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Patrick O'Flaherty

John Pinkerton (1758–1826): Champion of the Makars



In 1778 Thomas Warton, in the second volume of his *History of English Poetry*, made the suggestion

. . . that a well-executed history of the Scotch poetry from the thirteenth century, would be a valuable accession to the general literary history of Britain. The subject is pregnant with much curious and instructive information, is highly deserving of a minute and regular research, has never yet been uniformly examined in its full extent, and the materials are both accessible and ample. Even the bare lives of the vernacular poets of Scotland have never yet been written with tolerable care; and at present are only known from the meagre outlines of Demster and Mackenzie.¹

To support his belief in the merit of early Scottish poetry, Warton devoted considerable space in his history to discussions of John Barbour, Sir David Lyndsay, Blind Harry, Gavin Douglas, and William Dunbar. Such notice had never before been accorded the makars by a scholar of Warton's stature, and his *History* therefore has special significance in view of the heightened interest in these poets later in the century. It should be noted, however, that the enthusiastic suggestion quoted above was in no small degree misleading. In 1778 the

materials for a history of early Scottish poetry were neither ample nor accessible. The few printed editions of the makars that were available were generally untrustworthy; and the biographical and bibliographical information about them in sources like Thomas Dempster's and George Mackenzie's "meagre outlines" was unreliable. The "night of Gothic darkness"² which had descended over Scotland in the seventeenth century had obliterated the reputations of her finest poets, so that in 1778 many Scots were but dimly aware of their rich literary heritage from the medieval and renaissance periods. In the same year that Warton published the second volume of his *History* James Beattie could write to John Pinkerton that "To say the truth, I believe all the poetry in the Scotch dialect that deserves to be handed down to posterity, might be comprised in two or three small volumes."³

Warton's own treatment of the makars belies his confident statement that materials for a history of Scottish poetry were "accessible and ample," and reflects instead the backwardness of Scottish medieval and renaissance studies in his time. He devoted a large section of his first volume, for example, to Barbour's *Bruce*, but in his pages Barbour was not a Scottish poet. This is part of the famous eulogy of freedom in *The Bruce*, as given in the edition used by Warton:

A freedom is a noble thing,
Freedom makes man to have liking,
Freedom all solace to men gives;
He lives at ease that freely lives.
A noble heart may have none ease,
Nor nought else that may it please,
If freedom fail; for free liking
Is yarned o'er all other thing.
Nay, he that ay has lived free,
May not know well the propertie,
The anger, nor the wretched doom,
That coupled is to foul thirldom.⁴

This may be contrasted with the correct version:

A! fredome is a noble thing!
Fredome mayns man to haiff liking;
Fredome all solace to man giffis:
He levys at es that frely levys.
A noble hart may haiff nane es,
Na ellys nocht that may him ples,
Gyff fredome failyhe: for fre liking
Is yharnyt our all othir thing.
Na he, that ay has levyt fre,

May nocht knaw weill the propyrte,
 The angry, na the wrechyt dome,
 That is cowplyt to foule thyrldome.⁵

The first is a translation of Barbour from Middle Scots into nearly modern English. Warton was also compelled to use an Anglicized edition of Blind Harry's *Wallace*, and, if he had wished to do so, could easily have found similar translations of the works of Sir David Lyndsay. Fortunately Warton quoted Lyndsay from the John Scot quarto of 1568, which was not common. As late as 1776 an edition of Lyndsay purporting to be "Carefully corrected and amended, with several new additions by the same Author hereto prefixed, never before published", but in reality a completely modern English translation offering nothing that had not been in previous editions, was published at Edinburgh.⁶ Warton wisely ignored this edition. The chief inadequacy in his treatment of Lyndsay was his failure to treat some of that poet's most important works--among them *Ane Pleasant Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis* and *The Historie of Squire Meldrum*. It was not until after Warton's death that these two items were made available to scholars. Again, his handling of Dunbar--admittedly a fine piece of criticism--suffers because much of Dunbar's poetry was still in manuscript in 1778. Sir Gilbert Hay, Sir Richard Holland, and other poets, he dismissed in a foot-note to a passage of Lyndsay's *Complaynt of the Papyngo*, in which only their names were mentioned. He dealt with James I in another foot-note.

The makar most fully treated in the *History* was Gavin Douglas. Warton was able to find both the 1553 (London) and 1579 (Edinburgh) editions of *The Palice of Honour*, but in addition could avail himself of Thomas Ruddiman's monumental edition of Douglas's translation of *The Aeneid* (1710). That work marked the beginning of the scholarly study of Middle Scots literature. It earned this distinction by virtue of its accurate text and especially because of its "Large Glossary. Explaining the Difficult Words: Which may serve for a Dictionary to the Old Scottish Language",⁷ on which every subsequent eighteenth-century glossary of Middle Scots was based. The first eighty years of the eighteenth century were not, indeed, devoid of interest in older Scottish poetry. James Watson's *Choice Collection of Comic and Serious Scots Poems*, published in three parts in 1706, 1709, and 1711, contained modernized versions of "Christis Kirk on the Green" attributed to James I and Alexander Montgomerie's "The Cherrie and the Slae", two poems which were often printed throughout the century and which, with "Habbie Simson" and others, represent the kind of vernacular tradition that influenced Fergusson and Burns. In 1724 another important advance was made when Allan Ramsay

gained access to the Bannatyne Manuscript and printed selections from it in his *Ever Green*--the names and poetry of Dunbar and Robert Henryson were thus rescued from the oblivion into which they had fallen. Ramsay was not a careful editor. He interpolated, modernized, and altered at will; to Dunbar's "Lament for the Makaris", for example, he added three whole stanzas foretelling his own advent.⁸ A more accurate selection from the Bannatyne Manuscript, and that which provided Warton with his texts of Dunbar, was made by Sir David Dalrymple later in the century and published in his important work, *Ancient Scottish Poems* (1770). With a few notable exceptions, then, the poetry of the makars was either unavailable to Warton or else available only in wretched, Anglicized editions.

Accurate biographical information about the makars was also hard to come by in 1778. In 1724 Allan Ramsay had planned to give "*an Account of the Authors*" of the poems in the Bannatyne Manuscript, but his intention went unrealized; he could not find "*such distinct Information as could be wished for that End at present.*"⁹ George Mackenzie's *The Lives and Characters of the most Eminent Writers of the Scots Nation* (1708-22) was a pioneer work in the field but was not satisfactory. Mackenzie did not take a critical approach to his materials, and borrowed too readily from unreliable cataloguers like John Bale and Thomas Dempster. He did, however, write the first competent life of Sir David Lyndsay, and, whatever they may have thought and said of it, scholars in the late eighteenth century made frequent use of Mackenzie's work.¹⁰ Their more penetrating research quickly displayed his inaccuracies.

Warton's call for the publication of a history of Scottish poetry was thus premature. What was needed in the study of early Scottish poetry in 1778 was not a history, but a more elementary kind of research in three particular directions: the publication of Barbour's *Bruce*, Harry's *Wallace*, and the works of Sir David Lyndsay, from manuscripts or early editions which preserved the original language of each; the publication of early Scottish romances, and the republication of scarce early printed books like *The Palace of Honour*; and biographical and bibliographical research into the lives and works of the poets concerned. By 1778 certain scholars had become aware of the need for such research; in particular, Thomas Percy, who corresponded with George Paton, Dalrymple, and Warton, had conceived a plan for including much of the old Scottish poetry that had come his way in a "New distinct Independent Publication".¹¹ Unfortunately, he abandoned the project. In 1783 a significant advance along these lines was made when the two most important poems attributed to James I of Scotland were printed for the first time. One, "The

Kingis Quair", appeared in William Tytler's *Poetical Remains of James the First*, which also included a life of James and a patriotic "Dissertation of the Scottish Music"; the other, "Peblis to the Play," was included in the second volume of John Pinkerton's *Select Scottish Ballads*. In 1785 Pinkerton, a young Scottish author anxious for fame in England, let it be known that he intended to publish everything of merit by the makars, in a proper manner, and without reprinting what had already been well edited. His plan was included in the "List of the Scottish Poets" prefixed to *Ancient Scottish Poems*. There are seven old Scottish poets, he wrote, whose works may be termed classics and "will be reprinted to the end of the English language." These, in order of merit, are Dunbar, Drummon of Hawthornden, Douglas, James I, Barbour, Lyndsay, and Blind Harry. He went on:

Perhaps the editor may in time give new editions of the whole of these poets; in which labour much remains to be done.

1. To give a standard edition of Barbour restored to the old spelling, and conform to the MS. of 1489.
2. King James's works hardly need to be republished, Mr. Tytler having done so well, save for uniformity, and to give a standard edition of Christ Kirk from the two MSS. [the Bannatyne and Maitland Manuscripts.]
3. Henry, [i.e. Blind Harry's *Wallace*] to be printed from the edition 1570; restoring the two passages in stanzas, to their original uniformity, and omitting the chapters.
4. Dunbar's poems to be first collected in one volume, omitting trash.
5. To reprint only the Palice of Honour, King Hart, and Prologs, &c. to Virgil, of Douglas.
6. To omit the Four Monarchies of Lindsay, as a dull narration of events known to all; but to preserve all the Prologs, &c. and particularly to reprint Squire Meldrum, and the Satyre on the Estates.
7. To arrange Drummond's pieces into Sonnets, Odes, Poems, &c. they being now all mingled; and to give all his prose worth preserving at the end.

