible. After the Union of the Parliaments in 1707, it seemed possible that the regions would take their English appellation of 'shire' seriously and become regions in Great Britain. No matter how likely this scenario seemed at the time, Scotland did not fade away.

In order to preserve Scotland, a way had to be found of uniting the regions within a Scottish nation. Walker Conner's definition of a nation, "[a]ll that is irreducibly required for the existence of a nation is that the members share an intuitive sense of the group's separate origin and evolution" (Hutchison 49) gave me a place to start. I knew from my childhood that there was a 'shared intuitive sense' of Scotland's 'separate origin and evolution.' The problem was, what was the basis for the 'shared intuitive sense'? Like Glen Coe, almost every event in Scotland's evolution had produced not only conflicting but irreconcilable memories. There was no single history of Scotland which could be seen as documenting a separate origin and evolution.

Almost the only point of agreement among the various memories of the conflicts was the location of the event. I think a closer look will show much more agreement than this. In most battles, the actual experiences of the soldiers are very similar no matter which side they are on. The emotions of fear, horror and sorrow are also universal experiences which many soldiers report as overshadowing all the memories of a war. As a result of the agreement on location and the common experience and emotional colouration attached to that location, landscape became a symbol for an event which transcended the conflicting memories. Landscape as a symbol or an icon has the power not only to prompt memory but also to evoke the more general feelings associated with national identity.

Landscape is a particularly appropriate icon for Scotland because it is inalienably Scottish. Although there are many regional variations, there is something unmistakable about the Scottish landscape. I am not sure whether it is as abstract as the distinctive atmosphere or ambient light conditions of the northerly latitude or as mundane as the continual rain: it is almost impossible not to recognize Scottish scenery. There is a bleakness or barrenness which is present in even the most pastoral Lowland valley. As part of the traditional geographic area of Scotland, it cannot be suggested that it is or ever has been a symbol for some other nation. Unlike other symbols such as the Stone of Scone, it cannot be stolen or transported to England.

Another important consideration is that landscape cannot be seen as confrontational or threatening. There is no anti-English sentiment attached to the landscape and it cannot be seen as competing with symbols of the British national identity.

Over the last two hundred years, Scotland has moved beyond what Conner describes as "all that is irreducibly required for the existence of a nation" (49). The

'intuitive sense' has become certain knowledge through the many histories of Scotland's 'separate origin and evolution.'" A more complex concept of Scotland is described very well in Alasdair MacIntyre's phrase, "a nation is an 'embodied argument'" (Craig 23). Cairns Craig develops this idea when he writes, "[t]he nation is both the embodiment of a particular set of values and the defining limit for the argument about values . . . A dissention within boundaries, both ethical and territorial" (23).

I think the Scots resolved the crisis in their national identity by reinventing their nation. They used their history and landscape to create a unique story of Scotland with which the majority of the population could identify. The history made it very much like Alasdair MacIntyre's 'embodied argument' and the distinctive landscape separated it from Britain. I thought that one way to study the creation of Scotland's modern national identity would be by looking at landscape in imaginative works such as the novels of Sir Walter Scott and the narrative verse of James Macpherson.

Both authors published their work between 1750 and 1830, crucial years for the Scottish identity. I will argue that both Scott and Macpherson used landscape as a symbol for the unity of a separate Scottish nation. Macpherson's work focuses on the origins of the Scottish people within the landscape. In his novels, Scott uses significant events to investigate dissenting values and to define boundaries for dissention. He uses landscape to symbolize a particular set of values and to contrast differing values. I will be looking at how Scott and Macpherson use landscape and its relationship to national identity in their work .

As our trip to Scotland progressed I began to develop my own talisman within the landscape. My symbol never became an icon because it was never connected to my national identity. All my icons of national identity were in Canada. I gradually came to realize that the 'something' I was looking for was that emotional attachment evoked by

the place we intuitively sense is our home. Scotland was never my home but in some ways it was always my parents' home.

My symbol for Scotland is stone. Everywhere we went from the Iron Age fort of Mithar Tap at Bennachie to the city of Edinburgh, stone dominated the landscape. Stone also represents the Scottish people for me. The endurance to survive in a harsh land and the hardness to be uncompromising in their beliefs. The strength to live ethically and be impervious to criticism. Most of all, to be part of the landscape and no matter what happens to never completely lose the connection.

I think that there is a little bit of stone in everyone who shares in the Scottish heritage. Many outsiders know only the 'pantomime Scot,' the loud, drunken man in a skirt singing lewd or overly sentimental songs with a peculiar accent. Others see aggressive, self-righteous, penny pinching bores. Although those whose roots go back to Scotland may laugh at or reject these stereotypes, we must acknowledge the element of truth in these characterizations. Scotland, for the most part, is a marginal country as far as arable land and climate are concerned. Throughout most of their history, the Scots have barely subsisted, with minor climate anomalies causing widespread famine. Even among the post World War II generation like myself, the awful conditions of the crofter's life are within a grandparent's memory. To survive such a life requires the characteristics of stone; strength, endurance and hardness. To escape such a life requires Scotch whisky, music, humour and fervent religious beliefs.

My parents were in many ways the dour Scots of the city who no longer had to escape their lives. Their families had given up whisky and music but not their belief in hard work, endurance and a strong Presbyterian Protestant faith. In myself I see a slightly relaxed version of my parents, one generation further away from the crofter's cottage. The trip to Scotland reminded me that I must always hold on to my inherited

stone; a crofter's hovel is where I came from and a crofter's hovel is where I could end up.

Icon

The word icon has moved from specialist use in areas such as religious studies and art history into common usage, appearing frequently in commentaries on 'pop culture' and information technology. In the older usage, an icon is a painting or sculpture of a religious figure used during personal or communal religious practice. In the modern usage, it is thought of as a representative example or personification of a more general phenomenon. Although the modern usage is usually secular, it has retained the many layers of meaning which have, over time, accrued to icon.

A review of the historical development in the meaning of the word gives a better understanding of Lowenthal's modern usage in social geography. In his statement, "Europe's landscapes everywhere remain compelling icons of national identity" (p. 12), Lowenthal relies on an understanding of the religious function implicit in an icon. He uses this as a metaphor for the function of landscape in national identity. Although it seems immediately appropriate, only a close examination of iconic representation reveals the depth of Lowenthal's insight into the meanings of landscape. Through a historical review, a useful model for examining landscape emerges out of an apt figure of speech.

Icon is derived from the Ancient Greek *eikon*, which is variously translated as picture, likeness or image. These three translations suggest the different aspects which contribute to a complex, layered meaning. Picture is concrete and specific; used in reference to a physical object but giving little information about its format, content or style. However, a likeness necessarily refers to an original, someone or something which the likeness resembles and which the viewer knows to exist beyond the representation. A likeness also refers to its creator, the individual who interpreted the

original and defined the resemblance. When the word image is used the emphasis and value are on 'that which is represented.' Although an image usually takes the form of a specific individual, most images are highly stylized as an actual physical resemblance is unimportant. The significance of an image is as a representation of abstract ideas, spiritual values or moral qualities. The nuances of *eikon* carried forward as the word acquired a particular religious meaning in the early era of Christianity.

The early Church had initially followed the Jewish prohibition of images but Roman cultural preference for portraits and memorials gained wide acceptance after the Emperor Constantine converted to Christianity in 306 CE. By the seventh century, although stylized paintings of important religious figures were commonly used in Christian Churches, there were influential factions within the Church who rejected their use. The two groups, those who used icons (*iconodouloi*) and those who wanted the icons destroyed (*iconoclasts*), were frequently involved in violent confrontations. A Council of Nicea was convened in 787 in an attempt to resolve the theological problems surrounding the place of icons in Christian worship. The conflict was resolved when the Eastern and Western Churches accepted the philosophical and doctrinal interpretations proposed by John of Damascus. Philosophically, "he drew the distinction between the *prototypos*, the prototype which is the model and source of the image: and the *typos*, the type, which is merely an instance, or impression of the *prototypos*" (Cayley 25). From this philosophical position he developed his doctrine that:

an icon is a threshold . . . at which the artist prayerfully leaves some inkling of the glory which he has seen behind that threshold . . . a type of the *prototypos* which is in heaven. The icon is a window into eternity ... and the prayerful person uses the created beauty in order to step through *typos* devotedly to *prototypos* (Cayley 25).

This doctrine enabled Christians to revere icons without the reverence being construed as the pagan worship of idols.

This philosophy and doctrine defined two values for icons which are significant to both traditional and modern usage, the representational value and the instrumental value. Although an icon may be a masterful work of art, the value of the physical object is relatively insignificant when compared to its representational value. The important value is the power to bring to mind a specific person who is the embodiment of the spiritual and moral ideals fundamental to Christian belief. The Christian icon encompasses the three aspects of the Greek *eikon*: the 'picture,' material object, the 'likeness,' representation of the original and 'image,' abstract, spiritual and moral ideals.

The idea of the icon as a threshold, 'a window into eternity,' gives it instrumental value. The initiate uses the icon not only to bring to mind a religious person but also as a prompt to raise their consciousness to higher levels beyond the physical present. It is this active power that reinforces the value of the icon and its importance to religious practice.

Since 787 CE, the Eastern Christian Churches have retained many of the doctrinal influences of the Council of Nicea and the characteristics of the Byzantine style. However, during the Medieval Period, western ecclesiastic art increased in scale and increasingly incorporated an elaborate system of Christian symbolism. During the Renaissance the symbolism was extended to include ancient Greek and Roman references. The fourteenth century brought stylistic changes which enabled artists to create lifelike paintings of people, places and events for religious and secular purposes. Artists continued to use Christian and Classical symbols as a simple means of identifying particular saints or mythological characters. At other times, they used symbols to represent Neo-Platonic ideals such as justice by including attributes like scales or blindfolds. Artists also used combinations of symbols to create an alternate or allegorical meaning beyond the subject matter of the visual presentation.

