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Carol McGuirk

Augustan Influences on Allan Ramsay



Allan Ramsay's pastorals, songs, elegies, satires and epistles, in which neoclassical and dialect elements were mixed, had established him by 1720 as Edinburgh's most popular poet. The whole spectrum of Edinburgh's literate and semi-literate population supported Ramsay's work, which was extensively circulated in broadside sheets. By 1719 he was so well known even outside Scotland that a pirated edition of one of his pastorals was printed at London. By 1720 an octavo collection of Ramsay's most popular pieces was issued at Edinburgh, and the following year a more ambitious quarto edition was published there.¹

The subscription list for Ramsay's 1721 *Poems* included what must have been nearly every nobleman who was even a part-time resident in Edinburgh (such as the Duke of Queensberry), as well as a large contingent of advocates and doctors from Edinburgh's formidable professional classes. Yet Ramsay's appeal was not exclusively local: also among his subscribers were Alexander Pope, John Arbuthnot, Richard Savage and (for two copies) Sir Richard Steele.

The London writers who subscribed to Ramsay would have had little difficulty understanding his poems. As with Ramsay's successors Robert Fergusson and Robert Burns, many of the poems were written entirely in neoclassical English and the vernacular usage in the "Scots" poems varied in density.² Comic

poems were broadly vernacular, love songs less so. Ramsay used Scots in no verse form an Augustan would think incompatible with his "Doric" diction. Like the London writers who also experimented with colloquial diction in their poetry, Ramsay used vernacular in the Augustan occasional genres such as epistle and complimentary song, and in pastoral. In the "Index" to his 1721 *Poems*, genre-conscious Ramsay categorized his pieces as Serious [meaning elegiac], Comick, Satyrick, Pastoral, Lyrick, Epistolary, Epigrammatick: an extensive range of the Augustan occasional genres.³

Like the London Augustans, Ramsay modulated his diction to match the elevation of his chosen genre. Augustanism did not always express itself in elaborate productions like *The Hind and the Panther*, *Cato*, and *The Essay on Man*: there were verse-forms "below" allegory, tragedy and "ethic epistle" in which a non-heroic, colloquial diction had its proper place. In using a selectively Scots diction in forms such as verse-epistle, pastoral and satire, Ramsay was emulating (and extending) the work of the popular London Augustans Matthew Prior and John Gay, who had pioneered in the use of English rustic diction to spice up the "lower" literary kinds. It is certain that Ramsay had been impressed by Prior and Gay before 1721, because his collection for that year was sprinkled with epigraphs from their occasional poetry. And it is clear from Ramsay's 1721 "Preface" that he viewed his work as part of the neoclassical mainstream, though he acknowledged his lack of epic ambition:

Whether Poetry be the most elevated, delightful and generous Study in the World, is more than I dare affirm; but I think so. Yet I am afraid, when the following Miscellany is examined, I shall not be found to deserve the eminent Character that belongs to the Epick Master, whose Fire and Flegm is equally blended. --But *Anacreon*, *Horace* and *Waller* were Poets, and had Souls warmed with true Poetick Flame, altho their Patience fell short of those who could bestow a Number of Years on the finishing one Heroick Poem, and justly claim the Preeminence. (STS, I, xvii)

Although Ramsay did not aspire to the top echelon of poetry--epic masters claimed the "Preeminence"--he was careful to place his work in the solid second rank. And although Ramsay did not cite Gay or Prior (or any living poet) in his "Preface," he did cite as his models Anacreon, Horace and Waller--the three predecessors to whom Gay and Prior were most indebted.

Ramsay achieved two different effects by using vernacular diction in his chosen "kinds." In pastoral he was chiefly influenced by Gay, and a Scots vocabulary made the characters

seem ingenuous. In epistle, epigram and--to a certain extent--satire, however, his model was Prior and his predominant air was one of literate craftiness. Ramsay's deployment of vernacular, like Prior's and Gay's use of colloquial English, heightened the premises of his chosen genre. The "realism" of vernacular diction made the country landscape of pastoral seem more gentle and simple; it made the urban landscape of satire more complex and seamy.