The whole ought to be printed in crown octavo, or of the size and type of this volume of poems; a smaller size being childish and hurtful to the eyes, and serving no purpose of use, convenience, or pleasure, which this does not. The old Scottish minor poets ought to form a separate volume. I shall only add, that as my views are wholly disinterested (*terar dum prosim*), I hope the

public will so encourage the design, that the printer may have no occasion to desist.¹²

In the same "List" he announced his intention of publishing various other works in the field of early Scottish literature. Pinkerton did not achieve all that he set out to do, but what he did accomplish constitutes no mean service to Scottish literature.

Pinkerton made his first attempt to edit older Scottish poetry in *Scottish Tragic Ballads* (London, 1781). This work did a great deal to damage his reputation in his own day. It contains six forged ballads, and for those forgeries the youthful author has had to pay dearly in the acid paragraphs and foot-notes of ballad editors. However, discussion of this interesting book is out of place here. The contents of the second edition of *Scottish Tragic Ballads*, published in 1783 under the new title of *Select Scottish Ballads*, reveal that by 1783 Pinkerton's attention had turned from ballad literature to the work of the makars. Apart from the excellent text of "Peblis to the Play", which was made available to Pinkerton by Percy, the volume contained three short poems by Dunbar, Henryson's "Robene and Makyne", three poems by Alexander Scott, and John Blyth's "Ballat of Gude-Fallowis"--all from Dalrymple's *Ancient Scottish Poems*. Pinkerton included "Christis Kirk on the Green" as well, basing his text on John Calander's version in *Two Ancient Scottish Poems* (1782). In 1784 he undertook a more ambitious editorial labour. The Maitland Folio, one of the two great manuscript repositories of early Scottish poetry, had been made by Sir Richard Maitland, Lord Lethington (1496-1586), and had fallen into Samuel Pepys's hands in the late seventeenth century. Outside of early notices of it in Nicholson's *Scottish Historical Library* (1703) and Mackenzie's *Lives*, the manuscript lay in the Pepys Library at Cambridge, unpublished and known only to scholars, for the first seven decades of the eighteenth century. With the revival of "black-letter learning", however, interest in it had quickened. About 1770 Percy, always on the watch for new material for his *Reliques*, took from it the transcript of "Peblis to the Play" which Pinkerton published in *Select Scottish Ballads*. Tyrwhitt too made use of it, for philological purposes, in his edition of Chaucer (1775). In 1782 Joseph Ritson visited Cambridge and also transcribed "Peblis to the Play", which he had chosen as one of the pieces to grace his ill-fated *Caledonian Muse*. Late in 1784 Pinkerton copied from it "every line" that seemed to him worthy of publication, and one year later gave his selection to the public in *Ancient Scottish Poems*.

Ancient Scottish Poems was Pinkerton's most important con-

tribution to the study of Middle Scots literature. In it he appointed himself champion of the makars' poetry, amassed a body of factual information about them, and tried to show other scholars how that poetry should be edited. How qualified was he for the task? He was eminently qualified. By 1785, Sir W. A. Craige has written, Pinkerton "had clearly made extensive studies in the older literature of Scotland, so far as it was then accessible."¹³ To Percy he seemed "the only person in the kingdom" capable of editing the Maitland Manuscript.¹⁴ And Pinkerton himself noted that by 1785 he had "read almost the whole of ancient Scottish poetry".¹⁵ He was an able editor, and he was also convinced that the contents of his volumes were pieces with genuine poetic merit. It is not often in Pinkerton's editions that one detects a patronizing attitude towards the makars' poetry. Percy had offered the poems in the *Reliques* "not as labours of art, but as effusions of nature, shewing the first efforts of ancient genius, and exhibiting the customs and opinions of remote ages";¹⁶ in addition, he had tried to ease his poems into polite society by appealing to a patron (the Countess of Northumberland) and by inserting among them "little elegant pieces of the lyric kind" written by respectable poets and many items that had already appeared in eighteenth-century collections of older poetry. Pinkerton displayed a more confident attitude. Showing great editorial restraint, he did not print poems like Dunbar's "Goldyn Targe" and "Lament for the Makaris", transcripts of which were included in the Maitland Manuscript, because they had been published in Dalrymple's and Ramsay's collections. The texts in *Ancient Scottish Poems* had never before appeared in print.¹⁷

The poem which Pinkerton chose to lead off his collection was "King Hart", one of the only two poems apart from his translation of the *Aeneid* and *The Palice of Honour* which Gavin Douglas is thought to have written, and for which the Maitland Manuscript is the sole authority. Following "King Hart" in the collection is Dunbar's *Twa Merrit Wemen and the Wedo*, Dunbar's longest poem and the only surviving example of his use of unrhymed alliterative verse which has been described as "the greatest, and grimmest, satire" in Scottish literature.¹⁸ Next is "The Freiris of Berwick", another tale which Pinkerton supposed was also by Dunbar. Modern scholars differ about the authorship of this poem, but it is acknowledged by all to have considerable merit. "For vivid comic narrative," writes James Kinsley, "this poem has no equal in Scots until 'Tam o' Shanter'."¹⁹ Among the twenty minor "Poemes be Dunbar" which follow are "Of James Dog", "Aganis the solistar in court", "Dunbar's Complaint", and "On the warldis instabilite". The "Poemes be various authors", which conclude the first volume,

include "Adveyce to a Courtier" by Quintyne Schaw, who is mentioned in Dunbar's "Lament for the Makaris", three poems by Alexander Arbuthnot, two by John Maitland, two by Alexander Montgomerie, and a sonnet by James VI. The second volume begins with twenty-nine "Poemes be unknawin makars": of these probably the best known are "The Bankis of Helicon", now ascribed to Montgomerie, and the "Song of Absence", which Pinkerton suspected was the *cantilena* by James I of Scotland upon his queen that had been mentioned in John Major's *History of Scotland*.²⁰ The collection concludes with twenty-six poems by Sir Richard Maitland himself and a few in praise of him and John Maitland. One of the fragments at the end is Dunbar's "Of Sir Thomas Norray".

Introductory matter, notes, and appendices to *Ancient Scottish Poems* take up as much space as the poems themselves. One section of this commentary, however, is of no particular relevance to early Scottish literature. The lengthy "Essay on the Origin of Scottish Poetry", though it proposes to treat the rise of Celtic and "Gothic" poetry in Scotland, is really a long disquisition on Scottish prehistory and looks forward to Pinkerton's pioneering books in that field. The main point of literary interest in this essay is Pinkerton's denial that Chaucer had any influence on early Scottish poets.²¹ Also prefaced to the collection is "A List of all the Scottish Poets; with brief remarks". Its unpretentious title does not give a fair indication of the contents. It is not so much a history of Scottish poetry as a call to action--an inquiry into the lives of the Scottish poets, an examination of the texts of Scottish poetry then in print, a statement of the need for better editions and more thorough scholarship, and his own critical assessment of each writer's work. Pinkerton regarded this as his manifesto for Scottish poetry, and his later research on the subject was designed to correct the mistakes in it and make it more complete.

Pinkerton's "List" begins with that "celebrated old bard", Thomas of Erceldoune. Mackenzie had given a life of Thomas in his *Lives*, in which he had printed several prophecies that had been ascribed to the old bard. Pinkerton is inclined to distrust Mackenzie on the matter. "None of these ancient prophecies now remain", he writes.²² He then prints a poem from a Harleian manuscript "which pretends to be one of them", and concludes that despite Mackenzie's statements "it seems doubtful if [Thomas] ever pretended to such folly".²³ His scepticism has been shown to be well-founded: "no rhyming prophecy exists", writes T. F. Henderson, "that can be certainly authenticated as his".²⁴ On the authority of Robert de Brunne, Pinkerton credits Thomas with the metrical romance *Sir Tristrem*, which he speculates, was written about

1270. "The piece itself is in no library in England", he writes, but it "may probably be in that MS. collection of Romances . . . in the Advocates Library, Edinburgh."²⁵ It is to be desired, he adds, "that a Catalogue of the MSS. in the Advocates' Library should be immediately given to the public". Pinkerton used all the standard sources of biographical information about Thomas, except the various manuscript chartularies in Edinburgh and Wyntoun's *Orygynalle Chronykil*, then unpublished. In his treatment of John Barbour his patriotism gets the better of his common sense. In Thomas Rymer's *Foedera* there is printed a passport allowing Barbour to accompany three scholars to Oxford and remain there to study. Anxious to establish that Barbour did not study at Oxford, but simply accompanied the other scholars there, Pinkerton says that Rymer probably misread the original manuscript. John Jamieson, in 1820, checked Rymer's source, and noted that Pinkerton was wrong.²⁶ *The Bruce* itself, says Pinkerton, doubtless depicts "many incidents wholly fabulous"; still, it is a valid source of history, and, as poetry, excellent:

. . . his poetry is as smooth as that of Chaucer, with great descriptive, and expressive, powers: his information admirable: his sentiments noble, and humane; nay worthy of ancient Greece: witness his eulogy of liberty, the very first to be found in any writer of Great Britain, and a wonderful one!²⁷

In any country of Europe "save Scotland", he adds, there would be twenty editions of such a poet, but unfortunately "not one edition has yet appeared in the genuine ancient dress." If he is unable to locate a manuscript of the poem, he will, with the help of the manuscript of Wyntoun's *Chronykil*, give an edition artificially restored to the Middle Scots language. Fortunately, before he had a chance to carry this plan into fruition, he learned that there was a manuscript of the poem "in the Advocates Library, written 1489, perfect and in fine order."²⁸ Of previous editions of *The Bruce* he writes with great contempt: "to modernize a poet is, in fact, to translate him". The dates which he gives for Barbour's life (about 1326-1396) and the composition of *The Bruce* (1375) are fairly accurate. Another early Scottish poem which merits the attention of scholars is Andrew of Wyntoun's *Orygynalle Chronykil*. By 1785, Pinkerton had consulted the manuscript of Wyntoun in the Cotton Library, and his extracts from the *Chronykil* in the appendix to *Ancient Scottish Poems* were the first lengthy pieces of that poem ever published. His plan for its publication laid emphasis on its historical value:

Now, as it is by no means worth while to preserve the

dry and veracious poetry of Winton, save where it contains Scottish history, the proper plan would be to omit all those chapters which are foreign to it; retaining however every word that in the least concerns Scotland.²⁹

If this plan is approved, he is willing to "undergo the fatigue" of publishing the work.

