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THE RODGER L. TARR COLLECTION OF THOMAS CARLYLE

The Thomas Cooper Library of the University of South Carolina has purchased the Rodger L. Tarr Collection of Thomas Carlyle. The collection, built over a twenty-year period by Tarr, forms the basis of his Thomas Carlyle: A Bibliography, reviewed in this volume.

The collection contains approximately 1,250 volumes, roughly 1,000 of which are primary editions of Carlyle's work. Among the printed materials are twenty-five presentation copies from Carlyle to, among others, Erasmus Darwin, Thomas Woolner, his sisters Jean Carlyle and Mary Austin, William Allingham and Lady Baring. Presentation copies already in the University's collection include the first published edition of Sartor Resartus with a contemporary inscription to his wife Jane.

Association copies include sixteen books from Carlyle's library, mostly signed, with bookplates, and various books presented to Carlyle. Other printed highlights include two copies of the extremely rare privately printed 1834 first published edition of Sartor Resartus containing a poem in Jane Carlyle's hand, signed and initialled by Carlyle.

The collection contains twelve autograph letters, including one from Craigenputtock (of which very few are known), one to Robert Browning, and two lengthy letters on the composition of Oliver Cromwell and Frederick the Great. The collection also contains a fragment of The French Revolution (one of only seven known), and of Past and Present (one of a very few housed outside of the British Library and Yale University).

The addition of the Rodger L. Tarr Collection to the Cooper Library forms part of an intensive program of building its Scottish literature collection, inaugurated by the acquisition through gift and purchase of the G. Ross Roy Collection of Robert Burns and Scottish Literature.

The University welcomes scholars who wish to conduct research on its holdings. Inquiries should be sent to the Head of Special Collections at the Cooper Library.

A descriptive bibliography can be a tantalizing thing. It tells one virtually everything about a book except what is most important and interesting—its literary content. Questions of what the book is about, of its artistry, of why and how it was written, its very reason for being a book are set aside. What we are given is (so to speak) the book's physical geography, its anatomical measurements and specifications, the body without the soul. If this seems a harsh view we may reflect that the body has its own importance. The descriptive bibliography is of course a work of reference with values of its own and provides services available nowhere else. One does not read it from cover to cover unless one is a reviewer. Its chief function, to establish the author's canon, to identify the first appearance in print of everything he wrote, is of particular interest to scholars and biographers, editors, librarians and literary historians, well as to book dealers and book collectors. It should contain all the ascertainable facts about the transmission of texts and the identity of the various editions. In enumerating the editions and where possible the number of copies sold it will provide clues to the author's career and reputation. It is a family-tree of his life's work.
Professor Tarr's *Thomas Carlyle: A Descriptive Bibliography* is the twentieth in the Pittsburgh Series in Bibliography and follows the style and format of that admirable series with only minor changes adapted to his subject. He is thus limited to listing the published writings of Carlyle (and those of Jane), updating the canon and utilizing recent scholarship to correct earlier errors and supply omissions. Critical and biographical works are excluded, except for a selection of principal books about the Carlyles in an appendix. It appears, then, as a scrupulously detailed, painstakingly accurate listing and identifying of specified editions and their subsequent reprints, with exhaustive information about pagination, the collational formula, and descriptions of the contents, the binding, typography, type of paper, etc., filling more than five hundred spacious pages.

Of its seven sections the longest is the four-hundred page Section A in which all Carlyle's books and pamphlets in their first and later printings through 1880 are listed chronologically. Posthumous first editions and their reprints are listed through 1987. Section B lists titles of books or pamphlets through 1986 in which formal writing by Carlyle, except letters, appears for the first time. Section C lists the first publication of material by Carlyle in journals and periodicals through 1988. Collected editions through 1880 are listed in Section D, in Section E a similar listing of such miscellaneous collections as anthologies, birthday books, and topical studies. Section F lists doubtful material that has been attributed to Carlyle and includes the source of the attribution. Finally, in Section G appears a valuable listing of Jane Welsh Carlyle's posthumously published writings, chronologically by books, then by material appearing in books, magazines and journals. Two appendices list the unpublished or presumably lost writings by Carlyle through 1834, and the selected list of books about the Carlyles. There is a good index.

This arrangement, though generally clear, can present problems. It is not easy to see why Carlyle's early "Essay on Proportion" which Brewster printed in the Legendre *Elements of Geometry* (1822) is listed in Section A rather than in Section B. The Essay is not a book, pamphlet, or broadside but a Carlyle item which appears first in a book not by Carlyle, and only partly translated by him. Also, why are some editions which postdate 1880 included in Section A, like those of the Essay on Burns (pp. 164-5)?

Professor Tarr is an experienced and competent bibliographer. He has devoted himself to completing much of the needed bibliographical work on Carlyle. Though not alone in the field he is currently the most active. In 1974 he produced the valuable "Bibliography of Thomas Carlyle's Libraries at Chelsea and Ecclefechan." In 1976 he expanded an earlier work into the *Thomas Carlyle: A Bibliography of English-Language Criticism 1824-1974*, and he has continued doing bibliographical as well as
critical work on Carlyle. The present volume is not his last, for he tells us in an important footnote (which could escape notice) that he is already compiling a supplemental volume in which he will list all editions in English and other languages from 1881 except for the posthumous first editions listed here.

It will be asked by some what is the need for the present volume? As every Carlylean knows the job was done years ago by Isaac Watson Dyer who in his *Bibliography of Thomas Carlyle's Writings and Ana* (1928) established the Carlyle canon and in addition listed virtually all the then-known critical and biographical works on Carlyle. It was a remarkable work for the time, and still is. For over sixty years it has discouraged all attempts at a successor. As G. B. Tennyson has remarked it has stood as "a continuing reproach to scholarship that there has been no successor." Scholarly findings over the last sixty years, however, have put it sadly out of date. Also the work is marred by its strong anti-Froude, pro-Carlyle bias which colors his sometimes lengthy commentaries. Dyer corrected many of Froude's errors and included still-useful information about the publication and reception of Carlyle's works. But simple correction was not enough: Froude is subjected to broad sarcasm for attributing "To a Swallow Building Under Our Eaves" to Jane instead of to Thomas. Dyer's otherwise excellent work thus takes a partisan side in the onerous Carlyle-Froude controversy and forfeits objectivity. After Froude's distortions and after the taint of Prussianism following World War I, Dyer felt impelled, like D. A. Wilson, to defend and vindicate Carlyle against all critics.

Careful to avoid bias, Tarr has sought to make his work objective, accurate, and complete. Instead of commentary there are brief notes. Dyer in his commentary on the *Reminiscences* devotes six pages to defending Carlyle's character against Froude's misrepresentations and quoting liberally from the works of Carlyle's supporters to attack Froude's hasty publication and careless editing of the work. Here as elsewhere Dyer is fair enough, quoting defenders of Froude also, but the weight of his argument is in favor of Norton. Tarr avoids the controversy and readily agrees with Dyer that the Norton edition with its corrections (but also with its excisions) constitutes a 1st edition superseding Froude's. Tarr remains rigorously neutral. His notes supply only information that pertains directly to the work.

Tarr's bibliographic descriptions follow what may be called state-of-the-art procedures. Obviously he benefits from the work of such bibliographers as Fredson Bowers, Philip Gaskell, G. Thomas Tanselle and others who have standardized earlier procedures, sharpened distinctions and clarified such often-hazy terms as issue and state. Binding descriptions, color designations, and collational formulae have been refined. Chrono-
logical sequence has replaced the alphabetical. Tarr gives each of Carlyle's published works a number which indicates its chronological place, whether it is a first, second, or later edition, whether it is a first or later printing, or a first or a second issue. We are informed that issues and states occur only within single printings and that there cannot be a first issue or state without a second issue or state. The proper distinction between them, not always clear, is that issues are created by an alteration affecting the conditions of publication or sale of some copies of a given printing (e.g., a title-leaf alteration); states by an alteration not affecting those conditions (e.g., a stop-press correction). To illustrate: *The Critical and Miscellaneous Essays* of 1838, listed tenth in Section A, is numbered A10.1.1a1 to indicate the first issue of the first printing of Volume I of the first American Edition. The same work, published in London the following year, is numbered A10.1.1a2 to indicate the second issue of the first printing of the first edition. States are indicated in the notes, one of which tells us that this English issue is "possibly a second state of the American issue" since it corrected an American error. It would be hard to imagine a more efficient way of representing the complex publishing nature of any given edition.

Each entry in Section A begins with a clear facsimile of the title page and, where relevant, of the copyright page also. The pagination information, signature collations showing how the book has been gathered and sewn, the listing of its contents, the typography, type of paper, whether woven or laid, and descriptions of bindings, wrappers, and dust jackets are all given in accordance with the established style of the Pittsburgh Series. Tarr describes many of the copies from his own impressive collection of Carlyle first and later editions. Locations of copies in other special collections or in libraries are indicated, and such other information as is bibliographically important appears in the notes. There are eight-one titles of books, pamphlets and broadsides listed in Section A, of which thirty are lifetime editions. The remaining fifty-one are posthumous first editions which along with post-1881 entries in Section C constitute the rich harvest of Carlyle's writings that have been published since his death. The early publications of his letters, of several correspondences, of his reminiscences and note books, and, more recently, of the careful re-editings of letters and correspondences, and manuscript material that has been discovered, or uncovered, since Dyer's time, are systematically described by Tarr. Dyer's bibliographic descriptions, though generally accurate and complete, were not consistently so. Tarr is nothing if not consistent. His chronological listing of the titles is certainly superior to Dyer's which was alphabetical.
With few exceptions the first editions listed proliferate into numerous later editions and printings, illustrating not only the complexity of the nineteenth-century publishing trade but the difficulties facing a bibliographer in his effort to set forth the full record, to miss nothing. Echoing his predecessors in the field Tarr acknowledges his fallibility: "A bibliography is outdated the day it is published. Addenda and corrigenda are earnestly solicited" (p. xxi). The bibliographer's lot is not, then, an easy one. He must not only do his work well, he must get it published. In 1973 G. B. Tennyson lamented that there has been no "single up-to-date listing of all Carlyle's works that takes into account the findings since Dyer." If Dyer's work has acted as a deterrent to successors there have been other deterrents as well, the commitment and skills required for such an undertaking and the expense of publishing it in the academic marketplace. It is no wonder that bibliographic work on Carlyle has been sporadic and piecemeal. The nearest approach after Dyer to a comprehensive listing with additions and corrections was that compiled by Charles Richard Sanders in the NCBEL (1969). Tarr's later contributions were perforce confined mainly to critical and biographical works on Carlyle.