For Augustan pastoral poets the classical models were Theocritus, Anacreon and the bucolic Vergil of the *Ecologues* and *Georgics*. Both Theocritus and Anacreon had written of country matters in dialect variants of literary Greek (Doric and Ionic, respectively) which classical tradition had sanctioned for use in pastoral and related types of poetry; and Ramsay was aware of this from the *Guardian* papers on pastoral. John Gay's *The Shepherd's Week* (1714), which was suggested by the *Guardian* controversy on pastoral diction, was a major influence on Ramsay's best-known work, *The Gentle Shepherd* (1725). Both for Ramsay and Gay, a rural vocabulary was used to evoke an attractive, sometimes comical, naivete. It was, however, also essential for both to avoid the fate of Ambrose Philips, who (as Pope pointed out in *Guardian* 40) had achieved such an air of blissful provinciality in his pastorals that he seemed to be just such a bumpkin as the people he wrote about. Gay and Ramsay both underscored the deliberateness of their use of rustic dialect: Gay in a series of comic footnotes and in an "Alphabetical Catalogue" (an Index) to *The Shepherd's Week*; Ramsay in the glossary attached to his 1728 *Poems*, a collection in which *The Gentle Shepherd* was included. Gay provided page references for every country thing mentioned in his pastoral, from "endive" to "udder." Ramsay glossed his special words, including even well-known Scottish expressions like "bony" and "wee," whose currency throughout contemporary Britain seems certain, since they were used casually by many popular song-writers, like Londoner Thomas D'Urfey. This critical apparatus of index and glossary in Gay and Ramsay certified the authenticity of the landscape and the people in the poem while it emphasized the self-consciousness of the writers' use of words. When reading Ramsay and Gay we are encouraged to distinguish them from their artless characters.

To say that Gay suggested techniques to Ramsay is not to say that their creative procedures were identical. For one thing, the burlesque undercurrent or undertow in *The Shepherd's Week* was not emulated by Ramsay; and Gay's poem is nimbler than *The Gentle Shepherd*. Yet Gay's rural diction, realistic narrative and naive (yet not oafish) characterization did show Ramsay how to achieve for his own pastoral a dynamic middle ground between artificiality and mere stockishness.

The Gentle Shepherd is often both easy and vivid:

For yet the Sun was wading thro' the Mist,
 And she was closs upon me ere she wist;
 Her Coats were kiltit, and did sweetly shaw
 Her straight bare Legs that whiter were than Snaw;
 Her Cockernony snooded up fou sleek,
 Her Haffet-Locks hang waving on her Cheek;
 Her Cheek sae ruddy, and her Een sae clear;
 And O! her Mouth's like ony hinny Pear.
 Neat, neat she was, in Bustine Waste-coat clean,
 As she came skiffing o'er the dewy Green.
 Blythesome, I cry'd, my bonny *Meg*, come here.
 (STS, II, 216)

The rustic English diction that Gay used for a mixed effect of comedy and realism is transposed in Ramsay's Scottish version to promote a concentrated visual descriptiveness which has its own definite charm. Gay was careful to encircle his bucolic vignettes with references to the current debate over pastoral's properties as a genre. (His "Proeme," for instance, is an unmistakable parody of the hapless Philips' "Preface" to his *Pastorals* [1710].) Ramsay, too, assumes an authorial voice in the peripheries of his pastoral (especially in such features as his glossary) but he remains essentially unjudicial in his treatment of the pastoral characters themselves (rejecting Gay's burlesque nomenclature, for instance, in favor of more natural rustic names). Ramsay's pastorals evoke non-ironic images of country freshness, healthful youth and accurate, if rather idealized, Scottish landscape.

Ramsay's non-pastoral work is different. In his epistles, epigrams and satires, Scots words produce effects of urban realism and a Ramsay *persona* generally dominates the narrative. The classical model for these urbane poems is Horace (Ramsay's 1721 *Poems* includes a series of Scots poems paraphrased from Horace), and the English poems in this manner which most influenced Ramsay were Prior's colloquial verse-epistles of the 1709 *Poems on Several Occasions* and some of the writings of the Tory satirists, especially Gay's *Trivia* (1716). The poetry of Alexander Pope was regarded almost with reverence by Ramsay, but Pope's influence was less salutary than Prior's or Gay's, perhaps because Pope was less likely than they to infuse his poems with casual colloquialism. (Swift's vivid poems on town-life also come to mind as a possible influence on Ramsay, but Ramsay seldom quoted from Swift, as he did from Prior, Gay and Pope. It is also worth bearing in mind that Swift's model in his urban output was Juvenal, not Horace: many of Swift's poems were written in explicit "imitation" of

the later Roman poet.)

