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From 'Rabid Drovers' to Rewilding: Heritage, Memory and the Place of the Wolf in Scotland



Donovan, E. (1818). *(Last Wolf)*. London: Natural History Museum.

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Introduction

The study of wolves and their place in history is a somewhat undersaturated field given their significant recognition and appreciation in the public domain. The discrete pool of literature that does exist is filled mostly with works applying to the place of wolves in the history of North American or continental European locales, rather than to areas within the British Isles. For example, Karen Jones's *Wolf Mountains* (2002) and Michael J. Robinson's *Predator Bureaucracy* (2005) deal with the place of wolves in the chronology of American control over its western regions and wild landscapes. Jon T. Coleman's *Vicious* (2004) also deals with North America, this time within a much broader timeframe ranging from the settler era to wolf reintroduction in the late twentieth century. Indeed, the landmark restoration of wolf packs to Yellowstone (1995) has perhaps drawn the most substantive enquiry, though many works have been authored by architects of the programme or regional journalists and naturalists rather than academic historians.¹ In a European setting, Jay M Smith has explored French lupine history in his case study of the supposed terror wrecked upon the 18th century locals of the Gevaudan region in southern France by wolves, or more plausibly wolf-dog hybrids. Some academics have strayed into a global context, such as anthropologist John Knight in his study of wolf-human relations in Japan. Although not a historian, he does cover the impact of the extinction of the Japanese wolf in the early 20th century, and thus reports findings of relevance to this work. A couple of popular recent texts, both confusingly titled *The Last Wolf*, one written by Jim Crumley (2010) and the other by Robert Winder (2017), are among the few that address the wolf as a specific historical actor in the British Isles. Crumley's work is mostly a travel-writing style homage to a creature long absent from Scotland, set alongside a benign attempt to uncover the truth among 'the last wolf' myths that exist, and a personal reconciliation of what Scotland's landscape has become. Winder, meanwhile, uses the extinction of the wolf in England to explain the birth of an English identity defined in its early stages by a wool industry that could now be produced without risk. Without a perceived threat to sheep herding and husbandry, the English landscape became an agrarian arcadia interwoven (pardon the pun) by roads and Laynes linking fields to mill, and mill to port. Significantly, while all these works make up a useful corpus of lupo-centric histories, none, except perhaps Crumley's, focus upon the contemporary focal point of wolf discussion and species controversy in Scotland.

Given the well-established debate on the idea of reintroducing wolves into the Scottish landscape, it seems bizarre that no one has yet comprehensively explored the history of Scottish attempts to

¹ See accounts by McIntyre, McNamee, Brewster, Johnson, Fritts etc. in Paul Schullery, *The Yellowstone Wolf* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2003).

remove, and then reinstall, wolves. Doing so would provide a valuable exercise in defining the cultural and physical landscape conditions that led to their extinction and provide a useful steer as to what conditions might be required to complete a successful reintroduction programme in the future. Instead, the vast majority of popular writing on wolf reintroduction is overwhelmingly presentist in nature. There is much talk, for instance, in the popular media about the potential economic benefits of wolf reintroduction to supposedly deprived Highland communities and estates. For example, Paul Lister is looking to enhance the authenticity of his African-style 'wilderness game reserve' in Alladale estate by introducing wolves within its fenced boundaries. He claims doing this will draw in as much as twenty times the current visitor numbers to his eco-resort and provide multiple new jobs in the area for local people.² In academia there is similar noise being created about the ecological benefits around restoring large wild canids. Nilsen et al in their study "Wolf Reintroduction to Scotland: Public Attitudes and Consequences for Red Deer Management" (2007) claim that a reintroduction would remove the need to cull deer hinds regularly and thereby service the goals of ecological sustainability in Highland areas.³ In turn, deer stalking enterprises might be made more profitable with less finances being expended on deer culling and management. Furthermore, it is supposed that the existence of wolves in the Highlands would be an attraction to tourists, bringing in further revenue in remote areas.⁴ A work of fiction titled *Project Wolf* by Martin Plant was published in 2001 as a fantastical homage to the plausible result of this fever- wolf reintroduction led by inspired young ecocentrists.⁵ It can be assumed that the success story of Yellowstone Park's reintroductions, with its rejuvenated 'trophic cascades' and burgeoning cash flow from tourist attention, feeds into these outlooks. The truth is that Yellowstone was without wolves for less than a century and remained a protected national park, whereas Scotland has been without lupine presence for over three hundred years and has not had the luxury of being protected: there are major differences as well as apparent similarities in these geographies of wolf presence and wolf absence. Specifically, the cultural and physical fabric of the Scottish landscape has been ripped apart and stitched back together many times throughout the modern era. Impactful events such as the Clearances, the Jacobite Rebellions, and the arrival of the 'improvers' have all left their own scar tissue upon the eco-cultural makeup of the land. Therefore, Scottish Natural Heritage can hardly be blamed for their lack of pro-activity in potentially instigating yet another tear into Scotland's scarred landscape.

² Kevin McKenna, "One Man's Plan To Let Wolves Roam Free In The Highlands", *The Guardian*, 2019 <<https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2018/apr/08/wolves-scotland-reintroduction-lister-alladale>> [Accessed 7 March 2019].

³ Erlend B Nilsen and others, "Wolf Reintroduction To Scotland: Public Attitudes And Consequences For Red Deer Management", *Proceedings Of The Royal Society B: Biological Sciences*, 274.1612 (2007), 995-1003 <<https://doi.org/10.1098/rspb.2006.0369>>.

⁴ McKenna.

⁵ Martin A Plant, *Project Wolf* (Edinburgh: Cairngorm Mountain Press, 2000).

We must not assume, as is perhaps easily done, that the United States western parks have not experienced similar impactful events: such as those instigated by settler colonialism and industrialism. However, the eco-cultural damage these did and their impact upon wolf populations is perhaps more readily understood in academic discourse than in the Scottish case. For examples of this understanding one need not look further than Aldo Leopold's *Sand County Almanac* (1949) and William Cronon's *Changes in the Land* (1983) and *Uncommon Ground* (1995). In contrast, understandings of the eco-cultural damage done in Scotland are more recent endeavours and less widely appreciated: examples applying to the wolf are even less present. T. C. Smout has provided a plethora of work concerning the environmental history of Scotland, but it hasn't quite fit in the framework of the standard corpus of environmental history in practice as much as Leopold's and Cronon's has. Smout also rarely mentions the wolf in his comprehensive works, perhaps only Jim Crumley in his *The Last Wolf* (2010) and Andrew Wiseman in *A Noxious Pack* have attempted a targeted historical understanding of the wolf in Scotland, and even they have not tackled understanding it within the wider context of Scotland's landscape history.

This study seeks to address this imbalance by offering a historically grounded survey of Scottish wolf fortunes that locates *Canis lupus* in its geographical and cultural context. As a 'lupocentric' history, it offers the first dedicated study of the Highlands and thus presents an important contribution to the connected fields of species history, landscape history and environmental history. In this, it builds particularly on a small but valuable corpus of antiquarian literature on the wolf in the form of James Ritchie's *The Influence of Man on Animal life in Scotland* (1920), Charles Alston's *Wild Life in the West Highlands* (1912), and James Edmund Harting's *British Animals Extinct Within Historic Times* (1880), each of which present important precursory environmental histories in their document of the presence (and disappearance) of important species and land transformations. Also important as methodological guides to action are two more recent publications which collectively inform this study in their focus on apprehending the history of a region through the lens of environmental transformation and historical interactions between humans and other species. John Fowler's *Landscapes and Lives; The Scottish Forest Through the Ages* (2002) tracks economic and environmental changes through a specific focus on treescapes that pays equal attention to mythological and archaeological traces. Robert Lambert et al's *Species History in Scotland* (1998), likewise, takes an interdisciplinary perspective and is particularly instructive for the way in which it positions the historic destruction of various animals and birds in the context of present-day attempts to restore and reintroduce extirpated species. Importantly, both of these works feature the wolf only as a 'backstage actor': one component in a complex and multi-layered Scottish landscape. Thus, we are missing a simultaneously comprehensive *and* targeted picture of the wolf's role/ story in the narrative of eco-cultural phenomena in Scotland's history and heritage. This study engages directly

with the idea of finding 'place' for the wolf in the modern Scottish landscape and highlights the ways in which this question is as much about human cultural proclivities as environmental realities.

Reflections on Space, Place and Methodology

Before we can pursue the objective of this thesis – namely tracking the place of the wolf in Scotland - it must first be understood what is meant by the history of the 'modern' Scottish landscape and explain how the wolf sits in a geography that is both material and imagined. Landscape history is a diverse field. Of broad contextual importance to this work will be historian Simon Schama's *Landscape and Memory* (1995), in which he judges that our landscapes resonate memory or 'the sum of our pasts, generation laid over generation, like the slow mold of the seasons, forms the compost of our future.'⁶ He also dictates that boundaries between culture and nature are blurred. Even in our new urban sprawls, like those that exist in Scotland's 'middle belt', we can still find that nature and culture are not distinctly separate. Similarly, the landscape writer John Brinckerhoff Jackson judges that landscape is 'a composition of man-made or man-modified spaces to serve as infrastructure or background for our collective existence, [this]...background underscores our identity, presence and history'.⁷ In sum, landscape seems to be an amalgam, an entangled representation of present, past, nature, and culture, all of which are intensely blurred and entwined. Taking this line of enquiry further, M.K Layne emphasises that it is essential to understand landscape not as an exclusively physical entity, but as a socio-temporal merger of experiences.⁸ In other words, Layne determines that the landscape we perceive is a product of what we hold within us, our internal filter if you like, which might comprise our culture, our history, and our personal biases or knowledge which vary according to temporal location to create that 'rich loam of environmental memory' within us.⁹ Others oppose Layne's argument and suggest that a landscape can only be perceived for what is physically there and what can be directly assessed by our senses. Psychologist James Gibson believes landscapes are objectively perceived the same by any human or non-human whose perceptual system is equipped enough to pick up data on the landscape.¹⁰ Gibson is obviously somewhat correct that we all live in the same perceivable world. However, his idea that nothing more can be gleaned from a scene or a landscape that is not already there makes a huge assumption that the perceived landscape can only ever be interpreted objectively and as it is, rather than be also re-imagined as it was, or what it might be. This is problematic, as Schama explains: we are intimately

⁶ Simon Schama, *Landscape And Memory*, 2nd edn (New York: Harper Perennial, 2004), p. 574.

⁷ John Brinckerhoff Jackson, *Discovering The Vernacular Landscape* (London: Yale University, New Haven; London, 1986), p. 8.

⁸ Mary Kristen Layne, "What Environmental Art Can Teach Us About Wind Farms: Exploring The Boundaries Of Cultural Aesthetics In Scottish Landscapes", *Landscape Research*, 43.2 (2017), 248-259 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/01426397.2017.1318118>>.

⁹ Schama, p. 574.

¹⁰ Monica Janowski and Tim Ingold, *Imagining Landscapes* (London: Routledge, 2016), p. 3.

connected to the contexts, memories, histories, and realities of our familiar landscapes. Even if Gibson was correct and we are blinkered to see what is physically there, we might take inspiration from William G. Hoskins, the founder of modern landscape history, by following his guiding philosophy that 'the physical landscape offers us enough stimulus and pleasure without the uncertainty of us knowing what lies underneath'.¹¹ We might not imagine the whole truth, but we perceive something important to us regardless. In a specifically Scottish context, John Fowler's *Landscapes and Lives* highlights a good example of this in regarding the quasi-mythical forest(s) of Caledonia as both imagined and real. Far from ever being an easily defined physical entity that can only be 'seen' or 'not seen', the 'Great Wood' proves itself to be an amalgamation of human imagination and ecological reality, a landscape of intense significance that played a key role in justifying Scottish afforestation schemes in the twentieth century. Inspired by Fowler's direction, this work will highlight that despite the wolf's physical absence, it has cast a long historical shadow.

If we accept that landscape resonates in both history and memory, finding the place of the wolf is a complicated endeavour. Jackson claims that landscape is composed only of 'man-made spaces' all purposefully designed to 'speed-up or slow-down nature'.¹² Conversely, others have judged that spaces are 'un-named' or unutilised locales within a landscape which may be elevated to 'place' status via nomenclature and/or by virtue of being 'used'. For example, geographer David Lowenthal judges that the English, with their alleged obsession with managing land, see 'space' as 'empty' land controlled by nature that is only elevated to 'place' status once it has been 'improved'.¹³ Such conclusions are problematic. Assuming that 'place' is only a human-activated 'space' is a massive oversimplification that assumes incorrectly that space is nature, and place is human.

To further complicate things, it must be understood that geographic spaces cannot be read according to the rules of a jigsaw puzzle, in other words they do not neatly interlock or remain fixed and separated by distinct borders. Rather, spaces overlap, fluctuate, and form/relinquish shared boundaries. To philosopher Edward S. Casey, a border would be 'a restrictive and foreclosing' mapping entity which serves to keep things separate.¹⁴ Arguably, no such entity has existed at the spatial level during the modern era of globalisation. Accordingly, as Casey surmises, it is better to consider that boundaries- not borders- form a kind of connecting -rather than separating- tissue between zones of (largely) human-managed land. Casey describes boundaries as 'pliable and porous' gateways that allow two-way movement between spaces.¹⁵ In relation to this study, the point to note

¹¹ W. G Hoskins, *The Making Of The English Landscape* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1985).

¹² Jackson, p.5.

¹³ David Lowenthal, in *Senses Of Place*, 1st edn (Santa Fe: SAR Press, 1996), p. 250.

¹⁴ Layne, 248-259.

¹⁵ Edward S. Casey, "Boundary, Place, And Event In The Spatiality Of History", *Rethinking History*, 11.4 (2007), 507-512 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/13642520701645552>>.

is that no one space can be wholly self-sustained or separate. For instance, the Scottish Highlands were incorporated into English space via the drove roads that led to Norwich's cattle markets. The drove roads were a space in themselves, but they also acted as a boundary between geographically distant spaces by allowing the exchange of goods, animals, ideas, language, and people which each space needed to proliferate and prosper. Importantly, as Jackson argued, though spatial boundaries were typically designed and created by political animals, the implications of their designation deeply affected 'four-footed animals as well'.¹⁶

As has been highlighted, places are the physical manifestations of active cultural forces within a space. This does not necessarily mean a place needs to be created by these forces, but it might also be given meaning or recognition by them. For example, the 'Old Man of Storr' on the Isle of Skye is naturally occurring to the Scottish landscape but was given *place*-status by recognition in Gaelic folklore. It retains its place status not just because it is named –although this is important - or that it appears on a map, but because it retains a recognition in modern society as a tourist attraction and as an icon of Skye's folk history. A place is a product and a ward of space, it cannot exist outside of it because then it will slip into the unknown. As the philosopher Arnold Berleant points out with his 'key features of engagement' theory, people must engage with art to incorporate it or maintain its presence within their cultural space – as without engagement, art becomes deemed 'alien' and unknown.¹⁷ Layne contends that Berleant's hypothesis equally applies to place, his three criteria of engagement including - 1/ developing a continuity of, or assimilation into the cultural experience, 2/ perceptual integration of creating associations with the human experience, and 3/ participation with, or recognising a societal function.¹⁸ Using these methodological guides, this thesis seeks to uncover what places relate to wolves and lupine heritage in Scotland and to understand to what degree, if at all, they manifest in popular consciousness. From there, we might draw conclusions on how theories of engagement might be improved to better a case for species reintroduction in the future – i.e. how to ensure any wildlife restoration programme accurately surmises its place within the Scottish landscape.

In addition to the broader methodology of landscape studies and cultural geography detailed above, it is important to position this thesis in the field of animal history. Doing so will be particularly useful to aid in understanding historical and contemporary human-animal relationships in Scotland. Much like discussions of place and space, animal history has often centred around boundaries and borders, for example, what constitutes the boundary that separates the animal from the human, as

¹⁶ Jackson, p. 6.

¹⁷ Arnold Berleant, *Living In The Landscape* (Lawrence, Kan.: University Press of Kansas), p. 508.

¹⁸ Layne, 248-259.

well as deciding what beasts dwell in-between. As Keith Thomas argued in his *Man and the Natural World* (1983), it has always been common for humankind to draw distinctions between ourselves and other creatures to justify stewardship, domination, and/or utilisation of the natural world.¹⁹ Sometimes these divisions have also served to relegate other humans to animal-like status or to suggest 'abnormal' people were as much beast as they were human- something especially relevant in the cases of mythical lycanthropy, insanity, or criminality. These distinctions have often been culturally distinctive and contingent on popular ideals of the time.²⁰ Plotting shifting attitudes towards the non-human helpfully illuminates the context behind lupine-human interactions in Scotland, notably in thinking about how utilitarian principles of land and resource value have dominated interspecies engagements. For example, Thomas highlights that domesticated animals were most commonly kept within touching distance of humans behind fences or fields to maintain asset retention. Wild herbivores were kept distant in woods because their best utility came as game to hunt, rather than to rear. Wolves were considered of no economic utility to agriculture and husbandry, and, as highly effective predators, raised particular issues for pastoral societies. As such, the boundary-crossing habits frequently earned the wolf a negative cultural taxonomy (dangerous, ravenous, invader, vermin, craven). Here, useful contextual comparison can be made with other predatory species persecuted in other areas of the world as a result of the priorities and prejudices of rural agriculturalists. Notably in this regard is the Thylacine, or Tasmanian tiger, a native Antipodean carnivore driven to extinction in the 1930s. According to Robert Paddle, author of *The Last Tasmanian Tiger* (2009), the Thylacine was given a similar cultural taxonomy in colonial Tasmania owing to its physical similarities to *Canis Lupus* and was sometimes regarded as the 'Marsupial Wolf' despite being unrelated and exhibiting very different predatory behaviour. Paddle argues that this taxonomy was complicit in the species' eventual extinction because it excused, or rather encouraged a similar human-animal vendetta as had existed between wolves and pastoralists for millenia.²¹ Writing in *Thylacine: The Tragic Tale of the Tasmanian Tiger* (2003) David Owen cites 'uncertainty, confusion and misinformation' as critical factors in shaping the fate of this animal. Cultural constructions of its 'essential nature' coupled with utilitarian human needs/wants had drastic ramifications for the species.²²

Writing in 1926, anthropologist Alfred Irving Hallowell remarked that undue weight has been put on the utilitarian side of the human-animal relationship whilst neglecting the symbolic side. That

¹⁹ Keith Thomas, *Man And The Natural World* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1983).

²⁰ Thomas, p. 301.

²¹ Robert Paddle, *The Last Tasmanian Tiger* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

²² David Owen, *Tasmanian Tiger* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), p. 1.

imbalance has been addressed by many works in the late 20th and early 21st century detailing the complex ways humans have imagined non-human animals. As French cultural theorist Levi Strauss put it - 'animals are good to eat, but they are also good to think [with]'.²³ Beyond being actors within a physical space, in fact, certain animals have been tracked as intensely important symbols for particular communities or cultures. These special animals are those that capture the imagination or the obsessions of people in such a way that they are used to define certain cultural understandings of the world. As Barry Lopez has highlighted in his *Of Wolves and Men* (1978) the wolf has commonly fulfilled this role for diverse cultures around the world, both ancient and modern. As he notes, 'it is one long harting stay of the human psyche wrestling with the wolf, alternatively attracted to it and repelled by it'.²⁴ The wolf has been associated with understandings of the afterlife, the end of the world, death, life, creation, war, pestilence, time, and nearly everything else people must think of to consider having an understanding of the world. However, rather than the wolf of reality, it is the symbolic wolf; the wolf of fables, folk-lore, myth and fairy tales that has often loomed large. Scotland is no different. In Stirlingshire for example, mythology reveres wolves for giving early warning to the people of Stirling of a group of Viking raiders that were subsequently bested in a counter attack.²⁵ Thus, the saviour wolf became the symbol of Stirling and still features on the city's crest. Jumping to the present day, *Canis Lupus* continues to attract and repel us- consistently stimulating our imaginations with images of rewilding the Scottish Highlands.

What has also been of concern in animal history is the idea of agency. Francis Gooding has argued that because humans possess what he terms 'thoughtful agency', we exist in 'historical time'. Contrastingly, the natural world does not possess thoughtful agency, it occupies unhistorical time. However, he argues "a model of events which makes 'history' and 'nature' ontologically exclusive categories is wrong, because formally—physically—speaking there is no special distinction, there are simply events".²⁶ He suggests that the epistemological division is found inside these 'events' themselves. He speculates that "we can see the sense in which a man killing a Dodo is both a Dutchman of the sixteenth century taking an unpalatable and apparently extremely stupid and ugly bird for purposes of replenishing ship's supplies during the ongoing voyage to Batavia, and also simply one particular moment during the contact events between one animal species and another, and nothing more".²⁷ So, although Gooding assumes nature is coterminous with the actions of humans, he simultaneously maintains that humans stand separate from unhistorical (i.e. natural)

²³ John Knight, *Waiting For Wolves In Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006), p. 14.

²⁴ Barry Lopez, *Of Wolves And Men*, 1st edn (New York: Touchstone, 1995).

²⁵ "Stirling Wolf - Your Stirling", *Your Stirling*, 2019 <<https://www.yourstirling.com/stirling-wolf/>> [Accessed 9 March 2019].

²⁶ Francis Gooding, "Of Dodos And Dutchmen: Reflections On The Nature Of History", *Critical Quarterly*, 47.4 (2005), 32-47 <<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8705.2005.00664.x>>.

²⁷ Ibid.

time. The historian Erica Fudge believes this leads to the assumption that nature is nothing but a passive background upon which “humans, the real makers of history, act”.²⁸ Instead of this assumption, Fudge supposes that animals in fact have their own roles as agents influencing human history, even if they might not be aware of it. For example, Jonathan Burt highlights how important animals were in advancing photographic technology: the desire to capture them on film pushed said technology beyond established limits. Burt suggests that this indicates a distinction between subjectivity and agency. I.e.. there is a difference “between what might be termed a sense of self-in-the-world, and a capacity to shape that world”.²⁹ So, although we cannot comprehend whether a wolf has an understanding of the impact it might have on human lives, we can still understand that it can be an agent that influences/ has influenced human history in Scotland. This work hopes to illustrate the extent to which that is true. In both manners of its utilitarian and symbolic impact upon people in Scotland.

In sum, the founding notion of this work is to track the historical presence and folk-lore of the wolf in order to also examine contemporary efforts/ notions to return them to Scotland. In doing so, it illustrates an important dialectic of absence/presence in explaining human attitudes and behaviours towards the wolf. The thesis is divided into three chapters that cross-reference each other. The first chapter focuses upon landscape history; finding places and spaces within modern Scotland’s landscape that owe their existence to the past presence and influence of the wolf. The aim here is to uncover an existent ‘lupine heritage’ in physical and cultural space. The second chapter, led by the discipline of animal history, analyses human-wolf relationships in Scotland with a view to projecting what kind of relationship might occur if the wolf returns. Finally, a third chapter explores rewilding sentiments and the various reintroduction discourses that mark the contemporary landscape of wolf politics in Scotland. Ultimately, I argue here for a people-focused approach to finding ‘place’ for endangered animals in a complex and entangled eco-cultural landscape.

Chapter 1: The Wolf in the Landscape

There may be no corporeal presence of wild wolves in modern Scotland, but shadows and relics of their presence remain in many varied forms distributed throughout the landscape. Arnold Berleant’s key features of engagement will be used in this chapter to uncover and analyse these

²⁸ Erica Fudge, "The History Of Animals", *Humanities And Social Sciences Online*, 2006 <<https://networks.h-net.org/node/16560/pages/32226/history-animals-erica-fudge>> [Accessed 7 November 2019].