The survey continues with a brief treatment of James I of Scotland. Pinkerton does not think it necessary to give any biographical facts about James;³⁰ instead, he simply lists his works. Besides "The Kingis Quair" "Peblis to the Play", and "Christis Kirk on the Green" (a work he had attributed to James V in *Select Scottish Ballads* but which he now attributes to the first James because it is "unlikely that two successive princes should write two such similar poems as Christ's Kirk and Peblis"³¹), he lists "Falkland on the Green", a title mentioned in the second line of *Christis Kirk*, and the "Song of Absence" previously referred to. James's poetry needs no apology: "The *King's Quair* equals any thing Chaucer has written; and the other works of this prince have superlative merit."³² After a brief reference to Sir Richard Holland's *The Howlat*, he passes on to Blind Harry, author of *The Wallace*. This poem, he says, "is a romance, like Barbour's *Bruce*: but far, very far, inferior in every view. It has, however, great merit for the age; and is eminently curious."³³ He is unable to add any details to the life of Harry and suggests that the only valid source of information about him is Major's *History of Scotland*; indeed, little else of biographical interest about Harry has ever come to light.³⁴ Pinkerton gives various pieces of advice to any future editor of *The Wallace*, lists the previous editions of the poem, and warns the reader not to buy the 1758 edition:

. . . which the printer, very expertly reduced to modern spelling, and printed in black letter, and in quarto; being exactly, in every point, the very plan which he ought not to have followed.³⁵

Dunbar had not been mentioned in Mackenzie's *Lives*, and Hailes³⁶ and Warton had not been concerned with reconstructing his biography. Pinkerton's brief notice is, therefore, the first attempt to write Dunbar's life. The facts of his biography are few, and the main source of these is his own poetry. Dunbar was, says Pinkerton, born about 1465 and "died aged before 1530".³⁷ From evidence in the "Flyting" between him and Walter Kennedy, it appears that Dunbar was a native of East Lothian and that he might have been in some way related to the Earls of March. It also seems that he was at one

time "a travelling noviciate of the Franciscan order", but that, this being not much to his liking, he left the order and returned to Scotland around 1490. In his "Thrissil and the Rois" (1503) he mentions that he had already written many "sangis", so it is probable that *The Twa Merrit Wemen* and "The Freiris of Berwick" (if this is really his) were written before that date. Dunbar always expected, Pinkerton notes, to receive an ecclesiastical benefice, and made several addresses to the king to that end, "apparently without success". "I have", he concludes, "in vain looked over many Calanders of Charters, &c. of this period, to find Dunbar's name; but suspect that it was never written by a lawyer." Not a great deal more has been added to Dunbar's life by later biographers. Pinkerton thought highly of Dunbar's poetry and could not let Warton's statement, that the complexion of Dunbar's genius "is of a moral, or didactic cast", pass without comment:

. . . this remark must not be taken too strictly. The *Goldin Terge* is moral; and so are many of his small pieces: but humour, description, allegory, great poetical genius, and a vast wealth of words, all unite to form the 'complexion' of Dunbar's poetry.

From this valid point he proceeds to praise Dunbar extravagantly:

He unites in himself and generally surpasses, the qualities of the chief old English poets; the morals and satire of Langland; Chaucer's humour, poetry, and knowledge of life; the allegory of Gower; the description of Lydgate.³⁸

He ends by hoping that in time he will be able to give "a correct edition of *The Works of William Dunbar*."

Pinkerton gives no life of Gavin Douglas, referring the reader instead to the "fully written" biography in Ruddiman's edition of Douglas's *Aeneid* in 1710. He does, however, print one letter by Douglas from a manuscript in the Cotton Library and two other documents concerning him. "King Hart," because of its "several incorrect passages", he supposes to have been written before Douglas's other poems. Pinkerton is not enthusiastic about the merits of "King Hart": of the "feast" he has prepared for the reader, he writes in the Preface to *Ancient Scottish Poems*, it is "a plain dish", not a "dainty". *The Pallice of Honour* was written in 1501 and printed in 1553 and 1579. Pinkerton could not lay his hands on either edition. It is "rare to excess", he writes, and every reader "must

regret that it is not reprinted."³⁹ The most praiseworthy parts of Douglas's translation of the *Aeneid* are the prologues to certain of the books, which "yield to no descriptive poems in any language."⁴⁰

The minor Scottish poets of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries are known chiefly through Dunbar's "Lament for the Makaris", an elegy in which the poet expresses his own fear of death and his sorrow that many of his fellow poets are already dead. Such poets are Clerk of Tranent, Patrick Johnstone, John Clerk, "Sir Mungo Lockhart of the Lee", and many others. Pinkerton lists them all and gives what little biographical information he can find about them in the few available sources. One poet, however, he badly misjudges. Dunbar had written these two lines of death:

In Dunfermelyne he has done rovne
With Maister Robert Henrisoun . . .
(Dunbar, "Lament for the Makaris", ll.81-2.)

In 1785 Henryson remained the most neglected poet of the "Golden Age" of Scottish poetry. Here is Pinkerton's evaluation:

His Fabils are in the Harleian Library, and, instead of being so moral as Lord Hailes states them, have in many passages, equal freedom with any contemporary poetry. *The twa mice* in the Evergreen, Vol. I. is the only one worth preservation, being written with much *naïveté*.⁴¹

The wheel has come full circle for Henryson. Now he is considered by some to be one of the greatest Scottish poets and in some respects the equal of Chaucer.⁴² In the eighteenth century, however, neither Warton, Hailes, Pinkerton, nor any prominent scholar in early Scottish poetry before John Leyden, thought his poetry worthy of serious critical attention.

Mackenzie's life of Sir David Lyndsay in his *Lives* was the first biography ever written of that poet, and of all Mackenzie's biographies, the most trustworthy. Pinkerton's additions to this are few. He does correct one of Mackenzie's statements, that Lyndsay had been employed as the king's "steward of the Household, Pursemaster, Treasurer, and Usher", and points out that Lyndsay never held any office except "Lyon king at arms"; and he adds other details from Lindsay of Pittscottie's *History of Scotland*, which was not published until after Mackenzie wrote his *Lives*. His main concern with Lyndsay is bibliographical. He lists all Lyndsay's works (omitting only "Pedder Coffeis", which had been ascribed to Lyndsay by Ramsay, but which Lord Hailes had printed as

anonymous⁴³), decides that the *Monarchie* must have been written in 1550, and describes two of the earliest editions of the *Complaynt of our Soverane Lordis Papyngo*. He also lists the only editions of *The Historie of Squire Meldrum* and describes a manuscript of it in his possession.⁴⁴ This he thinks "the very best of all Lindsay's works; being descriptive of real manners, and incidents".⁴⁵ Both it and Lyndsay's *Ane Pleasant Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis* should be republished, as both are "rare to the extreme".

Mackenzie had written in 1722 that Sir James Inglis had "compos'd several Treatises both in Verse and Prose, of which we have still extant one, called *Scotland's Complaint*, printed at St. Andrews in 1548."⁴⁶ Pinkerton realized the value of this rare prose work and consequently incorporated a life of Inglis in his list. *Ancient Scottish Poems* was printed off before he realized that he had been too quick to follow Mackenzie. A manuscript note in Pinkerton's hand, against Mackenzie's statement quoted above, is in the British Museum Library copy of the *Lives*. It is a blunt rebuttal: "false the Book was written by Wedderburn & printed 1549." In the "Additions and Corrections" to *Ancient Scottish Poems* he explains the circumstances and implications of his discovery:

The celebrated *Complaynt of Scotland* the editor has discovered in the [British] Museum; but wanting the title, and two leaves 39 and 137. It is in very small duodecimo, of 148 leaves, when complete; in white letter, a little larger than this. Being a most curious piece, well written, and fraught with great learning, the editor means to republish it, as the only classic work in old Scottish prose. If any person will send him a *fac simile* of the title page, and a literal transcript of the two leaves above mentioned, it will be a great favour.

The book was not written by Sir James Inglis, as Dr. Mackenzie, an author stupid beyond imagination, says; and, in which strange error he is followed by all our writers! The title bears that it was written by *Wedderburn*, and printed in 1549.⁴⁷

When *Ancient Scottish Poems* was published the question of the authorship of the *Complaynt* quickly became controversial. For once Ritson agreed with Pinkerton, but Lord Hailes and David Herd held out for Inglis.⁴⁸ Pinkerton never published the *Complaynt*, and it was not until 1801 that an edition of it appeared. The editor, John Leyden, unwisely claimed that Sir David Lyndsay had written the book. Pinkerton rebutted his opinion in the *Critical Review*. The question has been a

difficult one to resolve.⁴⁹

Such are Pinkerton's main pronouncements on the works of the most important makars. The remainder of his "List"--it includes all Scottish poets, except those who wrote in Latin, who were dead before 1785--is taken up with bibliographical information about minor poets, details of anonymous pieces of Middle Scots literature, and notes of a miscellaneous character. Sir Richard Maitland, Alexander Scott ("the Anacreon of old Scottish poetry"), John Maitland, Alexander Arbuthnot, and Alexander Montgomerie all find a place in his survey. As Pinkerton leaves the sixteenth century his enthusiasm for his subject wanes. The golden age of Scottish poetry has passed, he assures his reader, and a century of bigotry and persecution has caused even a poet like Drummond of Hawthornden to be forgotten. What poet do Scotsmen now turn to, as representing their national literary heritage? The "buffoon", Allan Ramsay:

. . . to the great discredit of taste in Scotland, while we admire the effusions of this scribbler, we utterly neglect our really great poets, such as Barbour, Dunbar, Drummond, &c. There is even a sort of national prejudice in favour of the Gentle Shepherd, because it is our only drama in the Scottish language; yet we ought to be ashamed to hold prejudices so ridiculous to other nations, and obnoxious to taste, and just criticism.⁵⁰

If the poets of Scotland wish to continue using the dialect in poetry, says Pinkerton, they must turn for inspiration to the makars. The makars' language is "venerable from it's antiquity, nay sacred from it's primitive dedication to poetry".⁵¹ It can only inspire. "Use the words of the vulgar", he advises young Scottish poets, "but use ancient and grave idioms and manner. Remember this vulgar speech was once the speech of heroes."⁵² Less than one year after Pinkerton wrote these words Burns published the Kilmarnock edition of his poems.