From Horace on, the characteristic tone of the verse-epistle had been a canny, ironic casualness. Its typical chemistry had combined topical references with general principles; and its proper subjects had included current affairs, trends in literature and literary theory, and the debate over the comparative merits of town and country living. Allan Ramsay's Horatian poetry holds to these traditions of the genre. Like his chief English model Matthew Prior, Ramsay achieved the desired ironic flavor by juxtaposing elevated or heroic diction with colloquial words. The verbal interplay conveys distrust of static (non-ironic) forms of expression. The following passage from Prior's "Epistle to Fleetwood Shephard" (1689) is a good example of the Horatian ironic texture achieved through the manipulation of "high" and "low" diction:

From me, whom wandring Fortune threw
 From what I lov'd, the Town and You;
 Let me just tell You how my Time is
 Past in a Country-life.--*Imprimis*,
 As soon as PHOEBUS' Rays inspect us,
 First, Sir, I read, and then I Breakfast;
 So on, 'till foresaid God does set,
 I sometimes Study, sometimes Eat.
 Thus, of your Heroes and brave Boys,
 With whom old HOMER makes such Noise,
 The greatest Actions I can find,
 Are, that they did their Work, and Din'd.⁴

Prior has undercut the noble connotations of "Heroes" by preceding it with a slang use of "your" and by following it with that cliché of popular war songs, "brave Boys." The passage presents its classical allusions (wandering Fortune, Phoebus' rays, Homer) in a decidedly conversational way ("Let me just tell you"). "Old Homer" is undermined not only by the disrespectful epithet but by the reference to his epics as "such Noise." Any reader familiar with the important eighteenth-century Scottish vernacular epistles, from those of Ramsay's lively correspondent Hamilton of Gilbertfield to those of Robert Burns, will see the resemblance of Prior's ironic diction in poems like "Epistle to Fleetwood Shephard" to the verbal intricacies of Scottish vernacular epistles. This influence of Prior was transmitted chiefly by Allan Ramsay, in whose urbane poems vernacular diction replaces Prior's English slang as the leveller of high-flown references: "Horace,/Was a bauld Bragger" (STS, I, 127).

One sustained example of Prior's influence on Ramsay is "Epistle Wrote from Mavisbank" (1748). This epistle opens with

an attack on city life, but juxtaposes its generalized praise of a country existence with semi-comic descents into doggerel and coarseness. As in Prior's epistles, the "gentleman" is shown to have an extensive repertoire of firmly ordinary images and words:

Dear friend to smook and noise confine'd [sic]
 which Soils your Shirt, and frets your mind,
 and makes you rusty look, and crabbed,
 as if you were bepoxed, or Scabbed,
 or had been going through a dose
 of Mercury, to save your Nose,
 Let me advise you, out of pity,
 to leave the chattering, Stinking city. (STS, III, 261)

Such corrosive, yet not abusive, diction has often been said to be peculiar to Scots writers: because of such diction, eighteenth-century Scottish writing is sometimes called earthier or more realistic than English writing. Yet it takes only a moment's reflection to think of many non-vernacular writers of Ramsay's time who were anything but effete: the range extends from bad writers like D'Urfey to perhaps the best of all, Jonathan Swift. And it takes only a cursory knowledge of Matthew Prior's work to know how frequently Ramsay's emphases on the "low" as an index of the "real" were supported by the writings of an Augustan predecessor.

Prior and Ramsay--and Gay--came from middle class families, which must have contributed to their commonly vexed relationships with high diction, high genres and high seriousness. Early in his literary career, Prior collaborated on an astute parody of Dryden's high-toned allegory *The Hind and The Panther*; and throughout his life he maintained his distance from heroic views of life or art. A judicial deflation of the grandiose can be seen everywhere in Prior, from his offhand summary of the indiscriminately idolized *Iliad* ("The whole Quarrel is concerning three harlots")⁵ to his best elegy "Jinny the Just," in which a woman of "low" quality is affectionately perceived as a woman of "real" quality:

Releas'd from the Noise of the Butcher and Baker,
 Who, my old friends be thanked, did seldom forsake Her
 And from the soft Duns of my Landlord the Quaker

From chiding the footmen and watching the lasses,
 From Nel that burn't milk too, and Tom that brake glasses
 (Sad mischeifs thrō which a good housekeeper passes!)

From some real Care but more fancied vexation
 From a life party: color'd half reason half passion
 Here lyes after all the best Wench in the nation.