This descriptive bibliography, listing all the first editions and their progeny, is therefore especially welcome. His stated objectives of completeness and accuracy, though he states them modestly, have been admirably met. Completeness of course applies in two ways, to the full bibliographic description of each title, and to the inclusion of all legitimate titles. Accuracy applies to numbers, to dates, to the descriptive details—to everything. Tarr measures the height and width of the printed text and of the pages. Dyer strangely did not measure the printed text but gave the height and width of the page in inches, then the height once again in centimeters. Tarr's measurements, frequently at variance with Dyer's, are corrections. Following a standardized format has no doubt helped him give consistently clear and full descriptions of distinct editions. Perhaps their very clarity conceals what may be the bibliographer's worst headache, the need to distinguish a unique text which appears to be identical to another but differs from it by reason of some textual variant or error not easy to detect. The already mentioned English issue of The Critical and Miscellaneous Essays (1839) is an example. It appears to be identical to the earlier American issue (1838) but is distinct because it corrects the incorrect p. '19' for p. '91' (though another error is not corrected). The distinguishing of different printings, issues and states depends on meticulous search for such discrepancies, and Tarr, adding his own findings to those already found before him, has made accessible much new and accurate information. Where possible, by consulting publishers' records and listings of publications in English and American journals, he has recorded the
number of copies printed, the number sold, at what price, and the sums accruing to Carlyle. Though not complete, it appears that Tarr has tapped all the available sources. Some sources, like the records of Chapman and Hall which have been destroyed, were unavailable.

Such information enables us to follow much of Carlyle's publishing history. We can trace his early difficulties with publishers and the public from the poor reception of his translation of *Wilhelm Meister*, one thousand copies printed in May 1824 and only six hundred sold by midsummer precluding a second printing, to his successful publishing of articles and reviews in the periodicals during the 1830s, while at the same time his efforts to publish *Sartor* as a trade book were (famously) frustrated until it appeared at last, and first, in America in 1836. Only after a second American Edition (1837) and the instantly popular *French Revolution* was Saunders and Otley willing to publish the first English trade-book edition, of 500 copies (1838), and then only after requiring a subscription list of 300 copies in advance. The American edition had sold well over a thousand copies, though he profited from only fifty of these. His payment for the English edition would be half profits.

From the lively American market, then, although it was heartening, Carlyle sometimes received scanty financial reward. Despite Emerson's efforts to dissuade them some American publishers pirated English editions as soon as they crossed the ocean. Tarr records that the first American Edition of *Past and Present* (1843) published by William H. Colyer in New York was pirated, also Colyer's edition of *Cromwell's Letters and Speeches* (1846), and Harper & Brothers pirated both the book and pamphlet editions of the *Latter-Day Pamphlets* (1850). Curiously Tarr does not indicate that the first American edition of *Heroes* (1841) was also pirated, by D. Appleton & Co., a matter which prompted Emerson to send Carlyle a humorous apology: "... we have been driven from the market by the New York Pirates ... Not only these men made a book ... but the New York newspapers print [it] in chapters & you circulate for six cents per newspaper at the corners of all streets in N.Y. & Boston: gaining in fame what you lose in coin" (Slater, CEC, 292-3). Nor does Tarr list these newspaper printings of *Heroes*.

Piracy was at least a proof of Carlyle's popularity. More important was the rapid increase in the number of editions and printings his works went through after 1837. Partly to forestall the pirates but also because he saw clear demand, Emerson set in motion the publishing of Carlyle's essays in the *Miscellanies* of 1838 and 1839, by James Monroe of Boston. James Fraser soon followed in London. Tarr lists six editions, three American and three English, which went to a total of 45 printings. *Chartism* went through four editions and seventeen printings. All told there are
some 163 lifetime titles of books, pamphlets, journal articles, and collected works, most of which generated numerous editions and printings in England and America (Tarr lists the foreign language editions too) even after 1850 when the *Latter-Day Pamphlets* brought him disfavor on both sides of the Atlantic. The chronological arrangement permits us to see how Carlyle's readership nevertheless continued to expand to the end of his life. Thereafter we have the posthumous first editions. The flurry of activity among biographers after 1881 was accompanied by a rush to publish unpublished Carlyle material of all kinds: the Froude and Norton editions of the *Reminiscences* (1881, 1887), the Carlyle-Emerson correspondence appearing in Boston and London (1883) followed by Norton's editions of Carlyle's *Early Letters* (1886) and *Letters* (1888), the Goethe-Carlyle correspondence (1887), and *The Two Note Books* (1898). Alexander Carlyle in his turn edited *Historical Sketches* (1898), *New Letters* (1904), the *Love Letters* (1909), and the *Letters to Mill, Sterling and Browning* (1923). Other Carlyle letters as well as the two editions of the *Lectures on the History of Literature* (1892) and various rescued essays were also published, some so hastily like the *Last Words of Thomas Carlyle* (1882) that Mary Aitken Carlyle had to move to stop sales.

After 1923 there is a lull. Tarr lists no major publication of a posthumous first edition until R. A. E. Brooks's of Carlyle's *Journey to Germany, Autumn 1858* (1940). John Graham Jr.'s *Letters to William Graham* (1950) and Hill Shine's *Carlyle's Unfinished History of German Literature* (1951) follow, but slowly. After World War I not only the taint of Prussianism but also the popular reaction against "Victorianism" may have discouraged scholarly search for and study of Carlyle's work, despite Dyer's and Wilson's defensive efforts. Yet the works themselves continued to sell well. By 1937 Dyer and Wilson and Alexander Carlyle were no longer living and it remained for another generation of scholars to renew the search. Previously unpublished letters continued to turn up, but in 1952 Professor Charles Richard Sanders launched the magnificent project of finding, editing, and publishing all the letters of both Carlyles which culminated in the inauguration of the Duke-Edinburgh Edition of *The Collected Letters of Thomas and Jane Welsh Carlyle* in 1970 with the publication of the first four volumes. Tarr lists and describes fifteen of the eighteen volumes that have appeared to date. Individual collections have also appeared: Trudy Bliss's *Letters to His Wife* (1953), Joseph Slater's definitive edition of the Emerson-Carlyle correspondence (1964), Edwin W. Marrs's *Letters to His Brother Alexander* (1968), and G. A. Cate's edition of the Carlyle-Ruskin correspondence (1982). Recent research has also identified fresh essays and poems: additional contributions by Carlyle to the *Edinburgh Encyclopaedia* and a number of poems, by G. B. Tennyson; also new
manuscripts: Baumgarten's "Manuscript on Creeds" (1968), Tarr's The Guises (1981), The Collected Poems of Thomas and Jane Welsh Carlyle (1986) edited by Tarr and McClelland, and numerous unearthing of other manuscript material by K. J. Fielding, Ian Campbell, D. J. Trela et al. As the search continues there will no doubt be new findings, future addenda.

Tarr provides useful lists of the collected editions of Carlyle's works, and of miscellaneous collections, with their posthumous reprintings through 1880. In the section listing materials that have been attributed to Carlyle he indicates whether and by whom the attribution has been contested. Most of the attributions are considered still problematic, some clearly unwarranted.

Especially welcome is the separate section devoted to Jane's writings—letters, poems, stories, a fragment of a tragedy—all published posthumously. It is not hard to believe that although during her lifetime she produced a treasure house of personal letters nothing of hers was published until after her death, or even until after Carlyle's death. Finally some of her letters, with Carlyle's memorials, were brought out by Froude (1883) and by Alexander Carlyle (1903). David G. Ritchie published her Early Letters (1889), Leonard Huxley her Letters to Her Family (1924), and Townsend Scudder her letters to Joseph Neuber (1931). Not listed in this section or cross-referenced are the letters she wrote to Amely Böhte which were published in Last Words (1892). Later selections by Trudy Bliss (1949) and by Alan and Mary McQueen Simpson, I Too Am Here (1977), display her remarkable literary talents and throw into relief her plight as the neglected wife of a genius. Tarr also lists Mrs. Alexander Ireland's selection of Geraldine Jewsbury's letters to Jane (1892) but does not explain what writing by Jane justifies the inclusion. There is in fact no writing by Jane in the volume: Geraldine had destroyed, at Jane's request, all the letters from Jane that were in her possession. Many of Jane's previously unpublished letters have been and will be appearing in the volumes of the Duke-Edinburgh Collected Letters.

With any bibliography there is always the chance that something has been missed. Certainly Tarr's work has been thorough. The canon of Carlyle's published writings is about as complete as it is now possible to make it. Two omissions may be noted. There is no entry for the five brief letters Carlyle submitted in 1814 to the Dumfries and Galloway Courier posing and solving problems in a local mathematical correspondence. Though classed as juvenilia and not strictly 'publications' they are his first appearance in print; they are the earliest record of his early interest and talent in mathematics, and they illustrate his youthful temper, since the last letter, a "severe retaliation" against two other correspondents, had to be suppressed by the editor, Dr. Henry Duncan (Collected Letters, I, 8, n7).
The other omission is of what seems to be a second state or a later printing of *On The Choice of Books* (1866). Several printings of the first London edition of this work are listed, all reading "No. 5, Great Cheyne Row" on the title page. My copy clearly reads "No. 7, Great Cheyne Row." These are minor discrepancies in a work in which the possibilities of error are legion. The errata are also minor, mostly typos. Worth mentioning: on p. 232 "Conwany" should read "Conway," on p. 437 "Three" should read "Thee," and on p. 539 deleted the second "and" in "Dumfries and Galloway and Courier." The *Edinburgh Encyclopaedia* is not indexed. Finally, in my copy of *The Pearl of English Rhetoric* (first Edition, only printing, 1889) the horizontal chain-lines measure 4.0 cm., not 3.0 cm., wide.

One more matter needs comment. It is unfortunate that Professor Tarr has had to forego the listing of the post-1880 editions. So many of Carlyle's works continued to appear and reappear after his death that we miss them in a bibliography such as this. The Essay on Burns went through numerous school editions, like that of Homer B. Sprague (Boston, 1898), edited with notes, outline and commentary. For these, and for scholarly editions like C. F. Harrold's edition of *Sartor* (N.Y., 1937), we look in vain. They will be listed, we are told, in the planned supplementary volume. This means that we will still have no bibliography which like Dyer's presents all first and later editions and all ana under one cover. It is admittedly a no-fault situation, considering the exigencies of publishing, but it is regrettable.

The present work nevertheless has abundant value as a much-needed reference work for students of Carlyle, and of Jane Welsh Carlyle. Within its self-imposed limits it does bring together under one cover all the necessary bibliographic materials dating from 1815 to 1988, and it is admirably organized and indexed for efficient use. With its copious detail it will meet the most exacting demands of scholars, book dealers, cataloguers and collectors, and it has been produced handsomely by the Pittsburgh University Press. There is no question of its importance as a major contribution to Carlyle studies and as a worthy complement to the current renaissance in Carlyle scholarship. We must be grateful to Professor Tarr for undertaking, and for completing so well, such a difficult task.