If the "simple and genuine" poetry of the makars failed to inspire Scots, it was not because Pinkerton lacked enthusiasm. He turned next to Barbour's *Bruce*, purchased a transcript of the manuscript in the Advocates' Library, and published the poem in three volumes in 1790. The title-page, with complete justification, announced this as "The First Genuine Edition". The preface to the work was only twenty-three pages long. Pinkerton again admonishes Scots to follow the example of other European nations by making all their ancient poetry of merit available to the public in careful editions. He has high praise for *The Bruce* itself. It can, he writes, "bear

company with the best early poetry which any modern country can boast." Pinkerton prefers it to "the melancholy sublimity" of Dante and the "amorous quaintness" of Petrarch, because Barbour's poem has both poetical and historical value:

Here indeed the reader will find few of the graces of fine poetry, little of the Attic dress of the muse: but here are life, and spirit, and ease, and plain sense, and pictures of real manners, and perpetual incident, and entertainment. The language is remarkably good for the time; and far superior, in neatness and elegance, even to that of Gawin Douglas, who wrote more than a century after.⁵³

For a proper appreciation of the historical significance of *The Bruce*, Pinkerton refers the reader to Lord Hailes's account of the reign of Robert I in his *Annals of Scotland*, where the poem is frequently cited as an authoritative source. Take both aspects of Barbour's work into consideration, he challenges, "let the historical and poetical merits of his work be weighed together; and then opposed to those of any other early poet of the present nations of Europe."⁵⁴

The short biography of Barbour in the Preface adds information from Wyntoun's *Chronykil* to the facts already given in the "List of the Scottish Poets". Pinkerton was the first scholar to notice that Wyntoun supplied biographical information about Barbour, and the first to realize that long passages of *The Bruce* are quoted in the *Chronykil*. Nevertheless, his biography of Barbour in 1790 remains substantially the same as the earlier one. Pinkerton's acquaintance with Wyntoun made him the first to meet the famous "Huchown question", which centers on Wyntoun's praise for one

. . . Huchoun
That cunnand wes in litterature.
He maid þe gret Gest of Arthure,
And þe Anteris of Gawane,
The Epistill als of Suede Susane.
He wes curyous in his stile,
Faire and facund and subtile,
And ay to plesance and delite,
Maid in meit metyre his dite,
Litill or ellis nocht be gess
Wauerand fra þe suthfastnes.⁵⁵

Pinkerton quotes the passage and states unequivocally: "Of Hutcheon the editor knows nothing."⁵⁶ The Preface closes with "one little remark", that the title of *The Bruce* is given to the poem "as its genuine ancient name". The notes to the edition reflect an intense scholarly interest in the medieval

history of Scotland. By 1790 Pinkerton had already published his *Enquiry into the History of Scotland* (1789), and he was now preparing his history of the first five Stuart kings. In the preface to *The Bruce* he recommends the publication of poems like Wyntoun's which are of use to historians:

Tho' Winton's work will not bear a total publication, it would be worth while to publish this latter part, from David II. till 1414, as forming with Barbour a chain of memoirs in Scottish verse, for the history of Scotland, almost down to the commencement of our memoirs in Scottish prose, in the history of Lindsay of Pitscottie. The space from 1414 till 1437, when Lindsay begins, might be supplied from Bellenden's translation of Boethius . . . This part of Winton and Bellenden would form two large octavo volumes.⁵⁷

In the same manuscript which contains *The Bruce*, he notes, is also Blind Harry's *Wallace*, which, though "a mere wild romance," might be published "for the sake of the language, and manners". This he leaves "to some gentleman residing in Scotland, and curious in such matters".⁵⁸ In 1792, in his *Scottish Poems, reprinted from Scarce Editions*, he informed the public that he had "abandoned his design of publishing the works of our chief Scottish poets".⁵⁹

Pinkerton's last collection of old Scottish poetry contains many of the pieces which he had previously recommended for publication. Leading the first volume is *The thrie Tales of the thrie Priestis of Peblis*, an anonymous metrical tale from the latter part of the fifteenth century, which Pinkerton had already praised for its "curious minutiae of manners."⁶⁰ He reprinted it from the 1603 Charteris quarto belonging to Richard Gough. In the first volume also are Gavin Douglas's *Palice of Honour*, from the 1579 Charteris quarto,⁶¹ and Sir David Lyndsay's *The Historie of Squire Meldrum*, here printed for the first time since the Charteris quarto edition in 1594. The entire second volume is devoted to Sir David Lyndsay's *Ane Pleasant Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis*, printed from a transcript of the version in the Bannatyne Manuscript. Ramsay had intended to publish it, but his plan had come to nothing. Lord Hailes had noted its existence in 1770 but had refused to print it because of its many obscene passages. In the third volume are *Philotus*, a sixteenth-century Scottish comedy, which Pinkerton had in 1785 commended for its "curious pictures of life, manners, dress, &c."⁶²; *Gologrus and Gawain*, copied for Pinkerton from the recently discovered Chepman and Myllar editions of 1508, together with six "ballads", as he chose to call them, from the same source;⁶³ and three pre-

viously unpublished items--Sir Richard Holland's "The Howlat", a long fifteenth-century political allegory from the Bannatyne Manuscript, Henryson's "The Bludy Serk" from the same source, and the *Awntyrs off Arthure*, another early metrical romance, printed from Francis Douce's transcript of Ritson's manuscript. Pinkerton printed this work without the authorization of either Ritson or Douce.⁶⁴

The "Preliminaries" to *Scotish Poems*, like the preface to *The Bruce*, were intended by Pinkerton as a supplement to the "List of the Scotish Poets". Each item in *Scotish Poems* merits a separate discussion. *The thrie Tales of the thrie Priestis of Peblis*, he conjectures, was written before the year 1492 because in it the kingdom of Grenada is mentioned as not yet Christian; it was probably intended as a satire on the government of James III. The tales are "more moral than facetious; and . . . their chief merit consists in a *naif* delineation of ancient manners."⁶⁵ Gavin Douglas's *Palice of Honour* "has great merit for the age in which it was written." Sir David Lyndsay's *Ane Pleasant Satyre* was probably the most useful play ever written and "may be supposed to have contributed more to the reformation in Scotland, than all the sermons of John Knox."⁶⁶ From internal evidence Pinkerton concludes that the date of the play was 1552. The extraordinary length of *Ane Satyre* may tempt some scholars to compare it with the English mystery and morality plays:

. . . but the piece itself is of a mixt class, partaking nothing with the Mysteries, or dramas founded on scripture, and on the lives of saints; but mingling the plan of the Moralities, in which ideal personifications, virtues, vices &c. appear, with that of the genuine drama. No Scotish Mysteries remain; and this production is the earliest effort of our dramatic muse.⁶⁷

Despite the few obscenities which stain it, the play, by virtue of its usefulness to the Reformation, native humour, and good poetry, and because it presents the first specimen of Scottish drama, "claims a distinguished notice in Scotish literature."⁶⁸ Modern scholars have moved the date of *Ane Satyre* back to 1540, but they have supported Pinkerton's enthusiastic claims for it. Pinkerton adds several details to his life of Lyndsay in the "List". Two portraits of Lyndsay (taken from the Paris 1558 and Edinburgh 1634 editions of his works) form the frontispiece to the first volume of *Scotish Poems*. He also prints a long letter from Lyndsay to the Lord Secretary of Scotland, which he found in the Cotton Library, and adds anecdotes and less important facts from the preface to the John Scot quarto edition of Lyndsay's works in 1568.