Although symbols have remained important in Western art, the nineteenth century saw an increasing focus on an analysis of the picture plane at the expense of artistic intention or meaning. Aby Warburg (1866-1929), the German art historian, opposed this trend by studying quattrocento Florentine art in the context of Renaissance culture and society. His student, Erwin Panofsky (1892-1968), extended Warburg's work and developed a system of interpretation which he called Iconology.

Panofsky's system includes both the Christian philosophy underlying iconic representation and the Renaissance use of symbols to convey additional levels of meaning. He also relied on the work of German philosopher Ernst Cassirer (1874-1945) who saw symbols as the essentially human mode of organizing experience. In his system, Panofsky identified three levels at which a work of art could be interpreted: 1) the primary or natural subject matter 2) the secondary or conventional subject matter and 3) the intrinsic meaning or context. Panofsky's levels reflect the Greek *eikon* but he uses a tighter structure organized around symbolic value. He also proposed three aspects of interpretation to be used at each level.

Panofsky's system is the foundation for the method of geographic landscape analysis called 'iconography.' Social geography is the study of the historical reciprocity between people and the landscape they inhabit. People are shaped socially, culturally and economically by the landscape and, in turn, they use and modify the landscape to better meet their needs. One aspect of this interaction is the way specific landscapes or features within the landscape, natural or manmade, acquire symbolic value. A system similar to Panofsky's gives a better understanding of the layers of meaning contained in a single landscape. It also allows a better understanding of differences in meaning at various historical periods and among various individuals and groups.

At a primary level the physical features of a landscape can be thought of as resembling the 'picture' aspect of icon: concrete, specific and immediate. At this level, the landscape can have meaning on a utilitarian or an aesthetic basis. The availability of arable land, fresh water and shelter materials are important factors when a site is considered for settlement. The value of the land lies in its perceived utility to prospective inhabitants.

In Western culture, the purely aesthetic appreciation of landscape is a relatively recent phenomenon. Prior the eighteenth century, beauty and admiration were a reflection of utilitarian value: productive, well watered and wooded land was beautiful and admirable. The meaning of beauty for the landscape was its utility. This utilitarian evaluation of landscape continued alongside the ideas of Edmund Burke and the picturesque and can still be seen as a rational among groups wishing to exploit the environment.

Samuel Johnson reflects this attitude in his *Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*, when he notes that after seeing the mountains and marginal lands of Glenshiel he was "astonished and repelled by this wide extent of hopeless sterility. The appearance is that of matter incapable of form or usefulness, dismissed by nature from her care and disinherited of her favours" (p. 33). Dr. Johnson was not entirely immune to Scottish landscape as his famous comment on Iona reminds us "[t]hat man is little to be envied, whose patriotism would not gain force upon the plains of *Marathon*, or whose piety would not grow warmer among the ruins of *Iona!*" (p. 131).

During the eighteenth century as England became a wealthier and safer society, large country houses and travel became fashionable. In 1798, William Gilpin published *Observations on the western parts of England relating chiefly to picturesque beauty* in which he described a new set of rules for the identification and assessment of a

'landscape.' Gilpin's picturesque changed what was considered admirable, from the utilitarian to the beautiful and the sublime, an awe-inspiring grandeur or nobility. Now rugged mountains and non-pastoral scenes were valued as the source of meaningful emotional experiences. Although the elaborate rules of the picturesque movement are now considered amusing oddities, they are the basis of many of the current values and meanings found in the natural world.

Landscape as 'picture' is an example of, rather than a symbol for, a specific utilitarian or aesthetic value. The emotional response it evokes, whether pleasure, satisfaction or terror, is a response to a particular configuration of physical features. Only when a landscape becomes the place of human activity does it acquire symbolic meaning.

The second level of iconographic analysis involves the linking of events and landscape to create symbolic meaning. Human activity etches meanings onto the landscape, which remain only as long as there are people with the memories necessary to interpret the etchings and understand their meaning. The landscape has acquired symbolic meaning when it acts as a prompt to these interpretive memories. At the basic level, the symbolic meaning is the memory a particular landscape brings to mind. Like a religious icon, the landscape acts as a threshold, a way of entering the past.

The memory related to symbolic meaning is beyond the personal and individual; it is a blend of interpretations which changes over time as it is challenged by alternate interpretations and modified by subsequent events. This memory is a 'likeness;' its resemblance to the original event is mediated by the creators of the folk tales and ballads which keep it alive. Because it is only one of many possible representations, a 'likeness' can never be the complete, permanent record even when it is standardized in a written form as history or literature.

Unlike the memory it recalls, the landscape remains relatively unchanged and is as knowable and verifiable in the present as it was in the past. Because it is thought of as an objective reality, it can be used as a reference point which gives support and confirmation of a memory's accuracy. It also acts as a unifying constant among various interpretations by connecting diverse memories to a single event.

The third level of iconographic analysis is similar to the 'image' translation of *eikon*, in that it refers to abstract ideas, spiritual values and moral qualities. This level requires a deeper secondary analysis of symbolic meaning which goes beyond a particular historic event or time to the evocation of a generalized emotional experience or spiritual response shared by a group.

A religious icon raises the consciousness of an initiate from a specific religious person and their life through religious doctrine and moral precepts to the abstract spirituality which unifies religious belief. A landscape also operates at three levels: as a stimulus for aesthetic appreciation and utilitarian valuation, as a prompt for memory and as an evocation of national identity and unity.

Before considering a national identity, there must be a reasonable possibility of forming a nation from diverse, localized groups with contending memories. A clearly identifiable physical territory or landscape sets the boundaries for establishing a homeland and identifying groups which could be imagined as part of a single nation. The homeland is the location of shared events which make up the myths of origin and unique history necessary for the foundation of a nation. However, shared events are also the source of the differing memories which, over time, become entrenched prejudices and justifications for continued hostility. In the face of these oppositions, a nation starts imagining its new national memory from the points where local memories overlap and are congruent. As previously noted, because the landscape is seen as

more objective than other aspects of an event's interpretation, it can serve as a common basis for a new shared memory.

Creating a new memory is a difficult task as it must merge contradictory points of view into a single representation acceptable to the majority. This representation becomes the history, the new 'true story' for the nation. However, unlike academic histories, national memories are a conscious mingling of history and myth, where exaggeration, contradiction and fabrication are all acceptable in the interests of an inspiring story. The old symbolic meanings in the landscape must be replaced with new meanings from the new story if the landscape is to be a source of unity rather than a continuing reminder of divisiveness and enmity.

Transforming a landscape with new symbolic meaning is significantly different from the traditional meanings and uses of icons. This process is part of modern nation building and the education required to create a national identity. It also requires a group who have the talent, time and inclination to undertake such a task.

Scotland, during the last half of the eighteenth century and the early part of the nineteenth century, is example of how landscape can become an icon of national identity. Scotland was at an historic crossroads in its relationship with its British partner, England, and many intellectuals felt their national identity was threatened. Adding to this were the recent events surrounding Charles Edward Stuart which had resulted in many conflicting regional interpretations. A new national memory was needed if Scotland was to avoid being absorbed by England. As a result of ideas of the Picturesque and the tourism it generated, the Scottish style of sublime landscape was now admired and highly valued. It was now the ideal location for the new interpretation of events which would integrate the disparate elements of Scottish myth and history into a new national memory.



Finlaggan

Finlaggan

I took a lot of photographs at Finlaggan. It was such a shock, it was hardly there. Where was the stone jetty, the tower, the chapel, the hall and the paved roads described in our course reading? There was no mention there of the waist high grass and nettles which obscured everything except a few gable ends and some grave markers laid out by the path. It was so small and the wind was cold even in June. Donald and John, our local guides, knew we were disappointed, they could see it in our faces. They must have seen that mixture of surprise and confusion a lot because they tried to explain how different it had been when the excavation was going on. They tried to explain how they wanted to make it more like it had been so we could see everything. They tried to explain the exhibits in their museum but the artifacts seemed less accessible to me than artifacts in the British Museum.

How did people live in this desolate landscape? What was it like in January if it was as cold and dreary as this in June? Was life more precious or was it easier to let it go when it was such a terrible struggle?

Thoughts added later:

Now that I have read Ossian, Finlaggan is a different place. In The Poems of Ossian, I think the bard saves his deepest sorrow for the time he knows is coming, when the heroes are forgotten. Ossian endures “dark and unlovely age” in order that “My voice shall preserve the praise of him, the hope of the isles” (Gaskill 10). He knows he is only delaying the inevitable when his race will “wither away without . . . fame” (Gaskill 78).

To me Finlaggan is the place Ossian is mourning. Very little is known about those who lived there; we have no songs of their heroes. The ruins are empty shells

with no meaning, obscured by weeds. Finlaggan's depressing reality is that Ossian was right, "The people are like the waves of ocean: like the leaves of woody Morven, they pass away in the rustling blast, and other leaves lift their green heads" (Gaskill 198). How much more poignant for us who know we will not be joining our ancestors on the clouds to rejoice in the exploits of our children.

James Macpherson

In August 1773, Samuel Johnson went to Edinburgh to meet with his future biographer, James Boswell, and to prepare for their tour of Scotland. Boswell was hoping that the trip would change Johnson's negative perception of Scotland and the Scottish people and was extremely anxious that everything should go well. The trip did not change Johnson's opinions but gave him many opportunities to criticize Scottish society and culture. On several occasions, Johnson expressed his reservations about the authenticity of James Macpherson's translation of the works of Ossian. Boswell's journal entry on September 22, 1773 includes Johnson's opinion that "McPherson's [sic] is not a translation from ancient poetry . . . I look upon McPherson's *Fingal* to be as gross an imposition as ever the world was troubled with" (Johnson 340).

In 1763, Hugh Blair D.D., Professor of Rhetorick and Belles-Lettres at the University of Edinburgh published A Critical Dissertation on the Poems of Ossian, the Son of Fingal. The Dissertation is an analysis of Ossian's prose epic and a confirmation of the work's antiquity. One of his many statements affirming authenticity is as follows:

The compositions of Ossian are so strongly marked with characters of antiquity, that although there were no external proof to support that antiquity, hardly any reader of judgment and taste, could hesitate in referring them to a very remote aera. (Gaskill 353)

In an *Appendix* published in 1765, Blair gives the names of many Gaelic speaking Church of Scotland ministers, professors of moral philosophy and gentlemen who authenticate the poems and Macpherson's research techniques.