**Carlisle Moore**  
*University of Oregon*

Overall, this is a disappointing book. If it had appeared fifteen, or even ten years ago, when MacDiarmid was still a relatively neglected figure, and stood to benefit from whatever critical attention was given him, one might have looked on it more leniently. But things move fast, both in Scottish literature and in MacDiarmid criticism. At its best, criticism is a collaborative enterprise, in which the sum of often contradictory individual approaches is greater than the parts, providing a text with the air it needs in order to breathe freely and constantly renew itself. The reading of a text is not static, but an ongoing, social process, and the cultural flowering which responded, in Scotland, to the debacle of the 1979 referendum, has also changed our relationship to MacDiarmid. At the simplest level, that flowering was nourished by a reassessment of the classic texts of the Scottish Renaissance between the wars, made possible by the distance we had by then acquired from them. The quality and range of the work done in the last decade colors how we read MacDiarmid in Scotland today, in a sense rendering him less crucial, and less solitary, in as much as his lessons have, to a certain extent, been learnt. On the other hand, the definitive affirmation of Scottish Literature as an academic discipline and a flourishing tradition has provided a flexible, developing context in which to place his work.

There is none of all this in Baglow's book. When he refers to critics such as Cairns Craig or Edwin Morgan, Roderick Watson or Burns Singer, he tends merely to quote them in support of his own thesis or to correct their views. One never has the sense of Baglow actively engaging with a growing body of criticism. Symptomatic in this respect is the relegation of MacDiarmid's other critics to an appendix, where we are told that Catherine Kerrigan and others have given "too much credence to the poet's ragbag of philosophical ideas," while Kenneth Buthlay's error has been to "anchor him too securely in his Scottish context" (p. 213). One could comment on the arrogance underlying such dismissive judgments: what matters, however, is that an opportunity to enrich and engage in further critical debate dialectically has been missed.

Baglow's study raises a more fundamental problem of context. It is possible to look on modernism as the point at which the English core dissolved, allowing writers who were all, in one way or another, outsiders, to move into a central position—Pound and Eliot as Americans, Lawrence through his class background, Virginia Woolf as a woman—before the restoration of the 1930s, when a group of writers of remarkably similar social extraction emerged (Auden, Spender, Isherwood, Orwell). Retrospec-
tively, it is clear how profoundly un-English writers such as Joyce or Yeats have been used to shore up the tottering edifice of English Literature. Why was MacDiarmid left out? Given the prolonged critical neglect resulting from his exclusion, one could be pardoned for thinking that his unsuitability as a candidate for promotion to the English core was a weakness. Time has shown that it was a major strength. Quite simply, it is inappropriate, and unrewarding, to read MacDiarmid within the canons of English tradition. Written into his texts is the insistence that he be judged by different parameters. If we are to read him successfully, we must create a tradition within which to place that reading. In terms of the English core, MacDiarmid is unassimilable.

Every critical reading has an ideological, even a geographical location. Baglow consistently devalues the importance of Scotland for MacDiarmid's work and makes the fundamental error of reading him from an almost exclusively English, modernist viewpoint. The poet's nationality is, for Baglow, something to be transcended, in spite of the fact that MacDiarmid had stated the opposite at the close of *A Drunk Man* (ll. 2638 ff.). Indeed, Baglow's project becomes explicit when he tells us that it is valuable to examine his [MacDiarmid's] work in order to explore the problems of the modern poet. Because he is so concerned with what he is doing he faces these problems explicitly in a way that greater figures such as Yeats and Pound do not... By doing so he gives insight into much of the poetry of the latter (p. 186).

In other words, MacDiarmid is a marginal and secondary figure, but precisely for this reason, he can shed valuable light on more significant, and more central poets.

Now the simplest form of *pietas* for a dead artist's memory would, one feels have sufficed to forestall unselfconscious readings of MacDiarmid's work in an English context. But this is not just a question of human respect. Given the relations of dominance and suppression that currently subsist between England and Scotland, in the cultural as in the political sphere, it is clear that an English approach will be peculiarly unsuited to grasp the realities of Scottish writing. It must, at any rate, make an attempt to come to terms with those relations. (This is a Canadian publication, and a Canadian reading of MacDiarmid promises to be of considerable interest. There is no hint of it here.) Baglow displays many of the typical faults of an English approach—its pretensions to universality, and its lack of any sense of its own contingency, its relativity. Concepts such as "the modern poet" or "modern poetry" are of limited usefulness, but are also obscurantist, since it is clear from, for example, the list on pp. 205-6 that they stand for "male, English language poets in the British Isles and
the United States, principally writing before the 1970s." One is tempted to
cry out "And Blok? Valéry? Cernuda? Marinetti and the Futurists?
Tsvetayeva?"

The more general a critical perception is, the less useful it normally
proves to be. It is a mischievous, but valuable exercise to take an observa­
tion and see how many poets it can apply to. The more poets it fits, the
less valid it is. Take this, for example:

It is through his poetry that he [MacDiarmid] exists. For of one thing he has no
doubt whatsoever: he is a poet. The word does not merely describe his occupa­
tion, but his very essence. Having so defined himself, he has defined his mode of
being-in-the-world. His problem of existence is therefore a problem of poetry,
and the ideal solution is the aim of poetic activity (p. 146).

The point we are making is a very serious one. Living criticism is an active
dialogue with the text, inseparable from it and inconceivable without it.
This is why, early on in Narrative Discourse, Genette confesses that he is
unsure whether he is writing a book about Proust's Recherche, or a text in
literary theory. He is in fact writing neither, and both.

MacDiarmid had himself clearly suggested the context in which he
wished to be read, and his weaving of pre-Revolutionary Russian litera­
ture into his own work is a crucial indicator in this respect. Baglow makes
the error of condescending to his poet, here and elsewhere. He ignores
the fact that "The Last Trump," is a translation from Merezhkovsky (p.
155), and describes the "silken leddy" of A Drunk Man (ll. 169 ff.) as "the
mystical bride, the personification of the Scottish essence" (p. 67) without
reflecting on the paradox that the lines are a faithful (even if indirect)
rendition of Blok's Russian original. He does not pursue the implications
of Dostoevski's appearance in A Drunk Man—"most of the latter part of
the poem, the extended apostrophe to Dostoevski, for example . . . is of
considerably less interest in itself than much of the earlier section" (p.
87)—and is more or less impervious to the ideas "picked up from the Rus­
sian philosopher Vladimir Solovyev" (p. 31). Now Kerrigan and Ruth
McQuillan, in texts which I, at least, regard as cornerstones of Mac­
Diarmid criticism, have demonstrated that Solovyev offers the key to un­
derstanding a major strand in MacDiarmid's poetry, from the early lyrics
to "On a Raised Beach" and perhaps beyond.

Baglow's writing gives one the feeling of watching a thriller film in
which the detective repeatedly and tantalizingly walks past the vital clue.
The failure to distinguish the rose of England from the thistle's roses, or
the description of what is clearly a letter as a "drinking song" (p. 75) are of
minor importance by comparison. What Baglow cannot understand, he
devalues. The Great Wheel section which closes A Drunk Man "is not in
itself successful" (p. 83). One could begin to argue with this by pointing out that the technical white heat of this section (some 250 lines of tercets rhyming a/a/a) indicates that MacDiarmid is operating at a high level of poetic inspiration. But then, Baglow has nothing to say about the prosody of the poem, and little enough in general about technical aspects of MacDiarmid's poetry.

The time for studies trying to encompass the whole of MacDiarmid's work has surely passed. The authorial fallacy, which views the collected work of a single figure as homogeneous material for critical survey, has come to seem less and less valid, particularly given MacDiarmid's aggressive intertextuality. A major task now facing his critics is the annotation of the later poetry (the "grim business of documentation") and some assessment of the principles underlying its composition.

Here again, Baglow is dispiriting rather than illuminating. In Memoriam James Joyce is "a profound failure . . . the poem of one who has ceased to be a poet" (p. 183) and "Far from braid-binding . . . merely an essay on hair . . . a helpless, prolonged stutter" (p. 184), while "The Kind of Poetry I Want" is "an inventory and little more" (p. 148). Throughout his study, he makes the mistake of commenting on the poetry section by section, with the risk of providing merely a sequential paraphrase. If a text has coherence, it is extremely difficult for the critic to make this explicit by following the text's own ordering. It is better to impose a different order in one's study of the text: this way its own order has a chance to emerge.

It is possible to raise interesting points in a review of Hugh MacDiarmid: The Poetry of Self, but (apart from a brief and inchoate application of Heideggerian categories [p. 199 ff.]) I found little of interest in the book itself. MacDiarmid's critics have generally shown greater perspicacity, and greater respect for their author, than Baglow does. One hopes this will continue to be the case.

CHRISTOPHER WHYTE
University of Glasgow


The Adventures of Ferdinand Count Fathom has been dismissed by generations of critics and literary historians (beginning almost with the date of its publication in 1753) as Tobias Smollett's least accomplished, least satisfying novel. It has been condemned as vulgar and low, clumsy and inept, boring and a failure in its attempt to depict archetypal villainy in conflict
with archetypal goodness. All of these judgments are in one way or another false; that is, they proceed from a stubborn refusal to read Smollett's third novel on its own terms. But they have been persuasive. Until recently, with the general revival of interest in Smollett, *Fathom* has hardly been read by anyone. It is no masterpiece by any ordinary standard of taste or critical assessment, but it has hardly deserved such neglect.

During the last two decades, three new editions of the work have appeared and have helped immeasurably to rescue it from oblivion and make it accessible to readers: Damian Grant's Oxford English Novels edition of 1971; my University of Georgia Press edition of 1988; and now, Paul-Gabriel Boucé's Penguin edition of 1990. Boucé is one of the two or three leading Smollettians in the world, and so it is particularly gratifying that he was asked to edit this volume intended for a classroom audience. The students who read it and consult its introduction and notes may be assured that everything they encounter is authoritative and utterly reliable. Scholars, too, will find the volume valuable, as the apparatus is unusually extensive and detailed for a popular paperback edition, even of the work of a major writer.