²⁹ Jonathan Burt, *Animals In Film* (London: Reaktion Books, 2000).

traces or heirlooms of lupine presence. Although originally used to understand the aesthetic appeal of art, Berleant's hypothesis is useful more widely as a means to realise and analyse public engagement with landscape features. M.K Layne for example used them to eloquently explain that many Scottish people perceive wind turbines as an eye-sore because engagement is not encouraged. Recognition of a Societal Function in a productive manner that might foster a culture of appreciation for renewable energy. My aim here is to use this framework to uncover what features in the landscape have been left to engage with and judge their importance in Scottish culture and place. First listed among Berleant's features is the necessity of 'developing a continuity of or assimilation into the cultural experience'. Accordingly, this project will search for places of lupine significance that have fostered a sense of continuity and presence. The simplest way to achieve this will be to analyse toponymic references to the wolf in the Scottish landscape; in most cases this will be derived from translation of Gaelic place names. The importance of these toponymic presences and their continuity and assimilation into the Scottish cultural experience will be explained in the first section of this chapter. What follows in a second section refers to Berleant's second term of engagement: 'perceptual integration of or creating assimilations with the human experience'. Critical monuments or places that act in contemporary Scotland as perceptual means to associate the wolf with Scotland's heritage will be highlighted and analysed. The last section of this chapter deals with Berleant's final concept: that true engagement requires 'participation with [the thing in question] or recognition of a societal function'. Here, I look at wolf-associated historical spaces that have fulfilled a sustained societal function in Scotland- such as the idea and reality of the 'great wood of Caledon'. In sum, the aim of this chapter is to illustrate firstly how well Berleant's engagement concepts may be applied to finding and analysing places of lupine heritage. Furthermore, it should be illustrated that the wolf has cast a decisive shadow in Scotland's landscape in varied and rich associations of place.

'Developing a Continuity of or Assimilation into the Cultural Experience'

Naming is important in cultivating a sense of belonging in, and knowledge of, a place. Frequent rehearsal and knowledge of pre-affirmed place names also fosters a sense of pride. We might say that the naming of a place partnered with continued use of that name ensures the creation, assimilation and continuity of a particular identity or association into the cultural experience. As such, the diverse toponyms existent in the Scottish landscape are a window to its past and folkloric contexts; acting equivocally as a historically relevant 'map' or overlay to the physical landscape. For example, etymological analysis can reveal that Mullinvadie, *Muileann a' Mhadaidh* in Gaelic, which

translates to 'The Wolf's Mill', is the place in Strathglass allegedly attributed to a folk tale that describes the killing of a wolf by a local woman with a frying pan. This section explores the toponymic presences of the wolf in the geographical nomenclature of the Scottish landscape using two approaches. Firstly, it looks to translate and understand toponyms that literally mean 'Wolf', 'Wolves' etc. in a given Lexicon. In Scotland it is most commonly Gaelic, Old Norse, Scots, and/or English derivatives that apply. This activity serves to illustrate the sheer quantitative volume of lupine-related place-names in the Scottish landscape. In addition, an attempt will be made to understand the etymology of these places and their locatedness amidst a broader topography not obviously related to *Canis Lupus*.

The toponymic landscape of Scotland is incredibly diverse with a plethora of language 'frontiers' criss-crossing the country. Gaelic, Norse, Norn, English, Scots, Doric and several others all have their respective epicentres, borders, and boundaries clearly visible on any map to anyone with a slightly learned eye. There are of course many historical reasons for this. For example, the West of the country, particularly the Inner and Outer Hebrides', is rich with place-names originating from the Norse era of control. Likewise, the landscapes of Caithness and the Orkney Islands are littered with names derived from Norn- a bastardised dialect of Old Norse. The predominant heartland of Gaelic toponyms is inland in the North West Highlands. Exclusively English place-names are most commonly existent closer to the southern border. Also, dialects such as Aberdeenshire Doric and Scots can claim their own sets of localised toponyms. However; bastardization, miss-translations, and name-changes are so common that no neat 'borders' or boundaries can be confidently drawn to assert an assured linguistic geography of Scotland. For example, in North-East Aberdeenshire; 'Strathbeg' (Gaelic origin), 'Ratray' (Norse origin), 'New Leeds' (English Origin), and 'Tillyduff' (Most likely Scots and/or Doric origin) all occupy the same modest geographic space.³⁰ Tracing the 'pure' etymology of this space would clearly be a momentous task. Thus, we must be aware of the potential for mistranslations and/or misinterpretations of bastardization to give a flawed view of toponymic references. For sake of narrowing scope, this work focuses upon solely Gaelic toponyms. Also, I deploy a triangulation of methods in order to treat them as critically as possible. These include modern translation software, consultation of a geo-linguistic database (namely- Ainmean-Àite na h-Alba), and discussion of toponyms cited by contemporary and modern writers of Scottish geography and natural history.

According to Alexander Robert Forbes's comprehensive study of 'Gaelic Names of Beasts', there may be upwards of thirty Gaelic words that refer to 'wolf' and/or 'wolves' across both the Irish and

³⁰ See Appendix 1.

Scottish dialects.³¹ The most common Scottish Gaelic forms of 'Wolf': '*Mhadaidh*', '*fiadh*', and '*Madadh*' can be found in relative abundance throughout western Scotland. It should be acknowledged that '*fiadh*' can also refer to a 'hound' and '*Mhadaidh*' can refer to a fox. Although some instances of the word '*Ruaidh*' added to form '*Mhadaidh-Ruaidh*', as is the case at 'fox point' near Ullapool, serve to distinguish the true meaning of 'fox' from 'wolf/fox'. Also, '*Madadh*' if compounded as '*Mhadadh-uisge*' means 'wolf/hound of the water' and refers to an Otter.³² Thus, care should be taken when assuming a place-name refers to a wolf without proper interpretation. It seems that utterances of '*Madadh*', which might only translate to 'wolf', are the most clear-cut references to the wolf in West Scotland's Gaelic toponyms. There also appears to be some publicly accepted authority that place-names now bastardized to end with '*Maddy*' or '*Vadie*'- likely taken from the phonetic sound of '*Madadh*' are related to 'wolf'. Lochmaddy, North Uist (*Loch nam Madadh*- 'Loch of the Wolf') and Portavadie, Argyll (*Port nam Madadh*- 'Port of the Wolf') are just two examples.³³³⁴ The former, Lochmaddy, takes its name from the 'loch' or bay that it sits in. This bay is bordered from the open sea by the 'Wolf Rocks' located in the bay mouth. These rocks possess their own Gaelic toponyms all compounded from the base word '*Madadh*'. At the northern lip of the mouth of the bay sits '*Madadh Beag*' or 'Little Wolf'. Whilst '*Madadh Mòr*' or 'Big Wolf', and '*Madadh Gruamach*' or 'Surly Wolf' sit south of the entrance beside '*Aird Nam Madadh*'. As '*Aird*' can refer to raised or high geological formations, it is likely '*Aird Nam Madadh*' means 'Promontory/Peak of the Wolf/Wolves'. One area of particular interest lies in the etymology of lupine-related toponyms in North Uist. It seems locally accepted that the toponyms relating to the area relate solely to the geomorphology of the 'Wolf Rocks'. The rocks allegedly share the appearance of wolves in the middle of a howling chorus. We then might assume that '*Loch Nam Madadh*' and '*Aird Nam Madadh*' were named in consequence after the rocks if geomorphology is the only etymological factor at play. However, it is plausible that the 'total' etymology has been lost to history and been corrupted by such a simplistic explanation. It is just as plausible, given North Uist's Norse history, that the names originate from Norse toponyms. 'Uist' itself or the Gaelic '*Uibhist*' originate from "*I-vist*' which means 'a house' in Old Norse. It could be that Lochmaddy shares a similar etymology to many places in Scotland such as Ulbster, Ullinish, and Ulva which Jim Crumley claims are all likely derived from the personal name Ulfr, which also means 'Wolf' in Old

³¹ Alexander Robert Forbes, *Gaelic Names Of Beasts (Mammalia), Birds, Fishes, Insects, Reptiles, Etc.* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1905), p. 227.

³² "Loch Nam Madadh-Uisge", *Ainmean-Aite.Scot* <<https://www.ainmean-aite.scot/placename/loch-nam-madadh-uisge/>> [Accessed 8 June 2019].

³³ "Lochmaddy", *Ainmean-Aite.Scot* <<https://www.ainmean-aite.scot/placename/lochmaddy/>> [Accessed 8 June 2019].

³⁴ "Portavadie", *Ainmean-Aite.Scot* <<https://www.ainmean-aite.scot/placename/portavadie/>> [Accessed 8 June 2019].

Norse.³⁵ Ulbster for example has been translated to mean something akin to 'Wolf Farm'.³⁶ It seems incredibly unlikely that someone was ever farming wolves in Caithness and it also appears quite implausible that a farm would ever be named after a creature that has almost always been the iconic enemy of human pastoral practices. It is considerably more likely that Ulbster was named after a man, not a wolf. It requires little effort to imagine that '*Loch Nam Madadh*' formerly had a Norse name referencing a man by the name of a wolf which was replaced/ translated when Gaelic re-asserted itself as the dominant lexicon in the Outer Hebrides . Such cases illustrate how tentative we must be in analysing toponyms when their origins might relate to human names, geomorphology, and/or misinterpretations of other languages rather than resonating any distinct lupine heritage. Regardless, even without accurate interpretation they remain consistently engaged with by the local populace as 'wolf' sites. The council that governs the Outer Hebrides '*Eilean Sar*' recorded in 2011 that 61.2% [16,489 individuals over three years old] of their populace were able to speak, read, and/or write Gaelic. This stands far higher than the national figure of 1.7%.³⁷ Thus, it could be projected that '*Loch Nam Madadh*' features as regularly in daily conversation in North Uist as 'Lochmaddy'. This is significant, as it illustrates the potential of a continuity of or assimilation of a wolf-based toponym into the cultural experience of North Uist. In this instance, the direct translation of toponyms prove more significant than their etymology.

On the Mainland of Scotland where Gaelic is, for the want of a kinder phrase, 'a dying language', it is harder to argue that Gaelic toponyms related to the wolf are consistently engaged with or understood by the general public. The Scottish government might like to think underscoring every significant place-name on road signs with the Gaelic counterpart might keep the dying language alive, but most Scots are far more likely to exclaim they live in Inverness or Glasgow than '*Inbhir Nis*' or '*Glaschu*'. Even significant geographic features like Ben Nevis and Ben Wyvis, known in Gaelic as '*Beinn Nibheis*' and '*Beinn Uais*', are far more likely to be known by their English bastardization. The Outer Hebrides is the only region of Scotland with above 10% of people being Gaelic literate, whilst the most populace areas of Scotland: the 'middle belt' of Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Stirling all fall below 2% literacy.³⁸ However, the imperialism of the English language has not proven all-encompassing of Scotland's linguistic landscape. Comprehensive projects like 'Gaelic Place-names of Scotland:

³⁵ Jim Crumley, *The Last Wolf* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2012), p. 199.

³⁶ "Ulbster", *Ainmean-Aite.Scot* <<https://www.ainmean-aite.scot/placename/ulbster/>> [Accessed 10 June 2019].

³⁷ Ruairidh MacIntyre and Stuart Pescodd, "Scottish Government Gaelic Language Plan 2016-2021 - Gov.Scot", *Gov.Scot*, 2017

<<https://www.gov.scot/publications/scottish-government-gaelic-language-plan-2016-2021/pages/4/>> [Accessed 12 June 2019].

³⁸ "Interactive Maps | Census Data Explorer | Scotland's Census", *Scotlandsensus.Gov.Uk*

<https://www.scotlandsensus.gov.uk/ods-web/datavis.jsp?theme=Language_September_2013> [Accessed 10 June 2019].

Ainmean-Àite na h-Alba (AÀA) and 'Gaelic in the Landscape' by Scottish Natural Heritage have revived traditional Gaelic place-names across Scotland and made them accessible online. Naturally, among the plethora of Gaelic place-names available to the general public are those that reference the wolf and Scotland's lupine heritage. For example, '*Coire a' Mhadaidh*' (Corie of the Wolf/ Fox) sits in the shadow of '*Sgùrr a' Mhadaidh*' (Peak of the Wolf/ Fox) which forms part of the famous Cuillin range on the Isle of Skye.³⁹ It could be argued with ease that '*Mhadaidh*' in these instances refers to fox, because the distinct orange and black hue of the Cuillin's rocks mirror the animal's characteristic fur. However, it is perhaps equally plausible, since no written records can trace the etymology of toponyms, that as Forsyth has suggested; '*Coire a' Mhadaidh*' was the site attributed to the fabled killing of 'the last wolf' on Skye.⁴⁰ The wealth of other locales, admittedly cited by notoriously unreliable turn of the 19th century authors, associated with 'last wolf' myths might validate Forsyth's claim. For example, James Edmund Harting writing in 1880 suggested that '*Gleann Con Fhiadh*' (The Hound's/Wolf's Glen) and '*Slochd a' Mhadaidh*' (The Wolves'/Foxes' Den) are two places associated with regional fabled 'last wolf' killings.⁴¹ Writing almost half a century after Harting, Thomas Radcliffe Barnett suggests that '*Muileann a' Mhadaidh*' (The Wolf's Mill) in Rannoch Moor is the place where a lady allegedly killed the last wolf of Rannoch by whacking it on the head with her 'gurdle' (frying pan).⁴² Harting is not over explicit with how he came about his references, suggesting that he is only reciting local folklore. Barnett's citation is most likely based only upon interpretation of the Sobieski Stuart's *Lays of the Deer Forest* which was researched, written, and published in the Netherlands in 1848, some distance away from any validated local knowledge.⁴³ Jim Crumley's 'The Last Wolf' (2010) works in part as a justifiable condemnation of myths recited by Harting and company, judging them to be reciters of 'careless wolf prose'. However, no matter the accuracy of 'last wolf' mythology, it remains significant that many associated places exist in name. '*Muilean a' Mhadaidh*' (Mullinavadie) appears on maps of Rannoch Moor as early as the Roy Military survey of 1747 and retains its status as a toponym in modern Ordnance Survey (OS) maps.⁴⁴ Similarly, '*Gleann Con Fhiadh*' appears in select OS maps of the Scottish borders by its English translation and '*Sgùrr a' Mhadaidh*' is shown in most OS maps of the Isle of Skye by its Gaelic name.⁴⁵ Thus, it is evident that former lupine presence has emanated through Gaelic toponyms still existent and accessible by various media long after extinction. Moreover, it is clear that the presence of wolf-related toponyms inspired the minds of a

³⁹ "Sgurr A' Mhadaidh", *Ainmean-Aite.Scot* <<https://www.ainmean-aite.scot/placename/sgurr-a-mhadaidh/>> [Accessed 10 June 2019].

⁴⁰ Andrew Wiseman, "'A Noxious Pack': Wolves In The Scottish Highlands", *History Scotland Magazine*, 12 (2012), 28-34.

⁴¹ James Edmund Harting, *British Animals Extinct Within Historic Times, With Some Account Of British Wild White Cattle*, By James Edmund Harting, .. (London: Trübner, 1880), p. 173-178.

⁴² T. Ratcliffe Barnett, *The Road To Rannoch And The Summer Isles* (Edinburgh: J. Grant, 1946), p. 188.

⁴³ Crumley, p. 50.

⁴⁴ See Appendix 2.

⁴⁵ See Appendix 3.

19th century naturalist (Harting) and 20th century folklorist (Barnett), as well as a critique of their work by a modern nature writer (Crumley).

As stated before, it is hard to suggest that lupine toponyms are consistently engaged with by the general mainland Scottish population; capacity to translate and understand the meaning of toponyms would be required to constitute true engagement. However, it should now be evident that this is not outside of the realms of possibility if available literature and online resources were engaged with and education in Gaelic was pursued more. Nonetheless, as this is only a projection, we must conclude that although wolf-related Gaelic toponyms remain clearly ever-present in the linguistic landscape of Scotland long after the wolf itself departed, true continuity of or assimilation of them into the cultural experience of Scotland is not complete. Rather, it is restricted to localised space, such as *Eilean Siar*, where engagement with the Gaelic language remains strong. To those outside of Gaelic comprehension lupine-related Gaelic toponyms shall remain alien, unknown, and un-engaging.

'Perceptual Integration of or Creating Assimilations with the Human Experience'

Landmarks allotted in geographic place may provide an enduring relic of the spatial forces that led to their forgery, unless indeed they are modified by new spatial forces. If engaged with they also perform the role of integration of or creating assimilations of their histories with the human experience in their vicinity. For example, the plethora of First and Second World War memorials dotted across Britain were intended as a perceivable homage to those who lost their lives in war-time, but also as an enduring reminder to those who walk by them now to not forget those losses they may not have even been alive to witness. Other landmarks are not so lofty or intentional in their endurance: roads, cottages, factories, battlefields, stately homes, and prisons can all fulfil roles as relics of spatial forces and still perform perceivable roles in our human experience. Also, landmarks are not necessarily created by human hands, but they must always be appreciated by human minds to be perceived as landmarks. By this I mean that places like the Old Man of Storr would just be geological formations if they were not relevant to tourists, geologists, folklorists, artists etc. Thus, landmarks should be considered as geographically fixed places given and re-described meaning by active spatial cultural forces- their meanings need not and will not stay the same. This section shall approach and analyse landmarks existent in Scotland that have relevance to the wolf and judge whether they emanate perceivable integrated contemporary human experiences and/or provide assimilations with the present human experience. I.e. what lupine heritage can be gleaned from their perceivable qualities, and what role- if any – do they serve in human experience in 2019.

There are no hugely well revered or publically celebrated landmarks relevant to the wolf that exist in Scotland today from before the animal itself vanished from the landscape. Exempting perhaps the Pictish carving of the 'Ardross Wolf' which no longer resides where it was originally placed and instead resides in a museum; so we might treat it more as an artefact than a landmark. However, there are a select few nondescript geographically resolute landmarks that have materialised since the wolf disappeared. One such landmark is a grave-stone like stone slab that sits in a layby on the A9 between Brora and Helmsdale north of Inverness, just yards from the sea, a bin, and a storm drain [see appendix 4]. The modest slab was laid there (likely not personally) by the 6th Duke of Portland on his Sutherland estate originally in 1924 some short distance from where it sits now; it was moved when the A9 was realigned in 1982.⁴⁶ A message engraved into the now weathered stone reads: 'To mark the place near which (according to Scrope's "*Art of Deer Stalking*") the last wolf in Sutherland was killed by the hunter, Polson, in or about the year 1700.'

The stone therefore sits in memoriam to a fiction told (or possibly re-told) by William Scrope published in 1897. The tale he refers to features a hunter, Polson, cited as experienced in 'the hunting and destroying of wolves and other predatory animals'.⁴⁷ What other predatory animals existent in Scotland at that time that might require hunting is worth briefly pondering. Perhaps the bears that Scrope imagines earlier in his book were still proving a menace. This might have given us our first inkling that Scrope is not a reliable source, unless the consensus is wrong in assuming the bear was extinct in the British Isles as much as one thousand years ago. Like many of his contemporaries, Scrope was likely more concerned with entertaining his readership than necessarily presenting absolute truth. Polson, accompanied by his two sons, allegedly succeeded in killing six wolf cubs and their mother in dramatic fairytale fashion. The boys, slaughtered the 'whelps' in the den whilst Polson 'dirked' the she-wolf in her flank whilst grasping her 'long and bushy tail' to prevent her from aiding her offspring.⁴⁸ Like other 'last wolf' stories, this one is very unlikely to be based on any truth at all; even if it were true, we have no evidence to suggest so. Regardless, it is curious that the Duke of Portland chose to erect a monument to such a story. The present curator of the 'Portland Collection', Derek Adlam, suggests that the Duke, as a keen field sportsman, might have erected the stone as an object of curiosity to prompt conversation in his hunting parties.⁴⁹ Nothing survives in Portland family archives to suggest the Duke had any resolute interest in natural history or Scottish folk lore so Adlam is likely correct. The matter-of-fact nature of the inscription also suggests that the Duke wished to invite opinionated conversation around what is a fairly neutral statement

⁴⁶ Derek Adlam to Kier Allen , "5th Duke Of Portland", 2019.

⁴⁷ William Scrope, *The Art Of Deer-Stalking* (London: E. Arnold, 1897), p. 275.

⁴⁸ Scrope, p. 276.

⁴⁹ Derek Adlam.

lacking in detail. His guests might have been able to comment with their own knowledge or opinions on the wolf's historical demise in Scotland. It should be in little doubt, that in this remote corner of Scotland that a landmark related to wolf-heritage resonates the conversational experience of the Duke's hunting estate in 1924. Furthermore, reference to Scrope's literature provides a tangible link between the stone and local wolf-related folklore. However, to argue that a dirty slab now placed in a lay-by, likely only visited by lorry drivers and the curiously minded, constitutes a significant role in human experience in 2019 would be extremely challenging. At least it might have been until very recently.

Early in 2019 an artist erected a new stone opposite the one laid by the Duke of Portland [see appendix 4]. This stone was laid for a very different purpose than to be a mere conversation starter- it was designed as a politically charged art installation to further the cause for wolf-reintroduction and 'Rewilding' in Scotland.⁵⁰ The tablets inscription reads:

IN MEMORY OF THE WOLVES

PART OF THESE LANDS

LOST TO GENERATIONS

WE AWAIT YOUR RETURN

In this instance the message is clear, opinionated, and designed to prompt action and conversation- not just to insight curiosity. Furthermore, note that the inscription refers to 'THE WOLVES' and not 'the last wolf'. This stone therefore acts as a memorial to a departed species and not to a single animal in a folktale. Although, as much as it stands in parity to the one it sits opposite, there is no denying the artist was inspired by the presence of the original Brora landmark. By scorning at the supposed ill-treatment of the wolf's legacy via a stone remembering a 'boastful story full of bravado intent on celebrating the virility of the hunter' (referencing Polson) she reveals the old stone's significance to the human experience of today. It now acts as a memorial to one of humanity's failings in our relationship with nature, or as a memory to one of our successes if one fits in the camp against changing our state of dominance over nature. A documentary depicting the carving, laying, and message behind the new stone was featured at a conference/exhibition at 'Omved Gardens' in North London in May 2019. Some of the key taglines for this event were 'Can we reverse human interference in the natural world?' and 'Can we create spaces where humans and non-humans can flourish through co-existence?'⁵¹ Of course the new Brora stone both pays homage to previous

⁵⁰ Beatrice Searle, "Foregathered Wi' The Beast - The Learned Pig", *The Learned Pig*, 2019 <<http://www.thelearnedpig.org/last-wolf-foregathered/6484>> [Accessed 2 July 2019].

⁵¹ "Rewind/Rewild - Omved Gardens", *Omved Gardens*, 2019 <<https://www.omvedgardens.com/events/rewind-rewild/>> [Accessed 2 July 2019].

human failings in these regards, and suggests they might be achieved better in time. Thus, both landmarks, despite their unceremoniously allotted place, can reveal much about both contemporary and modern experiences of human considerations of *Canis Lupus*. A layby on the A9 may yet continue to prove an epicentre of thought on the place of the wolf in Scotland's past and present.