Johnson and Blair were two of the better known commentators on the literary scandal which erupted over the authenticity of *Ossian* and which continued to be

debated well into the nineteenth century. Charges and countercharges of trickery and misrepresentation filled the letters to journals such as The Edinburgh Review.

Blair compared Ossian to Homer, Virgil, and Shakespeare and in many cases rated Ossian as superior in skill and creative genius. However, a careful reading of Blair's essay, with its references to stylistic comparisons to Homer and Virgil, makes it seem more likely that the poems are the work of an educated contemporary, such as Macpherson, than an ancient Scottish bard. Johnson's condemnation of the epic as a forgery was a commonly held opinion in England and also among many Scots, such as David Hume.

The discussion of whether or not Macpherson's work was authentic is less interesting than the fact that so many prominent and respected scholars gave it their wholehearted support. Why would someone such as Blair jeopardize his reputation by giving a work, which he admitted has "no external proof to support that antiquity" (Gaskill 340), his unequivocal support?

It seems likely that Blair and the other supporters allowed nationalistic pride to influence their better judgement. When I read Blair's authenticating *Appendix* and the comments of his correspondents with their references to 'undoubted evidence,' 'genuine original' and 'most just and authentic copy,' there seems to be an overwhelming desire to 'will' Ossian to be authentic. No one is willing to provide conclusive evidence but they go as far as they can without bearing 'false witness'. The scruples of Blair's informants are almost as informative as their statements and they clearly see it as their duty to support Blair.

Although he avoids nationalistic statements in his Dissertation, in his *Appendix* he is quite clear as to who he thinks is to blame for the attacks. Blair writes, "[y]et in England, it seems, an opinion has prevailed with some, that an imposture has been

carried on" (Gaskill 402). A little later he suggests the reason for English incredulity is that the poetry was too refined to "belong to an age and a country reputed barbarous" (Gaskill 402).

The reason for Scottish defensiveness is hinted at in this last quotation. During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries there was a strong anti-Scottish feeling in England. Many people, including leaders of public opinion such as Johnson, considered Scotland to be primitive and backward, in need of civilizing by the English. Understandably, Scots resented this attitude and the implication that they were still barbarians incapable producing or creating anything worthwhile.

If Ossian and his poems were authentic, they would validate the vague myths about the origins of the Scottish people and significantly change Scotland's position in Britain and Europe. Blair describes the history of ancient nations as being "seldom very instructive" (Gaskill 345) but claims that "the most natural pictures of ancient manners are exhibited in the ancient poems of nations" (Gaskill 345). Here was proof that, at some very early date, there was in Scotland a society which produced epic poetry comparable to Homer.

The characters in the epic, according to Blair's account, were not only brave and noble warriors, they were also sensitive and loving husbands and fathers. Blair describes Fingal as having "all the qualities that can ennoble human nature; that can either make us admire the hero, or love the man" (Gaskill 364). Ossian's northern heroes were worthy ancestors not just for Scotland or Britain but for all European civilization.

Charges of fraud and forgery were seen by many as an attack on the Scottish nation and Scottish scholarship. The Prussian and French enthusiasm for Ossian emphasized the English skepticism. However, the stubborn attachment to the epic and

the claims to authenticity are more easily understood after looking at James Macpherson and the poems.

In the context of the twenty-first century we tend to assume that there was something more than naivete behind Ossian and that Johnson was probably right when he described it as a 'gross imposition.' However, in the eighteenth century there was a growing interest in Scottish folk mythology and ample anecdotal evidence of Gaelic stories everywhere in the Highlands. Collecting Gaelic folklore was a popular activity and James Macpherson was seen by collectors, such as John Home, as an ideal researcher. Macpherson was born in 1736 in the Gaelic speaking Highlands near Kingussie. His youth was spent listening to the old Gaelic myths, then as a young man he went to the University at Aberdeen where he received a classical education. Macpherson was a private tutor when he was persuaded by Home to translate some Gaelic tales. He only undertook his subsequent collecting trips and translations after being pressured by Blair and his colleagues.

I do not think Ossian was a premeditated confidence trick or entirely a figment of Macpherson's imagination. It seems more likely that an intelligent and well educated young man combined his Highland background and the information from his collecting trips. He then used his knowledge of the epic form and classical epics to craft a distinctive northern saga which would appeal to the collectors who financed his tours. The celebrity and financial reward from his first attempts of 1760 encouraged him to make additional 'translations.'

In his Dissertation, Blair directly compares the characters, events and imagery of the Iliad with those in Fingal. He accounts for differences in the two texts as being the result of Ancient Greece's more advanced civilization and the "desert, uncultivated state of his country" (Gaskill 384) in Ossian's Scotland. Although Macpherson may have

borrowed his battles and heroes from Homer, the depiction of Scottish landscape is his own. I think the use of the characteristic Scottish landscape is an important reason why the Scots identified so closely with Macpherson's work and defended it so strongly.

Landscape is the central image in all Ossian's poems. Not only does it define location it also defines characters and action. Macpherson seems to see his characters as examples of the theories of enlightenment thinkers such as Adam Ferguson, who saw societies and cultures as the products of the landscape and environment. Samuel Johnson discussed these theories with James Boswell as noted below.

Throughout the poems the characters and their actions are united with the landscape by metaphor and simile. Each character is described in terms drawn from the environment and his or her actions are described in metaphors of natural phenomena. The effect of these metaphors is to integrate the characters so closely that they seem to be the natural product of the landscape; they are the progeny of their environment.

This interconnection between people and landscape gave Scottish readers a feeling that the land was their natural inheritance. Macpherson's heroes were the natural ancestors of the eighteenth century Scottish people because they inhabited the same landscape and shared the same universal moral values. Macpherson represents the heroes militaristic yet family centred way of life as the source of these values. This combination of rugged masculinity and sentiment was very reassuring to Scotsmen at the time. Many had been concerned that the effeminate luxuries of the city were not compatible with the traditional Scottish way of life.

I will be looking at how Macpherson uses landscape in the poems as he describes location, character and events. One of the remarkable features of the poems is how the landscape dominates every aspect. There is hardly a sentence which does not include some reference to the natural world. I think this domination by the visual is

particularly remarkable considering Ossian is represented as being blind. A visual memory so acute that it remains as the dominant descriptive metaphor even after blindness, is a strong statement of the importance of the landscape. Considering that the narrative was created in the late 1750's, I think it is reasonable to assume that this emphasis on the landscape also reflects the contemporary interest in the Picturesque.

The location for the poems is roughly the old Celtic area controlled until the sixteenth century by the Lords of the Isles. This area on the west coast and the Western Isles was historically a place where two traditions, Celtic and Nordic, blended. Macpherson uses what was known of the culture and social organization of both groups to create a uniquely Scottish way of life. In *Fingal* and *The Battle of Lora*, he is careful to distinguish between Fingal's country of Morven and what is now Ireland and Scandinavia.

The landscape of Morven as depicted in the poems is very curious. There are very few descriptions which are not part of a metaphor for a person or an event. This suggests that there is no landscape without people and no people without landscape. In spite of this close connection, the landscape is almost devoid of human activity other than battles, tombs, hunting parties and the leader's 'Hall of Shields'. There are no houses, farms, or villages. There are few specific references to people other than warriors and their spouses with the single exception of a whistling cow herd. This may be the result of Macpherson's attempts to mimic the conventions of the epic style and the oral tradition.

However, this empty landscape contributes to the pervasive atmosphere of melancholia and mourning. When Ossian says "I look into the times of old" (Gaskill 319), he is aware that he speaks for "the race that are no more" (Gaskill 114). Although it was understood that the bard's function was to memorialize heroes, I think the effect

on Macpherson's contemporaries and the modern reader would be quite similar. The empty landscape seems to emphasize how much of the 'race' had already been lost even to memory. All that is left are the heroes from "past times" that live in Ossian's memory.

Macpherson describes a landscape familiar to most Scots. Almost every poem or fragment starts with a description of landscape such as the one at the beginning of *Carthon*:

Dost thou not behold, Malvina, a rock with its head of heath?
Three aged firs bend from its face; green is the narrow plain at
its feet; there the flower of the mountain grows, and shakes its
white head in the breeze. The thistle is here alone, and sheds
its aged beard. Two stones half sunk in the ground, shew their
heads of moss. (Gaskill)

The elements of this description, heather, firs, bog cotton, thistle and moss, are common in most areas of Scotland. I think the familiar location allowed the readers to identify with characters and a way of living which were very different from their own. Interacting with the beautiful but unforgiving landscape and the harsh climate is the common experience of everyone who has ever lived in Scotland. This commonality of experience gave the eighteenth century Scottish reader a feeling of ownership of the poems, a feeling that the poems represented the legitimate memory of the nation's origins.

The passage above is also a good example of the beauty of many of the descriptions. Some of the phrases such as "shadowy autumn" (Gaskill 145), "winter stream" (Gaskill 58) and "skirted clouds" (Gaskill 257) are very evocative of Scotland. Many readers would relate some descriptions, such as "golden mist of the heath" (Gaskill 59) and "ridge of fire" (Gaskill 104), directly to their personal experiences.

Throughout the poems Macpherson uses natural features as similes to describe the characters. When Fingal is first introduced, he is described as "tall as a rock of ice.

His spear is like the blasted fir. His shield like the rising moon.” (Gaskill 55). In this description Fingal seems to grow out of the landscape. His physical presence is part of the landscape. Macpherson continues to describe Fingal in terms of the natural world: his eyes are “watchful, as eagles, on their mossy rocks” (Gaskill 239) his lance “like the green meteor of death” (Gaskill 76). Other heroes are described in similar ways: Ferda is “like the rain-bow of the hill” (Gaskill 69) and the sons of Usnoth’s “stature is like the young trees of the plain growing in a shower” (Gaskill 232).