Bouce's introduction is a masterly thing of its kind. It appropriately covers historical and biographical backgrounds, as well as the critical reception of Smollett's novel from his own time to ours. The information provided is accurate and succinctly given; the account of the novel's critical reputation is expansive but to the point, judicious in its disagreements with received opinion without ever becoming strident in its development of Boucé's own revisionist assessment. *Fathom* is, says Boucé, Smollett's "most intriguing novel" (p. 17), not the tedious thing some earlier commentators have judged it to be. It is a "puzzling" experimental work, made more (not less) interesting by the puzzles it presents to the reader and by the nature of its experiments with genre, with relations between history and fiction, and with the representation of deviance. *Fathom* "subverts the narrative codes of sentimental romance and neo-picaresque adventure through the deft use of mock-heroic irony . . . and comic eccentricity . . ." (p. 21), in the process throwing into bold relief the conventions established in the popular fiction of Smollett's time, including important Continental works such as *Don Quixote* and *Gil Blas*. By focusing on Smollett's experiments, Boucé manages to demonstrate the ways in which *Fathom* ought to be read. He is particularly good on the novel's disjunctions between history and fiction, on its often anachronistic use of contextual facts in the making of a fictional narrative; he is equally good on the use of spatial dislocation as a means by which Smollett deliberately fractured the texture of his work. He justly observes that *Fathom* is "well worth reading, both for the sheer enjoyment of the breathless tempo of its cosmopolitan
adventures in low and high society, and for its historical significance in the
development of the eighteenth-century English novel" (p. 22).

_Fathom_ was published in February 1753, and though there was a
Dublin edition in the same year (and, almost simultaneously, a piracy sup­
pposedly issued in London by one "T. Johnson"), no second edition ap­
peared until November 1771, two months after Smollett's death in Italy.
Only the first edition is authoritative, and it is this that Boucé has appro­
priately chosen as a copy-text. He has wisely left the original text almost
intact; instead of modernizing, as is too often the practice among editors
of popular editions, he has simply eliminated the long _s_ and corrected ob­
vious printer's errors.

The notes to the text are full, clearly written, and reliable. They ex­
plain archaic words and obsolete usages; they clearly identify topographi­
cal, historical, literary, and personal allusions; and, as necessary, they
point the reader to contemporary sources or modern commentary (or
both). Boucé misses nothing in Smollett's novel that requires annotation
for the general twentieth-century reader. The annotations themselves dis­
play his great tact as an editor. He is never argumentative—he avoids
critical debate, allowing the annotations to serve their proper explanatory
purpose. And he is never pedantic; he brings all his vast knowledge of
Smollett and his period to bear, but he annotates the text of the novel, not
the subject matter of the annotations. Thus, for example, he notes of
Smollett's allusion to "the jakes of Rabelais" that a jakes is a "privy," and
"figuratively 'excrement' or 'filth,,'" remarking upon Smollett's reference to
"the robust, and at times scatological, humor of François Rabelais" (p.
452); but he does not launch into a discussion of Rabelais. A long note on
Dr. Joshua ("Spot") Ward identifies him as the "certain famous empyrick"
alluded to in the text, outlines the controversy over Ward's famous "Pill
and Drop," and refers the reader to a modern discussion of Ward by
Marjorie Hope Nicolson (p. 495); the note fully illustrates the importance
of Smollett's allusion within the general context of his novel's satiric con­
cern with contemporary medical practice, but it avoids superfluous display
of Boucé's considerable knowledge of the relevant medical history.

Boucé's annotations are in every way admirable, far more comprehen­
sive and trustworthy than those included in Grant's 1971 edition of
_Fathom_. If they are less numerous or elaborate than those in the 1988
Georgia edition, that is as it should be, given the more general audience
for his edition. In addition to his annotations, Boucé includes other appa­
ratus that will be helpful to the reader of the novel: a chronology of
Smollett's life, and a "select" bibliography of three sections—"Textual and
Critical," which provides information on editions and translations of
_Fathom_, together with references to the most authoritative bibliographical
sources; a list of "General Works on Smollett," including the most im-
portant biographical and critical studies; and "Specific Studies of Fathom,"
which refers the reader to almost two dozen articles and chapters in
books. The only additional aid that one could wish for is an index, since
Smollett's novel is so extremely topical, but that would be a bonus and
perhaps even a luxury in an edition of this kind.

Popular editions of literary works are often patch-up affairs, hastily
prepared for an active classroom market. Not so this edition of Ferdinand
Count Fathom. Paul-Gabriel Boucé has brought to his work on Smollett's
novel the highest standards of scholarship and of editorial practice. He is
to be congratulated for a superb achievement.

Jerry C. Beasley
University of Delaware

Jerome Mitchell. Scott, Chaucer, and Medieval Romance: A Study in Sir
Walter Scott's Indebtedness to the Literature of the Middle Ages. Lexington:

The purposes of this study, Professor Mitchell tells us in his preface,
are to establish the extent of Scott's knowledge of medieval romances, and
to demonstrate his indebtedness to these romances and to the poems of
Chaucer. He acknowledges that he is in part following the model of
Wilmon Brewer's Shakespeare's Influence on Sir Walter Scott (Boston,
1925), but asserts "I believe that medieval romance is the single most im-
portant literary source for the Waverley Novels, even more pervasive than
Shakespeare (whose influence on Scott was great and profound)"
(Preface, ix-x). This is a drastic revision of Brewer's estimate of literary in-
fluences, viz. that after Shakespeare the most important are "popular po-
etry" (the ballads and early songs of the sort Scott collected in The Min-
strelsy), non-Shakespearian English drama, and the Bible, leaving
Medieval Romance in fifth place (Brewer, 487).

Though Brewer based his findings on all of Scott's published works,
and even his life, while Mitchell confines himself to the fiction in both
verse and prose, the two critics base their conclusions on much the same
evidence. The reader naturally looks for some difference in the definition
of literary influence, or in the method of assessing it. Mitchell does not
claim that he uses different criteria or methods, nor are differences at all
obvious in the text of his argument. Some examination of the evidence
brought forward in the new study seems in order, in keeping with
Mitchell's observation in his preface:
When one source is put under a magnifying glass, it inevitably gets blown up out of proportion. As great as the influence of medieval literature is, it does not overshadow all other influences, for Scott's reading was vast and omnivorous.

The simplest and most obvious use of a literary source is direct quotation. No reader of Scott can be unaware of his propensity to quote Shakespeare, in his own person, in most of his narrative personae, and in many of his characters, some of whom are represented as readers of Shakespeare. Clearly Scott expected his own readers to understand and enjoy these frequent allusions. The chapter headings of the early Waverley novels, so often from Shakespeare, appeal to this awareness. Naturally, he could not assume the readers to have a similar acquaintance with Middle English, or even the most celebrated of medieval romances except through more modern renderings, such as Dryden's modernizations of Chaucer. In place of direct quotation, as Mitchell demonstrates, Scott used many words, phrases, and grammatical constructions found in Middle English or at least similar to those used in the romances or in Chaucer's works. But these are not nearly as numerous as the quotations from Shakespeare; and it is also true that Scott could have found most of these same words, phrases, and grammatical constructions in the works of Edmund Spenser, mentioned in the autobiographical fragment, "Spenser I could have read forever" (Lockhart, Memoirs). There can be no doubt that Shakespeare was the source most frequently quoted directly, and alluded to in Scott's work.

The most important evidence of influence, according to Mitchell, is to be found in elements of the narratives—situations, incidents, and character types. But this is also the most difficult kind of evidence to assess justly. Both Brewer and Mitchell mention Scott's sly admission in his Journal: "When I convey an incident or so, I am at as much pains to avoid detection as if the offence could be indicted at the Old Bailey." (Journal, 215) Given the extent of Scott's reading, and the frequency with which plot lines and situations have been copied by generation after generation of romancers in verse and prose, the task seems almost hopeless. This uncertainty invalidates much of Mitchell's account of Scott's borrowings. For example, he claims that the plot pattern involving two eligible young men in love with the same young woman, and its analog, two young women in love with the same young man, stem from Chaucer's "Knight's Tale". He identifies this in fifteen of the major works and labels it as the Knight's Tale story pattern. Yet it is to be found throughout poetic and dramatic fiction from its beginnings to Scott's immediate predecessors in verse and prose. Virgil's Aeneas and Turnus are rivals for the hand of Lavinia, and Homer's Odysseus has to choose between Calypso and Penelope. Scott
certainly knew Chaucer well; but he probably came to the Knight's Tale through Dryden's "Palamon and Arcite."

But it is surely rather strange to regard any purely literary source as responsible for the prominence of this story pattern in Scott's work. The most important emotional events in his real life were his grande passion for Williamina Belsches, his overwhelming disappointment when she married his friend and (equally eligible) rival William Forbes, and his courtship of Charlotte Carpenter a year or two later.

Mitchell traces another pattern, that of lovers divided by opposing religious beliefs, to Floris and Blanchefleur and Aucassin and Nicolette. Considering Scott's family background and early reading, he probably encountered this pattern first in the Book of Ruth, and then in Shakespeare's The Merchant of Venice. He certainly found it somewhat later in Ariosto's Orlando Furioso—Ruggiero and Bradamante—and in Tasso's Gerusalemme Liberata—Tancred and Clorinda. Similarly, Mitchell argues that other important plot elements such as disguises, prophetic dreams, enmity and reconciliation, exile and return, perilous journeys, rescues in the nick of time, and undesired marriages, all derive primarily from the medieval romances and Chaucer.

In some places Mitchell's zeal for his theory leads him into palpable absurdity. In The Black Dwarf, he points out:

Scott's account (in the 1829 introduction) of David Ritchie, the original for the Black Dwarf, parallels Chaucer's description of the Miller in the General Prologue. Quoting Robert Chambers of Edinburgh, Scott relates that Ritchie's skull was said to be of such strength, that he could strike it with ease through a panel of a door, or the end of a barrel; Chaucer's Miller we are told, can bash a door down 'at a rennyng with his heed'. (p. 102)

Are we to suppose that Chaucer somehow prompted this contribution to the novel, years after it had been published—or that Ritchie emulated the fictional Miller in real life?