It is worth mention of a similar monument on Papa Westray, Orkney, to allow us some further perspective. Placed in 1988 by the local field club, is a statuette and cairn dedicated to the last Great Auk killed there in the late 19th century. According to Robert Lambert, the extinction of the Great Auk was largely a result of ill timed enthusiasm for natural history in the 1820's that prompted a desire among learned peoples and aristocracy to collect biological memorabilia.⁵² This phenomena proved insatiable. As the seabirds' numbers started to dwindle, premiums on their attainment continued to rise. Although the final nail in the Auk's 75cm-long coffin might have been driven in St Kilda in 1840 by local superstition when the last bird was killed for being a witch, its fortunes in Orkney were largely contingent on sentiments towards nature entertained in high society. Evidently, the obtaining of a stuffed bird in a glass case was regarded as more important than maintaining a living population. Shifts in attitude from broadly prioritizing species collection and documentation to species conservation came too late for the Auk, as it did for many species in the 19th century. Ralph Faulkner, who led the project to erect the Papa Westray monument, judges that the case of the Auk is a reminder that if we don't care for something, we lose it. Through this veil of regretful sentimentality, we can see, as Lambert has judged, that the Auk monument reveals the sea bird as an indicator of the 'health and evolution of the human mind....in respect of both our appreciation and exploitation of various components within the natural world'. In many respects, the commemorative treatment of the Auk, like that of the wolf, reveals broader attitudes to nature at a certain point in space and time. The monuments we choose to erect are just the physical manifestations or vessels of that complicated history.

As stated before, landmarks that resonate histories are not always as lofty or specific in their purpose as memorials are. As such, there are other landmarks related to the wolf that exist in Scotland that were not purposed as memorials. One such example is the conveniently named and iconic 'Wolf Craig' building on Port Street in the city of Stirling. The building was originally designed by famed Scottish architect John Allan who is indirectly or directly responsible for the distinct architecture of many of Scotland's buildings built during the turn of the 19th century. Wolf Craig's iconic red brick walls now house Stirling's local government offices, but the building was originally

⁵² Robert Lambert, "From Exploitation To Extinction, To Environmental Icon:Our Images Of The Great Auk", in *Species History Scotland* (Edinburgh: Scottish Cultural Press, 1998).

commissioned by local grocers MacfarLayne and Robertson with construction completed in 1897.⁵³ Allan's building is not just relevant to the wolf in name; on the outside of the first floor sits a carving of a wolf upon a ledge with the following underlying inscription.⁵⁴

'Here in auld days

The wolf roam'd

In a hole of the rock

In ambush lay'

Such cryptic symbolism and insignia is typical of much of John Allan's designs. On the same building is a carving of both Stirling Bridge and The Castle Rock being straddled by two keys: one featuring an S to represent Highland and Lowland Scotland, and the other a C to represent Stirling Castle.⁵⁵ The obvious reference here is that, historically, whomever could control the city of Stirling had the means to control all of Scotland. This and other factors has formed the crux of Stirling's identity as the middle city between the culturally distinctive Lowlands and Highlands. The intended symbolism of the wolf on the same building is not as immediately clear. It is accepted by local history and heritage trusts, without significant evidence mind, that Allan is referencing a particular chapter in Stirling's history which has since defined the city's veneration of the wolf. Local legend has it told that in the 9th century a wolf pack [or singular Wolf depending on the version that is told] near to Stirling was disturbed by nearby approaching Viking raiders. The wolves [or Wolf] let out a loud howl in defiance of their presence which consequently alerted the city's guard of the impending surprise attack. As a consequence of broad local acceptance of this tale there has been homage paid to these past heroics of 'The Stirling Wolf' in varied forms including: heraldry, branding, tourist trails, and street art.⁵⁶ Such a tale is not a geographically unique one though and the more finite details change depending on what source you gleam it from; so it is doubtless fictional. Also, we cannot be so sure that Allan was paying homage to this fictional wolf pack [or lone Wolf]. For one, the inscription reads 'wolf', not 'Wolves' or 'Wolf', which suggests Allan might have been referring not to a pack or a singular iconic Wolf, but to the species as a whole. Perhaps the inscription is intended to lament or memorialise a species rather than animal actors in a well-established folk tale. However, it is also evidently plausible that Allan wanted his building to attract sympathetic attention from Stirling's

⁵³ *Stirlingarchives.Scot*

<<http://www.stirlingarchives.scot/2016/09/13/john-allan-architect-stirling-buildings-1893-1911/>> [Accessed 6 July 2019].

⁵⁴ *Stirlingarchives.Scot*.

⁵⁵ Elspeth King, *Stirlingcityheritagetrust.Org*

<<http://www.stirlingcityheritagetrust.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/08/John-Allan-A-Man-of-Original-Ideas.pdf>> [Accessed 10 June 2019].

⁵⁶ "Stirling Wolf - Your Stirling".

citizens; exhibiting a visual representation of Stirling's folk history would have been one means he could have achieved this. As a man who had diverse interests and clear acumen in establishing cryptic messages, many of which remain encrypted, it is likely only he ever knew the true significance of the wolf carving and its accompanying motto. Regardless of Allan's reasoning, local modern interpretation of the carving and inscription has most likely established a permanent association between Wolf Craig and wolves of local legend. Thus, Wolf Craig is a resolute piece of Stirling's lupine heritage and still acts as a perceivable reminder to locals of their city's folk tradition and indeed the wolf's former place within their local landscape.

Lupine heritage clearly has allotted place(s) in Scottish space in the form of the landmarks we have discussed and perhaps in more that we have not. There are those, like Jim Crumley, who would judge that these sites emanate only a corrupted heritage of an imagined Scottish wolf. They would be correct, but heritage is not necessarily, or required to be, truth, rather it is often the memory that has endured and remains engaged with. Therefore, although 'The Stirling Wolf' and Scropes account of Polson's hunt of 'The last Wolf' are most likely fiction, what matters is these folk histories, excavated from the loam of eco-cultural memory and depicted in various landmarks, have endured into the present to be actively engaged with and interpreted. Landmarks related to the wolf in Scotland should continue to be part of contemporary human experiences as the people of Stirling look back to their folk history, and as the rest of Scotland looks to their country's murky history with the wolf throughout the enduring public debate on re-introduction.

'Participation With or Recognition of a Societal Function'

The first two of Berleant's principles of engagement have allowed us to target specific variants of place; the third allows us to be broader in our scope. We shall explore wolf related spaces existent in Scotland today that fulfil an actively participated with and recognised societal function. Whilst places are geographically fixed physical realities; spaces are metaphysical overlays that morph, overlap, and spread widely across landscapes. Spaces can be anything from theatres of linguistic unity, religious agreement, to areas outside of control by humans. Spaces can be defined by real or imagined forces. For example, William Cronon claims in *Uncommon Ground* that environmentalists of the late 20th century had imagined humans didn't belong in wilderness.⁵⁷ By establishing wilderness as an 'uncommon Ground' people had not learnt to live responsibly in nature which had led to more environmental problems in wilderness spaces than there needed to be. Spaces, whatever forces define them, will always serve a societal function. For example, a common language allows for unrestricted discourse and communication. Even 'non-human' spaces act as the 'other' to maintain some social unity between those in 'human' spaces. The wolf has been associated with a few key

⁵⁷ William Cronon, *Uncommon Ground* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1995).

notorious imagined and real spaces throughout Scotland's history. The most prominent are the 'Great Wood of Caledon' and the 'Highlands' that straddle the Great Glen. It should be emphasised that these are not necessarily mutually exclusive of each other, as is the nature of fluid space. This section should reveal the distinct associations between these spaces and the real and imagined wolf during both its presence and absence. Furthermore, it shall illustrate the societal function(s) these spaces and the wolves contained within them have performed.

Barry Lopez once said the wolf is a beast we have never really known, but constantly imagined. Much the same can be said of one of their old haunts- the 'Great Wood of Caledon'. In John Fowler's words-

'The idea of a particular forest of Caledon was sustained by the fertile imagination of poets, historians and geographers. Current scholarly opinion tends to dismiss the forest as production of overheated nineteenth century romanticism, owing more to teutonic tradition (wildwood angst) than to fact'.⁵⁸

Tipping claims that at the end of the last Ice Age some type of forest cover covered the Highlands from edge to edge, exempting the highest mountains.⁵⁹ Myth has propagated to suggest this expansive forest remained whilst the Romans occupied Britannia. Supposedly, the Romans named the area containing the forest 'Caledonia' meaning 'wooded heights', after the alleged expanse and height of trees they found in that mountainous region of the Highlands north of the river Tay.⁶⁰ This has become the prevailing viewpoint portrayed in popular media and by the charity 'Trees for Life'; whose founder Alan Featherstone firmly believes Scotland's ethereal forest should make a return to the place in reality.⁶¹ In reality, carbon dating of pines and oaks preserved in the bogs that form the many 'graveyards' of the old forest has shown that few are younger than four thousand years old; many being millennia older than Roman presence in the British Isles.⁶² Roman sources themselves reveal little to support such grand claims of a truly 'Great Wood'. Pliny in his *Natural History* recorded that in 43 AD that the Romans had little extended knowledge of what lay beyond the Caledonian forest which supposedly lay at the absolute Northern fringe of the Empire.⁶³ Although Ptolemy may record a location for the large forest in his *Geography*, Tacitus and Cassius Dio claim that the

⁵⁸ John Fowler, *Landscapes And Lives: The Scottish Forest Through The Ages* (Edinburgh: Canongate, 2002), p. 19.

⁵⁹ Richard Tipping, "Medieval Woodland History From The Scottish Southern Uplands: Fine Spatial-Scale Pollen Data From A Small Woodland Hollow", in *Scottish Woodland History*, 1st edn (Edinburgh: Scottish Cultural Press, 1997), pp. 52-7.

⁶⁰ "The Caledonian Forest | Trees For Life", *Trees For Life* <<https://treesforlife.org.uk/forest/>> [Accessed 16 July 2019].

⁶¹ "The Caledonian Forest | Trees For Life".

⁶² T. C. Smout, *Scottish Woodland History*, 1st edn (Edinburgh: Scottish Cultural Press, 1997), p. 6.

⁶³ Hugh Miles and Brian Jackman, *The Great Wood Of Caledon*, 1st edn (Lanark: Colin Baxter Photography Ltd., 1991), p. 3.

Caledonian people used chariots which would have been effective on hard open terrain and not in dense forests.⁶⁴ Also, open pasture land will have been needed to provide for the cattle and sheep mentioned by Cassius Dio. Thus, we cannot be confident that a dense forest existed in the Highlands during Roman times. Regardless, if it did it exist two thousand years ago, it certainly disappeared very rapidly in reality, but continued to exist in imagination.

Walker and Kirkby estimated that by the end of the Middle Ages only about four percent of Scotland's land-surface was covered by woodland, roughly a drop of ninety percent from their estimate of coverage during the Mesolithic period of fifty to sixty percent.⁶⁵ Harvie-Brown and Buckley also suggest that since Roman times the character of Scottish forests had been much modified and the prevalence of certain species such as Scots Pine and Fur had dwindled.⁶⁶ If they are correct then there may be little doubt that the Caledonian forest would have been a shadow of its alleged former self by the time the wolf's presence was also dwindling. However, despite dwindling or even absolute physical absence, both the wolf and the forest have managed to maintain a significant place in popular imagination; often in tandem with one another. Thomas Kirke, a sojourning Englishman who toured the Scottish Highlands some time before he published his book in 1659, claimed:

'Some firr woods there are in the Highlands, but so inaccessible, that they serve for no other use than dens for those wolves with two legs, and they prey upon their neighbourhood, and shelter themselves under this covert; to whom the sight of a stranger is as surprising as that of a cockatrice.'

⁶⁷

By 'wolves with two legs' he likely means thieves, cattle rustlers or bandits, but he could be referring to werewolves, wild men, or even outcast supporters of the 'Royalists'. His frequent condemnations of the Scottish involvement in the English Civil War in the rest of his writing suggests the latter is actually quite likely. Regardless, it is worth note that he equates precarious 'wild' people with a supposedly dangerous animal and a hostile space in the form of inaccessible 'firr woods'.

This association of eco-cultural frontiers with wolves and wild people (more accurately meaning people who were opposed to the status quo just like the respective author) has been an enduring one. It was probably William Wallace in Blind Harry's original Braveheart script who first stepped from the 'embracing forest' to conduct guerilla raids on the English [see appendix 8]. Much later, the staunch Jacobite Alexander Robertson thwarted the pursuit of the Hanoverians after Culloden by

⁶⁴ David J. Breeze, "The Great Myth Of Caledon", in *Scottish Woodland History*, 1st edn (Edinburgh: Scottish Cultural Press, 1997), pp. 47-52.

⁶⁵ Smout, p. 7.

⁶⁶ J. A Harvie-Brown and T. E Buckley, *A Fauna Of The Moray Basin* (Edinburgh: D. Douglas, 1895).

⁶⁷ "Early Travellers In Scotland. Edited By P. Hume Brown. [With Maps.]", *The British Library* <http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_000000001080#?c=0&m=0&s=0&cv=298&xywh=113%2C301%2C3890%2C2100> [Accessed 18 July 2019], p. 254.

taking refuge in his Perthshire estate swathed in thick pine forest. Sobieski- Stuart commented on the 'Rabbid Drovers' of wolves that they believed once roamed the great 'wastes' of Caledonia preventing travellers from getting into the Highlands and preserving a state of wildness behind this frontier. Of Course it was more likely the contrasting human societies in the highlands bolstered this frontier and preserved its 'wild' character'. Change happened in perception of Scottish woodland though and mentions of the wolf were to change. In 1822, Edward Burt, another English Sojourner, claimed:

'In the mountain-woods, which, for the most part, are distant and difficult of access, there are nuts, raspberries, and strawberries; the two last, though but small, are very grateful to the taste; but those woods are so rare (at least it has appeared to me) that few of the Highlanders are near enough to partake of the benefit.'⁶⁸

Here we have a positive veneration of woodlands bountiful qualities and a subtle lament to the lack of forest coverage in the Highlands. Note the lack of reference to threatening forces like the wolf or wolf-like men of the forest. Their absence in Burt's text and many of his contemporaries publications reveals a growing sentiment in Britain in this time. For the wolf was part of the old image of the Great Forest of Caledon; the one that existed prior to the subjugation of the Highlands and Scotland as a whole by a foreign power as an ethereal and perhaps real barrier to Highland-Lowland integration. She had no place in a new image of a Scottish landscape under control, or at least emasculated by human activity.

Contemporary writers and artists of the Sobieski-Stuarts from 1745 to 1845, collectively known as the 'Romantics', created an imagined version of Caledonia's great wood. Firstly by supplanting imagery of enduring wastes of wild forests into their portrayals of Scottish legend or in their own constructed fictions. However, they always restricted the wild qualities of their portrayals to what was comfortably perceivable by a tourist and did not challenge the dominance of man over nature and Britain over Scotland. Flirting with those notions was okay, but the victors always had to be assured. In *The Lady of the Lake*, Scott frequently relates the presence of wild cats and wolves in the thick forests of the Trossachs in the south Highlands.⁶⁹ This served to garner or reinforce a sense of wildness in the space and dramatics that the main figure of the poem, the daughter of a Lowland Earl, finds herself in. Similarly, contemporary landscape artists often portrayed woodland or trees as

⁶⁸ Letters .., "Letters From A Gentleman In The North Of Scotland To His Friend In London ... Likewise An Account Of The Highlands With The Customs And Manners Of The Highlanders .. : Burt, Edward : Free Download, Borrow, And Streaming : Internet Archive", *Internet Archive*, 2019 <<https://archive.org/details/lettersfromgentl01burtooft/page/324>> [Accessed 10 July 2019].

⁶⁹ Walter Scott, "The Lady Of The Lake", *Gutenberg.Org*, 2019 <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/3011/3011-h/3011-h.htm#link2H_4_0004> [Accessed 10 July 2019].

dominant features of their foregrounds with forest-swathed mountains in the background; quite often the human story in their depictions was a secondary feature to the portrayal of raw and wild nature. For example, John Knox's piece *'Landscape with Tourists at Loch Katrine'* depicts the setting of *The Lady of the Lake*, Loch Katrine, and the surrounding landscape as the stars of a vista appreciated by his illustrated tourists. The composition is framed by dominating trees and the towering hills have significant forest coverage.



Figure1: Knox, J. (c.1815-20). *Landscape with Tourists at Loch Katrine*. [Oil on canvas]. 90.00 x 125.00 cm. National Galleries of Scotland: In Storage.

This might suggest Knox believed the dominant spread of woodland was one of the cornerstone features of the romantic Scottish landscape. Similar trends exist in other contemporary works of the early 19th century; Alexander Nasmyth's *'A Distant View of Stirling'*, Horatio McCulloch's *'Highland Landscape with Waterfall'*, and Rev. John Thompson's *'Glen Altrive'* all use the dominance of trees to frame their compositions, or to portray a sense of vast wildness in their backgrounds.



Figure 2: Thomson, J. (n.d.). *Glen Altrive, Selkirkshire*, [Oil on Canvas]. 44.50 x 59.70 cm. National Galleries of Scotland: In Storage.



Figure 3: Nasmyth, A. (1827). *A Distant View of Stirling*. [Oil on canvas]. 83.90 x 116.90 cm. National Galleries of Scotland: In Storage.



Figure 4: McCulloch, H. (c.1835). *Highland Landscape with a Waterfall*. [Oil on canvas]. 309.00 x 204.50 x 17.00 cm. Berwick-upon-Tweed: Paxton House.

The 'Great Wood' was clearly imagined as prolific, vast, and enduring by 19th century Romantic painters; matching similar perceptions made before their time. Unlike the Romans and sojourners of the 17th century, these 'Romantics' portrayed and imagined the Caledonian Forest as accessible, beautiful, and often (but not always) devoid of the unsavoury parties of wild spaces (wild men and wolves). Their new imagined 'Great Wood' functioned as the backdrop for an upheaval in the way people appreciated Scotland's wild landscape and its heritage; the wolf, that great symbol of wildness was often left from their portrayals.

There could be several concrete reasons for the exclusion of wolves from portrayals of the Scottish Idyll; perhaps their perceived lack of aesthetic appeal, their supposed absence, and/or their savage reputation. It is also plausible that mention or depiction of the wolf as part of Scotland's wild landscapes, such as the Highlands, wouldn't 'sell' the Romantics' portrayals to their audiences. The Romantics were often guilty of depicting Highland landscapes and heritages through a distinctly rose tinted filter unless it suited their purposes not to, which appears to have been a rarity. For example, in '*Rob Roy*', Scott uses the word 'wild' numerous times to accentuate the uncivilised or 'untouched' character of Highland space and the peoples and animals dwelling there during the Jacobite rising of 1745.⁷⁰ He also claimed a parity between a 'civilised and cultivated mode of life' and one of wild and lawless characters existed between sides of the 'Highland Line'.⁷¹ In reality, the character of Highland space at this time can hardly be considered that 'uncivilised' or uncultivated; to call it wild and lawless was also a gross misjudgement. Great swathes of land in the Highlands were under cultivation and livestock presence was sufficient to make cattle the chief export in the Highlands at this time- surpassing timber and wool.⁷² In regards to the landscape often being termed wild; it is well supported by Oliver Rackham and Thomas Smout that Highland woodlands were fairly unexpansive at this time and Frank Fraser Darling justly claimed the ecological diversity and density of the Scottish Highlands had been significantly depleted since the Iron Age.⁷³ Considering these factors, we might assume that wolves could only have been managing to eke out a very tentative existence by 1745. The abundance of Last Wolf myths referencing near this year might also support this. Both Polson at Helmsdale in 1700 and Macqueen at Killiecrankie in 1743 allegedly killed a formidably large, aggressive, and black animal apiece and rid their regions of their last wolves.⁷⁴ Clearly the Highlands were hardly the unadulterated and in-human landscape that the Romantics

⁷⁰ Walter Scott, "Rob Roy", *Internet Archive*, 2019
<<https://archive.org/details/in.ernet.dli.2015.15339/page/n11>> [Accessed 17 July 2019], p. 218.

⁷¹ *Rob Roy*, p. viii.

⁷² T. M Devine, *The Scottish Nation* (New York: Viking, 1999), p.243.

⁷³ F. Fraser Darling, *Natural History In The Highlands & Islands* (London: Collins, 2008).

⁷⁴ Crumley. pp. 66-104.

suggested they were; perhaps one of the few objective truths they got right was the absence of wolves.

Lupine absence from Romantic portrayals of Highland space reveals much more than just a desire for objective truth. Instead, it also acts to expose an image of a Highlands that was thought to be now under the control of civilisation; if not yet absolutely civilised in itself. Before the failure of the Jacobite rebellion of 1745 portrayals of the Highlands by external parties, just like with woodland, were not as flattering or romantic as they became afterwards. For example, Thomas Kirke described them as 'but one waste surrounded with the sea'.⁷⁵ His aforementioned description of 'two-legged wolves' also serves to cement his portrayal of a vicious space in the minds' of his readers. Jorevin De Rocheford c.1661 claimed the Highlands to be 'so mountainous and ingrateful in some places that it is not worth cultivation'.⁷⁶ He also condemned the 'barbarous' character of the people who lived there. The language used by Kirke, De Rocheford, and their contemporaries gives away their negative opinion of the Highland landscape and indeed the flora, fauna, and people contained within its spatial boundaries. Their comments also suppose they believed people in the Highlands were fighting a losing, perhaps unwinnable, battle against the natural conditions of the Highland landscape. In contrast, comments made post-1745 reveal a sentiment that the Highland landscape was thought to have been conquered along with its people- its natural 'flaws' were now assailable and even to be appreciated to a degree. A poem by Aaron Hill sums up perfectly the 'victory' over the Highland landscape in the fashion of an appraisal of General Wade.

Still shall his living greatness guard his name,
And his works lift him to immortal fame.
Then shall astonished armies, marching high,
o'er causewayed mountains that invade the sky,
Climb the raised arch, that sweeps its distant throw,
Cross tumbling floods, which roar unheard below,
Gaze, from the cliff's cut edge, through midway air,
And, trembling, wonder at their safety there

⁷⁵ "Early Travellers In Scotland. Edited By P. Hume Brown. [With Maps.]", p. 254.

⁷⁶ Ibid, p. 218.

Hill hints that Wade's efforts, perhaps his bridge and road building that will have aided the Duke of Cumberland's eventually conclusive victory over the Jacobite forces at Culloden, were also responsible for facilitating British dominion over the landscape.⁷⁷ British Soldiers could now 'wonder at their safety there'.. 'o'er causewayed mountains that invade the sky' and ponder that General Wade had helped facilitate a victory over the Highland clans *and* their landscape. In the following portrait we can clearly see a celebration of that achievement, note the bridge and military roads in the background successfully traversing Scotland's physical obstacles, whilst Wade caresses the muzzle of a cannon and a baton with which he [and others] used to gain control and authority over highland peoples.



Figure 5: Collector: Biggar, W. (n.d.). *Lieutenant General Wade, Commander in Chief of all his Majesty's Forces in Scotland*. [Print]. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland.

This paved the way for a different appreciation of the Highland landscape, or as Peter Womack has put it 'The romanticism of wild nature is [was], as it were, heralded by a romanticism of its taming.'⁷⁸ In 1780, Charles Cordiner gives the following musings as he looked on at the landscape surrounding Dun-Dornadilla, a famed 'Broch' in Sutherland:

'The verdure of the valley, not without rising corn, became a chearing scene in so dreary a wilderness; a solitary hamlet near the best-cultivated spot, mingled a rural softness with the vast wildness of the rest of the prospect... Picturesque and lofty mountains terminate the view; the head of one immensely high in air, bending over its precipitous sides, seems nodding to its fall, and threatens the dale with its ruins. On every side the scenery is such, as gives Dun-Dornadilla a situation distinguishably romantic, magnificently wild.'