Some of the most interesting descriptions are those of the women who occasionally move through the heroes’ lives. The natural objects used in the metaphors for the women are well chosen. The moon, snow, sea and mist are all pale, changeable and transient much like the women themselves. Although Morna is identified as the daughter of Comac-Cairbar, the meaning of her name is “a woman beloved by all” (Gaskill 422) and her description seems to be the heroes’ ideal. Morna is “like snow on the heath; and [her] hair like the mist of Cromla; when it curls on the rocks; and shines to the beam of the west.—[Her] breasts are like two smooth rocks seen from Branno of the streams” (Gaskill 67). Other women come “like the moon from the cloud of the east” (Gaskill 73) or flee “like a moon-beam thro’ a nightly vale” (Gaskill 319).

Macpherson also uses natural similes and metaphors to describe other aspects of daily life. Songs and tales of other times “are like the calm dew of the morning on the hill of roes, when the sun is faint on its side, and the lake is settled and blue in the vale” (Gaskill 73). At the ‘feast of shells’ during a victory celebration “the voice of music came. It seemed, at first, the noise of a stream, far-distant on its rocks. Slow it rolled along the hiss like the ruffled wing of a breeze, when it takes the tufted beard of the rocks, in the still season of night” (Gaskill 292).

Death is the most important event in Ossian's imagined society. A hero's death in battle is the end sought by all warriors for themselves, their sons and even some of their daughters. After a battlefield death and a tribute from a bard, the warrior is elevated in stature to a true hero and goes to join his ancestors in the clouds. The ancestors continue as ghosts who watch their descendents from the clouds and sometimes intervene in their dreams to foretell the future. This transition, warrior, hero and ancestor, is so immediate that there are few metaphors of the passage itself. It seems that the emphasis on the ancestors as watching, concerned protectors may have reminded the Scots' reader of the 1700's that the heroes were their ancestors who watched over and protected them and perhaps criticized them for losing Scotland.

However, there is a striking description of the dead hero Crugal who appears in a dream. Crugal comes down from the hill in a "dark-red stream of fire" and "[h]is face is like the beam of the setting moon; his robes are of the clouds of the hill: his eyes are like two decaying flames" (Gaskill 65).

There is little doubt about Ossian's opinion of other causes of death, such as old age or excessive mourning. Although he knows that old age is the fate awaiting him, he describes such deaths as "decay, like the grass of the mountain" (Gaskill 177) or "[falling] like a wreath of snow from the rocks of Ronan; when the woods are still, and the echo deepens in the vale" (Gaskill 74).

One of the most poignant reflections on death is Ossian's description of the death of his race. "The sons of future years shall pass away; and another race arise. The people are like the waves of ocean: like the leaves of woody Morven, they pass away in the rustling blast, and other leaves lift their green heads" (Gaskill 198).

Two of my favourite metaphors involve the anticipation and resolution of conflict. In *Temora*, Ossian is mourning his son Oscar when his attention is attracted to the

sound of the advancing foe: "Distant, sullen murmurs rise; like the noise of the lake of Lego, when its waters shrink, in the days of frost, and all its bursting ice resounds" (Gaskill 237).

In the second case, again in *Temora*, Fingal rebukes two chiefs who insult each other to the point of drawing swords for a fight. I think, along with many others, that the imagery representing their response to Fingal is one of the high points of the poems. "They sunk from the king on either side; like two columns of morning mist, when the sun rises, between them, on his glittering rocks. Dark is their rolling on either side; each towards its reedy pool" (Gaskill 257).

These are just a small sample of the hundreds of metaphors in The Poems of Ossian. I think they help to refute the idea that the poems are a worthless forgery similar to a photocopied twenty dollar bill. The above examples do give clear evidence of Macpherson's borrowing from other sources. In his footnote to Ossian's description of the end of his race (Gaskill 198), Macpherson acknowledges that "[t]he same thought may be found almost in the same words, in Homer, [*Iliad*]" (Gaskill 475). Macpherson implies that Ossian and Homer serendipitously discovered this apt simile, as though this confirmed a similarity of mind or genius.

In the original printing of the poems, this endnote would have appeared as a footnote, evident and available to all readers. Macpherson creates an entire infrastructure of Ossianic and Celtic culture in the dozens of footnotes. Among other things, he provides explanations of social, legal and cultural forms and ceremonies, translates names, discusses family relationships and confirms geographical locations. He was not alone in creating background. Hugh Campbell, the editor of an 1822 edition and commentary, gives the following footnote for *Comala*, "Is not this the original of Sir Walter Scott's Edith, in "The Lord of the Isles"? C." (Macpherson 223).

Although The Poems of Ossian may not appeal to modern taste, I can understand why they created a sensation when they were first published in 1762 and 1763. At that time, Scotland was in a transitional phase between nation state and nation. All hopes of reviving the old Jacobite Scottish tradition had died at Culloden in 1746. There seemed no reason or benefit, apart from a few specific issues such as the militia question and bank notes, to resisting the allure of the new North British identity.

The popularity of collecting old Gaelic mythology suggests that there was a strong desire to retain the past among certain influential members of the community. Many of the collections published before Ossian, such as those discussed by Hugh Campbell in the introduction to his 1822 edition of the poems, were a patchwork of ballads, stories, myths, folklore and general information about rural life in Gaelic speaking Scotland. Compared to its predecessors, Macpherson's collection was a completely different style and infinitely more interesting to the general reader.

The appeal of the Poems of Ossian lies in the fact that they are written in a familiar epic style, and that the voice of the single narrator is a mysterious, 'Scottish' bard. The individual poems are evidently all parts of a single narrative line which focuses on the King of Morven and his extended family. The missing poems and the complex relationships among the dozens of characters give the reader the type of challenge provided by contemporary novels. The underlying unity of the piece is created by the melancholic atmosphere which pervades every situation, even victory celebrations like the feast of shells.

The characters are a subtle combination which would appeal to both male readers and the increasing number of female readers. The heroes, while engaged in masculine activities, have deeply emotional responses and loving relationships with friends, family and wives. Warriors such as Fingal are the personification of virtue:

generous, brave, loyal, unselfish and just. The women are also paragons of feminine virtue: chaste, faithful, loyal, dedicated and highly emotional. They prefer death to dishonour but are unrelenting when following their chosen hero. Oscar and Malvina are not only ideals of Celtic society, they are also models for the eighteenth century.

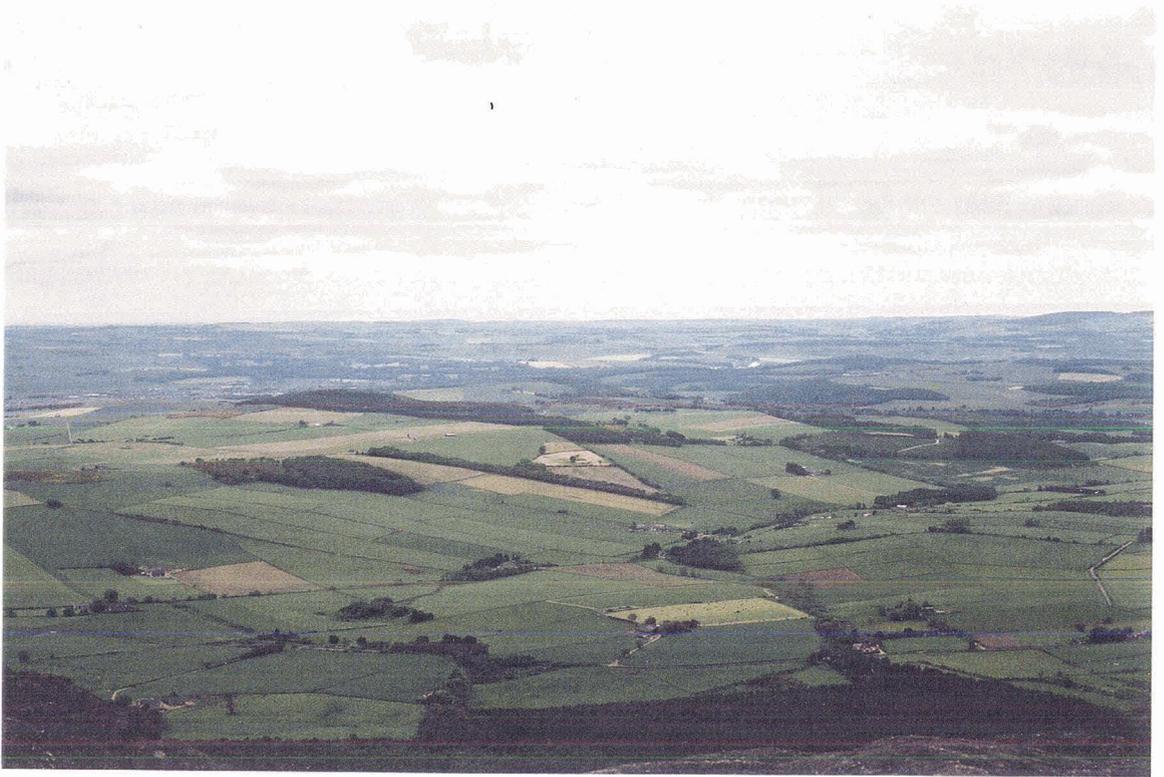
However, I think that what really ensured the success of the collection was the caliber of the writing, particularly the imagery. At that time in the English speaking world, there was a growing interest in imaginative prose and writing style. Blair's Dissertation can be seen as a lesson on style and imagery using the poems as his example. After quoting a comparison between Ossian and the sun (Gaskill 171), he writes, "Never was there a finer group of objects" (Gaskill 383). This type of endorsement from the influential Professor of Rhetorick and Belles-Lettres was enough to ensure a wide readership in Scotland and other parts of Europe. The resulting popularity in Britain, Prussia and France is very comparable to the level of interest and involvement in the modern Star Wars movies.