Less obviously absurd, but more dangerously misleading, is the summary of St. Ronan's Well. After conceding that Scott labeled the novel "entirely modern," Mitchell points out that Josiah Cargill reads medieval history, Peregrine Touchwood has some knowledge of the same subject, and Clara Mowbray reads "old romances" and quotes from the Arabian Nights. He also claims that the plot has elements from Chaucer's "Knight's Tale" (i.e., the two young kinsmen who compete violently for the same young woman's hand), and from the Morte d'Arthur and the Tristram story (the undesired marriage, and the disguised, unwanted lover). On this slender basis rests the concluding summary:
Scott must have enjoyed pretending that his story was "entirely modern." He more than anyone else was fully aware that what really counts so far as emotion is concerned comes right out of the pages of medieval romance. (p. 168)

If this statement means anything, it means that "what really counts so far as emotion is concerned:" is story line and lesser elements of plot. And this the medieval romances and Chaucer share with Scott, and with almost all authors of fiction in verse and prose, from Homer, Virgil, and Ovid to the ingenious purveyors of plots for the current soap operas of television. Certainly there are parallels for all of these and more in the scores of medieval romances Scott read and occasionally mentioned, and the rich and varied corpus of Chaucer. Scott does use such elements in his fictions. But all of these can also be found in great profusion in the major works of classical antiquity, from Homer and the Greek tragic dramatists to Latin comedy; in the great Renaissance epics of Boiardo, Ariosto, and Tasso; in much of Elizabethan poetry and drama, especially Spenser and Shakespeare; and of course in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century drama, verse, and prose fiction. Mitchell admits his awareness of this problem:

...sometimes there are alternative sources for a particular motif or point of style. I cannot always pin Scott down to a medieval source to the exclusion of other possible sources. In such cases it is altogether conceivable that three or four or more literary works from different periods of literary history were on his mind at the same time. If so, I am inclined to believe that medieval romance weighed most heavily because of his utter fascination with literature of this sort during his formative years. Although he also read widely in other literature at an early age, ballads and old romances were his passion. (p. 39)

This seems to mean that whenever a pattern or a particular incident can be paralleled in more than one putative source, it must be assigned to the medieval source. But Mitchell does not trouble to document the assertion on which his selection of evidence rests. And it is at best a questionable statement, at worst quite untenable.

Scott's own account of his early exposure to imaginative fiction and drama, the autobiography which constitutes the first chapter of Lockhart's Memoirs, sets forth fairly explicitly the material which fascinated him in his formative years. He recalls Jacobite stories and songs, and traditional ballads of the Borders from the age of three at his grandfather's farm, and his first glimpse of the drama, Shakespeare's As You Like It, in Bath at four. Later, when he had learned to read, he read aloud to his mother Pope's translation of Homer, which, he adds, "excepting a few traditionary ballads, and the songs in Allan Ramsay's Evergreen, was the first poetry which I perused." At school he learned Latin and "...distinguished [himself] by some attempts at poetical versions from Horace and Virgil."
In his high school days, too, he read Shakespeare when he was supposed to be asleep: "nor can I easily forget the rapture..." and before he left the High School he had not only read Spenser's *Faire Queene*, but had memorized a "really marvellous" quantity of the text. After leaving school he first made the acquaintance of Percy's *Reliques* and the works of Tasso and Ariosto. Soon after this he mentions reading Tressan's medieval poetry. The name of Chaucer does not occur. And it should be observed that later in his career, when he had read a good many medieval romances, he did not refer to them with the same unqualified enthusiasm accorded to Shakespeare and Spenser. A passage in the *Memoirs* ("All that was adventurous and romantic I devoured without discrimination...") is somewhat misleading if it is taken to refer exclusively to medieval romance. It certainly includes novels of that genre, the ballad material then being published, and the works already mentioned. The collection of French romances is important surely; yet Scott does not include the name of one medieval romance or of one work by Chaucer.

Scott's "Essay on Romance" provides clear evidence of his judgement of medieval romance in general. For him it is of primarily historical interest, as the source of later works of superior merit. The verse romances are, on the whole, inferior to the prose versions which supplanted them, and the prose to the poems of the great Renaissance writers—Ariosto, Tasso, Spenser. If, then, one must single out the major sources of romantic narratives and chivalric lore from Scott's formative years, primacy must be given to Spenser, traditional ballads, and the chivalric passages in Shakespeare's plays.

This conviction that medieval romance was the predominant influence in Scott's formative years also colors Mitchell's account of the full range of Scott's fiction in both verse and prose. Space does not permit a work-by-work survey of his findings, but in general the links he finds between Scott and the romances are the plot elements already mentioned and a number of words and phrases to be found in Chaucer and Middle English.

But the most important evidence of literary influence must be sought in an author's intentions—the ideas, concerns, and emotions he is trying to convey to his readers. Difficult as it is to sum up the prevailing intentions of the large and varied body of writers comprised in medieval romance literature, some generalizations can be made. Their most obvious and superficial concern is with love and war, especially love under very difficult conditions, and acts of extreme, not to say extravagant, bravery. Many aim to inculcate certain codes of behavior—the rules of courtly love, or the niceties of knightly singlehanded combat. When they go beyond these, they are concerned with matters of religious belief and Christian morality, often couched in allegorical form. They were not, by and large, concerned
with verifiable historic events, not at all concerned with differences between peoples of different cultures and periods, and rarely concerned with complexities of character and motivation. Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* is one of the few exceptions.

Scott could imitate medieval romance quite closely when it suited his purpose. In *Sir Tristrem* he wrote a conclusion in Middle English to complete the defective text. (Mitchell does not discuss this, merely noticing it in passing.) And he attempted to represent the essential spirit of medieval romance in *The Bridal of Triermain* and *Harold the Dauntless*. In both poems he abandoned his usual concern for the detail of real history and geography to produce a creditable Arthurian romance and a burlesque of the more extravagantly savage and bloodthirsty Northern sagas. Both are unquestionably the work of a writer imbued with the spirit as well as the letter of medieval romance. They celebrate the chivalric virtues of sheer strength and fighting skill, pay tribute to love and beauty in properly absurd fashion, and show a decent regard for the Christian religion.

In the rest of his work Scott uses similar material at times, but with different purposes and in a different spirit. Acknowledging the necessity of entertaining his readers, as he does in the prefatory chapter of *Waverley*, he insists again and again that he has serious purposes. He expresses his interest in the great book of human nature and its changing manifestations from one generation to another, and in standards of behavior beyond the mere fashions of any particular time. Mitchell, true to his thesis, says of *Waverley*, "Scott's mind clearly is on medieval romance," (p. 86) yet the evidence he cites in the same paragraph refers to works other than medieval romance. Scott indeed uses the term "knight of romance," but the authors Waverley had fed his imagination on were Spenser and Drayton (Elizabethan), and Froissart, who was primarily a chronicler. The narrator identifies his own point of view with that of Cervantes. And it is surely significant that the descriptive title of Chapter 48 is "The Confusion in King Agramant's Camp." It is the only chapter title to use a literary allusion. It insinuates that the Jacobites resemble the pagan forces of *Orlando Furioso*—the aggressors in the war against Charlemagne's Christian kingdom.

Scott's real attitudes toward medieval romance and the cult of chivalry, apart from his formal essays on those subjects, may be best traced in the four novels set in the time of the Crusades. In *Ivanhoe*, the first and best known, he comes closest to the purely romantic spirit, but the differences are of great importance to the critical reader. There is an obvious concern with real history, even if there are serious anachronisms and exaggerations. The heroic feats of arms by King Richard and Ivanhoe and the miraculous archery of Locksley, alias Robin Hood, are indeed of the
stuff of balladry and the naiver romances: but the reader is warned again and again that much of the action is sheer folly—often in such authorial comment as that on the tournament at Ashby de la Zouche, where:

...although only four knights, including one who was smothered by the heat of his armour, had died on the field, yet upwards of thirty were desperately wounded, four or five of whom never recovered. Several more were disabled for life; and those who escaped best carried the marks of the conflict to the grave with them. Hence it is always mentioned in the old records as 'the Gentle and Joyous Passage of Arms at Ashby' (Chapter 12).

In a more serious vein the conclusion of Chapter 23 insists that the atrocities attributed to the villains of the narrative are quite characteristic of the age, and quotes a horrific passage from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle to document the statement. And King Richard is not only a heroic figure; he is a complete disaster as the ruler of a country.

Similarly The Talisman, somewhat lighter in tone, does not spare the follies of the crusaders. The romantic story line is set against a background of self-interested maneuverings and squabblings, building to the attempted assassination of Richard and the murder of Conrade of Monserrat. The sheer nonsense of chivalry is exposed hilariously by Blondel's version of "The Lay of the Bloody Vest" (Chapter 26), which in medieval times would have been taken quite seriously.

The Betrothed is the most sombre of the group, which could rival its counterpart, The Bride of Lammennoor, with but a few changes in the final chapters. The whole story hinges on the series of disasters brought about by the follies of chivalry, and the crusades in particular. The main action begins with the foolhardy self-immolation of Raymond de Berenger outside the walls of Garde Doloureuse in a battle somewhat resembling the fatal battle of Hattan, which sealed the fate of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. The innocent young lovers, Eveline and Damian, demonstrate the utmost refinement of chaste, idealistic conduct—almost unheard of in real medieval romances. But their idealism, completely at odds with the savage and corrupt society they live in, leads them to the verge of utter disaster—imprisonment, death, and the kind of disgrace most abhorred by them. The other virtuous lead character, the Constable of Chester, escapes assassination by a last minute miracle. The novel is a tragedy converted into a romance in the final chapter.

Count Robert of Paris, whose wild humor has rarely been recognized, burlesques not only chivalry in general and the crusades in particular, but also the solemn pretentiousness of Byzantine court protocol and official histories. Count Robert and his warrior spouse, Brenhilda of Aspramonte, are figures of fun. The Emperor Alexius Comnenus is compelled by his
position to assume the stance of a demigod while his power crumbles beneath his feet, and the motley gang of crusaders is by turns obsessed with glory, riddled with intrigues, and plainly ridiculous. The English mercenary, Hereward, embodying practical common sense, provides a running commentary which is supplemented by occasional authorial observations.

In short, Scott in his handling of medieval romantic themes stands with Ariosto and Cervantes, inviting his readers to laugh with him at the extravagances of chivalry and the medieval ethos in general. But he adds a more serious concern—that of developing some perspective on the manners and customs of a distant age while asserting the essentially real human motivation underlying those manners. Unfortunately Mitchell does not see fit to examine these intentions. Some passages indeed seem to show that he misreads them. In his summary of Quentin Durward (p. 165) he claims that the conclusion is a realization of the romantic, chivalrous dream. "The count of Crevecoeur...accepts the fact at the end that romance and chivalry have won the day. 'But why should I grudge the youth his preferment? since, after all, it is sense, firmness, and gallantry, which have put him in possession of WEALTH, RANK, and BEAUTY!'" (p. 165) The quotation itself refutes the claim just made. Quentin has won, partly indeed by his physical courage, but more through his uncle's, and far more by his own shrewd good sense, which enables him to please King Louis. And King Louis has excellent reasons for marrying his ward Lady Isabelle to a landless adventurer, dependent on himself, rather than someone with powerful feudal allies. And Quentin's rewards are not the undying honor and glory characteristic of true romance, but the more solid and bourgeois rewards of WEALTH and its corollary, RANK, with BEAUTY thrown in for good measure.

Mitchell claims (p. 86) that he is interested in the use Scott made of medieval material, but he neglects this important line of enquiry in favor of his relentless parallel hunting. Surely some distinction could have been made between works which avowedly imitate medieval romance and others in which some parallels occur casually.