⁷⁷ P. Womack, "Improvement And Romance : The Scottish Highlands In British Writing After The Forty-Five.", *Hdl.Handle.Net*, 2019 <<http://hdl.handle.net/1842/7441>> [Accessed 8 August 2019], p. 68.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

Here Cordiner is judging what makes nature aesthetically pleasing and makes clear that the presence of human influence, 'a rural softness', is what allows contrast against such a 'dreary wilderness' to create a vista that is supposedly 'magnificently wild'. Human hands are required to steward nature into a state of Romantic beauty. Thus, despite the transformation of perceptions of Highland Space, it is clear that the old imagined order of unmanaged wildness cannot be allowed to 'return' - regardless of whether this actually existed or not prior to 1745. This overpowering sentiment is why the wolf is not present in Romantic portrayals of both Highland and Caledonian space, or indeed in physical reality.

As will be alluded to in more detail later, but should appear immediately obvious to most readers, the wolf was one part of the landscape that could not possibly be controlled, or placed in an aesthetically pleasing fashion. As consequent chapters of history would prove; the people, the trees, and much of the rest of Scotland's fauna could be put under full control. The clearances took care of the people, the 'Planters' took care of the trees, the fauna by stalkers, gamekeepers and ghillies, and the very meaning and appeal of landscape itself was controlled by the imaginations of the Romantics. Also, the wolf clearly had not shook the yolk of its negative reputation by the time of the Romantics, as Sobieski-Stuarts reference to 'rabid droves' alludes. Thus, better in the eyes' of the Romantics that the wolf stay on the pages of pre-1745 literature that espoused of the unruly wild and barbarous conditions of the Highlands and Caledonian forest. Had it crept too significantly into the pages and onto the canvases of Romantic portrayals, then the desired message of man-managed aesthetic wildness achieved by subjugation to Britain would have been significantly corrupted. To answer the question we started with, it's clear that the inclusion or exclusion of the wolf from Scottish spaces alludes to the societal function of that space and performs a role in itself. The mention of lupine presences pre-1745 frequently served to accentuate the 'fringe' nature of the Scottish Highlands and Caledonian forest as spaces right on the edge of civilisation and the front line of man's alleged war over wild nature. Whereas, its exclusion from mentions post-1745 reveal that Britain considers its part of the job done, uncontrolled wildness and the wolf with it should stay in the quasi-imagined past before General Wade's roads and Polson's dirk did their duty.

Chapter Conclusion

It can now be judged that Berleant's key features of engagement can be facilitated as an effective working corpus with which to analyse the condition of engagement with wolf heritage in Scotland. However, these features have proved similarly useful in aiding an understanding of what heritage exists in Scottish space left to be engaged with. In sum, lupine heritage in Scotland provides only a corrupted image of the wolf to be engaged with, and engagement with this image could be

considered not convincingly extensive. However, there are select examples of enduring heritage in diverse forms of place that suggest the wolf has indeed cast a long and broad historical shadow. This shadow may have been somewhat diffracted, but misrepresentations can still be telling of how Scottish landscape heritage and popular memory dynamically relates to the wolf. Thus, the wolf retains an appreciable and dynamic presence in Scotland's landscape, maintained in part by (but not dependent upon) engagement with present lupine-related places and spaces.

Chapter 2- An 'Animal History' of the Wolf in Scotland

I shall not pretend that an animal history of the wolf is a unique endeavour. One might look to Barry Lopez's *Of Wolves and Men* (1978) for a comprehensive history of the general relationship between humans and wolves. The wolf is frequently mentioned in Keith Thomas's *Man and the Natural World* and roams through other animal histories. This thesis, however, is distinctive in focusing on the Scottish context. It also applies a critical gaze to the notion held by various animal scholars including Keith Thomas, Harriet Ritvo, and John Berger that humans have transitioned from a 'customary, highly symbolic, small-scale world to one characterized as rational, mechanistic, and recognizably modern'.⁷⁹ According to these commentators, this transition has meant that in modern times we now take a more logical or utilitarian approach towards animals than we did in the medieval and early modern eras when we treated them according to superstitions, entrenched

⁷⁹ Mary Fissell, "Imagining Vermin In Early Modern England", *History Workshop Journal*, 47.1 (1999), 1-29 <<https://doi.org/10.1093/hwj/1999.47.1>>

beliefs, and used them as symbols for our own purposes. Like Mary Fissel, I argue that this neat narrative is false, especially in regard to the wolf.⁸⁰ Scotland's perception of the wolf is not presently rational, it is instead emotive and imaginative, fearful and affectionate. Particularly important in this highly charged sentimental landscape is the fact that, because the Scottish wolf was eradicated in or around 1700, no modern person has experienced wolves as a living wild entity. Instead, the only wolves they have been exposed to are the imagined relics mentioned in the previous chapter: specimens in zoos, taxidermy mounts, and the relative caricatures put forward by either party in the reintroduction debate. Even the most rational and objective judge might struggle to know the true Scottish wolf among these constant re-imaginings when the real living counterpart has not been present for centuries. We must also not automatically assume that logic, science, and enlightenment act as a lens for us to see the 'true wolf'. As Robert Paddle found in his analysis of human-animal relationships regarding the Thylacine in colonial Tasmania, taxonomies and public use of 'scientific knowledge' can sometimes work to the detriment of understanding the true animal, often with terminally impactful results for the animal concerned.⁸¹ Perhaps, as Jim Crumley judged in his *The Last Wolf*, the Scottish populace will only ever know the real wolf if it is reintroduced into the Scottish Landscape.⁸² Or rather, it might be simply impossible to separate the wolf from our own eco-cultural biases. For now, this is not our immediate concern.

This chapter analyses the state and character of the human relationship with the wolf in Scotland, both with the real living beast and its imagined posthumous counterpart. Three key areas of animal historiography will be approached in this regard; boundaries between man and beast, boundaries in place allotted for beasts and men, and the idea of cultural 'signature' species (or what I might prefer to call 'cultural keystone species'). Doing so should reveal that the human relationship with the wolf has not necessarily become more rational during its absence, rather it remains as emotive and subjective as it was during its years of actual presence. Furthermore, analysing the real and imagined *Canis Lupus* as a cultural keystone species adeptly reveals its role as a signifier of cultural shifts in perceptions of Scotland's landscape.

The Boundaries and Borders Between *Canis Lupus* and *Homo Sapiens* in Scotland

When historians have discussed boundaries between humans and animals the wolf has almost always featured. Thomas, Fissel, and Lopez have all mentioned the tale of Romulus and Remus in their respective works as an illustration of human tendency to imagine an affinity with the wolf as

⁸⁰ Fissel.

⁸¹ Paddle.

⁸² Crumley.

emblematic of positive features of human nature- i.e. our capacity for nurturing, care for other animals, and loyalty. Lopez has highlighted the imagined werewolf as being representative of the fear of the projected beast in ourselves; fearing that wrath, greed and a taste for violence are traits that we might share with the wolf if we are to let ourselves become the animal within.⁸³ Or as Peter Steeves put it – ‘The stories of werewolves warn us to maintain our human identities, for an animal nature brings forth an animal body’. In these instances, the wolf is clearly a tangible reference point in the natural world for what often concerns us most- ourselves. However, we do not reference the true wolf; we almost always reference that imagined wolf that challenges or supports our world view- as the aggressor or protagonist, for or against, our internalised cause. I.e.. the wolf continues to be used as a symbol despite alleged progress towards the rational treatment of animals. This symbolism is also a key reason we are concerned with boundaries between man and animal, we wish to visualise or imagine what is that defensible point between ourselves and the natural world and how we can retain or gain control of it. Without control of that boundary, we might believe that animal kind may seep into ourselves. In essence, we might seek to convert such a porous boundary into a more defensible border. In 17th century Scotland that defensible point or boundary, and would be border, was imagined to be held by the wolf, separating a Scotland dominated by true civil humanity and one by a wild state of animality. Thus, the wolf became that symbol of wildness in Scotland and its eradication that means of illustrating control over the animality present in Scotland’s people.



Figure 6: Donovan, E. (1818). (*Last Wolf*). London: Natural History Museum.

⁸³ Lopez, p. 141.

The above etching was made using a long since lost taxidermy specimen of *Canis Lupus* that was at one point housed in Edward Donovan's (the artist) own museum. This particular specimen was owned by several aristocrats in its posthumous years who often cited it as the last wolf killed in Scotland. In some respects, it acts as a rare commemorative piece to the presence of the wolf in Scotland- though it was likely only circulated among aristocracy interested in natural history until recently. It is worth note that whoever originally stuffed the beast, ensured that its teeth were bared and its ears pointed upwards in an aggressive expression. One can assume that the seated position might have only been chosen to make presentation easier, a wolf's lanky legs aren't as supportive when they're dead. Thus, there was an intent to present the Scottish wolf as a vicious predator, even in death. This is odd considering, as journalist Adam Weymouth suggests, it is plausible that this creature was tamed by the original owner before it died, and perhaps, was not from Scotland at all.⁸⁴ Regardless, if the original taxidermy still exists somewhere, it is the closest tactile link to a supposed last wolf killed in Scotland. It remains representative of the enduring memory of the wolf as a viscous predator deserving of its demise, an achievement to be celebrated in commemoration and folklore.

In truth, the idea of 'The Last Wolf' in Scotland being killed, let alone preserved, by a person is rationally preposterous. It is very likely that the last of a species famed for its elusive nature met its end by natural causes in some remote area of the Scottish Highlands, rather than by the 'dirk' of any gallant Scotsman. Regardless, many regions of Scotland have their own regional stories laying claim to the killing of the last of the species. For example, local Perthshire folklore claims that one Hogmanay in the valley of Strathglass in the north-east of the Highland county, a woman was returning home with a borrowed 'gurdle' (a kind of skillet), when she took a rest on a stone wall, a wolf poked its head out of a crack in the wall beside her, startled, she struck it across the head with her borrowed cookery equipment and thus split the head of the last wolf in Strathglass.⁸⁵ Similar accounts, although usually not quite so comedic, exist for Strathnaver in Sutherland, the Findhorn valley in the Moray Highlands, and Killiecrankie in Perthshire. All accounts are largely kept in popular memory via preservation of written and orated accounts in archives and by way of local discourse. For instance, one man this author conversed with in Alness, in Ross-shire, claimed his friend to be a descendant of 'The Hunter, Polson' who supposedly killed the last wolf of Sutherland. Similarly, a man by the name of David MacQueen, who supposedly lives by the river Findhorn, claimed to be descended from the last wolf killer of his family name in an interview by freelance writer Adam

⁸⁴ "Was This The Last Wild Wolf Of Britain?", *The Guardian*
<<https://www.theguardian.com/science/animal-magic/2014/jul/21/last-wolf>> [Accessed 16 March 2021].

⁸⁵ *Forestryandland.Gov.Scot*
<https://forestryandland.gov.scot/images/pdf/rec_pdfs/BobPegg_GlenAffricTheLastWolfInStrathglasstranscript.pdf> [Accessed 10 July 2019].

Weymouth.⁸⁶ Of course, one might struggle to validate such claims, but they at least suggest that some local and public recognition of regionalised last wolf heritage exists in practice.

Curiously, the same fame and lasting heritage was never granted to killings of Scotland's other lost native fauna. For example, no great fables tell of a monstrous 6'7" bruiser of clan Macdonald strangling the last Beaver of Sutherland, or of one man's great mortal struggle with the last Eurasian Spoonbill. Even significant and charismatic species like the Capercaillie were not similarly revered in popular memory. Although, the decision to reintroduce the bird on several occasions after localised extinctions is perhaps relevant here in further illustrating how animal conditions are dictated by our cultural considerations. It is certain that the Capercaillie would have joined the Spoonbill on the list of extirpated British species had it not been considered a prized game bird since the 18th century.⁸⁷ It is evident that similarly, the wolf was/ is of a certain significance to Scotland's cultural history to warrant specialised consideration in folklore. One could argue that fear was what made the wolf such a significant beast. Indeed in '*A Noxious Pack*', Andrew Wiseman judges that it was genuine fear that led people of the medieval and perhaps early modern Scottish Highlands to lay charms and protective enchantments in doorways, literally to keep the wolf from the door.⁸⁸ No doubt wolves would have been assumed as a threat to humans and will have definitely been a threat to livestock if we assume their numbers were high in the late medieval period in Scotland. However, we know they had likely vanished from the lowlands prior to when they did from the Highlands. The wolf-killing campaigns of the 15th and early 16th centuries will have more or less taken care of any lowland threat fairly promptly. Many acts of parliament were passed in this period to promote the killing of wolves, but one passed by James IV's parliament in 1497/8 would have been the most impactful. It saw firstly that if any person brought the head of a wolf to a sheriff, then either the sheriff or bailee was to ensure that person received one penny from every fifth house of the parish.⁸⁹ Furthermore, the act deplored that any discovery of a wolf should prompt a 'hue and cry'. Penalties were charged to any members of the parish who did not join in the chase with increasing penalties for repeat offenders. It does not appear that any lowland wolf population could have survived what was clearly a huge communal endeavour to eradicate it. In fact, consequent acts appeared to target wolves who were still threatening livestock by marauding into the Lowlands from wilder Highland regions. In 1577, James VI ordained an act commanding three wolf hunts in each barony per annum. This legislation prompted by supposed heavy losses of cattle to wolves allegedly marauding in and outside of the Sutherland region.⁹⁰ This was one of the last pieces of wolf-based legislation that was not strictly

⁸⁶ "Who's Afraid Of The Big Bad Wolf?", *Bella Caledonia*
<<https://bellacaledonia.org.uk/2016/01/21/whos-afraid-of-the-big-bad-wolf/>> [Accessed 16 August 2019].

⁸⁷ W.L Taylor- The Capercaillie in Scotland

⁸⁸ Wiseman.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

targeted at Highland regions which suggests that wolves had definitely paled as a significant menace below the Highland line.

By the late 16th century, it cannot be confidently argued that wolves were much of a menace in the Highlands either. For although there were claims that wolves were spreading ‘unprecedented devastation’ during the reign of Mary Queen of Scots (1542–1587), it was noted in a letter by Alexander Clark to the countess of Moray in the year 1570 that- “As for the Wolf skins ye wrute for I could get na knowledge of ony at the present [...] Gif ony can be gottin I sall do gud weel to satisfy ...”.⁹¹ i.e. wolf pelts were clearly difficult to come by despite their alleged omnipresence in the Highlands. We can assume then that the idea of threatening swarms of *canis lupus* were more present in contemporary mindsets than the actual animal was in reality. We may also assume that wolves cannot have been in any huge numbers in the Highlands in proceeding centuries given the vast time gaps between claimed ‘last wolf’ killings of the early modern period. For example, if the stories contain an ounce of objective truth, we can assume that in the sixty-odd year gap between Ewan Cameron of Lochiel’s killing of a wolf in 1680 and the demise of another wolf by the banks of the Findhorn in c.1740, no living representative of the species had been seen by anyone. Even assuming the limited truths embedded in these tales, we can accept the wolf population had been dwindling for a long time prior to any development of ‘Last Wolf’ folkloric stamps. Perhaps these tales derived from chance and incredibly rare encounters with those animals clinging on as the last residuals of their kind. Even if these small number of wolves did pose a threat to Highland livelihoods, we can assume fairly comfortably that rival clans’ cattle raids, the harsh and rapidly degrading environment, and the encroachment of British jurisdiction were much greater threats. Admittedly the wolf might have been particularly villainised as a scapegoat to focus on, when these other issues were imagined to be out of people’s control – just as Barry Lopez argued was the case for settler communities in the USA, who blamed the wolf for other things that were causing their tentative existence problems. Similarly, Paddle also suggests that the Tasmanian Tiger was scapegoated to excuse poor livestock yield among British agriculturalists, which was more likely a result of the arid climate and outdated husbandry practices.⁹² Regardless, it is not the point of view of ordinary Highlanders that forms the lasting heritage of the wolf in Scotland. Arguably, folkloric tales were not conjured because of the fear of ‘actual’ threat that the wolf posed in early modern Scotland- which may well have existed. Rather, they developed and became popularised as a means of depicting the victory of the human over the ‘wild’ characteristics of the Scottish landscape and its people by English and Lowland Scottish aggressors.

⁹¹ Wiseman.

⁹² Paddle.

Scotland at the time of the wolf's demise was a divided country, cut in twain by the so-called 'Highland Line' that separated the Highlands and the Lowlands. The Highlands were often perceived in the late medieval period and early modern period as one of the last bastions of savage peoples in the British Isles. For example, Richard Frank, an Englishman who conducted a 'northern tour' of the Highlands and visited as one of Cromwell's troopers' (whom were marched north to assert Scotland wholly under the control of 'the Commonwealth of England'), writing in 1656, described the people of Strathnaver, a region of the northern Highlands since cleared of its indigenous inhabitants, as 'almost as barbarous as cannibals'.⁹³ To qualify this remark, he suggests that these people were known to 'kill a beast, boil him in his hide, make a cauldron of his skin, browis of his bowels, drink of his blood, and bread and meat of his carcass'.⁹⁴ Another Englishman writing in the same period, Thomas Kurke, offers this similar description of Highland people's treatment of their animals.

'Their cruelty descends to their beasts, it being a custom in some places to feast upon a living cow, they tye in the middle of them, near a great fire, and then cut collops of this poor living beast, and broil them on the fire, till they have mangled all their pieces...'⁹⁵

Clearly treatment of animals is perceived here as central to the quality of one's humanity. Exempting the very human acts to 'broil', 'boil' and 'making a cauldron', one could be forgiven for thinking that Kurke and Frank were graphically describing meat-eating animals rather than people. Of course, this was the intent: these graphic descriptions paint Highlanders as 'the other' and subjugate them to a state of 'animality'. The descriptions are of further interest though, for in some fashion they describe a wolf's method of killing and consuming prey. Wolves have often been villainized for their perceivably brutal methods of killing right up to the present day. Eric Zimen in *The Wolf* articulates that wolves will aim to lacerate the lower abdomen of their prey so they bleed out and weaken as they attempt to escape the wolves chase.⁹⁶ Also, wolves, unlike other predatory animals, will often not directly target the throat or air ways to quickly suffocate prey unless they are planning on killing lots of small prey in quick succession- such as is often the case when they prey on sheep. Thus, it is quite likely that a wolf pack will begin 'making bread and meat' and 'cut collops of' larger prey as it falters and before it is wholly dead [See figure 7]. So, for a human to be conducting themselves in a similar fashion would be tantamount to being an animal themselves. In fact, Kurke refers directly to those living in the further, supposedly more wooded, reaches of the Highlands as 'wolves with two legs'.⁹⁷ Therefore, to Kurke, Frank, and their contemporaries south of the Highland line, Highlanders

⁹³ "Early Travellers In Scotland. Edited By P. Hume Brown. [With Maps.]", p. 182.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Ibid, p. 262.

⁹⁶ Erik Zimen, *The Wolf* (London: Souvenir Press, 1981), p.217.

⁹⁷ "Early Travellers In Scotland. Edited By P. Hume Brown. [With Maps.]", p. 252.

were no better than wolves in their animality and in desperate need of uplifting to a state of humanity.



Figure 7: Mary Stickroth. (n.d.). Wolves Hunting Bison. [Photograph]. Accessed on 25 November 2020. Available at <<https://roaring.earth/>>

Interestingly, this state of mind shifted as some greater extent of control was exerted upon the Highland people and their landscape. The 18th century saw the completion of General Wade's military roads, the establishment of resolute forts along the breadth of the Great Glen, and importantly the crushing of two Jacobite rebellions by Hanoverian forces. Thus, British control over the Highland region became absolute. In consequence, by the time Edward Burt published his travel account '*Letters from a gentleman in the North of Scotland.*' in 1822, the Highland people and their land were no longer considered so animal and wild in the same senses as they had been by Kurke and his contemporaries of the 17th century. Notably, the wolf was definitely long gone and so to, to this author's knowledge, were any associations made between that species and the *Homo Sapiens* of the Highland region. Instead, Burt regularly infantilised or subjugated the people he met on his trip in the Highlands in the manner he acted and by the fashion he described them in his notes. For example, in one instance, when travelling along a road with his guide, they were approached by a local man which Burt described as a 'poor creature', giving little information to qualify this remark other than his gaunt figure and his misfortune to live in such an apparently destitute landscape.⁹⁸ Furthermore, he referred to a number of Highlanders as weak and small, seeing no irony in his words when a few days later he requested to be 'set upon the shoulders of four Highlanders' to assist him crossing a 'dangerous' river.⁹⁹ He also frequently expressed disdain at the 'hovel' like dwellings he was hosted in and refused to eat much of the food he was offered because it did not meet his standards of what was meant for human consumption.¹⁰⁰ Another sojourner, Samuel Johnson, who published his account earlier in 1775 reveals the true extent of the paternalistic attitude assumed towards the Highlands after the 45'. He claims that:

⁹⁸ Early Travellers In Scotland. Edited By P. Hume Brown. [With Maps.]", p. 298

⁹⁹ Ibid, p. 34.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

“Till the Union made them acquainted with English manners, the culture of their lands was unskilful, and their domestick life unformed; their tables were coarse as the feasts of Eskimeaux, and their houses filthy as the cottages of Hottentots.”¹⁰¹

He also later relates pre-45' Highlanders to that token race of savages- the Scythians. Johnson suggests though that ‘of what they [Highlanders] had before the late conquest of their country, there remains only their language and their poverty’.¹⁰² Throughout his account are clear indications that he believes token British benevolence might have affiliated Highland Scots with the ‘elegant’ English language and uplifted them from their destitution. For example, he speaks well of himself for overpaying for his lodgings in Glensheals at a rate of half a crown opposed to a meagre shilling. He suggests his interpreters relayed that his hosts ‘had not seen such a day since the old laird of Macleod passed through their country’.¹⁰³ The irony being evident that half an English crown came at the cost of the old Laird of Macleod *not* passing through their country ever again.

This pro-Hanoverian cartoon [see figure 8] was published during the lead up to the failure of the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745 [see appendix 5 and 6 for similar examples]. The targeted use of animal-human archetypes is clearly prevalent. The Hanoverian side is represented wholly by lions, or by parable, ‘Great Britain and Great George’s [George II] strength’. Also, a second large benevolent British Lion is depicted protecting an idle unicorn (Scotland’s national animal). In contrast, the Jacobite leader [Charles Edward Stuart] is depicted as a canine animal straddled by a crude depiction of the Pope and a peacock/hen representing ‘those garlic growers’ - the Catholic French - who were assisting his rebellion.



I suggest, with some caution, that Charles is meant to be seen as a wolf and not a hound or dog. He is given features which distinguish him from the smaller 'Popish Foxes and Bloodhounds' that represent the 'Highland plunderers'. The long snout, legs and tail, as well as pointed ears, are features he shares with other 18th century artistic impressions of wolves, the famous Beast of Gevaudan for example, but doesn't share with the other vermin represented here. We can therefore infer that the artist may have meant to associate the Jacobite leader with character traits that contemporaries would expect from a wolf, or rather, a caricature of a wolf. Also, this allegory allows the artist to frame Charles and his highlander cronies as the main antagonists to contrast against his, and his audiences, internalised causes. I.e the wolf represents; Catholicism to English Protestantism, 'slavery' opposed to 'liberty', 'wooden shoes' to 'prosperity', and 'beggary' to an obligatory second helping of 'prosperity'. In essence, the wolf and other vermin represent the British audience's fears which are affiliated with the highlanders' cause. The highlanders were wild intruders trying to take what was not theirs; this excused any means the British took to drive them away. The gallows depicted in the background and the fleeing Charles in the centre frame suggests great confidence in this being achieved and the British succeeding.