The other early Scottish play, *Philotus*, is curious because it displays "the natural progress of our drama from the morality to rude comedy".⁶⁹

Gologrus and Gawain and the *Awntyrs off Arthure* (or, as Pinkerton christens them, *Gawan and Gologros* and *Sir Gawan and Sir Galaron of Galloway* are "at least as ancient as the middle of the fifteenth century" and were probably written by Clerk of Tranent, said by Dunbar to have made "the anteris of Gawane". The ascription is as good a conjecture as any that has been made, but the two pieces are not usually discussed in reference to the "Huchown question".⁷⁰ Pinkerton was not aware of the existence of many of the old Scottish and English romances. "The Pistill of Susan", "Geste Historiall of the Destruction of Troy", "Sir Gawain and the Green Knight", and other like pieces, were not published until the nineteenth century. He admitted that he found the language of these older poems puzzling:

These two metrical romances of chivalry, are the only remaining specimens of this sort of composition in the Scottish language. So uncouth is their style, and that of the Houlat, owing chiefly to their constant alliteration, that they present difficulties sufficient to puzzle the most skilful commentator, or etymologist . . .⁷¹

In his treatment of *The Awntyrs off Arthure* Pinkerton does little but date the handwriting of the manuscript and give reasons why, though "the language is in some instances a little anglicized", the poem is Scottish rather than English. His chief hope is that "it may receive and yield more illustration in this collection, than it could otherwise have, if not permitted to perish with other curious reliques of antiquity."⁷²

The Chepman and Myllar prints of 1508, the earliest examples of Scottish printing, had come to light in 1788 when "a gentleman of Ayrshire" gave them to the Advocates' Library. The discovery, naturally, was of great interest to Pinkerton, and his *Gologrus and Gawain* and various "ballads" were the first publication made from them. He gives a complete list of the titles in the Chepman and Myllar series and corrects some readings in the standard versions of Dunbar's "Lament for the Makaris" by reference to the Chepman text. He also lists all the variations he can find between the Chepman and Maitland versions of *The Twa Merrit Wemen and the Wedo*. This last was especially necessary, he believed, because the Maitland Manuscript "is not in the best condition, in the part containing this curious poem".⁷³ The variations fill over two pages.

He then makes more specific additions and corrections to his "List of the Scottish Poets", this being "probably the last opportunity he shall find of making any additional observations on that subject." *Rauf Coilzear* he wished to print in *Scottish Poems* "but could not discover a copy".⁷⁴ By 1792 he had obtained copies of John Rolland's *Seuin Sages* and *Court of Venus* and he includes an account of both productions in the Preliminaries to the collection. Neither, however, is worth publishing; much of the *Court of Venus* is "pedantic and absurd". Patrick Gordon's *The Famous History of Penardo and Laissa* (1615) is "Rare to excess", but Pinkerton possesses a copy of it. He accounts for its rarity thus:

The author was probably so ashamed of it as to quash the edition; for it is the most puerile mixture of all times, manners, and religions, that ever was published: for instance, the Christian religion is put as that of ancient Greece!⁷⁵

Pinkerton was the first to identify Wyntoun's Huchown "of the Aule Ryall" with Dunbar's "Sir Hew of Eglinton":

. . . it appears that *Hucheon* was the old Scottish mode of Hugh, [and] a suspicion arises that this poet is Sir Hew of Eglinton, mentioned by Dunbar as preceding Winton in time, for his 'lament' is often chronological. However this be, no other Hucheon is known in the bibliography of romances.⁷⁶

Many scholars now argue that the two were indeed the same. It is strange that Pinkerton did not go further and theorize that the two metrical romances in his collection were written by the same elusive Huchown, who is now credited, on the authority of Wyntoun, with many early Scottish romances. Other additions to the "List" are minor. His opinion of Henryson had not changed since 1785: "The Bludy Serk" has "little merit, except its easy versification, and ballad-stanza, rarely found in productions of that epoch."⁷⁷ He mentions in a footnote that Henryson's *Testament of Cresseid* is usually and erroneously ascribed to Chaucer.⁷⁸ The note is unusually polite, and it may be safely conjectured that if one of Dunbar's or Lyndsay's poems had thus miscarried, some English plagiarist would have felt the full force of Pinkerton's patriotic wrath.

The neglect of Henryson was one of the serious flaws in the mass of Pinkerton's commentary on the makars. There were other flaws too, both of omission and commission. Pinkerton was familiar with very little of the early Scottish romance

literature, because most of it was unpublished in his time. He had never seen *Sir Tristrem*, for example, and was able to make only vague and irrelevant comments on it. His bibliographical information was usually incomplete, because the accumulation of early editions of the makars had only just begun in 1785. He stubbornly refused to admit that Chaucer had any influence on early Scottish poetry: "point out one imitation of the slightest passage of Chaucer in any Scottish poet whatever," he challenged Tyrwhitt in 1785, and he would believe that Chaucer was the father of both English and Scottish poetry; but "I know from certain knowledge that he cannot; so must refuse my assent to his opinion."⁷⁹ He never again commented on the Chaucerian influence, even though by 1792 he had become acquainted with much of Henryson's poetry. Pinkerton was more of a publicist than a literary historian. He was a combination of biographer, bibliographer, critic, and editor; and his commentary was valuable because it provided later literary historians like Irving with a background of facts and a series of texts on which they could base their work. Like his *Enquiry into the History of Scotland*, the "List of Scottish Poets" formed materials for a history, and not a history in itself.

On this basis it must be judged. It is true that in parts of the "List" Pinkerton was sometimes wrong in his facts, over-enthusiastic, too quick to pronounce on the basis of scanty evidence, and generally prejudiced in favour of the makars. His critical comments were not all, however, marked by "absurdity";⁸⁰ many were sound and temperate, and many modern critics of Middle Scots poetry would agree with them. And even though many editions and biographical sources were unavailable to him, much of the biographical and bibliographical data he presented was, as demonstrated, valid. He showed in this commentary the same skeptical approach to sources that marked his use of early chronicles and histories in his *Enquiry into the History of Scotland*, and modern research has shown that his attitude to such authorities as Mackenzie and Dempster was justified. Scholars in Middle Scots poetry have, of course, superseded Pinkerton's commentary on the makars by intricate analyses of biographical and philological evidence. Hundreds of pages have been written on Huchown since Pinkerton made his uneasy conjecture that he was the same person as Dunbar's Sir Hew of Eglinton, and the question of the authorship of the *Complaynt of Scotland* has attracted a great deal of commentary since Pinkerton began it by ascribing that work to Wedderburn. Pinkerton's "List" is indeed antiquated; but scholars even now might well express their indebtedness to him, as T. F. Henderson did in his preface to *Scottish Vernacular Literature*, for his valuable pioneering work in the

field. For beyond and more important than the maze of facts presented in the "List" was the plan it embodied. No scholar before Pinkerton had been so avid a champion of the makars; nobody had previously made so earnest a plea for the publication of their poetry, or had outlined so precise a plan for its publication; and nobody before David Laing in the nineteenth century edited so large a selection of their work. The plan was in every respect admirable; and the enthusiasm and scholarship of the planner could not fail to arouse interest in the poetry of early Scotland.

In turning to Pinkerton's editorial behaviour in these texts, it should be noted that in one respect at least his procedure was far in advance of the accepted standards of his day. In his discussion of *Philotus* Pinkerton gave his views on publishing "immodest" poetry:

. . . the recent editor of a *Biographia Dramatica* has attacked this piece violently on the score of immodesty. This writer's philosophy, it would seem, is exactly equal to his learning. Had he the smallest share of philosophy, he would know that our bashfulness, so remarkable to foreigners, is a weakness, and not a virtue; and that it is this bashfulness alone which makes us so nice about matters so freely discoursed by other nations. If the generation of man be a matter of shame and infamy, it follows that man is the child of shame and infamy. Now nothing excites vice so much as low ideas of human nature; and those nice writers, while they are preaching virtue, are from mere ignorance opening the door to every vice. Had this writer any learning, he would know that the comedies of Aristophanes, written in the brightest period of Athenian politeness, are quite indecent to British ears. Are we wiser than the Athenians? Are we not far more foolish in this respect than all modern nations?⁸¹

The defence has a modern ring. Pinkerton went so far as to claim that immodesty was an "essential" and desirable feature of *The Twa Merrit Wemen and the Wedo* and to insist that the habit of "castrating a book, and putting asterisks . . . tends solely to give a work an imperfect look, and to raise far worse ideas in the guessing reader than those omitted."⁸² Accordingly he printed both *The Twa Merrit Wemen* and "The Freiris of Berwick" (omitting, however, eight lines from the latter) in *Ancient Scottish Poems*, and, though he was forced to "castrate" certain parts of *Scottish Poems*, never changed his mind about printing ribald poetry. His attitude may be contrasted with that of Percy, who promised his public that

in the *Reliques* "great care has been taken to admit nothing immoral and indecent",⁸³ and that of Lord Hailes, who wrote this of Lyndsay's *Ane Satyre* in his *Ancient Scottish Poems*:

Sir David Lyndsay was the author of various interludes. Some of them are to be found in Lord Hyndford's MS. I believe no one will ever venture to publish them: they are loose and indecent beyond credibility. How would this age, libertine as it may be, endure the fitting of a Spanish padlock in a theatrical representation?⁸⁴

"I wish that the indecent poems had been omitted", Lord Hailes wrote to Pinkerton on receipt of *Ancient Scottish Poems*.⁸⁵ In 1802 John Leyden condemned Pinkerton's "shameless defense of obscenity", and in 1830 Walter Scott attacked *Ancient Scottish Poems* for "the studied and laboured defence of obscenity" which disgraced its pages.⁸⁶

To print poetry of merit, regardless of its "immodesty," and to add to the corpus of Scottish poetry before the public--these two desires alone influenced Pinkerton's choice of texts. As a transcriber of texts he professed the Horatian dictum, "*Sanctum est vetus omne poema*". In *Ancient Scottish Poems* he has been

. . . so very tender of every particle of these remains of former times, that he believes the most rigid anti-quary will not censure him. Indeed the poems, meeting with such a collector as Sir Richard Maitland, are in a state of original perfection before unknown in like cases . . . Where in one or two places, a word, or line, was palpably lost, the editor has supplied them; but every the most minute supplement, or alteration of an evidently wrong word, tho it be but a *That* for an *And*, or the like, is always put in brackets [thus]. And the reader may depend upon finding thro-out a *literal* transcript of the MS. save in these very rare instances, and as far as human fallibility would permit.⁸⁷

He made similar protestations in his two later editions. In 1787 he was careful to insist to the Earl of Buchan that the "greatest object" in publishing *The Bruce* "must be to print it from the manuscript *literatim*".⁸⁸ After Adam de Cardonnel had transcribed the manuscript of the poem, Pinkerton had Buchan re-examine it and correct any mistakes that de Cardonnel had made. Buchan sent the transcript to Pinkerton with this attestation:

I David Stewart Earl of Buchan have compared this tran-

script of the MS. dated 1489 in the Lawyer's Library at Edinburgh, with the original and find it to be a true copy having corrected such errors as I have been able to observe in the course of a very minute investigation & comparison.⁸⁹

Pinkerton did not tamper with this transcript. It was sent to the press as it came and printed "with the utmost exactness, even to the retention of small errors, which might easily have been amended."⁹⁰ The reader could be confident that Pinkerton's texts were literal copies.