The most useful part of this work is the first chapter, on Scott's knowledge of medieval literature. The listing of romances more or less well known to Scott, ranging from those frequently referred to, to some apparently not known, will certainly be of use to scholars as a first step in exploring this interesting subject. There is a well-organized and comprehensive index. But in other respects—Caveat emptor.

THOMAS DALE
Lawrence University, Emeritus
If we include the Pottle-Bennett edition of the *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson, LL.D.*, this is the fourteenth of the so-called Trade Series of the Yale Editions of the Private Papers of James Boswell. It is also the last, taking the story from just after Mrs. Boswell's funeral in June 1789 to his own death six years later. Sadly, the previous volume, *Boswell: The English Experiment*, was the last in which F.A. Pottle had a hand; and equally sadly, that other great Boswellian Frank Brady, who was Professor Danziger's collaborator when she began to work on the present volume, died at an early stage of its compilation. And the book itself has a melancholy tale to tell, for in spite of the triumphant publication of his *magnum opus*, Boswell's life was on a downward curve: these were not merely "ominous years" but also years of deterioration and of struggle against decay.

It has often been pointed out that specific incidents in Boswell's life seem to have their own literary shape—that of the sentimental picaresque for example with, as W.K. Wimsatt once put it, "the rake as the hero of the new morality of the good heart." But the last years of that life, as recorded in *Boswell: The Great Biographer*, have another literary structure altogether—that of tragedy, determined first by his genetic inheritance and second by a colossal and fatal error of judgment. Boswell's *hamartia* was to give up the Scots for the English bar, in its turn the long-term result of falling so completely for the anglophilia of his generation of Edinburgh students—the men, roughly, of 1755-60. Anglomania deepened what has been called his "complex inferiority," filled him with shame at Scottish manners and speech, and made him hang on to the coat-tails of one who was in so many ways the embodiment of English national character. The irony of course is (and is not irony of the very essence of tragedy?) that his *hamartia* was also the source of his most positive achievement: without it he could not have written the *Life of Johnson.* but it also led to great mental suffering for his stoical wife, the physical strains which hastened her death, and his degrading attempt to get into parliament as one of Lord Lonsdale's "pocket" members via the humiliating Recordership of Carlisle. Despite all his "avidity" (it is his own word) for death and his obsession with the future life, he was unlike most literary tragic heroes in that his health "was deteriorating dangerously." As Professor Danziger says, "one is left with the impression that . . . death caught him unawares" (p. xxiv). Malone's comment, in context, has the same effect as Horatio's "And flights of angels sing thee to thy rest!":

I don't think he at any time of his illness knew his danger. I shall miss him more and more every day. He was in the constant habit of calling upon me almost daily, and I used to grumble sometimes at his turbulence, but now miss and regret his noise and hilarity and his perpetual good humour, which had no bounds. Poor fellow, he has somehow stolen away from us, without any notice, and without my being at all prepared for it. (p. 316)

The possible life he refused (Edinburgh and the Scots Bar) had of course its negative side—which is why he rejected it—and his life in London, as we have seen, was hugely positive for world literature. The choice he had to make was between one good and another, like that in Hegel's theory of tragedy. Thus on 27 June 1790, at the height of the Lonsdale crisis, he could write:

I was sure that if I were at Edinburgh all the despicable dejection of my early years would return. I dreaded that in a moment of desperation I might go thither. But I trusted that I should have as much firmness as to keep myself between London and Auchinleck. (p. 75)

Feelings of inferiority overwhelmed him when he and Temple called at Lord Camelford's "where we were invited to tea and supper. I shrunk a little from going to the great house of a nobleman so high in the world . . . Thus do my early sheepish sensations occasionally recur" (14 Sept. 1792, p. 185). On 31 August 1793, however, he was one of a company that visited Sir Nelson Rycroft's, near Farnham: "I found myself quite in English society, and relished it as much as my vile hypochondria would allow." But on the following day, "I felt the same weariness as at a house in the country in Scotland. Dinner was a relief" (p. 230). The choice of London and England meant failure to find employment. "I was dejected by contrasting my idle, dejected state with [Sir William Scott's] occupation and prosperity" (30 Oct. 173, p. 246), and on 1 February 1794 "I parted with Windham at his own door, feeling my inferiority when I thought of him as an active statesman" (p. 282). On 2 July 1790 he told Sir William Forbes he was prepared to take a position in either the East or West Indies (p. 79); at the end of 1789 he had hopes of becoming secretary to Richard Penn if the latter became the first British Ambassador to the United States; in March 1792 he toyed with the idea of going to China with Lord Macartney, Britain's first Ambassador to Peking; and in March 1794 he unsuccessfully asked Dundas to make him British envoy to Corsica.

Sometimes guilt towards his family fused with his mixed feelings about Scotland. In the early morning of 24 June 1790 he dreamt that his daughter Veronica announced "Now my mother's disease is come at last—a consumption'; and she looked ill, and when I took her hand, there was a clammy sweat upon it. I awaked much affected. I began to think, to rec-
ollect my worthy, rational, steady father. What was I doing here at Carlisle? In what a scattered state was the Family of Auchinleck?" Later that morning he saw in a bookshop a biography of William Leechman, Principal of Glasgow University in 1761, "and the group of Glasgow College ideas made me dreary as in my youth" (p. 71). As ever, he was able to observe his moods from the outside, sometimes summing them up artistically in a vivid phrase, sometimes baldly presenting the results of analysis. For the artistic method, we may take part of the entry for 7 July 1790:

What sunk me very low was the sensation that I was precisely as when in wretched low spirits thirty years ago, without any addition to my character from my having had the friendship of Dr. Johnson and many eminent men, made the tour of Europe, and Corsica in particular, and written two very successful books. I was as a board on which fine figures had been painted, but which some corrosive application had reduced to its original nakedness. (p. 86)

And for analysis during an attack of venereal disease at the age of fifty:

I was sensible that I deserved that part of my unhappiness occasioned by my complaint, for what can be more culpable at my time of life, and in my situation as the head of a family, than the wild conduct of a licentious youth? I was now incapacitated from taking the relief which exercise and society might perhaps have afforded. I had a poor, selfish comfort in a good bed. I was a despicable being. (26 June 1790, p. 73)

Anti-Boswellians can perhaps be excused their distaste for the sorry catalogue of sex with what the index calls "unidentified partners," his scurbutic sores, and the tally of his alcoholism. But they were essential strands in the texture of his daily life, which all these volumes so marvelously convey: they are part of that decay which is an obbligato to his tragedy. And the same is true of those tedious lists of dinner guests: not merely do they register an obsession, his aversion to dining at home, but they chart the parameters of his acquaintance. As Professor Danziger puts it, the journals and letters set down "the varied and tangled skeins of his experiences" (p. xxi). They show him—not, as in the earlier volumes, "reviewing his behaviour in order to improve and to succeed," but "grappling with his flaws and limitations" and, again like a hero of tragedy, attaining at any rate "a degree of self-knowledge" (p. xxiv).

Not enough has been made of the Boswell archives as documents in family and gender history, though much is implied in Boswell in Search of a Wife, Geoffrey Scott's acute remarks on his relationship with Zelide, and, more recently, Irma Lustig's "Boswell and Zelide" in Eighteenth Century Life. Boswell was in many ways the archetypal male chauvinist of his century, a textbook example of the double standard, afraid of any equality
unless the sensual one he reached with Margaret Caroline Rudd, and af­flicted with a nostalgie de la boue for prostitutes that surely went far be­yond the drabbing of the other men in his circle. Quite apart from his dealings with whores, he had during these last years at least three affairs with women of the courtesan type. As for "respectable" women, he thought of many as possible marriage-partners, though none of them would have been willing to accept him: and there was another sort still, young and wealthy, about whom he spun all sorts of agreeable fantasies. To Scots, the most interesting of this group is Wilhelmina Alexander, Burns's "Bonie Lass o' Ballochmyle." Boswell kept a complete record of his flirtation: twenty meetings in all, from autumn 1784 to March 1793 (pp. 215-16). The twelfth occasion (not dated, but during his wife's lifetime) is remembered as follows:

Evening at Ballochmyle. The fondness was gone too deep. It was painful, it was serious—I spoke earnestly. She said: 'You make me laugh'—I was hurt by this. When I talked slight[ing]-ly of a licentious connection of Lady——, she said with much feeling and dignity of virtue in her eye, 'I am sure you think justly.' I was really sick and resolved to keep aloof.

It is to be hoped that when Boswell's sex-life and family history are studied by a humane and compassionate feminist, she will examine in some detail his relationship with his daughters. They suffered greatly from the move to London, their mother's death, the lack of consistent paternal control, and various changes in their schooling. He could not afford the kind of social life that would have helped them to suitable husbands, and as for spending his evenings with them, he did not, in Frank Brady's words, "intend to waste his own time with unidea'd girls" (Boswell: the Later Years, p. 459).

One strand in the "varied and tangled skeins" was his reactionary Toryism (so different form the libertarianism of "Corsica Boswell"!), shown in his condemnation of the French Revolution and its reforming supporters in Britain; another was his support of plantation slavery and the slave trade; another still, his love of hierarchy and "what is fitting." This is apparent even in a casual sentence summing up the atmosphere in an M.P.'s establishment: "Everything at this house was as became a Member for a county" (29 August 1792, p. 168), and in his comment on Lord Eliot's toast when he visited him at Port Eliot in Cornwall: "he drank Auchinleck as a Cornish Baron drinking to a Scottish Baron" (25 Sept. 1792, p. 188). The same sort of fancy swells into an embarrassingly complacent snobbery at Lord Pembroke's stately Wilton:

…it was truly a sight to me, a man of multitudinous imagination, to behold my daughters Veronica and Euphemia sitting with the Earl of Pembroke in his im-
mense drawing-room, under the family picture by Van Dyck, undoubtedly the most capital work in portrait-painting that the world has to show. How many Scotch lairds are there whose daughters could have such an honour? They behaved very well. (20 Aug. 1792, p. 164)

That multitudinous imagination of his bursts into a more unpleasant snobbisme when it plays around and about the degradation of poor Cornish laborers, in remarks

on the inhabitants of the country, whom I called Cornish clouts, from Spenser's Colin Clout. I talked of them as wild animals: and that droves of them might be seen running about with bare legs, some with shoes, some without. One of them yesterday gaped and laughed like a fool when I said to F. Temple, "There's one that is shod. But he must have been worked." They truly reminded one of Yahooos. (6 Sept. 1792, p. 175)