After the failure of the Jacobites, the chief antagonist was no longer relevant and that vermin/wolf-affiliate based symbolism no longer served a purpose. Burt, Johnson, and perhaps their readership, no longer considered Highlanders as wild, threatening, and wolf-like, contrastingly, they were perceived still as perhaps subhuman and/or underdeveloped, and judged to be residing in conditions, and consuming food, suited better to animals than people. During both sojourners' lifetimes, after the 45', the Highland landscape and therefore the people, flora, and fauna that dwelled there were firmly in the fold of the British Empire. Therefore, framing Highlanders as tame, accommodating, poor, and destitute creatures in firm need of governance, law, and benevolence made far more contextual sense than insinuating any relation to that wild beast- the wolf.

However, 'Last Wolf' myths were evidently allowed to persist as an illustration of not just the demise of a species in the landscape, but also as a cultural marker or watershed of a shift between perceptions of a wild landscape and people, to a new tameable one with equally manageable people. For example, variants of the MacQueen tale insinuate that the local Laird and his tacksmen had failed to prevent 'the Black Beast' from killing two children, yet unbeknownst to them, MacQueen had tackled the beast single handedly.¹⁰⁴ Some versions tell that MacQueen himself was supposedly a lowly crofter who was driven by heroic intent and distaste for the failings of his superiors to catch the beast. This is curious considering that crofting was not practiced during the

¹⁰⁴ Crumley, pp. 79-108.

time any real-life MacQueen might have existed. Rather, 'run-rig', a system of land-allotment/ use which determined a mans land rights by his genealogical or military affiliation with the clan patriarch or laird, was the dominant system in the pre-45' Highlands. Therefore, there is allegorical reference here to the failings of the old Highland order, exempt from British control, in providing supremacy for people over nature and animals by manner of keeping them safe from the wolf. MacQueen being a crofter is symbolic of how the new Highlander might be able to tackle nature better than his predecessors, with the right direction of course. MacQueen's actions therefore undermine the old Highland order that was superseded by British conviction and belief in human right of supremacy over animal kind. The agent doing the killing may still have been fictionalised as a Highlander, but MacQueen was definitely cast, or recast, in the same Romantic mould of the 19th century as the likes of Rob Roy in an albeit more humble form. MacQueen was emblematic of what Britain wanted of the new Highlander; as strong and hardy as his landscape had made him, but with a thirst for just violence against Britain's undesirables- which might have included the wolf, but definitely included the animal and wildly uncontrolled state of the old Highlands and its people that the wolf represented [see appendix 7 for a typical depiction of this 'new highlander'].



Figure 9: Collector: Biggar, W. (n.d.). *Lord Lovat*. [Print]. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland.

This cartoon of the notorious Lord Lovat is a good representation of those animalistic tendencies that were associated with highland peoples [see appendix 9 for larger image]. Lovat was known for playing both sides of the conflict, unfortunately for him, he ended up sticking with the losing side which cost him his life. Littered though this strip are references to the alleged debauchery, butchery, savagery, and conniving actions committed by Lovat and his men. In gross affinity with all 'last wolf' tales, the deceitful Lord's victims were women, livestock, and generally defenceless victims at the mercy of tartan-clad savages. Lovat had allegedly garnered 'more heads than a beast in vision' via

these depicted exploits. However, his main portrait which is supposedly 'as he appear'd at the time he was taken' is more representative of a broken alcoholic fool or hermit dressed in rags, fur, wooden shoes, and carrying only drink and a letter resigning himself to his fate. Clearly, both facets of animalistic highland identity were to be, or had been extinguished. Gone were the roaming slaughtering wolves and the sub-human beggar was in transit to the gallows.

What should be now evident is that any discussion of boundaries between humans and animals is also intrinsically concerned with boundaries between different states or conditions of humanity. In the instance discussed, what mattered in medieval, early modern, and modern Scotland was the relative position of a human party in control over the animal in themselves and in their landscape. This in turn served to justify the human party's own position on a humanity to animality, and/or domestic to wild, spectrum. Of course, the sojourners into the Highlands were judging this position against their own culturally defined spectrum, so what I have provided here can only serve to illustrate changes in outsider perspectives of Highland people and landscapes. The Highlanders' perception might well prove more difficult to uncover. Significantly though, the wolf is used by these outsider perspectives as a means to illustrate the animality of the Highland people. In medieval and early modern accounts, reference to the wolf served to illustrate an opinion that Highland people were savage and controlled or influenced by the beast within them. Conversely, the 'Last Wolf' accounts perhaps originating from the dates they are attributed, but almost definitely bastardized during times of resolute British control over the Highlands, reveal a belief that the Highland people, and now the whole Scottish population, had now been liberated of these beastly aspects of themselves and been made more fit in their command over the animal. Eradication of the last wolf, and/or the establishment of British control in the Highlands, had allowed for a distinct defensible border to be drawn between the human and animal in Scotland.

Boundaries and Borders in Physical Space

Just as people have worried themselves with where humans and animals belong in abstract terms, people have also been concerned with where humans and animals belong in physical space. For example, in her article '*Imagining Vermin in Early Modern England*', Mary E. Fissel highlights how we consider some animals as vermin because of their tendency or aptitude for encroaching into space designated for humans; such as larders, kitchens, and dwellings.¹⁰⁵ Furthermore, we judge that a domestic cow, pig, or chicken belongs within a containing fence and if anything else is to enter or said animal is to leave, then this should constitute a violation of the spatial borders that we have set for

¹⁰⁵ Fissel.

animals. We must not fall into the trap of perceiving that this is the standard way in which all human societies order space for animals. For example, in *'King Philip's Herds'*, Virginia DeJohn Anderson explores the manner in which Native Americans and the early settlers of New England had very different attitudes towards animals and where they belonged in physical space.¹⁰⁶ John Knight highlights in *'Waiting for Wolves in Japan'* that in contrast to most western societies, Japan has historically had little dietary dependence on domestic livestock, so the relative distaste for predators entering fenced fields is/ was lesser.¹⁰⁷ Thus, we cannot extrapolate that all of Scotland will have dictated boundaries and borders for the wolf in the same manner in various times and locales. However, examining the manner in which those relevant to the wolf *have* been drawn should reveal trends and changes in the significance of *Canis Lupus* in the cultural organisation of human and animal spaces. Significantly, it should also unveil an evolution in change of attitudes to the organisation of 'wild animal space' and 'domestic animal space'.

As Barry Lopez highlighted, the wolf acts on its own set of principles with no regard for human considerations. In fact, to say that another species has principles at all would be projected anthropomorphism. For we cannot know what it is to be and think like a wolf, so we cannot know all the boundaries it might set for itself. Yet, we have always established boundaries and borders that we expect other species, including the wolf, to adhere to no matter the principles, or the lack of, that might govern their behaviour. One border of high importance in Scotland has been that of the burial ground. Hallowed ground was and is expected to be an animal and at most times human-free space reserved for the dead and mourners. Many sources might appear at face value to claim this sacred border to have been regularly violated by the wolf in Scotland. However, perhaps bizarrely most of these 'accounts' date from the 19th century, far after the wolf's demise and with enough time passed to suggest some corruption of the true grave-robbing habits of Scotland's wolves. In *'A History of the Wolf in Scotland'*, published in the mid-19th century, James Hardy claims 'Wolves as is well known from their history, when constrained by hunger, fall upon the sepulchres of the dead, and riot in the unhallowed spoil...'.¹⁰⁸ He retells that 'when wolves were the terror of the land' islands like the Isle of St Mungo's off the west coast of Argyll were used as graveyards to prevent the despoiling of graves by ravenous wolves. Charles Henry Alston retells that same story in 1912 which suggests that insinuation stuck. Alston suggests similarly that graveyards on the Isles of Handa and Innshail on Loch Awe existed to protect dead from wolf predation¹⁰⁹. A perhaps reasonable suggestion shattered in part by his sensationalist insinuation that wolves still attempted to swim across the sea channel to

¹⁰⁶ Virginia DeJohn Anderson, "King Philip's Herds: Indians, Colonists, And The Problem Of Livestock In Early New England", *The William And Mary Quarterly*, 51.4 (1994), 601 <<https://doi.org/10.2307/2946921>>.

¹⁰⁷ Knight.

¹⁰⁸ James Hardy, "History Of The Wolf In Scotland", *History Of The Berwickshire Naturalists' Club*, 4 (1862), 268-292.

¹⁰⁹ Charles Henry Alston, *Wild Life In The West Highlands* (Glasgow: Glasgow University Press, 1912).

get at their spoils. There is no doubt that many of these island graveyards do exist dotted around Scotland's coastlines or loch sides at Loch Awe, Loch Marve, Eilean Munda, and elsewhere.¹¹⁰ Indeed, they may have served to protect the dead from wolf predation by utilising the natural barrier of the sea. However, it is quite as probable that useful land for agriculture and rearing livestock was at a premium, using a comparatively useless island for the dead makes more utilitarian sense. Or, perhaps these islands began as a means to prevent the spread of disease from corpses to living persons which would also make practical sense. Regardless, to blame wolf predation as the sole reason for creating isolated graveyards is inconclusive. Yet, authors like Hardy were quick to jump to such assumptions. Perhaps the popularity of wolf legends and rumours bastardized by later retellings are to blame for their misgivings. For example, one popular myth suggests that the first members of clan Robertson of Struan earned their clan crest by killing three wolves that were assaulting hallowed ground of a parish church named Struan (Gaelic *Struthan*, 'Streams') dedicated to St Fillan.¹¹¹ The crest features the three unfortunate wolves' heads against a red shield.¹¹² For their troubles, the newly named Struans were allegedly allowed into the fold of the Robertson clan by the clan leader, whom had been a visitor in the village at the time of the lupine attack, and with their new name came lands of their own to command in Rannoch. There are certain conveniences of this tale that might put its reliability into question. For one, the Saint that the church featured is affiliated with, St Fillian, is famed in Irish and Scotch Gaelic folklore for his heroics with wolves. St *Faolan* (as St Fillian is known in Gaelic, also used as a name for a wild dog or wolf), has been credited in various folklores across Europe for feats including commanding a wolf to do the work of an Ox the it had killed, and recruiting a wolf to become the protector of a village it had formerly been the scourge of.¹¹³ Moreover, Robertson clan historians suggest that the Roberston's actually became the Robertsons of Struan to reflect their ownership of the barony of Struan which was gifted to Chief Robert Riach by King James II for his part in the murder of James I.¹¹⁴ Perhaps, not for the first time, political opponents were associated with wolves and this allegorical nature of the graveyard tale has been overlooked. However, the clear message of the St Fillian tales is the suggestion he was gifted with the ability to teach a wolf to overcome its animal nature and act within domestic spaces according to human conditions and principles. Regardless, the Saint's affiliation with the church of the Struan fable suggests pre-existent association between the site of the graveyard and the wolf. Thus, not a great deal of spontaneous creativity will have been required to craft a new tale of lupine border crossing with human heroes

¹¹⁰ Wiseman.

¹¹¹ Hardy.

¹¹² "Clan Donnachaidh Society - A Guide To The Heraldry Of Clan Donnachaidh", *Donnachaidh.Com*, 2011 <<http://www.donnachaidh.com/heraldry.html>> [Accessed 18 August 2019].

¹¹³ Wiseman.

¹¹⁴ "Clan Donnachaidh Society - Clan History", *Donnachaidh.Com*, 2019 <<http://www.donnachaidh.com/history-clan-history.html>> [Accessed 14 August 2019].

affiliated with a church already dedicated to a man whom conducted similar feats. Evidently, the sheer power of myth, and perhaps political allegory, to corrupt the imagination and belief in the nature of the wolf's boundary crossing habits should be considered before assuming that the wolf ever commonly defiled graves in Scotland. Something that 20th century writers like Hardy chose not to contemplate.

A graveyard might be clearly outlined and physically defined whereas other borders and boundaries existent in geographic space are less tangible. The borders/ boundaries I refer to are those that are the physical manifestations of the boundaries/ borders between man and beast that I have commented on already. In *Man and the Natural World*, Keith Thomas claimed a shift in England during the period 1500-1800 from a 'man-orientated' world in which 'man stood to animal, as did heaven to earth, soul to body, culture to nature' to a world that had undergone a 'revolution in perception' resulting in a fissure between man and animal as well as a disassociation between human imagination and animals.¹¹⁵ i.e. people no longer thought *with* animals, counter to what Levi Strauss has claimed. Paradoxically, as Thomas comments, people became increasingly prone to thinking *about* animals, which brought rise to the vegetarian movement and sentiments against animal cruelty and blood sports. This change in thought process brought with it changes in considerations of ordering physical spaces for humans and animals. Animals became increasingly imagined as an intrinsic part of the 'domestic' and 'rural' spheres roaming free in the rural idyll alongside people free of the constraints of the emergent modern industrial life. For example, the rural idyll portrayed in works by Claude Lorraine, John Constable, and others would not have been considered complete without sauntering domestic cattle, sheep, or a horse pulling a modest cart of goods. As urban areas expanded, the average city dweller would most likely have had to, or liked to even, imagine these idylls to be the reality outside of their increasingly cramped industrialised spaces free of all animals except horses, rats, cats, and dogs. The truth was, as Robert Winder states in *The Last Wolf*, that England's rural space was already a rich patchwork of rural industry well organised to maximise national profit and gaining the most from animal-based goods by 1500. Essentially, as much as the English might have liked to imagine differently, the countryside was just as strictly organised and focused on production as cities were. Winder claims England was allowed to be organised as an expansive sheep farm because England's last wolf was killed in 1209 by a 'Shropshire Knight in the Western Shires'.¹¹⁶ Similarly, Thomas states that the destruction of 'vermin', in reference to the wolf, had been an essential precondition for greater tolerance towards the rest of the animal world.¹¹⁷ By which he means that no animals existed in the time he covers that could challenge the

¹¹⁵ Thomas.

¹¹⁶ Robert Winder, *The Last Wolf*, 1st edn (St Ives: Abacus, 2017), p. 2.

¹¹⁷ Thomas, p. 271.

security of man's supremacy over the natural world, granting greater permissions to the sorts of animals that kept to their sides of the fences was therefore increasingly less abhorrent to English people. However, this means that Thomas's work is of less relevance when analysing the Scottish case. The wolf as a species is perfectly capable of challenging man's capacity for organising space for other creatures and was existent in Scotland for much of the time period he covers.

I have already highlighted that the wolf remained considered emotionally and 'thought with' regarding boundaries between Highland people and the rest of civil humanity up to the time period Thomas ends on in his *Man and the Natural World*. Much the same is true when considering broad spatial borders in Scotland. The manifestations in space of supposed human/ animal boundaries and borders were much different in character than in England within the same time period. As Winder stated, by 1500, England was divided into distinctly urban and rural landscapes interlaced by connecting networks of roads, utilised waterways, and ports. What 'wild' spaces that were existent, were in generalised terms accessible, controlled, and crucially free of any animals or people that could challenge the status quo of man's control over, and separation from, nature. Perhaps human poachers were the only entity that fulfilled the role of the wolf in taking what wasn't theirs to take by crossing into forests they had no legal right to be. Contrastingly, Scotland was a far more complex affair; no standardised character of rural, urban, or wild spaces existed throughout the country. The Highland-Lowland divide was an obvious border without a distinct equivalent in England, but there was also little either to unite the plethora of diverse landscapes existent in Scotland. The borders and the middle belt of Scotland were dominated by 1500 with a lattice of urban and rural spaces not unlike what was prevalent south of the border. However, the rest of the country had a plethora of what an Englishman might have termed 'wild' spaces, as well as those defined by irregular and regular pastoral activity, and those that were to become the new playgrounds for an emerging sojourning aristocracy keen to get in touch with the Scottish idyll portrayed to them by Sir Walter Scott. The wolf was 'thought with' across all Scottish space and continues to be so because those imagined distinctions between the wild and the rural and urban were never as enduring as they supposedly were in England.

The wolf was associated distinctly with wild space, as has already been demonstrated by the manner in which their presence was accentuated by those wanting to identify the Highlands as wild and undomesticated. But, what was of concern to many contemporaries was that until their population dwindled, they were prone to marauding or existing outside of their designated zones. As mentioned earlier, James V passed legislation to prevent marauding Sutherland wolves from being a problem further south. Clearly, Sutherland was clearly imagined as one of the wilder regions of Scotland where wolves were not permitted to leave, but also somewhat epitomised the wild identity

of that locale. Contemporary sources also suppose that wolves were distinctly associated with other imagined wild spaces in Scotland. One such space was the pseudo-mythical Caledonian Forest. Stuart and Stuart writing in 1848 relayed that:

‘There were recently alive in Loch-Aber old people who related, from their predecessors, that, when all the country from the Lochie to Loch-Erroch was covered by a continuous pine forest, the eastern tracts upon the Black-water and the wide wilderness, stretching towards Rannoch, were so dense, and infested by the rapid droves, that they were almost impassable.’¹¹⁸

Andrew Wiseman suggests that it was this ‘continuous pine forest’ that formed the ‘general ‘head’ of the wolves, preventing any external wolf purges achieving any success in wholly preventing marauding activities.¹¹⁹ Supposedly, the reigns of King James V and Mary Queen of Scots were characterised by frequent devastation caused by wolves emerging from heavily forested areas in ‘great parts of Ross-shire, Inverness-shire, nearly the whole of Cromarty, and large parts of Perthshire and Argyll’.¹²⁰ However, in 1564 on the Atholl estate, Perthshire, a large indiscriminate hunt attended by Queen Mary achieved a haul of ‘three hundred and sixty deer, with five wolves, and some roes’ in the space of a fortnight. Quite a modest haul of wolves taken from a supposedly lupine-saturated forest. Stuart and Stuart speculated that an end to deprivations caused by the ‘rabid droves’ occupying Caledonia was sought by the burning or cutting down of large tracts of forest in the late 16th and early 17th centuries.¹²¹ I have already discussed that it is unlikely that the Caledonian forest was that expansive even before these burnings (if they occurred), but is also unlikely that it was extensive enough to house a truly threatening and burgeoning population of wolves. More likely is that any wild woodland that did exist during the 16th and 17th centuries was used by wolves as a refuge from human activity. Especially from said activity which involved large hunting parties, hue and cries, and more general assaults on the prey and environment that sustained the wolf’s existence in Scotland. Hence, enduring association between imagined expansive wild woodland and the wolf should be expected as both were, in reality, likely clinging on to an existence on the fringes of the controlled Highlands in Sutherland and other remote areas. Nonetheless, this association between imagined wild spaces like the Caledonia forest and the wolf was accentuated by figures like James V and later English sojourners and commentators to license action against the existence of very real wild spaces and wolves. For wild spaces were capsules of existence within which humans were not the governing authority, if this were to seep out (in the form of lupine marauders) then this would

¹¹⁸ John Sobieski Stolberg Stuart and Charles Edward Stuart, *Lays Of The Deer Forest. With Sketches Of Olden And Modern Deer-Hunting ; Traits Of Natural History In The Forest: Traditions Of The Clans ; Miscellany Notes. By John Sobieski And Charles Edward Stuart* ([Edinburgh and London]: William Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh and London. And Charles Dolman, London, 1848), p. 232.

¹¹⁹ Wiseman.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*

¹²¹ Stuart and Stuart, p. 233.

constitute a direct challenge to humanity's control over nature and Scotland itself- which could not be tolerated regardless of the extent of the likely overstated damage that the wolf caused to people or their property.

In sum, particularly during its twilight centuries, the wolf was of more concern as a symbol of uncontrollable wildness that threatened the permanence of human- animal/ domestic-wild spatial boundaries than as a living creature likely on the brink of extinction. I.e.. they would not keep to the small corners they were allotted in contemporary consciousness, so they were not deemed welcome in any Scottish space at all- in any numbers. Any evidence of true rationalising of the wolf's threat to husbandry and people or its precarious position in Scotland is seemingly non-existent in sources dating from the 15th, 16th, 17th centuries and somewhat beyond. Instead, sources emanating a fervour of irrational anti-wolf sentiment is clear with focus often equally placed on a distaste for wild places and the imagined threats they housed. Perhaps it was its alleged tendency to not keep to its allotted place in physical space that doomed the wolf to extinction. Or, also, it was doomed by its enduring association with wildness in the human consciousness and its capacity to dictate cultural perceptions of wild space.

The Wolf as a Cultural Keystone Species

Until the emergence of the modern conservation movement in the 20th century, wildernesses and wild spaces have been almost universally villainized by the majority of 'developed' cultures.¹²² This has formed the crux of much historical distaste for wild space and quite often there has been the assumption that wildernesses are functionless spaces destined to be given purpose and utility by people's possession of them. I do not mean to suggest that wildness in reality is black and white, to say natural is natural and human is human would be in keeping with Francis Gooding's idea that nature cannot have its own influence upon human history, a notion that this work is purposed somewhat to contest. Rather, I propose that wild space and the agents of wildness within them, the wolf in this instance, have had an influence upon human history in Scotland, by often being an antithesis to an eco-cultural status quo, or desired domesticity. The presence of the wolf was/ is an essential ingredient of imagined wildness. Therefore, we might consider that the wolf has had agency in its role in dictating attitudes to Scotland's wild spaces.

In general, as I have covered, attitudes towards the wolf were unanimously negative in medieval and early modern Scotland- exempting the idolisation of the Stirling wolf as a notable outlier. What cultivated these negative attitudes was an overarching adverse opinion of the eco-cultural conditions

¹²² Kathryn Colley and Tony Craig, "Natural Places: Perceptions Of Wildness And Attachment To Local Greenspace", *Journal Of Environmental Psychology*, 61 (2019), 71-78
<<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jenvp.2018.12.007>>.

their presence entailed. To the medieval subsistence farmer before agri-capitalism dominated Scotland, the wolf represented a threat to survival and to the fragile control people had over their regional eco-spheres. Wolves would and could take domestic animals which supported a Scottish diet that was largely dependent on meat and dairy throughout the medieval period. Hence, charms and spells were utilised by many common people to protect their personal interests from the activity of wolves. For example, Am Beannachd Lombaidh ('The Clipping Blessing') was given when shepherds deplored higher powers to protect newly-shorn flocks from Bho 'n mhi-chu us bho 'n an-chu, / Bho 'n mhac-tir 's bho'n mhadhan stig ('the evil dog and from the fox, / From the wolf and the sly bear').¹²³ Wolf predation may well have been a serious enough threat, especially considering Scotland's temperamental climate that made underdeveloped subsistence agriculture and husbandry difficult to sustain. For example, in the Highlands, fertile valley floors only arable in the summer months needed to be utilised to ensure winter stocks of cereals were high, thus, livestock were summered on the hills at temporary settlements called 'shielings'. At these remote shielings, only supervised by a handful of people and far from the domesticated sphere, animals would have been under greater threat from predation. Hence, the wolf was the symbolic and real antagonist within Scotland's eco-cultural imaginings. The wolf was that governing antagonist that had a very real capacity to determine the survival of people occupying the fringes between domesticity and wildness.