Such, at least, was his claim, and there is throughout all three of his editions evidence of a real concern to give a faithful reproduction of sources. But Pinkerton was acutely aware in his editions of old Scottish poetry that he was appealing to the man of taste as well as to the antiquary. His idea of what constituted a literal text was different from Joseph Ritson's. To Ritson an edition was an exact reproduction in print of the source: the typographical and orthographical minutiae of the original should be preserved. Pinkerton ridiculed this idea in his review of Ritson's *Scottish Song* in the *Critical Review*:

We have no opinion of our author's general learning; but must whisper in his ear that it is profanation, nay, (in his saintly scale of *crimes*) it is *blasphemy*, for any editor to publish any classic, except in the fac simile of the MS. Hold you, Mr. Hayne, you sacrilegious professor! And Virgil too! An old author! None of your improvements and conjectures! All must be fac simile. . . . and by all means supply not a word, a syllable; give us all the contractions, all the sweet contractions, not a pot hook can be spared.⁹¹

While Pinkerton was aware that "his business was not to patch and mend, but to show the poetry of that time as it really was",⁹² he did not think it necessary to retain all the errors and "pot hooks" of the original manuscript or printed source. "Pope laughs at editors who retain palpable nonsense, and say *sic MS.*", he wrote, and "He is surely right".⁹³ He aimed at making his texts intelligible to the educated reader of his day, the man of sense who might be expected to understand Middle Scots poetry without much difficulty.

A collation of the texts in *Ancient Scottish Poems* with those in the scholarly edition of the Maitland Folio by Sir W. A. Craigie reveals that Pinkerton tampered with his source in the following ways: he used his own punctuation, capitalization, and italics; he did not copy orthographical minutiae,

always writing "for" for "ffor", "y" for "ȝ", and "th" for "þ", and expanding all contractions ("w^tin" he always writes "within"); he often regularized the metre of the original by inserting words in parentheses and sometimes added endings to words for the same reason but without using parentheses; in a very few cases he omitted an unnecessary word which made the metre of a line irregular, without noting the omission; he sometimes corrected an obvious grammatical mistake, as when he writes "is" for "ar" or "quhilk" for "quhill"; and he composed whole lines and inserted them in parentheses to make up for lacunae in the manuscript. He did not record cancellations or interlinear corrections in the manuscript and had no textual apparatus, except that he occasionally mentioned difficulties and corruptions of the source in the notes. And, throughout all his editions, he made what divisions he liked in the poems, preferring an ordered sequence of "cantos" or "books" to the unorganized mass of lines in the manuscript. The result of such tamperings is that Pinkerton's texts are fairly, though not precisely, accurate, and very readable:

(Craigie)

Servit this quene dame plesance all at richt
 first hie apporte bewtie and humilnes
with mony vtheris madinis fair and bricht
 Reuth and gud fame fredome and gentilnes
 Constance patience raddour and meiknes
 Conning kyndnes heyndnes and honestie
 Mirth lustheid lyking and nobilnes
 blis and blythnes plesance and pure pietie⁹⁴

(Pinkerton)

Servit this Quene Dame Plesance, all at richt,
 First *Hie Apporte, Bewtie, and Humilnes;*
 With many utheris madinis, fair and bricht,
Reuth, and Gud Fame, Freedome, and Gentilnes;
Constance, Patience, Raddour, and Meiknes
Couning, Kyndnes, Heyndnes, and Honestie
Mirth, Lustheid, Lyking, and Nobilnes
 Blis, and Blythnes, [*Gudenes*] and pure Pitie.⁹⁵

This is a fair example of Pinkerton's editing. It should be noted, however, that substitutions such as "*Gudenes*" for "plesance" in the last line of this stanza (he could not see how "plesance" could serve "dame plesance") are rare in his work. If his editorial conventions are accepted by the reader (and he rarely goes outside these conventions, only once in *Ancient Scottish Poems* making a change in the word-order of a line), Pinkerton's texts are valid and accurate by

the standards of his day. They represent, it is true, a compromise between the demands of the antiquary and those of the man of taste, but the concessions made to the man of taste are not to any great extent harmful.

Further detailed collation of Pinkerton's texts with those of modern editors seems unnecessary. His editorial conventions in *Ancient Scottish Poems* are those of *The Bruce* and *Scottish Poems* as well. All three editions, by the standards of the modern textual critic, contain corrected, and therefore impure texts. The difficulties which Pinkerton encountered in transcribing and selecting texts were those which must present themselves to any pioneering editor. The first to edit the difficult Maitland Folio, he did not have access to the Reidpath Manuscript, a collateral authority by reference to which many lost readings in the Folio have been restored. *The Bruce*, again, was known to exist in only one manuscript in 1790; another, the Cambridge Manuscript and the superior of the two, was first used by Cosmo Innes in 1856.⁹⁶ In editing Lyndsay's *Ane Satyre*, Pinkerton was obliged to base his text on the version given in the Bannatyne Manuscript, rather than that in the Charteris edition of the play in 1602. He realized that the Charteris text was the superior authority, but he did not have an opportunity to make use of it. His version of the play was a confused concoction, of no textual value.⁹⁷ There are similar flaws in other parts of his work. Only one of Pinkerton's texts, that of *The thrie Tales of the thrie Priestis of Peblis*, has an independent textual value. He had a perfect copy of the 1603 Charteris quarto edition of the poem on which to base his text; modern editors have only the Douce copy, which lacks one hundred and ninety-four lines. Pinkerton's reprint in *Scottish Poems* is therefore of value in restoring these lines. The editor of the poem for the Scottish Text Society found that Pinkerton, "except that he took liberties with the lettering--printing u for v, v for u, and y for ʒ--kept very close to his authority."⁹⁸

Like all pioneering editors, Pinkerton has been abused by those who followed in his footsteps. In is illuminating to examine certain of their comments and to see whether or not their contempt for his work was justified. David Macpherson has recorded Ritson's opinion of *Ancient Scottish Poems*, which was that Pinkerton's claims to literal accuracy in copying the Maitland Manuscript were simply falsehoods:

M^r Rit--n who has compared P's Edition with the MSS. tells a very different Story. In particular he says that where a passage uncommonly difficult has occurred, M^r P. has got over the difficulty by omitting it . . .⁹⁹

The truth is that Pinkerton omitted thirty-one lines from the poems he transcribed from the manuscript. Eight of these were omitted because of their "immodesty";¹⁰⁰ the other twenty-three were practically illegible in the manuscript, and W. A. Craigie himself was forced to supply many of them from the Reidpath Manuscript or to admit that his readings were uncertain. Except in the case of the eight ribald lines, and two other omissions, Pinkerton signified his omissions by a series of asterisks. He never avoided a piece because it was difficult to read in the source. *The Twa Merrit Wemen*, which occupied the most mutilated part of the Maitland Manuscript, he printed as best he could, and two of the serious omissions occurred in the exceptionally difficult "Of Sir Thomas Norray".

George Chalmers, never temperate in his strictures on Pinkerton's editions, was unusually severe in his criticism of Pinkerton's glossaries. These glossaries, like Lord Hailes's in *Ancient Scottish Poems*, were incomplete, very often inaccurate, but frequently very ingenious. Chalmers, writing twenty years after Pinkerton published *Ancient Scottish Poems*, was able to find twenty "mistakes" in the glossary appended to it. Of these ten appear to have been genuine mistakes; in seven cases Pinkerton seems right and Chalmers wrong; in three cases both were wrong.¹⁰¹ Pinkerton's mistakes reflected, not ignorance or indolence, but the state of Middle Scots studies in his time.

Later editors have been only too prone to follow Ritson's and Chalmers's bigoted assessments of Pinkerton's editions. Sir William Craigie, for example, made this comment about *Ancient Scottish Poems*:

The many errors and unwarranted changes, again, form an illuminating comment on his claim to "literal" accuracy, and show that Ritson had reasonable ground for his assertion to the contrary.¹⁰²

Whatever deference may be paid to the authority of this excellent scholar, his appraisal of Pinkerton must be rejected as unjust. So also must Walter Skeat's opinion of *The Bruce* be rejected. While admitting that "much of his work is quite correct," Skeat warned the reader to avoid Pinkerton's edition of Barbour because Pinkerton, like John Jamieson, "was not acquainted with the language of the Middle-English period."¹⁰³ Pinkerton demonstrated in *Ancient Scottish Poems* that he was as familiar with Middle Scots grammar and vocabulary as most scholars of his time. Certainly neither he nor his contemporaries had Skeat's knowledge of the language. But while expert knowledge of a language is necessary before absolutely correct texts can be made, there must also be earlier texts

from which to glean that knowledge. By overlooking this, Skeat pronounces invalid any kind of pioneering effort.