In complete contrast was his active benevolence, as strong now as in the period of Boswell for the Defence. The classic example is his help for the five prisoners who escaped from Botany Bay in the first half of 1791, were recaptured after a hazardous voyage and sentenced to indeterminate imprisonment in Newgate in June 1792. What he did for them, and in particular for the female prisoner, Mary Broad, forms one of the most appealing sequences in the volume. Another concerns his efforts on behalf of a boy of about fourteen, apprentice to a cruel master-tailor. He managed to obtain the cancellation of the apprenticeship and a refund to the parents of seven of the twenty guineas originally paid as premium for the apprenticeship;

The fond mother was overjoyed, and pressed me to accept four of the guineas, which I absolutely refused, telling her that my reward was the satisfaction of having done a humane action. 'O Sir,' says she, 'you have saved a soul from death.' The boy was now to be taken under his father's care and be made a cook. (9 Dec. 1793, p. 262)

Again, on 8 February 1794 he procured the release of two Frenchmen who had been consigned to the "lock-up house" for debts to their tailor, naively recording his own pleasure in doing good:

I however told them that in justice, and for the honour of the laws of this country, an action should be brought by M. D'Alzon for false imprisonment, as by special agreement credit was granted for a year for the contents of his bill. I came home much satisfied with my benevolent exertions (p. 285)

Though the volume undoubtedly has its longueurs, it contains two very fine pieces of sustained writing—the excruciating Lonsdale episode,
particularly his sojourn in and around Carlisle from 19 June to 14 July 1790, and his visit to Cornwall with his two elder daughters in the autumn of 1792. On a smaller scale we may single out his reminiscences of conversation with Lord Thurlow (pp. 268-72), or his portrait of Horne Tooke (pp. 29-30). The most memorable single phrases and sentences have to do with his attacks of melancholy: "I did not 'feel myself a man'. I was a weak, relaxed creature. I slunk into bed with a pitiful, low-spirited sluggishness" (p. 199); "I have an avidity for death" (p. 11); "I shrunk from the animated system of the discipline of a great school" (at Eton, p. 234); "I can see no prospect in life but a thick fog" (p. 308). But the other side of the see-saw has its moments too: "Floated upon life with really pleasing sensations" (p. 39); "a very good, agreeable day, rational and easy, without much exertion" (p. 102); of a lady seen when he attended High Mass at the Spanish Ambassador's Chapel, "she inspired once more those sensations and irradiations of fancy which have innumerable times in my life been experienced by me" (p. 250).

As always in the Trade Edition there is a workmanlike introduction summing up the main ground covered in the book, and a useful sketch of Boswell's life from birth till just before the volume begins. Notes and index maintain the high standard of the series, and I have found few errors and misprints. In the entry for 4 December 1789 (p. 20) a Sir Richard Symons is mentioned. Two lines later Boswell seems to have written "Sir Michael" for this same person, but there is no note to clarify the point. In n. 9 on p. 55 we are informed that Boswell was interested in Andrew Lumisden's writings; the reader should have been told that they were about Roman Antiquities, and whether Boswell had seen them in manuscript, since the first edition of his only publication listed in the British Library catalogue did not appear till after Boswell's death. The opposite complaint, of over-annotation, can sometimes be made. Thus it is surely unnecessary to explain "Yahoos" (p. 175, n. 5), or to say that in alluding to 1 Kings 3:12 when telling Wilhelmina Alexander he had seen nobody like her, Boswell was "referring to [her] special qualities" (p. 215, n. 5). In n. 7 on p. 296, "1764" has seemingly been printed instead of "1794". In the editorial matter, there are at least two expressions which to my ear do not quite fit the tone of the volume, or indeed of the series as a whole: "his feeling that he was going nowhere on all fronts" (p. 117), and "approve it sight unseen" (p. 313). But such minor blemishes are hardly worth mentioning; from the point of view of scholarly method, the book represents a triumphant conclusion to the Trade Series.

THOMAS CRAWFORD

University of Aberdeen
The editor of this book undertook a very worthwhile task, since a classroom edition of Henryson's fables has long been needed. While one might wish for some changes in the introduction and the translation, this edition nonetheless presents the Bassandyne version of the fables in an affordable volume. Editorial apparatus includes an introduction, notes, textual variants, appendices, and a bibliography.

In a classroom edition an introduction's nature and content is particularly important, and seems to be most useful when it provides a general, fairly inclusive background, or when it simply offers the text. This editor's introduction is somewhere in between. The opening section rehearses the usual speculations regarding Henryson's death, age, education, and status in life as suggested by possibly pertinent historical records. The second section places Henryson within the social and political milieu of Scotland's fifteenth century, where economic improvements and cultural growth were offset by political instability and ecclesiastical corruption. In the light of Henryson's social environment, a number of critics have believed him to be commenting in the fables on societal, religious, and political conditions of his time. Gopen asserts, however, that the fables are not "primarily" such commentary, arguing that to see Henryson's full accomplishment the fables must instead by viewed in their relation to the generic tradition.

The introduction's third section summarizes speculations about Aesop, briefly discusses the fable's entry into England, and gives some examples of the pedagogical use of fables. Gopen then advances his thesis, that the structure of the fables in the Bassandyne arrangement indicates that the work is not simply a disparate collection of various fables, but "a unified literary work that uses fables as its substance." This thesis rests upon the assumption that perceived structures in the Bassandyne arrangement, and the arrangement itself, reflect Henryson's intent.

In demonstrating how Henryson simultaneously reproduces and transforms the fable tradition, Gopen discusses the fable as representative, figurative, and symbolic. He finds Henryson's animals behaving traditionally in

1 I refer to this as the Bassandyne arrangement, but the same arrangement is found in the other witnesses that seem to be descended from the same common ancestor: the Charteris print, MS. Harley 3865, and the Smith and Hart prints. The Bannatyne Manuscript lacks three of the fables and has a different order; and the contents list in the Asloan Manuscript indicates it held even fewer fables and they were arranged in yet another order.
using "reason," "science," and "prudence," and in being governed by "kynd." Henryson's animals differ from the tradition, Gopen asserts, in the length of text they inhabit and the greater opportunities that therefore exist for complex interpretations.

This section helpfully synthesizes legendary and suppositional material about Aesop and discusses Henryson's expansive use of the fable form. However, students would benefit from a fuller discussion of generic transmission, with reference not only to redactors besides Gualterus but also to the fable tradition in general. This broader and more complete generic history would be a helpful context for the subsequent discussion of Henryson's literary transformations.

The fourth section of the introduction is somewhat mis-titled as "The Humor of the Moral Fables." Although the section opens by commenting upon entertainment as pedagogy, the ensuing paragraphs actually focus on Henryson's varied use of style. For example, the editor discusses the ways Henryson combines in his animals human and bestial traits so as to teach and entertain, notes Henryson's manipulation of tone and style in the dialogues to create "psychological realism," and records Henryson's varied use of the narrator's voice and posture. Since the end of the section returns only briefly to the subject of humor, a fuller and more specific discussion of Henryson's comedic techniques would have been useful.

The introduction's last part focuses on the fables' seriousness and on Bassandyne's structural unity. The editor's interpretation finds that two themes concerned with appetite and blindness predominate, thus contributing to the unity of the whole. The repetition of these "thematic images and references" indicates for Gopen that "a single moral force" informs all the fables. This statement is insufficiently elucidated for students, however; given Henryson's evident humanistic concerns, this "moral force" needs to be defined and contextualized within the Christian ethos of Henryson's time.

The editor then posits that three separate "symmetries," dependent entirely upon the Bassandyne ordering, also attest the work's unity and moral seriousness. The first symmetry grows from Bassandyne's alternating clusters of Aesopic/Gualterian and Reynardian fables; Gopen terms this symmetry "synthetic" because the reader cannot perceive it while reading. His second "climactic" symmetry supposes a crescendo to the fable of "The Lion and the Mouse" followed by a decrescendo wherein good characters increasingly suffer and evil characters prosper in a world "dominated by evil and powerful men and from which God has withdrawn." The third "concentric" symmetry casts the fables into two structurally mirrored ranks on either side of "The Lion and the Mouse"; opposing each other across that centrally located "vision of Utopia" are
paired sets of fables demonstrating a progressively "God-forsaken world." This symmetry allows Gopen to make an elegant and plausible link between "The Paddock and the Mouse" and the Prologue, in accord with his argument for Bassandyne's unity.

While these last two symmetries are ingenious and credible, they limit Henryson to an incredibly bleak view of humankind, the world, and the deity, a view assuming humans to be intrinsically weak and sin-driven, and goodness to be ineluctably inferior to, and helpless against, evil. While certainly not the first such assessment of Henryson, this is also not the only one possible: this section of the introduction might therefore have discussed, to the student's benefit, a broader range of critical assessments and interpretations.

In the introduction's final section comparing Henryson's development of the Moralitas to that of other fabulists, the editor notes the ways in which Henryson's expansions in both fable and Moralitas work back and forth so that fable and Moralitas reinterpret the other. In so doing, Gopen argues, "Henryson created the first thoroughly literary fables."

This introduction's strong points are the quick sketch of fifteenth-century Scottish history, the synthesizing of information about Aesop, and the theories about Bassandyne's "symmetries" of structure. At the same time, however, the introduction at times assumes the reader's knowledge, and omits background information that a classroom edition needs, including fuller attention to the fable tradition and the various redactors, an analysis of the comedic techniques employed in the fables, and a more eclectic consideration of critical views. Also needed is a discussion of other arrangements of the fables and the implications thereof, particularly the order in the Bannatyne Manuscript but also that in the contents list of the Asloan Manuscript. Since the editor helpfully lists the eight most significant manuscripts and prints of Henryson, he might have indicated in his note on the texts the nature of the Bannatyne and Asloan arrangements. Additionally, he might have strengthened his choice of the Bassandyne arrangement by mentioning Denton Fox's supposition that the Bassandyne print is a corrected descendant of an ancestor common to the prints and manuscripts in that group (Fox, Poems, lxi-lxiv).

The more objective and inclusive introduction desirable in and expected of a classroom edition may have been impeded by the wish to advance particular theses regarding the work's unity and the primacy therefore of the Bassandyne order. However, while those theses merit attention, a students' edition is more useful in providing a broader and more complete critical and historical background. Finally, the sexist language should have been edited out of the introduction altogether, and whenever possible out of the translation as well. While one might stretch to find tol-
erance for the reference to a medieval student as "he," given educational
custom in the late Middle Ages, one is totally disinclined to stretch over
the use of "man" when the intended referent is clearly "humankind."