(Wright and Spears, I, 300)

Although Ramsay could not have read "Jinny the Just," which did not come to light until 1907, it is a good example of the easy diction that Prior made respectable in succeeding volumes of his *Poems on Several Occasions* and that Ramsay emulated as he revived the use of vernacular Scots in published verse, expanding the dialect from local to relatively cosmopolitan status.

Ramsay's 1721 *Poems* has as its epigraph a paraphrase of Anacreon by Matthew Prior which begins: "Let them censure, what care I?/The Herd of Criticks I defy" before proceeding to court the untutored but instinctively correct judgment of the ladies. Ramsay's choice of this epigraph suggests both the support he derived from the London Augustans who favored a non-pedantic style and his important divergences from these Augustan models. When Prior disdained the "Herd of Criticks," he had in mind specific critics like Gildon and Dennis who were trying to align British literature with the purist theories of French neoclassicism. When Prior wrote in a volume of *Montaigne*, "No longer hence the GALLIC Style preferr'd,/Widsom in ENGLISH *Idiom* shall be heard" (Wright and Spears, I, 402), he stated a resistance to French influences that he could be sure most English readers would share during those years of war with France.

Ramsay's defiance of "Criticks" was less certain to find a sympathetic audience. He knew that the native idiom which made Prior seem patriotic might in his case strike readers as provincial. The last major poet to publish in vernacular Scots had died a century before Ramsay initiated the eighteenth-century vernacular revival. Although Ramsay revered the achievements of the distant Makars, he looked to contemporary Augustan writing for ways to reintroduce Scots in forms "higher" than the bawdry and comic elegy in which it had continued to be used. Ramsay's "Herd of Criticks" was not a small group under the spell of Continental neoclassicism, but the large segment of people in Edinburgh itself that regarded the Scots as a moribund dialect. Ramsay disarmed the criticism of such people by asserting--in his prefaces and epigraphs as well as within his poems--that his Scots diction was validated by its use as a "Doric" counterpoint to neoclassical English. In replying to contemporaries who deplored his vernacular renditions of Horace, for instance, Ramsay took the London Augustan

line. True poets are inspired, not legislated, by classical models; idiomatic imitation is preferable to literal translation; "taste" is demonstrated not by artificial correctness of grammar but by the emulation of admirable models:

Translation be the Pedandts task
 it is beneith me to Translate
 but in fair Rays I like to Bask
 and shining paterns Imitate

Thus I sometimes sic masters view
 and with delight their Beautys see
 And can up hill the steps pursue
 faster than thou crawls after me

* * *

Let Horace sleep!--he near coud tire
 Touch not his ashes! he has none
 he's all oer Brightness, Life & fire
 too dazaling for a drivling dron

I'll Rouze the Prophet who forswaw
 far back in the Agustan days
 that I should sing oer Dale & Law
 his notes in Calidonian Lays (STS, III, 282-3)

Though Ramsay presents himself in this rebuttal as a direct descendant of the Roman Augustans, his relationship was really collateral: through the contemporary writers who translated the Roman poet and made Horatian "imitation" fashionable. And beyond the examples of genre, style and subject offered by poets like Prior and Gay was a factor hardly less significant in the shaping of Ramsay's career. This was the influence on both Ramsay and his readers of the Augustan periodicals, especially *The Spectator* and *The Guardian*.

The Spectator was the arbiter of urbanity throughout Britain and was highly popular in early and mid-eighteenth-century Edinburgh. The memoir-writer Ramsay of Ochertyre began his account of eighteenth-century Edinburgh by noting that the "prodigious run" of those essays "had done more to diffuse true taste than all the writers, sprightly or serious, that had gone before them."⁶ In 1712 when Allan Ramsay, still a wigmaker, co-founded the Easy Club, he chose as his club-name Isaac Bickerstaff--the *persona* Addison and Steele had appropriated for *The Spectator* from some earlier pamphlets by Swift. A paper of *The Spectator* was read at every meeting, or so the members claimed in a letter to Addison and Steele on which

the Easy Club collaborated on 22 May 1712.⁷ The beginning of Ramsay's literary career coincides with this Easy Club--and Edinburgh--cult of *The Spectator*. Direct influence cannot be proved, but it is notable that Ramsay's work was most popular with his readers when it followed most closely the literary dictates of the London periodicals.