Pinkerton's edition of *The Bruce* was free from unpleasant textual distraction, judiciously divided into twenty books (a division now accepted by editors), tastefully, not oppressively, annotated. Such a text, he believed, rather than one preserving all the "pot hooks" of a manuscript, was best calculated to stimulate public interest in the makars and their poetry. A selection of comments from the reviews of his editions will show that his labours were not unsuccessful in stimulating such interest. The reviewer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* was astonished at the merit of some items in *Ancient Scottish Poems*:

The first poem, intituled *King Hart*, is by Gawin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkild, the celebrated translator of Virgil; then follow the works of William Dunbar, born 1465, the chief of the ancient Scottish poets. Many of them are highly poetical, and when we consider the period in which he lived, and the rude uncivilized state of his countrymen, we shall contemplate his works not only with delight but with astonishment.--What suavity of numbers, and what beautiful imagery, do we find in the following poem! [Dunbar's "Meditation written in Wyntir".]¹⁰⁴

The *Critical* reviewer thought highly of Barbour's poetry:

When we raise Barbour above the rank of the metrical romances, it is not to establish his character as an epic poet. His poem is a continued narrative, but told with ease and spirit; enlivened by little digressions, numerous incidents, and a faithful picture of life and manners. If our author is less poetical than Gawin Douglas, if his vein of poetry is less rich, his descriptions less luxuriant, and his words less carefully chosen, he excels the bishop in animation, in naiveté . . . and in the accuracy of his delineation of the national manners.¹⁰⁵

Of all monuments of ancient British poetry, Thomas Pearne wrote in the *Monthly*, Barbour's *Bruce* "may fairly assert a superior right to engage the public attention, on the ground of its merit as a poetical composition."¹⁰⁶ Reviewers, indeed, were unanimous in praise of *The Bruce*, and only the most fastidious among them chose to point to blemishes in the contents of his other two collections. Having neglected Lord Hailes's *Ancient Scottish Poems* in 1770, they were now willing to accept early Scottish poetry and capable of giving valid criti-

cisms of it. A spirit sympathetic to the makars was abroad and a new scholarly interest in them aroused.

It is easy to underestimate the influence of a plan such as that contained in Pinkerton's "List of the Scottish Poets". In 1788 he made a similar plea for the publication of ancient Welsh poetry, and during the following three years the *Gentleman's Magazine* published a great bulk of verse communicated by enthusiastic Welsh nationalists in answer to his suggestion. A similar enthusiasm was evident in Scotland after 1785, and Pinkerton's name is to be linked directly with several important editions of the makars published by the Morisons of Perth. Displaying motives which must be called patriotic and unselfish, he encouraged them to issue their cheap, pocket-size editions of the old poets, and urged the Earl of Buchan to give them material and advice. In 1786 they published *The Works of James I, King of Scotland* (including "Peblis to the Play") and in the following year the *Select Works of Gawin Douglass, Bishop of Dunkeld*. This edition was an obvious attempt to fulfil Pinkerton's recommendations in the "List". He had suggested that it was necessary "To reprint only the *Palice of Honour*, *King Hart*, and *Prologs*, &c. to *Virgil*," and had praised the prologues to books seven, twelve, and thirteen.¹⁰⁷ The Morison edition contained *The Palice of Honour* and the prologues to books four, seven, eight, twelve, and thirteen of the *Aeneid*. The editor omitted "King Hart" (but commended Pinkerton's publication of it, and praised the poem, in the introductory "Life of Gawin Douglas").¹⁰⁸ In 1788 the Morisons published the *Select Poems of Wil. Dunbar*, a small edition of the poet containing all but three of the Dunbar poems published by Lord Hailes from the Bannatyne Manuscript. In 1790 they issued *Blind Harry's Metrical History of Sir William Wallace* from a transcript, prepared "under the eye of the Earl of Buchan", of the same manuscript which contained *The Bruce*. They acknowledged their debt "to Mr. Pinkerton for the Arguments which they have prefixed to the Books"¹⁰⁹ and printed Pinkerton's plan for dividing the poem into twelve books (the number in earlier printed editions), rather than eleven (the number in the manuscript).¹¹⁰

Other texts were soon in preparation. In 1795 David Macpherson published Wyntoun's *Chronykil*, and, probably at Buchan's insistence, the plan for his edition followed Pinkerton's earlier proposals almost exactly:

. . . I have carefully selected all that in any respect concerns the British islands, whether true or fabulous, and have suppressed all the foreign matter in the first five books . . . This separation of the useful from the useless has had the approbation of some of the best

judges of Scottish history.¹¹¹

In 1801 John Leyden published the *Complaynt of Scotland*, and in the same year appeared Sir John Graham Dalyell's *Scottish Poems, of the Sixteenth Century*. James Sibbald's *Chronicle of Scottish Poetry* followed in 1802, Walter Scott's *Sir Tristrem* in 1804, and George Chalmers' *Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndsay* in 1806--the movement was in full swing. In 1820 John Jamieson published his imposing editions of *The Bruce* and *The Wallace*, throughout which the opinions of Pinkerton were treated with considerable respect. In the preface to *The Bruce* Jamieson acknowledged the encouragement given to him by Pinkerton:

The best edition of this Poem, which has yet appeared, is that of Mr. Pinkerton, A. 1790. But the learned editor, though he did all in his power to obtain a faithful copy of the manuscript, is satisfied, that, as he had not an opportunity of examining it himself, the work is in many respects inaccurate. He, therefore, with laudable candour, has, in common with many other literary friends, for some years past, urged the writer of this Preface to undertake a new edition.¹¹²

Pinkerton's attitude towards younger editors was not always friendly. But to scholars like Jamieson who were willing to acknowledge and respect the work of their predecessors, he rarely failed to give encouragement and assistance.

By 1824 a half century of scholarly research into early Scottish poetry had produced such elaborate editions and uncovered such treasures that the reverend Thomas Warton, had he been alive, would have been ashamed of his comments on the subject in his *History of English Poetry*. The third edition of his *History*, published in that year, reveals the inadequacy of his criticisms. It was easy for Richard Price, the editor, to give correct quotations from Barbour and Blind Harry in place of the corrupt ones originally used by Warton; but he could not make the work more complete by inserting comments in the vast number of texts which Warton, through no fault of his own, had failed to discuss, or by adding historical and biographical facts which had come to light since the first publication of the *History*. Scots, indeed, had already begun to write their own literary histories. For these Lord Hailes, Warton, and especially Pinkerton, had provided the foundation and the impetus.

NOTES

1. Thomas Warton, *The History of English Poetry, from the Close of the Eleventh to the Commencement of the Eighteenth Century*, 3 vols. (London, 1774-81), II, 334-5.
2. John Pinkerton, *Ancient Scottish Poems, never before in Print. But now published from the MS. Collections of Sir Richard Maitland*, 2 vols. (London and Edinburgh, 1786), I, iii.
3. Beattie to Pinkerton, 20 June 1778 (*The Literary Correspondence of John Pinkerton*, ed. Dawson Turner, 2 vols. (London, 1830), I, 7-8.
4. John Barbour, *The Life and Acts of the Most Victorious Conqueror Robert Bruce King of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1758), p. 8.
5. Barbour, *The Bruce*, ed. W. M. Mackenzie (London, 1909), p. 7.
6. Lyndsay, *The Works of the Famous and Worthy Knight, Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1776-7), title-page.
7. Gavin Douglas, *Virgil's Aeneis, Translated into Scottish Verse*, ed. Thomas Ruddiman (Edinburgh, 1710), title-page.
8. Allan Ramsay, *The Ever Green, being a Collection of Scots Poems*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1724), I, 135-6.
9. *Ibid*, I, xi.
10. Pinkerton used the British Museum copy of Mackenzie's *Lives*. The third volume (the only one unindexed) has a manuscript index in Pinkerton's handwriting.
11. See Percy's letter to Dalrymple on 23 August 1772, in *The Correspondence of Thomas Percy & David Dalrymple*, ed. A. F. Falconer (Baton Rouge, 1954), p. 122.
12. *Ancient Scottish Poems*, I, cxxv-cxxvi.
13. W. A. Craigie, ed., *The Maitland Folio Manuscript*, 2 vols. STS, Series 2, No. 20 (Edinburgh & London, 1927), II, 11.
14. See Peter Peckard's letter to Pinkerton on 14 September 1784 (*Literary Correspondence*, I, 49).

15. *Ancient Scottish Poems*, I, cxxviii.
16. *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, 3 vols. (London, 1765), I, vi.
17. There is one exception to this. Dunbar's *The Twa Merrit Wemen and the Wedo* had been published in a Chepman and Myllar Print (Edinburgh, 1508). These prints were not discovered until 1788.
18. Agnes M. Mackenzie, *An Historical Survey of Scottish Literature to 1714* (London, 1933), p. 85.
19. James Kinsley, *Scottish Poetry, A Critical Survey* (London, 1955), p. 15. Kinsley argues that the poem was not written by Dunbar (p. 14), and so does T. F. Henderson, *Scottish Vernacular Literature*, (London, 1898), pp. 277-8. A. E. J. G. Mackay, however, gives it to Dunbar. See Dunbar, *Poems*, ed. John Small, 3 vols. (Edinburgh and London, 1893), I, lxxxiv-lxxxvi.
20. *Ancient Scottish Poems*, II, 425. T. F. Henderson contests this opinion in *Scottish Vernacular Literature*, p. 296.
21. *Ancient Scottish Poems*, I, xlv-xlvi; lxxii.
22. *Ibid.*, p. lxxvi.
23. *Ibid.*, p. lxxviii.
24. *Scottish Vernacular Literature*, p. 23.
25. *Ancient Scottish Poems*, I, lxxvi. Pinkerton was right. Walter Scott published *Sir Tristrem* from the manuscript in the Advocates' Library in 1804.
26. John Barbour, *The Bruce*, ed. John Jamieson (Edinburgh, 1820), p. v.
27. *Ancient Scottish Poems*, I, lxxxii.
28. *Ibid.*, p. lxxxiii n.
29. *Ibid.*, p. lxxxvii.
30. William Tytler had already written a full life of James in *Poetical Remains of James the First*, (Edinburgh, 1783), pp. 1-52.