The interest in the poems' landscape references can be seen in the increasing number of tourists who went to the west coast of Scotland to visit the land of Fingal and Ossian. Places as isolated as Fingal's Cave on Staffa attracted such diverse visitors as Thomas Pennant, Lord Byron, and Felix Mendelssohn. These visits produced detailed descriptions, poetry and music which attracted even greater international attention. I think this type of acknowledgement encouraged the Scots to reassess their landscape and recognize its beauty and value. The poems helped the landscape become a source of pride and part of the national identity.

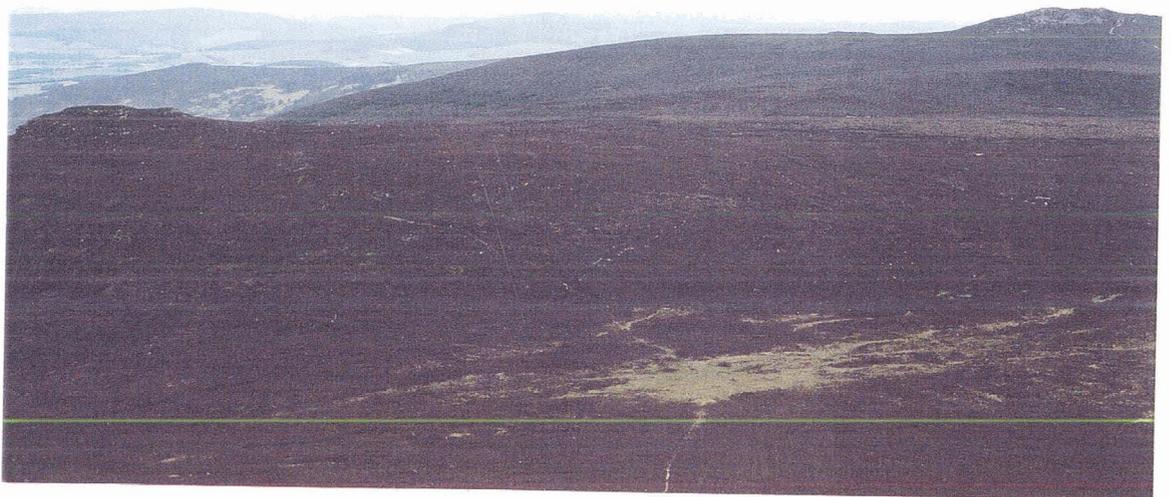
There were many reasons for the acceptance of The Poems of Ossian among the people of Scotland. In the period following the Union in 1707, I think there was a real need for something to affirm their heritage and give them a sense of a separate origin.

The atmosphere of melancholy matched the mood of many Scots at the time. The values of the characters confirmed that the values of the current population were enduring Scottish values which had descended from an ancient past. The landscape metaphors added to the sense of the continuity of past and present and helped contemporary Scots identify with their ancestors.

The problems surrounding authenticity may have, in the long run, prepared people for the historical novels of Sir Walter Scott. I think that most Scots knew that the poems owed much more to the creative genius of James Macpherson than the bard Ossian. In many ways, Ossian was a wonderful event for Scotland with many benefits for the Scottish people, not the least of which was a renewed interest in Scotland's history. The poems made Scotland famous in Europe, Sir Walter Scott would even make her famous in England.



Mithar Tap



Mithar Tap, Bennachie

When I finally struggled to the top the old Iron Age fortress of Mithar Tap atop Bennachie, I was relieved that the climb had been worth it. After we left the pine woods and started up the endless stone path, I had wondered many times if there was anything at the top. I had barely caught my breath, when I realized that I was standing on a small, high, rock platform with the landscape spread around me in a great circle to the horizon. If I had not been convinced by the great piles of stones that encircled the summit, the clear, three hundred and sixty degree view confirmed that this site was a great natural fortress. The long climb in full view of the defenders and the precipitous cliff edges would have been a deterrent for any would-be conqueror. There was also something mysterious about Mithar Tap. Whether it was its curious shape, rising up alone out of the surrounding flat land, or its visual connection with the ancient stone circles, it seemed that there was something here which we did not understand.

As we looked east we could see the shadowy grey bulk of Aberdeen and the sun dazzling off the North Sea beyond. To the south and east the foreground was neatly divided into bright green fields interspersed with woodlots sheltering farmers' houses and yards. But when we turned west everything was different. The surrounding hills were covered with heather which seemed almost black and instead of the bright sea the dark hills rolled to the mountains on the horizon.

When I saw this abrupt divide I was reminded of the description of Tillietudlem in Walter Scott's Old Mortality. When Scott describes the setting of the tower, he concludes "[t]hus the tower commanded two prospects, the one richly cultivated and highly adorned, the other exhibiting the monotonous and dreary character of a wild and inhospitable moorland" (Scott 2 140). He describes one prospect in which "the level ground and gentle slopes near the river form cultivated fields of an irregular form

interspersed with hedgerow-trees and copses” (Scott 2 140). Looking in the opposite direction, “the scene was varied considerably for the worse. A hilly, waste . . . the trees were few . . . and the rude moor swelled at a little distance into shapeless and heavy hills” (Scott 2 140).

As I compare my pictures from Mithar Tap and Scott’s description, it seems he might have been standing beside me -- or perhaps, I was taking photographs as I stood with the inhabitants of Tillietudlem.

I frequently had the feeling of being part of an historical landscape while we were in Scotland. The Old Town in Edinburgh, Dunvegan Castle on Skye and the many Scottish Baronial houses we glimpsed through the trees as we drove by, all seemed to have stepped out of Scott’s novels.

In our travels, we crossed back and forth over the Highland line, constantly moving between Scott’s ‘cultivated fields’ and ‘hilly waste.’ One day while we were driving down Glen Shiel, one of Her Majesty’s fighters boomed down the glen as part of an exercise in flying under radar. Our surprise and confusion, the barren hills, the pouring rain and the cataclysmic noise - it seemed like the perfect place for the end of the world. Glen Sheil was so bleak, the little squares of reforestation looked as incongruous and out of place as a steel and glass skyscraper.

Sometimes there were wonderful surprises, like the day we were driving in the gently rolling hills around Inverness and we were suddenly passing through brilliant yellow fields of mustard flowers. My solitary walks around Braemar reminded me that most of Scotland probably has fewer people today than in Scott’s time. As I walked beside the River Dee, I was reminded of Callum Beg following the rivers as he moved around the Highlands. So many landscapes stay with me to illustrate Scott’s novels.

Sir Walter Scott

I will be using three novels by Walter Scott, Waverley, The Heart of Mid-Lothian and more briefly Old Mortality, to discuss how he uses landscape to symbolize values and depict the opposition of tradition and change. These novels describe three events: a criminal legal case, the Covenant and the Risings of 1745, each connected to issues which have historically exposed the diversity of values and opinions among the Scots. The Heart of Mid-Lothian involves honesty in all aspects of life, Old Mortality involves religious freedom and Waverley involves Jacobitism. In each novel, Scott tries to include the participants many points of view and to describe the distinctive set of values associated with each. Although Scott rarely used similes in the way James Macpherson did, he frequently uses landscape as a metaphor for values.

Scott's interest in landscape started in his childhood, when he stayed with his paternal grandparents at Sandy-Knowe, their home between Kelso and Melrose in the Scottish Borders. He was sent to the country to escape the unhealthy atmosphere of Edinburgh's Old Town. It was also hoped he would recover there from the effects of poliomyelitis which he contracted in 1772 when he was eighteen months old. Although he was only seven when he returned to his parents' new home in George Square, Edinburgh, Scott had clear memories of the folk tales and history he had heard from his family, their acquaintances and their servants. In his Memoir, Scott remembered the effect of his time at Kelso as "distinctly the awakening of that delightful feeling for the beauties of natural objects which has never since deserted me. The neighbourhood of Kelso . . . is eminently calculated to awaken these ideas. It presents objects, not only grand in themselves, but venerable for their association" (Daiches 33).

In 1786, Scott went to work as an apprentice solicitor in his father's office in Edinburgh. One of his duties was to execute summonses and deliver documents to his father's clients throughout Scotland. During these trips, he visited the sites of some of Scotland's most important historic events, especially those in Highland areas connected with the Risings in 1745. Scott listened to the stories of his family's friends with personal knowledge of the '45 and its aftermath in the locations where the events took place. To an impressionable young man with a prodigious memory, the meanings of the landscape and these events were inevitably entwined.

After being called to the Bar in 1792, Scott left Edinburgh for a rest and the first of his annual 'raids' on Liddesdale. He took seven trips to this "wild and inaccessible Border area" (Daiches 48) where he "explored every rivulet to its source, and every peel from foundation to battlement" (Daiches 49).

Robert Shortreed, his guide, described the significance of these 'raids' to John Gibson Lockhart, Scott's biographer: "[h]e was *making himself a'* the time, but he didn't ken maybe what he was about till years had passed. At first he thought o' little, I dare say, but the queerness and the fun" (Daiches 54). Scott's deep affection for the Borders began with his childhood experiences at Sandy-Knowe and lasted all his life. Almost all his novels take place in the Borders and many of his characters were derived from the people he met during his 'raids.' I think Scott's special empathy with his characters came from his experiences with all levels of society in the isolated landscape of the Liddesdale valley.

Even after his marriage in 1797 had ended his excursions throughout Scotland, Scott always kept a house in the country in addition to his home in Edinburgh. The first house was a small cottage in Lasswade on the River Esk. As the Scotts became more affluent they leased Ashestiel in 1804 where they stayed until their move to Abbotsford

in 1812. These country homes were important to Scott because they gave him the peace and quiet he needed for his writing and a chance to enjoy his beloved border country. One of his great pleasures was to take guests such as Sir Humphry Davy, William and Dorothy Wordsworth, and Washington Irving on long walks or rides to explore the scenery and the historic sites.