Of the major Augustan influences on Ramsay's work, however, that of *The Spectator* and *The Guardian* was least personal to Ramsay and most often productive of weak poetry. Much of Ramsay's poorest work might be ascribed not to his inability to understand the English language per se, but to his failure to achieve the balance of naturalness and gentility which the periodical writers, particularly Addison, considered the ideal for contemporary poetry. In *Spectator* 70, for instance, Addison praises the anonymous author of "Chevy Chase," who used a native subject-matter and, instead of depending on classical models, "found out an Hero in his own Country."⁸ This praise of ballads, with its implicit support for native as well as classical literary forms, must have encouraged Ramsay in his efforts to preserve a Scots diction in Scots writing. Yet Addison's endorsement of an archaic or provincial diction in ballads, lyric poetry and pastoral led Ramsay to more mannered effects than the idiomatic ease encouraged by Prior and Gay; and when emulating Addison, Ramsay was less likely to exploit his individual talent for descriptive, concentrated verse.

The author of *Guardian* 30--probably Addison's protege Thomas Tickell⁹--thought that "pretty rusticity" should be the typical Doric effect.¹⁰ Ramsay, although appealing enough in *The Gentle Shepherd*, was seldom at his best when cultivating the pretty. *Guardian* 28 did praise rugged Theocritus over polished Vergil as a poet of nature, yet undercut its preference for nature when it added: "There is indeed sometimes a grossness and clownishness in Theocritus, which Vergil...hath avoided."¹¹ Realism was served to some extent in such passages as the following:

There are some things of an established nature in pastoral, which are essential to it, such as a country scene, innocence, simplicity. Others there are of a changeable kind, such as habits, customs, and the like. The difference of the climate is also to be observed, for what is proper in Arcadia, or even in Italy, might be very absurd in a colder country. By the same rule the difference of the soil, of fruits and flowers, is to be considered. And in so fine a country as Britain, what occasion is there for that profusion of Hyacinths and Paestan roses, and that Cornucopia of foreign fruits, which

the British shepherds never heard of!

(*Guardian*, I, 129)

But this selective realism could only serve idealism. British trappings were proper to British pastoral, but only insofar as they advanced a classical effect of "innocence, simplicity." Otherwise, the realist was likely to lapse, like Theocritus, into that undirected explicitness the contemporary mind labelled as "grossness."

The virtue Tickell perceived in naturalistic diction and detail was its fresh, spirited "softness" (*Guardian* 28). Ramsay's readers were always more responsive to those of his poems and songs which used the vernacular to promote a "soft" effect in which innocence rather than urbanity prevailed: hence the popularity of *The Gentle Shepherd* and Ramsay's best-selling songbook *The Tea Table Miscellany*, which were both popular throughout Britain. Even when Ramsay used Scottish models and a partially vernacular vocabulary, an Addisonian ideal of central softness could debilitate his lyrics, as the Ramsay version of "Auld lang syne" demonstrates:

Should auld Acquaintance be forgot,
 Tho they return with scars?
 These are the noble Heroe's Lot,
 Obtain'd in glorious Wars:
 Welcome my *Varo* to my Breast,
 Thy Arms about me twine,
 And make me once again as blest,
 As I was lang syne. (STS, I, 45)

When creating "The Kind Reception" (his title for the above), Ramsay drew on a lyric preserved in the sixteenth-century *Bannantyne Manuscript*. In "Auld Kyndnes Forzett," however, the sentiment is presented declaratively, not subjunctively, with all the Old Testament pessimism of Job or Ecclesiastes:

This warld is all bot fenzeit fair
 and als vnstable as the wind
 Gud faith is flemit I wat no^t quhair
 Trest fallowschip is evill to find
 gud conscience is all maid blind
 and cheritie is nane to gett
 Leill loif and lawte lyis behind
 and auld kyndnes is quyt forzett¹²

Ramsay's distortion of this noble model shows what happened to his writing when his descriptive energy was diverted into the sententious formulas encouraged by *The Spectator* and *The Guar-*

dian.

Yet sometimes the pursuit of prettiness did result in a decent lyric. "Lochaber No More" uses the same dramatic situation as "The Kind Reception"--the wartime separation of lovers which forces an outburst from the speaker in the song--yet here the formula produces good results:

Farewell to *Lochaber*, and farewell, my *Jean*,
Where heartsome with thee I've mony Day been;
For *Lochaber* no more, *Lochaber* no more,
We'll may be return to *Lochaber* no more.
These Tears that I shed, they are a' for my Dear,
And no for the Dangers attending on Weir,
Tho' bore on rough Seas to a far bloody Shore,
May be to return to *Lochaber* no more. (STS, II, 281)