Instances of this contextual demonization of the wolf was/ is fairly common across all subsistence cultures occupying space on a transition to domestic from wild, which is surely unsurprising. In effect, the wolf has often been that talismanic entity to be blamed for nature pushing back against human appropriation or 'civilising' of wild space. In the Highlands, it was also a threat to the imperialist desires of several invading cultures throughout the late medieval and early modern periods. I have already highlighted the extermination campaigns licensed by Stewart rulers in the 15th and 16th centuries. It seems unlikely that policies licensing these campaigns' chief concerns were with alleviating the strain of wolf predation on ordinary folks subsistence livestock. More than likely such policies were many-edged swords. Along with alleviating pressure on livestock, galvanising a 'war' on the wolf will have also furthered the reach of the law and authority of the Stuart crown over its wilder frontier's eco-cultural conditions. Citizens given financial incentive or obligation to do the crown's bidding will have been increasingly more accommodating of the general influences of law and authority over their landscape after all. Especially if such measures did initially make it easier to maintain their current conditions, as reduction of the wolf population no doubt will have. Furthermore, a reduction of the wolf population would have removed a significant check on red deer populations that were the primary target of royal hunts in the Highlands. The focus on numbers (high ones) of prey caught in accounts of Queen Mary Stuart's hunts in the 16th century reveal there was a

¹²³ Wiseman.

certain prestige attached to extinguishing the lives of as many wild deer as possible in a single hunt. Her grandson, Charles I of England, removed restrictions on the hunting of 'fox, wolf or any other ravenous or distroying beast to slayany raes [roe deer], they shall not be astricted their foir in payment of the saidis unlawis'. As Fowler put it, wolves were fair game at a time in which beasts of the chase were being protected.¹²⁴ Preventative statutes were formerly standing for 'lands in Glengairn' as late as 1634.¹²⁵ Of course, we can assume that the wolf was an unwanted competitor that might have quashed some of the enjoyment of these blood-sports by reducing available deer stocks, and definitely undermined the sense of human supremacy over other living things that they fostered. As such, the eradication of the wolf would have served to elevate the imagined position of control that the crown had over Scotland's wilder regions.

The aims of later 'invaders' were much the same as the Stuarts, to assume greater authoritative control over the Highlands. I.e.. the last bastion of a perceived state of eco-cultural wildness in Scotland and perhaps Great Britain as a whole. During the War of the Three Kingdoms, Cromwellian sojourners often viewed them as a semi-wilderness 'physically and developmentally cut off from the rhythms of the developed world'.¹²⁶ Thomas Tucker, dispatched to survey the ports in the Highlands in 1655 exclaimed at the remoteness of the region and the hostility of the weather.¹²⁷ Admittedly, there is little reference to wolves directly in accounts by Cromwellian soldiers. However, as aforementioned, Thomas Kurke, himself one of Cromwell's troopers prior to his own individual tour refers to wolves with two legs that occupy the remote regions of the Highlands. He almost definitely refers to those troublesome Royalists who he and his compatriots were tasked with uprooting. Here is clear equation of wolves with a cultural and political opponent to Cromwell's 'Commonwealth'. Association of the wolf with those of Royalist sentiment in the Highlands would definitely have been with the intent of accentuating the 'barbarous' and uncivilised state of these peoples and the place they sought refuge. In quick summary, one of the chief aims of Cromwell's Republic was to make its citizens more 'godly' and morally astute. It was equated in the contemporary imagination that the Highland population were the least shrewd in these regards of all under the jurisdiction of the new Commonwealth. However, Allan Kennedy judges that Highlanders' 'backwardness' was blamed by Cromwell's regime as being a product of the remote location and inhospitable landscape they inhabited- i.e. the wild quality of their space.¹²⁸ Accordingly, they might be easily uplifted via maintaining security and order so to allow the godliness and civility promoted by the regime to naturally propagate as it was meant to across the whole Republic. It could also be stated that without

¹²⁴ Fowler, p. 19.

¹²⁵ Wiseman.

¹²⁶ Allan Kennedy, "Civility, Order And The Highlands In Cromwellian Britain", *The Innes Review*, 69.1 (2018), 49-69 <<https://doi.org/10.3366/inr.2018.0159>>.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁸ Ibid.

the necessary transport links and military outposts that came later with General Wade's roads and the construction of Forts George, William and Augustus in the 18th century, it is unlikely that Cromwell could have orchestrated any comprehensive imperial takeover of the Highlands. Hence, he had to rely upon cultural imperialism facilitated by as much law and order that could be substantiated- in effect his regime was not likely experienced too differently by Highland people than the Stuart order that came before him. Perhaps this is why Kurke refers to those 'wolves with two legs' on his individual tour over two decades after Cromwell's death. Simply, Cromwell's relatively passive imperialism had not extinguished the wild character of the Scottish Highlands and therefore its affiliation with *Canis Lupus*.

In contrast, the imperialism of the 18th century brought a resolute end to Highland wildness, the near absolute removal of the wolf from the imagined portrayal of the Highlands was part and parcel of this and not mere consequence, or solely resulting from the recent extinction of the species. Simply, it lost its relevance as an agent of wildness which to be fought against, for the battle to harness or subjugate the wild qualities of the land had already been won. Wade's roads and the building of several ports across both the west and east Highland coasts allowed for the full potential for Highland resource extraction to be exercised. Military installations built to assert law and order, and to aid in quashing or preventing further rebellions were also used to exercise the pursuit of profiteering in the Highland landscape. For example, the timber magnate Alexander Fraser operating in the late eighteenth century used Fort George as a timber yard and logistics centre to organise the distribution of stock grown in the Highlands to southern and international clients.¹²⁹ Fraser and his contemporaries commercial plantations covered a significant portion of the Highland landscape, and might have actually increased the overall percentage of woodland coverage of that region according to environmental historian Thomas Smout.¹³⁰ Where forestry did not dominate, sheep farms and hunting estates soon did. Wealthy landowners, both former clan patriarchs and new wealthy arrivals sought to burgeon their lands with sufficient deer, grouse, and salmon populations to properly entertain their aristocratic guests with blood sports and fishing. Doing so required the hiring of gamekeepers and foresters whose job was/ is to essentially manipulate ecosystems to ensure desired game species proliferated in suitable numbers. This practice has had a significant legacy and bizarrely, as the Highland landscape has become more ecologically destitute, gamekeepers roles now differ little from those of farmers or zookeepers. For most Highland estates now have to provide Red Deer with fodder to ensure they survive the winters. This author has seen personally that some estates, including those at Strathconon, Syre, and Loch Naver, begin providing fodder in cattle troughs for Red Deer as early as the beginning of September. George Monbiot claims that this coddling of Deer in

¹²⁹ 'Accounts of Alexander Fraser and Co. Timber Merchants', 1775, Highland Archive Centre, D122.

¹³⁰ Smout, p. 17-21.

Scotland has caused the Scottish Red Deer to become a diminutive quasi-wild sub-species of its relatives in other parts of the world. He judges that the Scottish Red is now roughly 2/3rds of the size of its fellows in the rest of Europe and Asia. This owing to a lack of active natural-selective processes like would exist in a real wilderness. Essentially, sheep farming is no different to the Red Deer farming done in supposed hunting estates. Perhaps the only contrasts are that sheep have been classed as domestic for a lot longer, are not 'hunted', and the Cheviot and Blackface were introduced en masse as non-native fauna to Highland Scotland. However, the great arrival of the woolly tide in the late 18th century that grew larger in the 19th century just meant that another ungulate dominated over the ecological systems in Highland Scotland to such an overbearing and unsustainable extent that it too needed/needs to be supported through harsh winters via fodder or being wintered outside the Highlands. Sheep farming, deer stalking, and forestry as commercial enterprises have therefore no doubt had an impact on the ecology of the Highlands. As Ritchie states, man's influence upon nature was 'most potent via the removal of the [natural] forests, the draining of the swamps, and the cultivation of the lands'.¹³¹ I have chosen not to delve into the technicalities of this broad subject of land 'improvement' as much as he has because far more significant was the impact that these initiatives had upon the general wild character of the Highlands and how these related to the wolf and reflected its new absence.

Chapter Conclusion

Essentially, none of these exploits would have been as plausible, or would have had the same impact upon the wild quality of the Highlands if the wild living wolf had not been formerly extinguished. Rather, its presence might have negated the trends towards domesticity and de-wilding of the Highlands. There might have been a healthy wild Deer population controlled by natural selection and not by quasi-husbandry, or perhaps sheep would not have wrecked as much havoc upon Highland ecosystems with a natural check on the productivity of farming them. Thus, the wolves' absence was made significant by what fashion of landscape existed after its twilight years. It is no coincidence that imagined removals of the wolf, manifested as last wolf mythology, are still remembered in the modern Scottish landscape and in the modern mindset. For the last wolf occupied the watershed between a wild Scotland and a highly domesticated, environmentally extorted one. Its absence will have been something that proponents of a controlled Highlands at the time wished to celebrate to further accentuate their greater victory in achieving the consolidation of

¹³¹ James Ritchie, *The Influence Of Man On Animal Life In Scotland* (Cambridge: University Press, 1920).

an anthropocentric Scottish landscape- with nothing left of natural origin to challenge that new status-quo. The wolf was a keystone feature and an agent of imagined wildness, once it was removed the path was clear for improvers, clearers, landed aristocracy, and innumerable other parties to set about putting a distinctly human stamp upon all Scottish space- both real and imagined. Essentially then, removal of the wolf pacified Scottish nature to an extent that it was more at the mercy of human 'historical time' than it was to 'natural time' as it had been prior for millenia. Hence, the wolf remains a keystone feature of modern perceptions of Scotland as a wild space. For, to many, the wolf is the very antithesis, or antagonist, to the modern Scottish landscape which is the legacy of the 18th and 19th centuries. Whilst some crave its return to right the environmental or philosophical wrongs of those centuries and to ensure a 'Rewilding' of Scotland, others might argue that the wolf's removal was a blessing for making Scotland safer, more civilised, and more economically productive. Regardless of modern opinions which will be mentioned later, there can be no denial that an animal history of the wolf in Scotland is intrinsically tied up with a history of the Scottish people themselves and their landscape. Perceptions of wildness, civility, domesticity, borders, boundaries, and eco-cultural relationships cannot be understood wholly without analysing the influence of the real and imagined wolf. Further still, we might conclude that the wolf still maintains some agency in influencing Scottish human history, even after extinction.

Chapter 3- Rewilding and the Enduring Memory of the Wolf in Scotland.

Any conversation of the wolf's place in Scotland would not be complete without assessing the contemporary debate around 'Rewilding' and crucially the potential reintroduction of the wolf into Scotland's landscape. 'Rewilding' has become the buzzword for an emergent and now popularised style of managing the environment that focuses upon facilitating a symbiotic relationship between people and the natural world. The term was originally coined by Dave Foreman, a leading American Environmentalist and radical deep ecologist in the 1980s who believed conservationists should move beyond trying to protect particular areas or species, and instead endeavour to restore ecosystems that could manage themselves with minimum human interference.¹³² In the same decade, Frans

¹³² The Guardian, "The Guardian View On Rewilding Scotland: An Immodest Proposal", 2019 <<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2019/mar/21/the-guardian-view-on-rewilding-scotland-an-immodest-proposal>> [Accessed 17 July 2019].

Vera, a Dutch deep ecologist set up Oostvaardersplassen, a 6000-hectare area of Amsterdam set aside and fenced to test the capacity of unmanaged land to sustain populations of grazer animals. Similarly, Russian scientist Sergey Zimov, launched his mission to populate a region of Siberia with Musk Ox, Bison, Yakutian Horses, and eventually Siberian Tigers. He dubbed the endeavour 'Pleistocene Park'. The aim of these projects was to test whether ecological processes could be restored and maintained with minimum human intervention. What has proved controversial is a tendency for the term Rewilding to be associated with the introduction of megafauna to fill supposed ecological niches. For example, in a 2005 issue of *Nature*, a group headed by Josh Donlan (founder of Advanced Conservation Strategies and an ecologist) released a paper outlining 'a bold plan for preserving some of our global megafaunal heritage'.¹³³ Donlan and his fellows proposed introducing America Asian asses, Przewalski's horses, Bactrian camels, Asian and African elephants, African cheetahs, and African lions to North America. The idea being that these animals could act as ecological proxies of Pleistocene animals extinct in the United States States, Canada, and Mexico.

Since that publication, a few rewilding endeavours have been enacted in the US. For example, huge efforts have also been made through the Yellowstone to Yukon Conservation Initiative to revitalise a wilderness corridor from Wyoming in the United States through to the Yukon territory in western Canada. A recent project by Y2Y has been to expand the potential propagation of habitats suitable for Caribou, which have taken former hits from human development and agriculture.¹³⁴ More Important to this work is that famous reintroduction of the Yellowstone wolf though. Although at the time this was considered as a measure of ecological reconstruction rather than strictly as rewilding. Following its extinction in the early 20th century, park ecologists and the leading figures of park management recognized wolves too late as legitimate inhabitants of wild lands. Also, Paul Schullery notes that as American society became increasingly urban, 'people had more tolerance and enthusiasm for remote wild things' such as wolves.¹³⁵ However, those that were in the anti-wolf camp suggested that a re-establishment of the wolf's presence in Wyoming's great national park would constitute a threat to the livelihoods of rural livestock farmers and to human lives in rural areas. These fears are still a very prominent part of anti-wolf sentiment still existent amongst many people occupying the rural peripheries of the park. This trend of rural animosity and urban love

¹³³ Josh Donlan et al, "Rewilding North America, a Vision For Conservation In the 21st Century", A. Island Press. 297 Paper. 2004. ISBN: 1-55963-061-2.", *Natural Areas Journal*, 26.2 (2006), 223-225
<[https://doi.org/10.3375/0885-8608\(2006\)26\[223:rnaavf\]2.0.co;2](https://doi.org/10.3375/0885-8608(2006)26[223:rnaavf]2.0.co;2)>.

¹³⁴ Eli Francovic, "U.S. Boosts Caribou Protections A Year After Relocating The Last Lower 48 Caribou To Canada", *The Spokesman- Review*, 2019
<<https://www.spokesman.com/stories/2019/oct/02/us-boosts-caribou-protections-a-year-after-relocat/>>
[Accessed 10 September 2019].

¹³⁵ Schullery, p. XXI.

towards to the wolf and the wild space it occupies is common in much contemporary discourse on the issue of our relationship with the wild throughout the rest of the world. For example, a candle-lit vigil in Helsinki, Finland was held in honour of the 53 wolves that the Finnish government permitted to be culled. It is supposed by rural Finns that their urban cousins are naive of the realities and challenges of living with wolves, whilst urban Finns are concerned that their rural counterparts have an outdated and unsustainable attitude towards nature.¹³⁶ Indeed, both viewpoints obviously have their ironies. Essentially, clearly there are both ecological and cultural points debates to be absolved in order to license, or continue to licence (in Yellowstone's and Finland's case), any permanent presence of megafauna, like the wolf, in wild or rewilded landscapes.

Numerous endeavours were/are being pursued in Europe to absolve the ecological debate. For example, rare breeds of English Longhorn Cattle and Exmoor ponies are being used at Knepp estate in East Sussex as ecological proxies of the Aurochs and the Pleistocene epochs wild horses. Similarly, Rewilding Europe have reintroduced European bison to various pockets of Europe with plans to introduce them in Germany coming close to fruition.¹³⁷ Also, Beavers now freely roam Tayside and Knapdale, West Argyll after semi-illegal reintroduction campaigns.¹³⁸ They are now protected and accepted as requisite actors in their select respective landscapes. These endeavours might reveal an acceptance of the capacity of wild herbivores to fulfil ecological proxies, but an acceptance of introduced carnivores will take a revolution of people's mindsets towards nature.

Recent rewilding sentiment of the last decade or so has been geared towards promoting such a shift in mindsets. For example, *Feral*, by the self-proclaimed Rewilder, political activist, and writer George Monbiot promotes a rewilding of nature and ourselves to create a new kind of symbiotic productive relationship that allows nature to flourish, but allows people to gain utilitarian benefits of produce and emotional well-being from wild spaces. He, and the new concept of rewilding environmental consciousness connotes that human intervention is required to reverse the 'de-wilding', if you like, that has been enacted on the natural world throughout the Anthropocene. I.e.. an activist position and an acceptance of our past misdeeds is required to fight against the impact of modern industrialisation. Embedded in this ethos, there is the assumption that nature needs some assistance before it can repair itself. Monbiot suggests that when it can repair itself our

¹³⁶ Patrick Barkham, "'It's Very Scary In The Forest': Should Finland's Wolves Be Culled?", *The Guardian*, 2017 <<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/feb/25/europe-wolf-population-finland-culling-protection>> [Accessed 10 September 2019].

¹³⁷ Brian Howard, "Wild Bison Return To Europe After A Century", *National Geographic*, 2016 <<https://www.nationalgeographic.com/news/2016/03/160323-european-bison-reintroduced-netherlands-rewilding-science/>> [Accessed 10 August 2019].

¹³⁸ "A Comeback For Beavers? | JSTOR Daily", *JSTOR Daily* <<https://daily.jstor.org/a-comeback-for-beavers/>> [Accessed 16 March 2021].

own consciousnesses will be rewilded and a greater appreciation for our natural heritage and deep connection with our landscapes and fellow animals will be truly realised.

In 'How Wolves Change Rivers', an online video with more than forty million views, the voice of Monbiot argues that the reintroduction of the wolf influenced what is termed 'trophic cascades' that resulted in far-reaching ecological regrowth.¹³⁹ i.e. the reintroduction of an apex predator influenced the numbers and behaviour of prey animals that were overgrazing and decreasing the growth rate of trees in the park. The former poor growth rate of trees, particularly Willow, had forced beaver populations to vacate their river dams, which they could not sustain without large enough willow trunks, in favour of lakeside lodges. As a result, rivers ran un-dammed, became deeper, and their floodplains shrunk. According to the now greatly popularised video, the return of wolves to Yellowstone quickly brought tree growth back to an adequate rate to sustain beavers' dam construction once more, thus reversing the impact upon river flow. Some are sceptical of this message, such as Colorado State University's Natural Resource Ecology Professor Tom Hobbs, who suggests that the very idea of the wolf being at the head of an all-encompassing 'trophic-cascade' is a romantic oversimplification of a far more complex ecological system existent in Yellowstone. Regardless of whether the wolf belongs at the top of a trophic cascade or not, there can be little doubt that, at least in the popular mindset, the wolf has been re-ascribed a perceived 'belonging' in Yellowstone park. I.e.. a comprehensive restoration of the ecology of Yellowstone may or may not have been achieved, but a 'rewilding' of people's mindsets towards the wolf's place within that space may well have been more comprehensive and could be achievable elsewhere.

Scotland is perceived as the primary candidate for a reintroduction of the wolf in the British Isles, perhaps with Ireland as a distant backup option. It is curious that England and Wales have not been as seriously considered. The argument could be put forward that Scotland's population density is more suitable for accommodating wolves alongside people, or rather accommodating wolves some distance *away* from people. This has also been highlighted when suggesting the lynx as an alternative as the big cat is very afraid of people and prefers to reside far from any human presence.¹⁴⁰ However, Germany, one of the most densely populated countries in Europe has a relatively high wolf population with numerous packs known to roam the suburbs of Bavaria and other districts without coming into regular contact with humans despite consistent proximity. Thus, it is curious why England with a similarly densely populated landscape to Germany would be ruled out. If the dense population argument is considered fallacious, the rest of the reasonings behind prioritising Scotland

¹³⁹ *How Wolves Change Rivers* (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ysa5OBhXz-Q>: Sustainable Human, 2014).

¹⁴⁰ "The Lynx Lowdown: An Interview With David Hetherington | Rewilding Europe", *Rewilding Europe* <<https://rewildingeurope.com/blog/the-lynx-lowdown-an-interview-with-david-hetherington/>> [Accessed 16 March 2021].

for reintroduction remain diverse and contested. The purpose of this chapter will be to discuss these and explore why the wolf and discussions of rewilding Scotland are so keenly associated.

The Wolf and 'Shifting Baselines'

In *Feral*, George Monbiot discusses Rewilding of the environment and ourselves. One of his key arguments can be related to supposed belonging of the wolf in certain areas of the United Kingdom. Monbiot highlights a point originally made by the fisheries scientist Daniel Pauly; generations of people are inflicted by a supposed 'Shifting Baseline Syndrome'.¹⁴¹ This essentially means that people of every generation perceive the state of the ecosystems they encountered in their childhoods as normal, they might even wish things to stay that way, or maintain attitudes as they are and as they 'should be'. Monbiot believes the Cambrian mountains in Wales and the Highlands of Scotland are in actuality, completely ravaged ecosystems, but they have been accepted in common consciousness as some of the most 'wild' and natural spaces existent in the British Isles. This, Monbiot, suggests is because of a shifting baseline syndrome where each consequent generation has accepted what exists in the present as the natural or desired state, without consciously regarding any degradation performed in previous generations. This has of course proved to be a highly dangerous mindset. Accepting of substandard baselines partnered with a progressively degrading environment in effect means we get further from being able to comprehend the baselines of previous generations, will accept progressively worse environmental conditions, and become detached from our true natural heritages. Monbiot insinuates that a Rewilding of the sea and the land might serve to remind us of nature's baseline, so ours shifting to the detriment of biological and ecological diversity might be reversed.

There is no presently existing baseline in the British Isles that accommodates the living wolf in any capacity outside of wildlife parks or zoos. I.e.. no living person, nor a good dozen or more generations worth of their ancestors have seen a wild living wolf in the British landscape. Quite simply then, re-introducing the wolf would be tantamount to dropping an alien lifeform into what we believe to be the natural state of British landscapes. It could be a bit less of an abrasive proposition if we in Britain knew how to incorporate other predatory animals. However, unlike Yellowstone with its mountain lions, bears, and coyotes, Britain's last large predatory animal to live around us was the wolf itself. Consequently, we cannot even comprehend how to accommodate a predator in to our present baselines. What a reintroduction of the wolf asks of us is to get in touch with the environmental baselines of our ancestors that lived at least three hundred years ago. Perhaps even further back would be required to prose how we might coexist with the wolf amicably. Perhaps, then, it is a combination of Scotland's geography, its comparably close proximity to 'wildness', and the

¹⁴¹ George Monbiot, *Feral*, 2nd edn (London: Penguin, 2014), p. 69.

smaller time-frame spent without lupine presence that makes a modern wolf-human coexistence appear most achievable in Scotland. I.e.. perhaps the former presence of the wolf is more tangible just below the surface of that 'rich loam of environmental memory' in Scotland, rather than buried deep as it is in England and Wales. Lupine heritage remains tangible in places like Stirling, Lochmaddy, and Brora to an extent far greater than any locale in England or Wales. However, as I have highlighted already, all memory of the true wolf in Scotland has been corrupted since it last existed as part of the ecological baseline there. I also mean to say its memory has been corrupted largely in a negative sense. It is curious that a significant and loud movement of people desire an animal to return to Scotland, when its departure was originally so celebrated in last wolf folklore and its original presence so deplored or downright ignored by literature and art by the Romantics. In truth, the majority of the fragments that remain of lupine heritage in Scotland tell of a villainised species seen as a threat to humans, livestock, and chiefly humanity's control over nature. This association between the wolf and the threats it poses to humanity arguably is not something that has faded in its centuries' long absence. When Torak the wolf escaped from a Berkshire sanctuary in 2018 all surrounding schools were placed on lockdown and parents were warned to not let their children leave the house under any circumstances.¹⁴² This is very telling of our psychological attitude towards wolves considering Torak was fairly tame and had been taken on many school visits prior to the incident. His recapture consisted of his regular keeper placing a lead round his neck rather than any great Berkshire wolf hunt. I might suppose then that many are accepting or happy with their current baseline that excludes Torak and his less tame compatriots from any wild presence. The idea of an even remotely dangerous animal outside of a perimeter fence is just that shocking to British people. Many are happy without that word 'wild' preceding any animal that might challenge the current status quo of humanity's absolute control over nature in the British Isles. In Martin Goreman's words: 'the reason why these animals [wolves] became extinct was through human persecution and it would be both folly and extreme cruelty to consider reintroducing them without first dealing with this prejudice.' Simply, centuries of that being the normal state of being has left the idea of the wolf as being an animal to perhaps remember, but to be cautious of bringing back. However, it could be possible that new 'rewilding' attitudes might win over these centuries old ones.