Scott was deeply affected by the combination of landscape and the romantic past. He describes his reactions in his Memoir as “g[iving] to my admiration a sort of intense impression of reverence, which at times made my heart feel too big for its bosom” (Clark 130). In 1783, these feelings became “an insatiable passion” (Clark 130) and he decided to learn to sketch as a way of capturing the scenery. Although he took many lessons, his skill with the sketch pad did not improve so he resigned himself to “overwhelm[ing] my hearers by the enthusiasm of my descriptions” (Clark 131).

Scott’s interest in landscape was not the enthusiasm for the picturesque that was popular in Britain during the eighteenth century. Occasionally he used the jargon of the picturesque, such as “rough sublimity” (Scott 2 209) or referred to “the landscapes of Poussin” (Scott 1 188). However, the beliefs of writers such as William Gilpin that “the elegant relics of ancient architecture ... are consecrated by time, and almost deserve the veneration we pay to the works of nature itself” (Reed 12) were far more limited than Scott’s ideas about landscape.

Scott received the same type of classical education as James Macpherson and would have been familiar with classical writers and the work of Edinburgh intellectuals and Enlightenment thinkers. He would also have been aware of social commentators such as Samuel Johnson, whose book, A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland, was the subject of much discussion in Scotland. In this book, Johnson and Boswell discuss why the Highlanders are primitive and lawless. Johnson basis his explanation

on the theory that “primitive manners . . . are rather produced by their situation than derived from their ancestors” (Johnson 38). Scott’s many descriptions of the effects of poverty, such as the hamlet of Tully-Veolan in Waverley, suggest that he would likely have agreed with Johnson’s assessment of the importance of landscape in the development of an individual and a culture.

Scott’s landscapes were always places with people or the memories of people, not places where ruined castles, trees and water are artistically arranged and people are excluded except for solitary rustics. Scott describes his understanding of the connection between people and the landscape they inhabit in his introduction to Sir Tristrem which he edited in 1804. He says:

Tradition depends on locality. The scene of a celebrated battle, the ruins of an ancient tower, the ‘historic stone’ over the grave of a hero, the hill and valley inhabited of old by a particular tribe, remind posterity of events which are sometimes recorded in their very names. Even a race of strangers, when the lapse of years has induced them no longer to account themselves such, welcome any fiction by which they can associate their ancestors with the scenes in which they themselves live, as transplanted trees push forth every fibre that may connect them with the soil to which they are transferred. (Reed 10)

Scott seems to see landscape as a place where people want to belong through a long relationship with the land and its previous inhabitants. Perhaps this reflects his great desire to belong in the Borders and his acute awareness of being born in Edinburgh. I think Scott sees this sense of belonging, the participation in the traditions of a particular locality, as being similar to the traditions of Scotland which make it a nation.

However, Scott’s nationalistic feelings often seem as confused and contradictory as his political musings. Sometimes he was a Romantic Tory who longed for the return of the Stewart Kings and the old feudal paternalism. At other times he was a North

British Whig, the man of business who understood the necessity of the union with England. In his Introduction to volume III of Minstrelsy of the Scottish Borders, he describes what he sees as the inevitable fate of his native country. He speaks of, “the history of my native country: the peculiar features of whose manners and character are daily melting and dissolving into those of her sister and ally” (Daiches 67).

In most cases Scott preferred the ‘middle way’ both in his novels and in his own life. His vacillation on political and national issues reflects his ability to understand both sides of an issue and his belief that there are valid elements in almost all points of view. In Waverley, he is able to present an understandable and persuasive case for both the Jacobites and the Hanoverians. He was aware of his own unresolved conflict between the Romantic Jacobitism of his childhood and the practicalities of the adult world. In 1813 he writes to Miss Clephane, “I am very glad I did not live in 1745 for though as a lawyer I could not have pleaded Charles’ right and as a clergyman I could not have prayed for him yet as a soldier I would I am sure against the convictions of my better reason have fought for him even to the bottom of the gallows” (Daiches 68).

Scott seems to have used his own contradictory and confused feelings about nationalism and politics as the basis of one of his major themes, the relationship between tradition and change. He interprets the relationship as oppositional and uses this opposition to structure many of his Scottish novels. Scott sees both tradition and change as active forces, a constant pressure of opposing values which suddenly break out into open conflict. Those with traditional values constantly resist the forces of change in order to avoid being swept away. These points of resistance are especially evident in novels where there is overt conflict such as Waverley and Old Mortality. In The Heart of Mid-Lothian a similar resistance is seen in the retribution against Porteus and in Jeanie Deans’ trip to England.

One of the ways Scott explores this opposition is through the relationship of characters and landscape. I will be looking at three of these relationships and how Scott uses them to illustrate the opposition of tradition and change. In the first example from Waverley, the devastating effects of change on tradition are illustrated by the destruction and rehabilitation of the landscape at Tully-Veolan. In the second example, also from Waverley, at Glennaquoich the opposition is examined through contradictions in a metaphor of landscape which illustrate how susceptible tradition is to change. In the third example, from The Heart of Mid-Lothian, the opposition is explored through examples of resistance and submission to change through experience in a landscape.

We first meet Edward Waverley at his family home Waverley-Honour where he lives with his uncle, Sir Everard and his Aunt Rachel. Scott describes Sir Everard's interest in his family's genealogy, his political differences with Edward's father and his guarded Jacobite sympathies, in part, to establish Edward's traditionalist roots. Edward is a feckless young man who spends his time dreaming of adventure and reading romantic fiction. Scott illustrates Edward's romantic pretensions with his Gothic poem *Mirkwood Mere*, which tells us more about its author's lack of sophistication and experience than it does about the lake in Waverley Chase.

When Edward Waverley joins the army and moves north with his regiment, he is going not out of patriotism or moral commitment but to enact the romantic adventures he has read and dreamt about all his life. Throughout the novel he remains morally detached and never has more than brief qualms about his actions and their consequences. He is always the romantic hero whose exploits we follow as he takes part in his great adventure, the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745.

When Waverley arrives at Tully-Veolan he is entering a transitional landscape as his adventure is about to begin. Scott devotes several pages to a vivid and detailed rendering of Tully-Veolan, the home of the Baron of Bradwardine and his daughter Rose.

The contrast between “the smiling neatness of English cottages” (Scott 1 77) and the hamlet of Tully-Veolan is evident from the moment Waverley rides down the main street. Dirt, poverty and misery are everywhere, from the disheveled young women and half-naked children to the meagre crops and dunghills beside the doors to the hovels. Here Scott is using the common experience of English travelers to Scotland. Dorothy Wordsworth was shocked by the dirty condition of Burns’ cottage and the barefoot children. Scott is honest about the appalling conditions of poverty which are part of the Scottish tradition and how necessary change is in such cases.

However, once Waverley enters the upper gate of the mansion of Tully-Veolan he is in a different world. He hands his horse to his servant, as though letting go his past life, and starts walking down the overgrown avenue by himself. Like a knight in a fairy tale, he seems to be walking into the past or into one of his Italian romances. Tully-Veolan is part of the past, with the “weather-beaten mutilated masses “ (Scott 1 79) of the stone bears, the “ancient horse-chestnuts” (Scott 1 80), the old overgrown walls, the crenellated buildings and the “loop-holes for musketry” (Scott 1 81). These all speak of a house built in a previous era when fortifications were needed for protection against marauding caterans. The single footpath down the avenue emphasizes that the house is not only cut off in time but also cut off from society. Waverley despairs of gaining entrance to “this solitary and seemingly enchanted mansion” (Scott 1 84) and fantasizes about an “old, old man, with beard as white as snow” (Scott 1 83) from The Faerie Queene.

By contrast when Waverley goes through the latched gate, he enters a magnificent formal garden of espalier fruit trees, topiary, terraces, sun dials and a summer house surmounted by a golden bear. The garden is described as being “kept with great accuracy” (Scott 1 83). A little later, the butler describes his gardening activities as “dressing Miss Rose’s flower- bed” (Scott 1 87). Later in his stay, Waverley visits Rose in her tower where he sees the nursery for her special plants and the Gothic balcony from which she can survey the garden.

Waverley is surprised by the ‘oddity’ of the first person he meets, the innocent, Davie Gallatley. He hops and twirls down the garden alleys dressed like a court fool and acts as Waverley’s “fantastic conductor” (Scott 1 87). Davie, the gardening butler and the maids in the wash tub give the place a strangeness usually associated with a fantasy or a dream.

This long description is a preparation for meeting the Baron of Bradwardine and his daughter Rose. The descriptions of the house and garden function as metaphors for the Baron and Rose. The house and park are from another era and so is the eccentric, distracted, latinizing Bradwardine. Although he is a Lowlander he has many of the characteristics of the traditional Scot. He is a Tory, rural land owner, Scottish dissenter, supporter of the Stewarts and fiercely independent. His style of living, with his ‘fool’, Davie, the communal drinking vessels and his long discourses are old fashioned even to someone as unsophisticated as Waverley. The master and the house are isolated in time and space, they are like a time capsule of Scottish tradition.

Rose, however, is very much like her garden, easily accessible through the latched gate. She has all the requirements, beauty, natural taste and good sense, to become an accomplished young woman in the changing Scotland. She speaks French and Italian, modern languages in contrast to the Latin spoken by her father. The garden

is a reflection of her inspiration and industry unlike the neglected park. Her father is willing to uphold the entail of the estate and possibly leave Rose in poor circumstances rather than let a woman inherit: even a woman who has proved herself through her garden to be more competent than her father. There is something about Rose standing on her Gothic balcony looking out over the boundary walls to the world beyond that reminds me of the fairy tale princess trapped in a tower.

The next time we are at Tully-Veolan is near the end of the book, in Chapter LXIII aptly titled 'Desolation.' The King's Army has visited the house and destroyed everything: the trees, the stables, the bears, the paintings, Rose's balcony and the garden. The family and their retainers, with the exception of Davie Gellatley, have vanished and there is nothing left of Waverley's Italian romance except a weathered copy of Ariosto lying in the rubbish heap of Rose's plants.