31. *Ancient Scottish Poems*, I, lxxxviii-lxxxix n.
32. *Ibid.*, p. lxxxix.
33. *Ibid.*, p. xc.
34. See T. F. Henderson, *Scottish Vernacular Literature*, pp. 63-4.
35. *Ancient Scottish Poems*, I, xci.
36. Some biographical facts had, however, been given in Lord Hailes's notes to Dunbar's poems in *Ancient Scottish Poems*, pp. 223-76.
37. T. F. Henderson (*Scottish Vernacular Literature*, p. 145) gives 1460?-1520? as Dunbar's dates.
38. *Ancient Scottish Poems*, I, xciv. Part of Pinkerton's comment on Dunbar is printed in James Kinsley's edition of *Dunbar's Poems* (Oxford, 1958), p. xxiii.
39. *Ancient Scottish Poems*, I, xcvi.
40. *Ibid.*, p. xcvi.
41. *Ibid.*, p. xcix.
42. H. Harvey Wood, in his edition of Henryson's *Poems and Fables* (Edinburgh and London, 1933), p. xiv, calls him "without equal, the greatest of the Scots makars."
43. See Lord Hailes's *Ancient Scottish Poems*, pp. 170-2. and Ramsay's *Ever Green*, II, 222.
44. The Clark Manuscript, now lost. See *The Works of Sir David Lindsay of the Mount*, ed. Douglas Hamer, 4 vols. STS, Series 3, No. 8 (Edinburgh and London, 1934), IV, 12.
45. *Ancient Scottish Poems*, I, cvi.
46. George Mackenzie, *Lives and Characters of the most Eminent Writers of the Scots Nation*, 3 vols. (Edinburgh, 1708-22), III, 42.
47. *Ancient Scottish Poems*, II, 542-3. The copy of the *Complaynt* described by Pinkerton is in the British Museum Library (C. 21, a.56.). The title-page is written in Pinker-

ton's handwriting, and the pages are numbered by him.

48. See Ritson's opinion in his *Letters to Mr. George Paton* (Edinburgh, 1829), pp. 15-6; Herd's in the *Scots Magazine*, LXIV (January, 1802), p. 51; Lord Hailes's in his letter to Pinkerton on 2 December 1785 (*Literary Correspondence*, I, 103).

49. See T. F. Henderson, *Scottish Vernacular Literature*, pp. 305-7.

50. *Ancient Scottish Poems*, I, cxxxv.

51. *Ibid.*, p. xviii.

52. *Ibid.*, p. cxlii.

53. *The Bruce; or, the History of Robert I. King of Scotland, Written in Scottish Verse by John Barbour*, 3 vols. (London, 1790), I, x.

54. *Ibid.*, p. x.

55. Andrew of Wyntoun, *Original Chronicle*, ed. F. J. Amours, 6 vols. STS, Series 1, No. 54 (Edinburgh and London, 1906), IV, 22.

56. *The Bruce*, I, xxi.

57. *Ibid.*, p. xxiii.

58. *Ibid.*, p. ix, x.

59. *Scottish Poems, reprinted from Scarce Editions*, 3 vols. (London, 1792), I, xxxvii.

60. *Ancient Scottish Poems*, I, c.

61. Pinkerton had been forestalled here by the Morisons of Perth, who had already published *The Palice of Honour* in their *Select Works of Gawin Douglass, Bishop of Dunkeld* (1787).

62. *Ancient Scottish Poems*, I, cx.

63. Actually Pinkerton prints seven of these "ballads"--he includes one, Lydgate's *Rhyme without accord*, at the end of *Gologrus and Gawain*, with which it had been bound. The others following Pinkerton's order are: a. unidentified, b. Henryson's *The Praise of Age*, c. unidentified, d. Henryson's *The*

Want of Wise Men, e. Dunbar's *The ballade of Lord Bernard Stewart*, f. Dunbar's '*Kynd Kittok*'. The last is not a Chepman item, but it is bound up with the Chepman and Myllar prints. Pinkerton identifies none of these poems. Cf. *Scottish Poems*, III, 124-42, and William Beattie, *The Chepman and Myllar Prints* (Edinburgh, 1957), pp. vii-viii.

64. See B. H. Bronson, *Joseph Ritson: Scholar at Arms*, 2 vols (Berkeley, 1938), I, 188-90.

65. *Scottish Poems*, I. xiv.

66. *Ibid.*, p. xvii.

67. *Ibid.*, p. xvi.

68. *Ibid.*, p. xvii.

69. *Ibid.*, p. xxi.

70. F. J. Amours, in *Scottish Alliterative Poems in Riming Stanzas* STS, Series 1, No. 27 (Edinburgh and London, 1891), I, xiii, says of Pinkerton's ascription of *Gologrus and Gawin* to Clerk of Tranent that "after the lapse of a century his opinion is still the one which possesses the greatest amount of plausibility."

71. *Scottish Poems*, I, xxiii.

72. *Ibid.*, pp. xxx-xxxii.

73. *Ibid.*, p. xxv.

74. *Ibid.*, p. xxxi. David Laing printed it in his *Select Remains of the Ancient Popular Poetry of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1822) from the unique copy in the Advocates' Library.

75. *Scottish Poems*, I, xxxiii.

76. *Ibid.*, p. xxxv.

77. *Ibid.*, p. xxx.

78. *Ibid.*, p. xxxiii n.

79. *Ancient Scottish Poems*, I, lxxii.

80. As William Geddis suggests, in *A Bibliography of Middle*

Scots Poets STS, Series 1, No. 61 (Edinburgh and London, 1912), p. lxxxiii.

81. *Ancient Scottish Poems*, I, cxi.

82. *Ibid.*, p. x.

83. *Reliques*, I, xiv.

84. *Ancient Scottish Poems*, p. 302.

85. Lord Hailes to Pinkerton, 26 December 1785 (*Literary Correspondence*, vol. I, p. 107).

86. Leyden in the *Scots Magazine*, vol. LXIV (July, 1802), p. 571; Scott in *Poetical Works*, ed. J. G. Lockhart, 12 vols. (Edinburgh, 1851), I, 75.

87. *Ancient Scottish Poems*, I, xvi.

88. Pinkerton to Buchan, 30 July 1787 (*Literary Correspondence*, vol. I, p. 157).

89. Buchan to Pinkerton, 27 September 1787 (Nat. Lib. Scot. MS. 1711, f. 29^r). Pinkerton printed this note in *The Bruce*, I, vii-viii.

90. *Ibid.*, p. viii.

91. *Critical Review*, 2 ser., vol. XIII (January, 1795), p. 56.

92. *Ancient Scottish Poems*, II, 378.

93. *Ibid.*, p. 372.

94. Craigie, *The Maitland Folio Manuscript*, I, 258.

95. *Ancient Scottish Poems*, I, 8.

96. See Walter W. Skeat's comments on the corruptions in the manuscript used by Pinkerton, in his edition of *The Bruce*, 2 vols. STS, Series 1, Nos. 31-2 (Edinburgh and London, 1894-5), I, lxxxv; II, 223.

97. See Douglas Hamer's comments on Pinkerton's text of *Ane Satyre*, in "The Bibliography of Sir David Lindsay", *The Library*, 4 ser., Vol. X (June, 1929), p. 35.

98. *The Thre Prestis of Feblis*, ed. T. D. Robb (Edinburgh and London, 1920), p. viii.
99. Cited in W. A. Craigie, *The Maitland Folio Manuscript*, II, 23 n.
100. These are ll. 139-46 in "The Freiris of Berwick". See Craigie, *The Maitland Folio Manuscript*, I, 137, where the lines are printed.
101. Chalmers gives correct meanings of "bait", "digest", "fre", "lurdans", "mensit", "pallet", and "break your pallet"; he points out that the words "fackless", "smattis", and "walter cail" are misreadings by Pinkerton. Pinkerton, contrary to what Chalmers says, gives the correct meanings of "cleuchs", "dispense", "droup", "kappis", "sornars", and "bans". Chalmers mistakenly thought that Pinkerton's "buist" and "south" were misreadings. Both are wrong in their meanings of "pak", "morgeons", and "preis". I use Chalmers's spellings of these words, which are not always the same as Pinkerton's and not always correct. Cf. Sir David Lyndsay, *Poetical Works*, ed. Chalmers, 3 vols. (London, 1806), III, 195-6 n; Pinkerton, *Ancient Scottish Poems*, II, 520-34; Craigie, *The Maitland Folio Manuscript*, II, 135-82.
102. *The Maitland Folio Manuscript*, II, 30.
103. *The Bruce*, ed. Skeat, I, lxxxiii.
104. *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. LVI pt. i (February, 1786), p. 149.
105. *Critical Review*, vol. LXX (August, 1790), p. 165.
106. *Monthly Review*, 2 ser., vol. XV (December, 1794), p. 432.
107. *Ancient Scottish Poems*, I, xcvi, cxxv.
108. *Select Works of Gawin Douglass, Bishop of Dunkeld* (Perth, 1787), p. xxxiii.
109. *The Metrical History of Sir William Wallace, Knight of Ellerslie*, 3 vols. (Perth, 1790), I, 3.
110. *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.
111. Wyntoun, *De Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland*, ed. Mac-

pherson, 2 vols. (London, 1795), I, viii.

112. *The Bruce*, ed. Jamieson, p. viii.