Paul Lister, heir to a furniture company and founder of The European Nature Trust bought Alladale estate in the North West Highlands in 2003. He set about fashioning the estate into what he terms 'a wilderness reserve'. The reserve was an experiment in ecological restoration to test the capacity of nature to govern itself via natural processes with some assistance via deer culls and deer fences.

¹⁴² Matthew Weaver and Caroline Davies, "Escaped Wolf Was Deliberately Set Free, Sanctuary Claims", *The Guardian*, 2018
<<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/jan/18/wolf-recaptured-after-five-hours-freedom-when-fence-blew-down>> [Accessed 10 October 2019].

Since his experiments success, Lister now markets his reserve as a eco-tourism destination for those seeking a truly wild space in Scotland. The success of his reserve reveals some acceptance of a new status quo that accepts a wild state of nature and the proposed presence of wolves in Scotland. The premise of Lister's reserve is to 'work hard to keep this part of Scotland [Alladale] truly wild, by replanting lush forests and reintroducing original Highland plant & animal species'.¹⁴³ This philanthropic notion is no doubt financially assisted by Alladales assumed status as a premium 'wild' holiday destination bringing in regular revenue with Lister's new brand of eco-tourism. 'High end lodges', 'self-catered cottages', a 'rustic bunkhouse', and a locally sourced restaurant sit nestled in Lister's own corner of remote Sutherland. What has attracted the most controversy, and no doubt desirable media attention, are Lister's plans to release two packs of ten Norwegian wolves into the reserve. The plan would be to release the wolves 'controlled, tagged and neutered -- within a fenced perimeter at Alladale and a neighbouring estate'.¹⁴⁴ Lister claims introducing the wolf would provide a chance to demonstrate a similar trophic cascade to what has been in effect in Yellowstone National Park. I.e.. he hopes that a reintroduction of an apex predator into his reserve will control the currently oversized red deer population and allow an ecological balance to reassert itself. Nilsen et al argue wolves could alleviate costs of regular and necessary hind culls, but could carry the costs of losses of livestock which would only be an issue regarding an open release rather than the fenced set up proposed by Lister.¹⁴⁵ Lister supposes that reintroducing the wolf will be his last action on the agenda of ecological restoration- both scientifically, and in the eyes of the public conscious. He villainises the former damage done by 'land owners [who] turned Scotland into a gigantic sheep farm'. He also attacks commercial deer stalking for sustaining unnaturally dense deer populations that have ravaged Scotland's plant life and allowed us to fall under the illusion that the 'bare, bald hills' are the natural way of things. I.e.. the degraded state of plant life in Scotland is at a baseline crafted by past and present generations commercial greed. Essentially, Lister proposes facilitating a change in the baselines that Scottish people believe to be the ecological norm. The manner in which this can be facilitated will be to achieve public recognition of the economic and cultural potential of a 'wild' Scotland.

Although the reintroduction of the wolf would be part of his proposed cultivation of a Scottish ecology run by natural processes, there is no doubt that his frequent press mentions of the wolf are for publicity purposes as well. The idea of the wolf returning to Scotland has been controversial and popular enough in recent times to garner a lot of attention for his business and his greater aims to rewild his corner of Scotland. Thus, it is evident that in modern times the projected imagined

¹⁴³ "Home - Alladale Wilderness Reserve Scottish Highlands", *Alladale Wilderness Reserve* <<https://alladale.com/>> [Accessed 10 September 2019].

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁵ Nilsen et al.

presence of the wolf is utilised to promote a certain view of the Scottish landscape. I.e.. Scotland is not currently 'wild', but it could be with the wolf present and it could be economically, culturally, and ecologically profitable. However, it would also have to be of more worth than what it could replace or upstage.

The Wolf's Wild Worth

Lister, not unlike his landowning predecessors, is attempting to bolster the profitability of his estate. The only thing that differs is his personally, and perhaps culturally, accepted 'right' way of extorting said worth from his land. Also, what is different in modern times is what eco-cultural relationships might actually be innovative and profitable in the Scottish Highlands particularly. In the last three to four centuries, it was sheep farming, deer hunting, fishing, and forestry amongst other environmentally exhaustive industries that formed the crux of the most economically and cultural productive Highland eco-cultural relationships in the eyes of land owners and providers in control of much of the land. These industries relied centrally upon an eco-cultural relationship of human dominance and stewardship over controlled and malleable nature. Hence, as discussed, the wolf was not deemed a welcome party in the reality of ecological processes or in the imagination of the public consciousness. Contrastingly, Lister and a select few other land owners including Anders Holch Povlsen, the largest private landholder in the United Kingdom, recognise that emerging environmentalist sentiment and a public desire to reconnect with the natural world might make the wolf being physically present in the landscape more profitable than it being absent. Indeed it might be of utility in affirming an authentic sense of wildness in Scotland by readjusting people's eco-cultural relationships as they are forced to allow ecological processes to be governed by a keystone species and not human action. In essence, that is what rewilding is about, establishing what nature (and in this case, the wolf) can do for us in a condition where we are not controlling it. I.e.. how can we make wildness a desirable quality to have in a landscape, and how may this be facilitated by reintroducing the wolf in Scotland.

The utility of the wolf to humans has constantly changed. When *Canis Lupus* was first domesticated, there is no doubt humans found a use for them in hunting for, and protection of, food. Of course, uses for the wolf became much diversified as strategic breeding became practiced, to the point at which some of its descendants were bred for the sole purpose of killing their genetic ancestors- in the case of the Irish Wolfhound. In Layman's terms, as we began to set roots and husband animals and plants to serve our ends, the wolf became an obstacle, or a competitor, to our methods of subsistence and then profiteering from nature's bounty. This is one part of why the wolf was often villainized in the older sources discussed in the previous chapter- although it is far from the

sole reason. For although the wolf was ultimately deemed worthless as an economically advantageous asset, it was also utilised in establishing animal-human and human-human boundaries and borders. During the wolf's twilight years in Scotland, in concordance with the years of Highland rebellion, imagery of *Canis Lupus* was utilised to promote an image of Highland wildness as the antithesis of ideal domesticity present in the Lowlands and in England by the 17th century. Later, southern sojourners, commentators, and artists utilised the absence of the wolf to supplant an impression that the whole of Scotland had been 'tamed' and put under control. Recently, the wolf despite its enduring absence is still of utility to methods of imagining Scotland's spaces.

Specifically, I refer to the employment of the wolf as a quasi-talisman for the rewilding movement in Scotland and the British Isles as a whole. I.e.. the wolf is functioning as the cultural keystone species for channeling an eco-cultural attitude shift in the British Isles. However rewilding is dressed up (there are after all many different branches and opinions that would be too time consuming to tackle here) the end goal is to have ecosystems present that are self-sustaining with little to no interference needed or indeed desired. It does not take an expert in ecological systems to recognise that an ecosystem with no apex predator is unsustainable, because would-be prey species like red deer or elk are allowed to propagate unchecked and will need to be culled at great expense to avoid ecological degradation. That is why an animal like the wolf performs a role as a keystone species in an ecosystem, without it being present there would be no ecological balance without regular maintenance by gamekeepers who are essentially proxies of wild predators. I would argue that the wolf, present or otherwise, is also a keystone feature of Scotland's natural capital via the the wild character it provides. Scotland would be richer in wild spaces and therefore natural capital with the wolf present, but its absence has left traces of valuable heritage to gleam some service from for the time being. Furthermore, the case of proposed wolf reintroduction is key to judging the impact of rewilding sentiments upon eco-cultural attitudes in Scotland and the UK as a whole. If the wolf as a wild living being, or at least a comparable large predator such as the lynx, is not given a place in Scotland's landscape, then the Rewilding movement will have ultimately failed in any endeavour to actually rewild British mindsets at all. Despite Lister's best intentions, his plans would not initiate the level of eco-cultural change that is needed before we might entertain the existence of a wild wolf in Scotland. For, as John Fowler mused, 'who [in the progressive camp] wants wildlife reserves and safari parks?!'.¹⁴⁶ Ultimately if one's eco-cultural framework consists of the idea that nature can govern its own ecological networks, then it should be inexcusable to suggest a wolf does not belong

¹⁴⁶ Fowler, p. 263.

if it enables those networks to function correctly. Therefore, it is important to discover whether a shift towards a public acceptance of a wild wolf has actually occurred in recent times.

Lupine Reappraisal

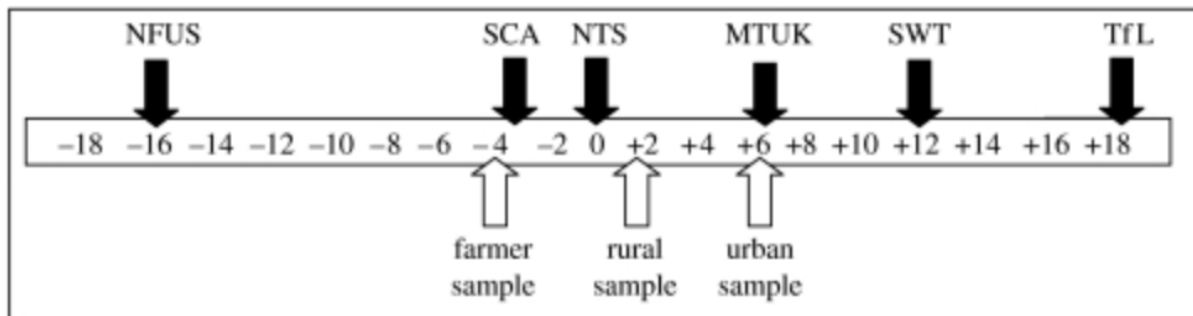
Jim Crumley's 'The Last Wolf' (2010) is a prime example of this phenomena of reappraisal. In his travel-nature-history novel, Crumley seeks out the last traces of the wolf in the Scottish landscape from the supposed 'wolf pits' on Skye to the river Findhorn where MacQueen is popularly meant to have snuffed out the life of 'the last wolf' in Scotland. What Crumley finds is that the memory of the wolf in Scotland has been corrupted by or lost to human negligence and our own polluting imaginations. He notes upon a visit to the National Trust visitor centre by the Findhorn that an enduring exhibit to the tale of MacQueen had been recently removed due to supposed lack of interest.¹⁴⁷ Furthermore, he is clearly of the opinion that even if tales such as MacQueen's were to be rehearsed and learned by the general public en masse all that would be achieved would be the re-propagation of corrupted memories and false impressions of the wolf. Instead, his book serves to recount, yet critique, lupine heritage in Scotland leading to his final conclusion that the memory of the wolf has been so tainted in Scotland that the 'real wolf' cannot be known until it is reintroduced.¹⁴⁸ Crumley is correct to argue that the wolf's memory is tainted, and this tainted memory is part of what might stall any immediate popular approval for reintroduction. However, his insinuation that these memories of 'the last wolf' should be completely chucked aside and replaced by the 'new wolf' is puzzling. For one, a denial of any eco-cultural connection with the past wolf can only serve to distance the Scottish people from the species even further. Rather, people being reminded of their historical eco-cultural connections with the wolf and the wild spaces it inhabited in a critical manner, which a large portion of his book serves to ensure, seems a more productive way to facilitate a proper reappraisal of the wolf in Scotland before reintroduction is actively considered. Also, despite the prevalence of negative heritage, overall sentiment towards the wolf in Scotland might not be as negative as one might assume. Nilsen et al found in 2007 that out of their sample of rural and urban Scots; 43% were in favour of the reintroduction of the wolf and 'other animals' into 'the wild', whilst 35% were in favour of them being housed in fenced eco parks like Lister proposes.¹⁴⁹ Only 22% chose categories of their survey that suggested they did not want wolves present in Scotland. However, the attitude scores they took from stakeholders in the issue reveal the greater issues that corrupted wolf heritage has caused for a potential wolf reintroduction and potential reappraisal. Nilsen et al set an attitude scale to measure attitudes towards reintroduction ranging from -18 (strongly disapprove of) to +18 (strongly approve of). The National Farmers Union for Scotland (NFUS) scored -16 and the

¹⁴⁷ Crumley, p. 79-103.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid, p. 227.

¹⁴⁹ Nilsenn et al.

Scottish Countryside Alliance scored -4. Conversely, the charity Trees for Life scored +18 and the Mammals Trust scored a more measured +7. No doubt, imaginations of the wolf have had some



impact upon these scores. Trees for Life are engaging in a project to replant the perhaps mythical great wood of Caledon. As I have highlighted earlier, that ethereal forest, and Scottish woodland in general, has possessed a distinct association with the wolf in public consciousness even since the wolf's extinction. Therefore, the wolf is a requisite part of the image that Trees for Life want to replicate in reality- a truly wild and extensive forest in Scotland. Naturally, the NFUS will have fed into the established narrative that wolves in Scotland were a menace to husbandry practices. Indeed, they most likely were, but they would be less likely to be in modern times when predation prevention is far more achievable. Thus a negative stance is understandable, but it is this author's belief that the NFUS's absolutist stance against reintroduction is reflective in part of the endurance of memory in Scotland of the wolf as a true scourge of livestock and a threat to human propagation of the landscape, partnered with a greater anxiety on the pressures that rewilding and environmentalism poses to farmers to adapt their practices drastically. Essentially the wolf remains an imagined threat to domesticity and productivity of land to the NFUS, just as it has to similar groups with similar interests for centuries. Clearly, imaginings of the wolf are important to grasp in order to understand contemporary controversies.

Also, to some degree, both of these polarised attitudes reflect the significance of the wolf to modern Scottish nationalism. On one end you have Trees for Life who suggest a new Caledonian forest could and should be a source of national pride, for them its mythical counterpart perhaps already is. Their website, updated in 2019, describes their proposed vision as follows:

“Dominated by Scots pines and a beautiful range of other trees and woodland plants, stretching from the Atlantic fringe of the West Coast to the Great Glen and beyond. Inhabited by an abundance of wildlife, some found nowhere else in Britain. This is the Caledonian Forest that Trees for Life envisions for Scotland.”¹⁵⁰

The whole tag-line is glistening with pride in Scotland's natural landscape, from the blatantly deliberate reference to ‘Scots Pine’, to ‘the Great Glen’ and wildlife ‘found nowhere else in Britain’. They also refer to their proposed Caladenian forest that is currently in its relative adolescence as a ‘globally unique habitat here in Scotland’. They are also advocates for the wolf having a place in their vision, thus *Canis Lupus* is a composite part of their plan which they believe will garner a sense of national pride in a Scotland that might possess a truly wild and extensive forest to the envy of the rest of Britain and the world. Conversely, the NFUS espouse an opinion that Scotland's national pride and character derives more from human industry through agriculture and husbandry, rather than solely the environment as it is. In a recent circular printed by the NFUS in 2018, it was suggested that the food and drink that Scottish farmers produce ‘is the jewel in Scotland’s crown’.¹⁵¹ They claim also that:

“Our farmers and crofters are responsible...[managing] 1.5 million hectares of farmland... under agri-environment schemes. Not just that – they are also critical to the sustainability of the communities in which they live and work, and collectively invest millions in these rural communities.”

¹⁵²

Here, the NFUS are obviously outlining the importance of productivity of Scottish farms and their role in preserving a positive, but anthropocentric, relationship with the environment, in tandem with a positive relationship with rural communities that fosters rural development and wellbeing. These are the roles they perceive that farming provides for the good and the pride of the nation. Of course, there can be little doubt that wolves present in the landscape might pose challenges to the productivity of farming and would drastically change the relationship of farmers to their environment, whilst also massively shaking up the relationship that rural communities have with their shared landscape. Their threat seems so significant that the NFUS have dubbed any proposals

¹⁵⁰ "The Caledonian Forest | Trees For Life"

¹⁵¹ "Educate, Sustain, Promote: The Industry Vision To Produce A Good Food Nation", *Nfus.Org.Uk*, 2018 <<https://www.nfus.org.uk/userfiles/images/Policy/Good%20Food%20Nation%202018.pdf>> [Accessed 10 October 2019].

¹⁵² *Ibid*, p. 4.

of reintroduction as 'sensationalist and ill-conceived'.¹⁵³ This negative appraisal forms part of a working corpus against the 'rewilding agenda' that the NFUS feels is posing a threat to the security of nationally valuable farms and farming practices. Through the briefest of analysis we can see that the idea of wolf reintroduction and reappraising our past relationship with the wolf unveils contemporary polarised attitudes to Scottish nationalism and the human relationship with the environment in Scotland. It remains to be said why this controversy has been most highlighted in Scotland compared to elsewhere in Britain.

Notably, Scotland has arguably the strongest and most accessible 'last wolf' heritage of all countries of mainland Britain, stories of the demise of *Canis lupus* in Scotland can be easily gleaned from texts such as Scopes's *The Art of Deer Stalking* (1897), Harting's *British Animals extinct within Historic Times* (1880), and popular modern printed medias. As demonstrated in a previous chapter, there are also physical places of lupine heritage in Scotland that are lacking in England and Wales. In contrast, tracing England's last wolf heritage means spanning back to possibly the 14th century via an anonymously written poem contained within Lancashire poet Edwin Waugh's *Rambles in the Lake Country and its Borders* (1861).¹⁵⁴ Waugh's source, quite possibly himself, claims England's last wolf was killed at Humphrey Head, Cumbria in or about the year 1390. The authenticity of this claim is of course dubious, but it also has not resulted in any remarkable long-lasting wolf heritage or mythology associated with Humphrey Head. Scotland's accessible lupine heritage is often utilised by proponents of reintroduction and rewilding which has only accentuated popular appreciation for the wolf 'belonging' in Scotland. The charity Trees for Life who are currently progressing their larger notion of establishing a new 'Caledonian Forest' in the footprint of its largely departed pseudo-mythical predecessor are well known advocates for reintroducing the wolf. Their websites section on the wolf is dedicated solely to the mythology and folklore of the wolf in Scotland with no mention of its ecological influence at all. Considering their website is clearly purposed towards advancing the charity's cause and educating people on their ultimate aims, this is a clear example of recognition of the wolf's present eco-cultural value in Scotland. Similarly, Beatrice Searle's tribute piece to the wolf took direct inspiration from the 'Last Wolf' stone set down between Brora and Helmsdale by the Duke of Sutherland to commemorate William Scrope's account of Polson's mythological killing of the last wolf. Meant as a 'memorial to the last wolf in Sutherland, a lament, a protest, a hope for the future', Searle's piece was displayed at an exhibition purposed towards

¹⁵³ "Union Makes Vital Progress On Wildlife Management", *Nfus.Org.Uk*, 2016 <<https://www.nfus.org.uk/news/news/union-makes-vital-progress-wildlife-management>> [Accessed 10 October 2019].

¹⁵⁴ Edwin Waugh, *Rambles In The Lake Country And Its Borders* (John Haywood, 1864), p. 77.

‘exploring the ecological implications of rewilding and the broader possibilities for rewilding human lives’ at Omved Gardens in London.¹⁵⁵ Searle’s stone used the eco-cultural significance that the past and since absent wolf provided via its lasting heritage to further the cause for rewilding and to reappraise *Canis Lupus* by marking it as ‘PART OF THESE LANDS’ rather than commemorating its demise as the original last wolf stone does. In sum, perhaps contrary to Crumley’s concluding judgement, the corrupted heritage of the last wolf has been somewhat reappraised and utilised as value in itself to further justify a case for the wolf belonging in a rewilded Scotland. This is not to say that this case is uncontested though.

The Sheep in the Wolf’s Way

I say in a rewilded Scotland because there has been no evidence to suggest that the wolf will ever be considered as belonging in a Scotland in its current eco-cultural condition. Quite frankly, Scotland’s landscape is in an ecological condition that only serves to reinforce the illusion that misguided historic cultural priorities belong in the landscape. I refer to the seemingly absolute importance of maintaining the practice of upland sheep farming. Hill Sheep farming in the Highlands to the scale it is pursued at present has only been done since the 18th century when much of the land was cleared of people and their traditional livestock to make room for vast ranges containing the Cheviot and Blackface breeds of sheep.¹⁵⁶ The most notorious so-called ‘clearance’ was enacted by Lord and Lady Stafford in the 18th century on their Sutherland estate. According to James Hunter in his *Set Adrift Upon The World: The Sutherland Clearances* (2015), people on the Stafford’s land were offered two to three acres of poor rocky land on the coast in exchange for their quality land in Strathnaver, Strath Brora and Strath of Kildonan.¹⁵⁷ Many chose to flee this almost assured poverty in favour of the chance to set down new roots in North America and people emigrated in their thousands.¹⁵⁸ What occurred then was an enforced severance of Highland people’s eco-cultural connection with their land. Currently, Scotland’s tourist industry thrives upon the descendants of these emigrants seeking a reconnection with their ancestors and their landscape. In 2015, Visit Scotland recorded that 24% of the 409,000 tourists from the USA were motivated to visit Scotland because of their ancestry and many of these individuals were seeking ‘a spiritual connection to the

¹⁵⁵ Beatrice Searle.

¹⁵⁶ M.L. Ryder, "Sheep And The Clearances In The Scottish Highlands: A Biologist's View", *The Agricultural History Review*, 16.2 (1968), 155-158.

¹⁵⁷ James Hunter, *Set Adrift Upon The World: The Sutherland Clearances*, 1st edn (Edinburgh: Birlinn Ltd, 2015).

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

land'.¹⁵⁹ One worries that they could only ever have imagined that they had found that considering what forced their ancestors to leave is still protected today.

A long-term effect of the clearances, is that little indigenous farming heritage and any true lasting connection to the natural way of the land exists among ordinary people in Scotland's Highland regions originating from before the 19th century. What exists as a result is a proxy form of acculturated heritage that claims to 'unite the exertions of the proprietors of the land' is/was an adequate form of maintaining peoples eco-cultural connection with the land.¹⁶⁰ I refer to the Royal Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland (RHASS) founded in 1784 in Edinburgh by fifty 'gentlemen and noblemen'. These members of the establishment decided it was required of them to found a society that would drive forward a move to 'revitalise Scotland's rural and Highland communities'.¹⁶¹ In retrospect, RHASS can hardly claim they have achieved their original founders' aims if they account for the hundreds of Highland communities that were uprooted and forced to depart their ancestral homes during the clearances in the century proceeding the society's foundation. Replacing and/or removing hardly constitutes as revitalising. The RHASS's continued relevance is a reflection of the fact that the only enduring and substantive connection between the land and people in Scotland that they have promoted is a self-serving one. I. e. the human-environment relationship is best when maximising the capital that can be derived from Scotland's landscape. As a result of this unsustainable attitude, the productivity of sheep farming has declined in Highland Scotland.