Waverley guides us through the devastation where we see the consequences of uncontrolled change. Because he did not join the Risings out of moral commitment to resist change, he does not have the sense of final defeat which allowed Fergus MacIvor and the Baron to accept their fate. The destruction of Tully-Veolan is symbolic of the devastation of traditional Scotland and the lives of those who were 'out' in the Risings of '45. This type of indiscriminate destruction was also ironically responsible for destroying the hard work and order of Rose's garden, the symbol of change. Scotland was no longer home for the Jacobites and Tully-Veolan was no longer home for the Bradwardine family.

The Baron follows his own moral code, is outlawed and his lands and titles forfeited. He is hunted in his own forests and finds shelter on cold nights with Davie's mother, Janet, in a 'wretched hut.' His landscape and home have been reduced to a

small cave stuffed with straw and bracken, which is "very narrow, too low in the roof to admit of his standing, or almost of his sitting up" (Scott 1 464).

We again return to Tully-Veolan at the end of the book for the marriage of Waverley and Rose. There has been another transformation and "every mark of devastation, unless to an eye intimately acquainted with the spot, was already totally obliterated" (Scott 1 503). Waverley's friend, Major Talbot, and his wife Emily have almost returned Tully-Veolan to its original condition with a few improvements such as the new stables. The former Baron remarks to his daughter, "how speedily the '*Diva Pecunia*' of the Southron - their tutelary deity, he might call her - had removed the marks of spoliation" (Scott 1 503).

This is not the old Tully-Veolan but a profoundly changed landscape. The Baron, his family and tenants are all 'intimately acquainted with the spot' and they know that some of the devastation is irreparable. The things which are irretrievably lost in the landscape are symbols of the things lost to Scotland after the '45. The restoration has been purchased at the price of deference to the new rulers of Scotland and the lesson is clear to everyone. The retention of Scottish tradition is at the pleasure of the British government. If the Scots indulge in romantic escapades the result is devastation.

One of the new additions to the house is "a large and spirited painting, representing Fergus Maclvor and Waverley in their Highland dress; the scene a wild, rocky, and mountainous pass, down which the clan were descending in the background" (Scott 1 510). It is interesting to note that the '45 was so safely historical by 1814, that Scott could represent a member of the British army hanging such a painting on his wall. Scott notes the contrasting characters of the two men shown in their expressions in the painting, Maclvor is ardent, fiery and impetuous and Waverley is contemplative, fanciful and enthusiastic. The Highland landscape had been captured by the contemplative,

fanciful and enthusiastic, perhaps the characteristics of the researchers who chased after Ossian or the tourists who would be soon 'descending down the mountainous pass'. It is clear the type of character the Scots should emulate if they want to be successful in the new Scottish reality.

As we traveled through Scotland we saw many 'ruins' in the landscape and many places surprisingly untouched. Urquhart Castle and Huntley were well tended ruins while the much more ancient Clava Cairns and standing stones were still intact. Waverley's servant described the old stables at Tully-Veolan as being like dungeons and after the renovation they were removed. I think the old stables probably were used as dungeons in the not too distant past because the Baron would have been responsible for law and order. The removal of the stables also removed the possibility of the present or any future Baron being able to use his traditional judicial powers. Urquhart Castle, as we saw it in 2001, would not have been very useful for protecting Scottish sovereignty. Perhaps there are some traditions which can be modified to the new reality and some, like castles, simply cannot.

We meet Edward Waverley again at Glennaquoich, the home of his new friend the Highland Chief, Fergus Maclvor. At the invitation of Flora Maclvor, the Chief's sister, Waverley follows her companion Una to a secluded glen in the valley behind the house. Scott gives an evocative description of the glen as Waverley makes his way to his meeting with Flora. Although this description appears to be of a Highland glen, it can also be seen as an extended metaphor for Flora Maclvor and the Jacobite cause with which she is associated.

The glen is an idyllic retreat hidden in a "wild, bleak and narrow valley" (Scott 1 186). Edward Waverley follows the rapid, bubbling stream "like a knight of romance" (Scott 1 186) from the 'cold, bare and desolate' scenery into "the land of romance" (Scott

1 187). After climbing through the 'wild beauty' of the glen, he reaches a magnificent double waterfall where Flora is waiting for him, "a figure of . . . exquisite and interesting loveliness" (Scott 1 189). Flora takes up her harp and sings a Highland song to which Waverley responds with "the wild feeling of romantic delight" (Scott 1 190).

However, all is not as it appears in the glen and the discordant notes in the landscape trace fault lines in both Flora and the Jacobite cause. A little brook gushes out of the glen furiously, like a "maniac," only to be subsumed by the larger "placid, sullen, sleeping" stream from the "long bare valley" (Scott 1 186). When Flora walks across a narrow, pine log bridge a hundred and fifty feet in the air, Waverley is dizzy and "horror stricken" at her dangerous action. Although the first waterfall is caught in a "natural basin", the second waterfall "seemed to seek the very abyss" (Scott 1 188). The flora of the glen are not as natural as they seem but have been "so cautiously . . . decorated " (Scott 1 188) by Flora that the "romantic wilderness" is undiminished.

The glen is not an example of a natural and traditional Highland landscape. The forces of change are already at work. As a metaphor for the Jacobite cause, the landscape seems to predict the problems which will eventually be responsible for its failure. The bubbling brook is like a "maniac" but is lost in the larger placid stream. The second waterfall does not simply fall into the abyss, it "seeks" its own destruction. When Flora ignores the obvious danger of the log bridge, her actions seem foolhardy. No matter how cautiously she "decorates" with desirable imports, she still disrupts the natural balance. Many people believe the Jacobite cause was lost by foolhardy, ill considered actions of foreign leaders who took their supporters into the abyss.

Flora is certainly not what Waverley believes her to be. In a footnote purporting to respond to complaints that the events in the glen are "too theatrical and affected" (Scott 1 188), Scott seems to be adding ironic emphasis to highlight Flora's real nature.

It had been suggested that the incident seems contrived because it does not accord with “the Lady-like simplicity of her character” (Scott 1 188). Scott accounts for this when he notes “But something may be allowed to her French education, in which point and striking effect always make a considerable object” (Scott 1 88).

Flora is not a guileless Highland maid attempting to introduce Waverley to Highland songs and make them more meaningful with an appropriate setting. She is “like every beautiful woman, . . . conscious of her own power, and pleased with its effects” (Scott 1 189). This is not a spontaneous experience but a premeditated manipulation of Waverley in an effort to involve him and other English Jacobites in the conflict anticipated, in Flora’s *Battle Song*. Flora is like the landscape, dangerous and deceptive. Although her cause is traditional, she is willing to use change to achieve her ends even though change inevitably undermines tradition.

In The Heart of Mid-Lothian, the sisters Jeanie and Effie Deans show a different side to the opposition of tradition and change. Both young women are the daughters of an ardent Presbyterian farmer, Davie Deans, and are brought up in the strict, traditional setting of an isolated dairy farm at Saint Leonard’s Crag outside Edinburgh. The sisters are complete opposites physically, morally and spiritually. Scott explains that these differences are the result of Effie being the child of Deans’ old age and that she “had been spoiled by the early indulgence of her parents . . . [and] had had a double share of this inconsiderate and misjudged kindness” (Scott 3 99). In contrast, when her mother died, Jeanie, the older sister, had to replace her in the family economic unit and accepts the hard work, thrift and restrictions of the strongly Calvinistic style of her father’s Presbyterianism.

Effie resents the restrictions of the traditional life style and starts to meet her friends, male and female, for parties and dancing. When her father overhears her

teasing her sister and openly admitting to dancing, he gives them an hysterical lecture on this “dissolute profane pastime” (Scott 3 102). Deans and Jeanie are concerned about “points in Effie’s character” (Scott 3 99) which cause “anxiety” and “strange doubt” to Deans and “serious apprehension” for Jeanie. Scott makes it clear that these concerns are not groundless and that Effie Deans is a self-willed, imprudent young woman who is headed for trouble.

When the opportunity arises for Effie to go to Edinburgh to help in the family harness and bridle shop of their distant relation, Mrs. Saddletree, Deans agrees and Effie leaves. Unfortunately, Mrs. Saddletree is not as careful as was expected and Effie takes advantage of the greater opportunity to indulge in social activities and soon becomes pregnant. She delivers the baby under mysterious circumstances in Edinburgh and returns to her family in a poor state of psychological and physical health.

Scott uses the environment to emphasize the differences between the two daughters. Jeanie is happy and content in the small lonely house and with the “unceasing industry” which makes the leased dairy farm successful. She has few ambitions, only the quiet hope that, sometime in the future, she and Reuban Butler will marry.

However, Effie chafes at the restrictions of the isolated house and the strict proscriptions of her father’s religion. Her vows to reform collapse after a week of bad temper and sulking. She leaves for Edinburgh as soon as the chance offers itself, unconcerned and uninformed about the dangers of the “corrupted city”.

Scott prepares us for Effie’s fate in Edinburgh by describing the events of the Porteus riots and the seizure and murder of Porteus. Compared to the freedom and transparency of the landscape around Saint Leonard’s, Edinburgh is represented as mysterious and claustrophobic. The narrow closes, towering tenements and winding

streets are all enclosed within the city walls and locked gates. In Edinburgh, there is a veneer of law and order, but terrible things can happen to anyone at any time. We can see the psychological effect of the changing events in Edinburgh when Butler needs to flee the city and go to the Salisbury Crags “to compose his own spirits” (Scott 3 76).

During Effie’s trial on the charge of murdering her baby, Jeanie cannot tell a lie under oath even though she knows her sister is innocent. When Effie is found guilty, Jeanie decides to walk to London to seek a pardon from the King. She undertakes the journey for one purpose, to undo the legal wrong that her moral rectitude causes.