"Lochaber No More" corresponds closely to the standards of Addison and his friends. It shows a sophisticated use of realistic detail in its repetition of the place-name *Lochaber* and in the Scots cognates--picturesque but not puzzling--scattered throughout ("heartsome," "mony," "a'," "weir"). Yet the effect of these details is to heighten, not to contain, the mood of evocative generalization. The phrase "dangers attending on weir" refers to the probability of violent death in such a general way that the reader is struck only by the pathos of this prospect; what Addison might have called its "pleasing anguish." This is successful lyric writing as defined in *Guardian* 22, in a passage that also suggests why "The Kind Reception" fails: "[Pastoral or lyric writing] must give us what is agreeable in...[the] scene, and hide what is wretchedIt is sometimes convenient not to discover the whole truth, but that part only which is delightful" (I, 98).

"The Kind Reception," for all its insistence on glory and heroes, is unconvincing because it has concealed so little of what is wretched about war. Its occasion is inherently unpleasant: a maimed soldier returns home to a mistress who is immediately struck by his alteration for the worse, and who proceeds to sing a song about it. On the other hand, "Lochaber No More," which sounds more real because it is more conversational, actually conceals more of "what is wretched" about war. The violence, scars, separation all are hypothetical: the warrior-speaker has not yet left home. The departing hero of "Lochaber No More" has an aura of unearned glamour which was exactly what attracted Addison to folk song. And the song "please[s] the imagination," to quote further from *Guardian* 22, by concentrating on feelings--devotion for Jean and *Lochaber*--that mitigate a reader's share in the anxiety also expressed by the speaker.

If Ramsay's success were just a function of the density of vernacular words in his work, both "The Kind Reception" and "Lochaber No More" should be equally failures as they are equally mediated by Augustan aesthetic standards. But Allan Ramsay is like other poets: his success has to do with the depth achieved by his lyrics, not the impression created by his vocabulary. Ramsay failed, like any poet, when he used words, Scots or English, to force rather than to create effects. Because, following Augustan guidelines, he tended to write in vernacular to achieve descriptive rather than exalted effects--using an Anacreontic rather than Homeric template--he achieved his more defined goal more often than when using neoclassical English, which he saw as a vehicle for top-flight efforts. Ramsay's deficiencies seem more glaring in his English verse, but that is because he could not assert a judicial authority for himself, not because he could not understand English. He read and admired the didactic poetry of Pope and Dryden, but he could not imitate it effectively. He was, on the other hand, a clever adapter of the lyric and satiric techniques of Gay, Prior and (with less consistent success) Addison. Although Augustan influences sometimes led Ramsay astray, it should also be noted that Augustanism gave Ramsay a context for using vernacular when it established a vogue for folk song and revived the classic rustic genres such as pastoral.

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NOTES

¹ Burns Martin, *A Bibliography of Allan Ramsay* (Glasgow, 1931), p. 5.

² The mixture of English and Scottish vernacular elements in Burns's poetry has been analyzed by Raymond Bentman in "Robert Burns's Use of Scottish Diction," in *From Sensibility to Romanticism: Essays Presented to Frederick A. Pottle*, eds. F. W. Hilles and Harold Bloom (London, 1965), pp. 239-59.

³ Burns Martin and John W. Oliver, eds., *The Works of Allan Ramsay*; Scottish Text Society, 6 Vols. (Edinburgh, 1951-74), I, 264. Subsequent quotations are from this edition, in which volumes III-VI were edited by Alexander Kinghorn and Alexander Law.

⁴ Matthew Prior, *The Literary Works*, ed. H. Bunker Wright and Munroe K. Spears (Oxford, 1971), I, 89-90. Subsequent

quotations are from this edition, abbreviated as Wright and Spears.

⁵ Wright and Spears, I, 418.

⁶ Alexander Allardyce, *Scotland and Scotsmen in the Eighteenth Century* (Edinburgh, 1888), I, 6.

⁷ STS, V, 7. *The Journal of the Easy Club* is reprinted in this volume of the series.

⁸ Donald Bond, ed., *The Spectator* (Oxford, 1965), I, 300.

⁹ Cf. L. A. Elioseff, *The Cultural Milieu of Addison's Literary Criticism* (Austin, 1963), p. 134n.

¹⁰ Steele, Addison and others, *The Guardian* (London, 1756), I, 131. Subsequent quotations are from this edition.

¹¹ *Guardian*, I, 121.

¹² W. Tod Ritchie, ed., *The Bannantyne Manuscript*, Scottish Text Society, 4 Vols. (Edinburgh, 1928-32), II, 204.