At present, Highland sheep farms are running at an almost unanimous deficit, maintained only by subsidies of various origins. As of 2015/16 sheep farms in less favourable areas (LFA's) of the North West of Scotland were running at a deficit of -£57.27 per ewe.¹⁶² More favourable low lying regions of the Highlands were running even worse at a deficit of -£68.17 per ewe. In fact, not a single region of Scotland was running sheep farming profitably and was relying on subsidies to alleviate losses. Nothing changed more recently. According to the Scottish government, in the period 2017/18 the income LFA sheep farms gained from payments and subsidies as a ratio against what income was

¹⁵⁹ "Insight Department: USA Visitors To Scotland", *Visitscotland.Org*, 2018 <<https://www.visitscotland.org/binaries/content/assets/dot-org/pdf/usa-international-factsheet-incl-research-2018.pdf>> [Accessed 10 October 2019].

¹⁶⁰ "Remaining Relevant – How A 235-Year-Old Organisation Connects With Its Members And Drives Impact & Influence", *Rhass.Org.Uk*, 2019 <<https://rhass.org.uk/news/news-listing/remaining-relevant-how-a-235-year-old-organisation-connects-with-its-members-and-drives-impact-influence/>> [Accessed 10 September 2019].

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁶² "The Value Of The Sheep Industry: North East, South West And North West Regions", *Nfuonline.Com*, 2018 <<https://www.nfuonline.com/assets/106083>> [Accessed 10 August 2019].

naturally generated sat at 2.51/1.¹⁶³ This was the absolute worst ratio amongst all Scottish farming sectors in that annual period. Relatively close competitors were LFA cattle farming and LFA mixed cattle and sheep farming which were provided with subsidies equating to 1.83 and 1.8 of their costs respectively. Not only have subsidies and payments allowed a failing industry to subsist, they have allowed it to profit moderately handsomely. The only rational explanation for this is that sheep farming maintains the Scottish landscape as it is believed it should remain, in a state of domestication and control- distinctly un-wild.

Requirements to be entitled to subsidies obligate farmers to maintain their holdings in a condition that can facilitate agriculture and husbandry at its most profitable and domestic- with limited success. In 2017/18 the 'Greening' and 'Basic Payment Scheme' subsidies accounted for £423.05m awarded to Scottish farmers for maintaining their holdings according to certain criteria that serve to sustain the current eco-cultural status-quo. Notably, scrubland or land dominated by monocultures of gorse or bracken are not eligible for either payment. Rewilders like George Monbiot and Isabella Tree have argued that scrubland often works as a nursery for tree saplings and emergent woodlands. The gorse, heather, and bracken acts to protect young trees from the grazing of deer and livestock. Isabella Trees rewilding project at her Knepp estate has practically demonstrated the capacity for scrubland to protect saplings from her grazing wild cattle and horses.¹⁶⁴ Rather than preserve or allow these ecologically important habitats to propagate, both the Greening and BPS subsidies promote the establishment of 'permanent grasslands' (PGS) and the assurance that 'permanent crops or permanent pasture on which the production, rearing or growing of agricultural products is undertaken' are present throughout a farmers holding.¹⁶⁵ Farmers are also exempted from crop diversity (CD) requirements if more than 75% of their eligible agricultural area of holding is permanent grassland or used to produce grass or other herbaceous forage (temporary grassland).¹⁶⁶ This exemption applies to almost all Highland land holdings and if it did not exist then sheep farming would be even more economically challenging there, if not impossible. Essentially, managed monocultures of grasslands used to prop up unprofitable sheep and cattle farming are institutionally promoted in favour of the rewilding potential of scrubland and other ecosystems not of short-sighted economic value to human industries.

¹⁶³ "Agriculture Facts And Figures: 2019", *Gov.Scot*, 2019
<<https://www.gov.scot/publications/agriculture-facts-figures-2019/pages/14/>> [Accessed 10 August 2019].

¹⁶⁴ Isabella Tree, *Wilding* ([Place of publication not identified]: Picador, 2019)

¹⁶⁵ "Guide To The Green Planning Payment", *Daera-Ni.Gov.Uk*, 2019
<<https://www.daera-ni.gov.uk/sites/default/files/publications/daera/18.29.227K%20Guide%20to%20Greening%20Payment%202019.pdf>> [Accessed 10 September 2019], p. 13.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

Of course, desirably, institutions are there to protect the interests of the people that they represent, and these government subsidies are certainly purposed to protect farmers, their employees, but crucially also the landscape that keeps them from becoming redundant in a changed world. Less permanent grasslands would mean less sheep and therefore less farm workers, and possibly less farmers unless any alternative approach to extracting natural capital from Scotland's landscape was found to replace sheep farming. A wilding of Scotland would break down the very logistics and concepts that frame how farmers and rural peoples live, work, and interact with and within their landscape. As much as sheep farming might be unprofitable and have a controversial history in Scotland, it cannot be denied that it is a significant part of how Scottish people interact with their countryside. Estimates suggest that in 2014 as many 22,800 people were employed directly through the industry, to manage a population of 10.1 million sheep- which was over twice the human population in Scotland. The National Farmers' Union for Scotland (NFUS) also claims that sheep farming makes the countryside more accessible and navigable for visitors who inject as much as £513.4 million into supposedly struggling rural economies.¹⁶⁷ Furthermore, although the physical reminders of the wolf might be niche and often isolated, the cultural heritage of the sheep is maintained by the presence of stone walls, fences, fields, mills, and barns throughout the breadth of rural Scotland. The national dress (tartan), national dish (haggis), and national instrument (bagpipes) are all crafted from goods provided by the sheep industry. One could be forgiven for thinking Scotland's national animal was the sheep and not in fact the mythical unicorn. Hence, any affront to the sheep industry in Scotland, however backed up it is, serves as an affront to a plethora of rural community identities and the way many Scots perceive their landscape. One might make a good case with good time that the real and imagined Scottish landscape is so saturated by the eco-cultural presences of the sheep, that an assault on it is an affront to Scottishness itself. Consequently, it takes a huge stretch of the truth to imagine that the wolf, which would no doubt take some liberties with predated on sheep and would drastically change the eco-cultural state of the landscape, would be welcomed with open arms by Scottish people. What is faced by the proposal of wolf reintroduction is a greater choice between a rewilded Scotland and the one that was wholly domesticated by the mid-18th century when the last wolf died and the last portion of Scotland came under the hooves of large scale sheep husbandry. For both states of mind, one that might accept lack of control over nature and the other that relies upon continuing said control, simply cannot exist in tandem without constant conflict. Reintroduction requires a complete upheaval in the manner in which the Scottish people relate to and imagine their landscape. It should be worth reminding them that doing such

¹⁶⁷ "The Value Of The Sheep Industry: North East, South West And North West Regions", p. 19.

would be asking no more than what was achieved by the Romantics, the Improvers, and many more prior to them.

Chapter Conclusion

The Rewilding movement is just one more eco-culturally minded group aiming to sway public consciousness and perceptions of nature, landscape, and 'wildness'. Preceding them were numerous groups who have shaped how Scottish people have considered their landscape. As discussed, each of these parties have often looked to the wolf in respective fashions to tailor their image of Scotland. The rewilding movement is not dissimilar. For example, Paul Lister has used the controversial image of the wolf to promote his view of a wild Scotland that could cater towards a new brand of premium eco-tourist keen to get in touch with their wild past. Classing nature as it is, or rather as it could be, as an exportable source of natural capital in itself. Other Rewilders might perceive Scotland as ecologically devastated and in drastic need of the return of megafauna to ensure its ecological restoration. Monbiot might suggest that the Scottish people's mindsets would come closer to being rewilded by allowing the presence of the wolf- paving the way for a deep environmental consciousness and connection to their landscape and its natural heritage. Other academics, such as John Fowler, may reject anthropocentric purpose altogether and highlight that surely the wolf's existence could be justified by its natural grace alone - though this would require a complete dissociation from the manner in which we conjure the wolf in our imaginings. Thus, it should be clear that imaginations, projections, and remembrances of the wolf are central to understanding the concerns of the rewilding movement and its aims to influence the Scottish people's identity and relation to their landscape. Presently, the wolf may not be so central to the environmental consciousness of the public that they are trying to convince, but it must be considered that the physical, linguistic, folkloric, imagined, and reappraised presences of lupine heritage in Scotland are certainly there to be facilitated towards such an endeavour.

Perhaps for any real progress to be made there also needs to be a deeper reappraisal and re-evaluation of modern British attitudes towards wild things and spaces in regards to what they can offer within new eco-cultural frameworks. A transition akin to that which occurred in the United States in the 20th century might be desirable. In the formative years of Yellowstone's national park, from 1874 to right through to the inter-war years, it was the predominant opinion held by park

management that wolves 'provided no solitary service of value to mankind'.¹⁶⁸ The dominant reasoning for managing a national park was then to maintain game populations and ensure safety and enjoyment of visitors. The wolf was seen as a relative pariah to both these generalised aims. This sentiment prompted bounty campaigns and other aggressive measures were to bring the wolf in Yellowstone to its last breaths. However, by 1963 A. Starker Leopold, son of the acclaimed naturalist Aldo Leopold, filed an advisory report that called for the preservation of national parks as 'vignettes of primitive America'. This move was part of a greater trend spawned in the interwar years towards the prioritising of 'scientific data over ancestral prejudice'. Leopold's advice was part of a greater eco-centric movement calling for change in how and why state parks were managed. I.e there should be an emphasis upon creating/preserving primitive ecology for its own intrinsic value by means of non-interference with biotic relationships- which could not operate without the presence of large predators. Nowadays, that methodology might be described as 'rewilding'. This transgression culminated in the Endangered Species Act of 1973, the 1987 Northern Rocky Mountain Wolf Recovery Plan, and the eventual reintroduction of wolves to Yellowstone in 1994-95. Presently, Yellowstone now has a stable wolf population which would not have been welcome under the pre-existent priorities that led to their demise in the past. Perhaps unexpectedly, the success of Yellowstone's reintroductions was twofold. Not only were biotic relationships proved to be self-sustaining, it also became evident that wild wolves could have economic and cultural value as well.

Ten years after the wolves were brought back, the University of Montana concluded that more than \$35.5 million was generated by wolf-centred eco-tourism in the parks surrounding gateway communities per annum.¹⁶⁹ Of particular significance is how wolves have positively influenced visitor numbers in the winter months when trade usually suffers. Wolf-related eco-tourist enterprises include guided 'wolf walks' that have attracted as many as forty-thousand visitors in a summer season.¹⁷⁰ People come from all over the world to engage in lupine natural history and biology, bringing with them capital to distribute amongst Yellowstone's tourist focused enterprises. To be frank, wolf reintroduction has made a lot of

¹⁶⁸ KAREN R. JONES, "Restor(Y)ng The 'Fierce Green Fire': Animal Agency, Wolf Conservation And Environmental Memory In Yellowstone National Park", *BJHS Themes*, 2 (2017), 151-168 <<https://doi.org/10.1017/bjt.2017.5>>.

¹⁶⁹ Oliver Craig and others, "Wolf Tourism Is More Profitable Than Killing Them", *European Wilderness Society*, 2021 <<https://wilderness-society.org/wolf-tourism-is-more-profitable-than-hunting/>> [Accessed 13 March 2021].

¹⁷⁰ Fowler, p. 262.

people and a lot of livelihoods possible and dependent upon the existence of wild wolves. A new eco-cultural framework is now held together by financial dependence on wolves and wild space. One might make a case that another Scottish reintroduction candidate, the Eurasian Lynx, would not achieve this same integration, owing to its illusive and solitary nature, it would hardly be the ideal tourist trap. There have been caveats to wolf introduction, including average annual livestock losses equating to \$11,300 in 1997-2000. High estimates also suggest that loss of hunting tickets has cost the parks service \$187,000 to \$464,000 pa and Wyoming state suggests hunting retailers have lost \$2.9 million.¹⁷¹ This might seem nominal on the grand scale, but it will not have appeared so for invested parties. When contemplating Scotland though, it seems unlikely that there would be a cost to the hunting industry, Nilsen et al even suggest there could be a net financial benefit. Of course there would be costs to livestock farming, but whether that is justifiably a bigger concern than the industry's continuing financial failure needs to be discussed further. If it is the highest priority to minimise livestock losses then it is bizarre that the Eurasian Lynx is being considered more readily in the popular consensus, as Lynx target sheep-sized ungulates almost exclusively.¹⁷² Nonetheless, perhaps lessons from the caveats of wolf reintroduction can be taken into other applications of rewilding to ensure less people's livelihoods are sacrificed without at least being transitioned to work within a new system- regardless of the apex predator candidate. It is clear then, that an eco-cultural framework that relies upon profiting from the existence rather than villianising of predators can exist, the question remains, however, whether that could be formulated in Scotland. After all, the momentous task of shifting public attitudes from ancestral prejudice to modern scientific understanding is not yet complete here and may only be achieved via a practical attempt at reintroduction. The layered understandings of place in Scotland are also so complex that it is no simple task to unpack them and illustrate that Scotland is 'missing' the wolf. It took Aldo Leopold and many of his peers one lifetime in the US to shift from wolf hunter to wolf advocate. It then took one more lifetime until wolves roamed Yellowstone again. In Scotland, the wolf hunters are long dead but in 300 years we are only in recent times gaining any support for empathising with the wolf's place in our landscape; there is a lot more work to be done before we can consider how we might establish an eco-cultural framework that values the wild wolf.

¹⁷¹ Oliver Craig and others, "Wolf Tourism Is More Profitable Than Killing Them".

¹⁷² "The Lynx Lowdown: An Interview With David Hetherington | Rewilding Europe".

Conclusion

It should now be clear that the wolf has a place in the Scottish landscape; in its history, heritage and contemporary controversies. In fact, it would be more accurate to judge that it has been ascribed *many* places, by different parties and by those of different sentiments towards what constitutes a perceived ideal state of Scotland's eco-cultural frameworks. For the wolf's presence in Scotland, in both ethereal and corporal senses, has been dictated by human considerations of them, and more broadly, the wild spaces they tend to have been associated with. Although some historians might have suggested that animals have their own agency in impacting human history, there can be little doubt that a significant amount of this was taken from the wolf when the last of its kind died in Scotland. Yes, the wolf has endured presence in Scotland as 'constantly re-imagined', but also as constantly corrupted. Engagement with heritage and memory of the wolf in Scotland is similarly 'corrupt'. Memory has been selective and too greater representation is given to folkloric representations of 'the last wolf' and other fictions, rather than the wolf as a species in general. This last wolf and its other fictional counterparts (The Stirling Wolf etc.) attract the most substantive engagement, perhaps due to guilt or remorse for what was done to *Canis Lupus* by people many centuries ago, or perhaps also because some feel a sense of pride that the wolf's presence was ended by human action. Significantly, the most engaging reminders of wolf- human relationships in Scotland are negative and reflect the challenges faced by both parties in times of coexistence. The wolf is often remembered as an obstacle to the success of certain parties control over Scotland and its nature, or as a threat to human habitation and subsistence. Rarer are pieces of heritage or fragments of memory that express any positive veneration of the wolf in public consciousness. Regardless, few objective portrayals of the wolf can be gleaned from any relevant contemporary sources in Scotland that have not been corrupted by years of imagination. For, counter to Thomas's belief that modern people treat animals rationally, the wolf has remained constantly emotively

treated since its demise. Perhaps, as Jim Crumley has stated, the real objective living wolf cannot be truly known in Scotland until, if, it is reintroduced. In some respects this attitude is just another imagining of the wolf as a chief agent of the rewilding movement that perceives it to be a bringer of natural balance and a better human connection to nature. In this respect, the wolf is still exerting some agency of its own upon our history, casting that long historical shadow to a not insignificant distance. It would be this author's view that in order for the wolf to facilitate its full agency upon the narrative of human and natural history again, we might have to let it.

However, before we might perceive this as an option, we must endeavor to understand that this means critically analysing our imaginings of the past wolf. For the imagined 'rabid droves' of grave-robbing, livelihood ruining, bloodthirsty great black beasts that were so gallantly rid of by MacQueen, Polson and co, are completely incompatible with the modern Scottish landscape. These imaginings facilitated a greater endeavour to drive, validate and memorialise the full domestication and 'de-wilding' of Scotland as a whole. However, that means that Scotland has been without a wolf capable of representing itself in a very changed landscape to the one it left many centuries ago. Thus, caution should be taken in assuming that the wolf can just be 'dropped in' and be offered a place back in the landscape instantaneously. After all, it would be a challenge to incorporate such a diversely imagined wolf into a landscape that has had many more layers of eco-cultural memory form since its departure. We also must not assume that any select places are suitable for wolf reintroduction just because wolf heritage is most prominent there, as is the case often when regarding Scotland, and the Highlands specifically. The placement of corrupted imagined wolves may not reflect suitable places for real wolves, especially as the accumulation of that 'rich loam' of environmental memory has been accompanied by the expansion of some practices of land-use and relationships with the land that may not be easily compatible with *Canis Lupus*.

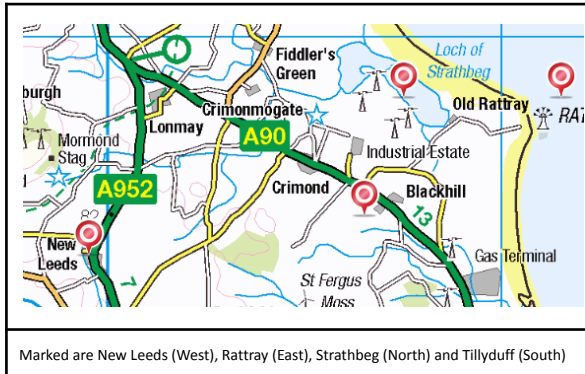
A rewilding of Scotland's landscape, which will eventually require the presence of wolves, should be performed gradually and with empathy towards the complex layers of Scotland's eco-cultural history. It should be evident that this is completely unachievable with the current dichotomy existing between the imagined wolf, which has many meanings and many ascribed places, and those current eco-cultural connections in a domestic 'de-wilded' landscape. Thus, a complete and publicly accessible re-appraisal of the wolf's heritage, place, and memory in Scotland should be deemed desirable. The wolf needs to be recovered from its displaced position from reality and 'un-imagined' as much as possible by critically treating further how it is perceived throughout Scottish history. The rewilding movement in general needs to approach the complex layers of Scotland's eco-cultural history more forensically before contemplating further action. Regretfully, this work can only be

considered one small part of the forensic analysis that will be required to achieve a re-appraisal of the wolf and wild places belonging in Scotland's landscape.

I have illustrated that significant memories of the wolf exist, and demonstrated how these have related to human history and people's eco-cultural connections to their landscapes. An objective understanding of the wolf's place in the modern landscape is unachievable if we fail to comprehend that imaginings of the wolf are a product of their time and contexts. We have been left with those imagined 'rabid droves' and last wolves that inhabit their ascribed places and times. If treated uncritically, then the extension of their long historical shadows form the only tenable connection between the wolf and the modern Scottish people. This connection will continue to be unproductive and misrepresentative of the true eco-cultural contexts and perceptions of place that do exist, or could exist, in contemporary Scotland. Therefore, a better case, one that is backed up by a critical treatment of history and this connection, needs to be made by further scholarship to establish public recognition of the wolf's place in today's landscapes, in contemporary contexts. Only when this is achieved can we come to any substantive conclusion on whether the wolf might perform a positive role for people in a potentially rewilded Scotland.

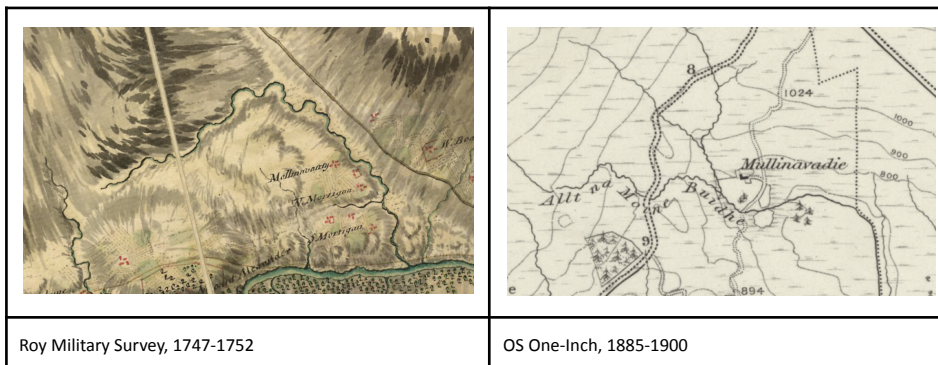
Appendices

Appendix 1



This select selection of the North East of Scotland should illustrate the linguistic diversity of toponyms even across a remarkably regional area of space. The linguistic history of this area is laid upon the canvas of a modern map, easily accessible by electronic means.

Appendix 2



Appendix 3



Appendices 2 and 3 are taken from various cartographic sources easily accessible via Scotland's national library web search tool. They exhibit the ready accessibility of wolf-related toponyms existent throughout the cartographic heritage of Scotland. Appendix 3 particular shows the endurance of the toponyms *Coire a' Mhadaidh* and *Sgurr a' Mhadaidh* in the Cuillin range on Skye.



The stunning contrast between these ‘last wolf stones’ placed at Brora is evident both visually and in their purpose. Both act as memorials, but for much different reasons. One modestly celebratory of man's triumph over wolves, and the other grieving at the loss of their presence.

Appendix 5- Collector: Biggar, W. (n.d.). *Fate of Rebellion or a Monumental Warning to Rebels*. [Print]. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland.



The second tier of this cartoon representation of the tower of London contains a representation of highlanders ‘bestial’ behaviour towards noble animals. Pictured are ‘rebel robbers’ slaughtering and thieving cattle as well as burning their sheds. This source provides another illustration of the animal-orientated attitudes held by the opposition to the Jacobite rebellion.



This etching depicts Prince Charles Stuart and the Duke of Cumberland being mediated by Lady Britannia standing opposed over a bed of thistles (Scotland). The use of animal symbolism is rife in this source. Note that each side is represented by a hound and a lamb in the foreground, which we might assume represent the forces of justice and mercy respectively. On Charles' side it is clear that the lamb stands on the body of the submitting hound. This suggests this print originates from after Culloden, when the fight had been vanquished from the Jacobite cause. On Cumberlands side we can see the lamb striding towards the bed of thistles and the hound baring its teeth at the opposing animals. It is clear that justice is destined to be dealt upon the perpetrators of rebellion, but British benevolence and peace will be bestowed upon Scotland more broadly.



After the failure of the Jacobite rebellion, the Highland landscape and its people were appropriated as something akin to the 'noble savage'. This depiction of Highland soldiers in a rather barren landscape stands in contrast to Hanoverian depictions of Highlanders pre-45'. These men are striking distinguished noble poses, dressed modestly yet smartly in the famous plaid and not a glimmer of animalistic traits can be gleaned from the manner they are presented. Rather than 'noble savage', it might be more accurate to describe these men as emblematic of the 'new highlander', who fit new emergent ideals resulting from the shift of power dynamics in northern Scotland.

Appendix 8- Wallace, W. (c.1272-1305). (*Scottish Patriot*). [Etching on paper]. 26.70 x 20.30 cm. Edinburgh: Scottish National Portrait Gallery.



Like many depictions of the famed Scottish hero, Wallace is portrayed here in close proximity to trees owing to his enduring association with woodland. It seems in this instance, he has just sacked a fortress and is retreating into the forest, further evidencing that he was known as a guerilla fighter who used woodland to his advantage.

Appendix 9- Collector: Biggar, W. (n.d.). *Lord Lovat*. [Print]. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland.



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