I think Jeanie’s pilgrimage to London is a preview of her sister’s life after she elopes with the father of her baby, George Staunton. Both women move through the English landscape which is filled with the possibility of change. It is interesting to compare how the sisters react by comparing their different situations at the end of the novel. Although we do not know specifically about Effie’s journey, we can compare the outcomes and surmise the choices she makes. In Jeanie’s case, the English landscape represents a series of challenges to her traditional values. Each experience contains the implicit challenge of the Duke of Argyll’s statement, “This is a fine scene ... we have nothing like it in Scotland” (Scott 3 375).

The first challenge for both sisters is to fit in to the landscape and not appear out of place. Jeanie’s bare feet and tartan shawl make her the object of “sarcasms” and “taunts” and she is teased about her accent and language. She sensibly chooses to put on her shoes and stockings, wear a straw hat and speak as little as possible. These temporary changes make her less conspicuous and probably safer as she moves further south. However, she does not try to pass herself off as English and everyone recognizes that she is “Scotchwoman”.

When we meet Effie again at the end of the book, she has managed to fit in so well that even in Scotland nobody suspects she is Scottish. She is totally committed to being part of the English landscape and is frightened that her true origins will be revealed. Jeanie pities her sister for the “outworks and bulwarks of fiction and falsehood” (Scott 3 480) under which she is obliged to live. In the end, Effie does not fit in either the Scottish or the English landscape and retires to a convent in Europe.

As Jeanie moves south she hardly notices “the village, one of those beautiful scenes which are so often found in merry England” (Scott 3 318). She is keeping her head down because she is embarrassed by her captor, Madge Wildfire’s, peculiar behavior. It seems unlikely that Effie would keep her head down for any reason when she goes through this same village a few years later. By that time, she is Lady Staunton and the village of Willingham is on the edge of her husband’s estate.

When Madge drags Jeanie into the “old-fashioned Gothic parish church,” she sees it as a place of refuge but also imagines her father’s disappointment that she would enter a “prelatic place of worship.” Jeanie is curious about the music, the Vicar’s surplice and the written sermon, none of which are allowed in the Presbyterian service. She approves of the sermon and the Rector seems to be a decent person who would assist her in escaping from Madge.

Scott gives us a long and detailed description of the Rectory which is “dignified and imposing” (Scott 3 326) with numerous additions, beautiful gardens and liveried servants. It is “to use Mr. Price’s appropriate phrase, picturesque” (Scott 3 326). Jeanie can not help comparing the small, meanly built Manses at home to the luxury of the Rectory.

Although her response to the Church of England has been reasonable, she has a short but conclusive theological debate with the Rector when he invites her to family

worship. Her concluding comment, “though the waters may be alike, yet, with your worship’s leave, the blessing upon them may not be equal” (Scott 3 353), does not suggest that she would change her traditional religious beliefs to fit into this landscape.

Effie must have had a similar experience, perhaps in the same parish church at Willingham. It seems highly unlikely that she could retain her non-conformist affiliations when her father-in-law is a Rector of the Church of England. As the book closes and Effie is returning to the European convent where she had been transformed into Lady Staunton, Jeanie “sorrow[s] bitterly for this apostacy” (Scott 3 531).

The next time Jeanie is made aware of the English countryside is when she is driving with the Duke of Argyll to her interview with the Queen at Richmond. The Duke stops the carriage to observe the Thames where “the beauty of English landscape was displayed in its utmost luxuriance”(Scott 3 374). The Duke admires the scene but Jeanie is unimpressed. After commenting about the fine pasture, she says “but I like just as weel to look at the craigs of Arthur’s Seat, and the sea coming in ayont them, as at a’ thae muckle trees” (Scott 3 375). Jeanie loves the traditional landscape of Scotland and she is not tempted to change by the beauties of the English landscape.

However, Effie’s interest in landscape is as an educated connoisseur, a collector of the picturesque. When she returns to visit her sister at the Manse of Knocktarlitie, she frequently goes for long walks with her nephews David and Reuben. After the frightening episode at the waterfall where she is saved by her estranged son, she “never again permitted her love of the picturesque to carry her so far among the mountains” (Scott 3 505).

When Jeanie finally returns to Scotland, she is returning to her home. Throughout the novel, Scott always portrays Jeanie as part of the Scottish rural landscape and as alienated or lost in England. Jeanie always resists the allure of

change and is the same traditional Scots woman at the end of the novel as she was at the beginning. Effie never does fit into the rural landscape and so is never part of the traditional resistance to change. In order to make the transformation from Effie to Lady Staunton, she has to take every opportunity to change. It was Effie who summarizes the difference between the sisters' characters, "you, my dear Jeanie, have been truth itself from your cradle upwards; but you must remember that I am a Lie of fifteen years' standing, and therefore must by this time be used to my character" (Scott 3 499).

In all Scott's novels the landscape is very important because landscape was important to him personally. As quoted above, for Scott "tradition depends on locality" and as his novels are all essentially about tradition, the landscape is also essential. He uses the landscape as a representation of the opposition between tradition and change and to document the effects of change on tradition.

Scott uses the multiple layers of meaning contained in the landscape to delineate various aspects of the Scottish national identity. Throughout the three novels, he describes the physical aspects of the landscape in great detail as though trying to paint a word picture. He seems to be acting on his response to his failed sketching project, to "overwhelm [his] hearers by the enthusiasm of [his] descriptions" (Clark 131). These physical descriptions build on the ideas of the Picturesque to give the Scottish people a sense of pride and ownership of their landscape.

In these three novels, Scott also uses the detailed descriptions as the locations for the historical events around which the novels are organized. Scott embeds his representation of the events in the landscape. In this way, the landscape acquires a symbolic value which has the power to evoke memories of the event.

I also think there is a cumulative aspect to the descriptions and memories attached to the landscape. In these accumulations, Scott is mapping out the physical

boundaries of Scotland and in Cairns Craig's words, "the defining limit for the argument about values" (23). Scott's landscapes, both physical and symbolic, seem to work together within a single novel and throughout his historical novels to create an image of the Scottish national identity.

As we traveled around Scotland, I tried to fit the course readings and novels into to the landscape. I was always looking for the ardent Presbyterian, the silent Highland gillie and the Lowland lady and gentleman, hoping that they would suddenly appear. The readings and novels were part of the point of view I brought to every encounter with the physical world and used to create my personal landscape.

Scott's characters also bring a personal point of view from which they read and interpret the landscape. *Waverley* brings romantic dreams which transform the landscape into the setting for a fairy tale. Flora MacIvor sees the landscape as a means to promote her Jacobite interests. Jeanie Deans hold tightly to her traditional ways and barely acknowledges the English landscape which will, in a short time, transform her sister. Scott uses the many landscapes of his characters to create a multi-faceted national identity for Scotland.

Conclusion

My project started on June 4, 2001 as I stood staring into Glen Coe. The disappointment and confusion over my lack of emotional response was emphasized by the enthusiasm of my fellow travelers. I had assumed that my Scottish background would somehow give me a special emotional attachment to the landscape but at Glen Coe I realized this was not going to happen.

When I reflected on my experience at Glen Coe, I was reminded of my insecurities about my status in Scotland and my Canadian identity. I wanted to find out how landscape was related to national identity in the hope that I would be able to understand my own response.

Although many theories of nationalism assume that landscape is an important element in the formation of a national identity, I was unable to discover a theory which explained the specific effect of landscape. When I found David Lowenthal's statement that "Europe's landscapes everywhere remain compelling icons of national identity" (12), I started to look for a parallel between the effects of icons on religious initiates and the effects of landscape on nationalists. I think the effect is similar. Both seem to initiate a series of associations which allow individuals to transcend mundane issues to a universal belief in either a religion or a nation.

The title of the course which initiated my search, "Landscape, Memory and Identity" suggested a type of association which would connect landscape and national identity in the same way faith and dogma connect an icon to religious belief. However, a common memory in as diverse and contentious a country as Scotland is difficult to find. I chose to use the memory contained in the imaginative works of Walter Scott and James Macpherson to explore the connecting associations. In some ways these authors

are quite different, in that Scott gives a broad sweep of landscape, events and characters and Macpherson focuses on one group of characters in a single landscape. However, they are also similar, in that they both rely on the close connection between landscape and characters.

Alisdair MacIntyre's idea of a nation as an "embodied argument" (Craig 23) seems to describe the many contending values depicted in Scott's novels. Scott uses the landscape to both illustrate and locate values which form the association needed to connect it with national identity and people.

I used James Macpherson's Poems of Ossian to examine Walker Conner's concept of a nation's "share[d] . . . intuitive sense of . . . separate origin" (Hutchison 49). The poems describe a people at one with the landscape and whose values are derived from their interaction with the landscape. In the poems the values seem almost organic and are intimately connected to the characters' self-image and their personal and group identity. Macpherson's poems can be seen as one of the early influences in the popularization of the Scottish landscape.

Scott and Macpherson use the points of view formed from personal memories to explain the emotional and nationalistic attachment their characters feel for the landscape. I had assumed that my background would have given me the memories I needed to form the associations but I was wrong. I think, perhaps I was upset by my response to Glen Coe because I was beginning to understand that my attachment to Scottish landscape had nothing to do with national identity. I could appreciate the importance of the landscape and its associations for the Scottish people but I could not share their attachment.

However, once I recognized that I had come to Scotland as an interested stranger rather than as a returning nationalist, I found I was very attracted to the

landscape. The universal presence of stone in the natural and built landscapes, became a focus for my interest and attention. I was fascinated not only by the stone in every landscape but also by stone as a record of the past. The Brochs at Glenelg, the Clava Cairns and the stone circles, all stand as silent memories to Ossian's "times that are no more."

As a result of my project I know much more about landscape, memory and identity, as separate concepts and about the ways they may be connected. It seems that so many seemingly objective things such as landscape are almost entirely the result of our subjective construction. Working with The Poems of Ossian, Waverley, Old Mortality and The Heart of Mid-Lothian has increased both my store of personal memories and my understanding and ability to respond to the Scottish landscape. I do not think my response could ever be the same as the Scots because I do not have that special emotional attachment which comes with national identity. That special emotional attachment for me, is to the landscape of Canada, because my national identity is Canadian.



Broch



Clava Cairns



Stone Circle

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