Among the final parts of the editorial apparatus are two appendices,
one repeating, from Harvey Wood's edition, Hogg's letter about
nineteenth-century ploughing, the other concerning Henryson's use of
proverbs. The latter contains impressive data as to numbers of proverbs
found, and Gopen's analysis of the ways Henryson's animals use proverbs
proves the ready adaptability of rhetoric to wrongful use, whether by ani-
mals or humans. Oddly, the quotations in this section are from the Middle
Scots text, whereas the quotations in the introduction are from the transla-
tion. While there is nothing inherently wrong with this, one assumes there
is a reason for the inconsistency and wishes it had been provided. Fol-
lowing a partial listing of textual variants is a good bibliography.

Gopen's edition of Henryson's text in Middle Scots is clear and com-
petent, although one would like to know if he worked directly from the
Bassandyne print. A note on editorial principles is needed, however, so
that students would know that he modernized yogh, for example, and reg-
ularized u and v. Unfortunately, the modern English prose translation is
less useful than one had hoped, in part because of editorial decisions to at-
tempt to reproduce Henryson's five-stress line and to have "each line of
the translation take about as much time to read as each line of the origi-
nal," rather than to preserve in the translation some integrity of line. As a
result the translation's syntax rarely approaches that of the original, and
line content rarely matches, making difficult the simultaneous use of
translation and original.

Yet, the above decisions are inconsistently applied, oddly enough, at
times when meaning requires them to be applied. For example, in stanza
68 of "Sir Chanticlere and the Fox," after the leisurely rhetoric that beto-
kens the Cock's complacency, Henryson's text conveys the fox's swift, effi-
cient, and deadly seizure of the cock in a final terse iambic line where the
key words carrying the attack ('"Foxe," "war," "hint," "throte") are particu-
larly hard hit by the emphasis of the stress pattern on those monosyllabic
words:

The Cok, infect with wind and fals vanegloir,
That mony puttis unto confusioun,
Traisting to win ane grit worschip thairfoir,
Unwarlie winkand walkit up and down,
And syne to chant and craw he maid him boun.
And suddandlie, be he had crawin ane note,
The Foxe wes war and hint him be the throte.
The translation, however, loses that contrast and that emphasis altogether as it divides Henryson's powerful last line in two, eliminating entirely the stark rhetorical punch that not simply reinforces but actually constitutes meaning:

The Cock, then, inflated by conceit and vanity, which throw so many into confusion, trusting thereby to win great admiration, shutting his eyes unwarily and walking up and down, braced himself to sing and crow. But suddenly, before he had crowed a single note, the Fox was ready and grabbed him by the throat.

The chief difficulty, therefore, is that the lack of line integrity not only makes moving between original and translation difficult, but in important places works against meaning. In consequence, even though the edition of the Middle Scots text is in itself satisfactory, the translation is, regrettably, less so.

The notes to the text are good, although the occasional lack of a translation from Latin is puzzling in an edition for today's students, who are rarely prepared in Latin. While one can reasonably expect students to look up "ad libitum" in a standard dictionary, to expect them to be able to translate for themselves the motto of the kings of Scotland is probably unrealistic. Students may also find inconvenient the editor's changes in one or two of the fables' names: "The Fox and the Wolf" becomes "The Confession of the Fox," for example, and "The Fox, the Wolf, and the Husbandman" becomes "The Fox, the Wolf, and the Farmer"; these are small changes, but seem unnecessary and potentially confusing for students tracking down criticism.

In sum, then, those using the book as a classroom text may find it necessary to add supplemental material lacking in the introduction, and may also want to provide a translation structurally closer to the original. The edition is nonetheless welcome in offering a competent and relatively inexpensive edition of the Middle Scots text of the fables that is accompanied by helpful notes and a good bibliography.

EVELYN S. NEWLYN
University of Maine

This book discusses Scott's use of history in *Waverley, Old Mortality, Heart of Midlothian, Bride of Lammermoor, Redgauntlet.* No reason is given for the selection.

Readers who are well up in Scott's works and in British history will not like this book. The following statements are wrong: Lady Margaret Bellenden, and Quaker Geddes's ancestors, were Jacobites; boys like Darsie Latimer had to be rescued while paddling in the Water of Leith; the fugitive Waverley went into hiding in Northumberland; a Waverley died at his own door defending Queen Mary against her Protestant enemies; Effie Deans was the victim of the harsh and oppressive ethic of English law; the English conquered the Highlands after the '45 [many of the Highlanders were Hanoverian]; there was a major crisis in Britain in 1736 [only a local riot in Edinburgh]; there were British "occupation troops" in Dundee before the '45. Kerr's authority (not well used) for British history seems to be the standard textbook trio of Gordon Donaldson, William Ferguson, and T.C. Smout; but for a writer of Kerr's pretensions, more is needed. In general, literary critics are not qualified to tackle Scott and History—they haven't the reading. John Buchan faced the facts when he said that Scott was a far bigger man than any of us.

Kerr's negligence of detail is accompanied by two noticeable misspellings—Jedediah and Cleishbotham, each repeated several times, so don't blame the printer.

Readers who are well up on Scott's life will not like this book. He was not a parvenu: born a gentleman, he remained one, ballasting his social position by making money and investing it, as was usual, in land and a house. His difficulty in courting Miss Belsches arose not from difference in rank; only in wealth. Socially the two families were equal. (Kerr should go back from Edgar Johnson to J.G. Lockhart). Elizabeth Bennet's father was a gentleman, so that, although nearly penniless, she was eligible as a wife for the rich Darcy—and it is not impossible that Scott had her in mind when writing of the Ravenswood-Lucy Ashton courtship; the admired Miss Austen did certainly have some influence on Scott's work. Andrew Lang maintains that Darcy and Ravenswood are the only lovers in fiction who tell the lady that her father is unpresentable.

Readers who are not Scottish Nationalists will dislike this book. Both England and Scotland underwent many invasions by people, techniques, and ideas from Europe—think only of the Normans, the Iberian Discoveries, the Renaissance, the Reformation, the influence of 17th Century Holland, of Bourbon France. Some of these influences came to Scotland
direct, others via England—indeed, the Industrial Revolution started in England—but in any case the movement was towards ever greater uniformity in civilization—a uniformity which is now complete to all intents and purposes. "The anglicisation of Scotland" is therefore a mere propaganda phrase: all Britain has been subjected to influences which go back to the cradle of our civilization—the Mediterranean and the Middle East. Even language differences have been an ineffective barrier against them. Conservative opposition to change is inevitable, and, like many others, Scott felt a natural regret for the disappearance of old landmarks; but he knew well that mere constitutional arrangements cannot alter the movement of change [the Irish Republic was founded in vain]; he knew that it is easy communication which dissolves local cultures into a rich melting-pot. All he wanted to do was to erect a monument to the dead and keep the dying alive as long as possible. Scott was not a Scottish writer; he was a British writer: perhaps the most British of all writers. He would never allow Kerr to speak of "English colonisation of Scotland," "England and her Scottish subjects," "English cultural imperialism"—all this is only an expression of local jealousy. We cannot avoid local jealousy; but if we do not mistake it for the struggle of Good against Evil, we shall avoid Kerr's error.

Readers who are not socialists will dislike this book. It is founded on the unspoken assumptions that the principal feature of human society is class conflict, and that in this conflict the governing class are always wrong and the governed always right. This Marxist scheme has never been intellectually respectable; yet it has its following among intellectuals, who seldom belong to the upper class, remember; and therefore may be brought to believe that the primary function of a car engine is not to move the car from A to B, but to generate friction. Misled by these absurd doctrines, Kerr tells us that the truthful Jeanie Deans is typical of the peasantry, while Queen Caroline and her circle are typically sophisticated liars. Kerr may be versed in the ways of courts, but he is certainly not versed in the ways of Scottish villagers. He says that Scott had no business to dilute Old Mortality's account of the Covenanters with the opposing point of view; the Covenanters are right, says he, and that's an end o't. His book is vitiated throughout by this ignoble feeling of class jealousy—of course it does exist as an unwelcome by-product, but it should never be raised to the status of a primum mobile. When Jeanie sought a pardon for her sister, she "violated the social code of her class, daring to seek justice and mercy from her superiors." How much more far-fetched can you get? Jeanie's journey to London "seeks to revitalise Great Britain"; Kerr speaks of "the intricate and sinister world of the English court," "the degraded world" of the same, of "widespread social decline," "a corrupt and oppressive society . . . politically and morally decadent." It takes an effort after
all this to remember that the British community in 1736 was powerful, enterprising, expanding, and indeed was about to enter upon its greatest century.

Note that Kerr uses the vocabulary of Marx (and Hegel): contradictions and resolutions; forces of production; exploitation.

Readers who dislike the practice of dredging a novel for symbolic meanings in season and out will dislike this book intensely. We have seen some specimens already. Kerr says that the Effie-Staunton love affair symbolizes "the degraded condition of Scotland and the Kingdom"; *Wandering Willie's Tale* is "a cleverly coded account of a special period in Scottish history" (Kerr should have been a Baconian). The uncorrupted reader sees in all this nothing but misdirected ingenuity. Scott's own texts are so plain that they do not need a commentary; it is the critics, looking for something to say, who darken counsel with their well-meant interference.

Readers who like plain English will not like this book. Kerr uses unnecessarily many uncommon words, neologisms, technical terms: retextualise; fictive; subtext; traumatic; emplotment; defamiliarise; demystify; demythify; exemplum; sado-masochism; characterological; fantasize; stasis; metahistory; metafiction; valorise; valence; hermeneutic. Some words are heavily used—ambivalent, generic, ideological. We have also transhistorical, conflictual, thematize, socio-political. Even apart from this, the writing is heavy, abstract, wordy, solemn, opaque. Fowler would turn in his grave.

In short, the book is a crudely biased production; the C.U.P., by taking it on, has done nothing to maintain its reputation.

JAMES ANDERSON
*Edinburgh*


The library of the Faculty of Advocates, the collective body of members of the Bar in Scotland (and nothing to do with any university), was formally inaugurated on the Ides of March 1689. Whether Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh, the main driving force behind the Library's foundation, actually delivered his Latin oration on the 15 March is open to question, and for him the date was inauspicious as he had shortly to flee the country, but for the Library the date was to prove very lucky. It grew mightily, swollen from 1710 by the privilege of being able to receive free of charge any British publication, and in 1925 the large and very distinguished collection of manuscripts and printed books was, with the exception of the legal items, gifted to the nation to establish the National Library of Scotland. This means that although the Advocates' Library is indubitably 300 years old, the National Library is both 300 years old and also only sixty-five years old.

Of the three books under review, the first, *For the Encouragement of Learning* (the title comes from the wording of the 1709 Copyright Act), is a tercentenary tribute compiled by members of the National Library of Scotland, whose account of the post-1925 period is of the National Library. The second, *Building for Books*, is a description by a member of the National Library staff of the various steps the Faculty of Advocates took before 1925 to attempt to house the ever-increasing flood of its Library's acquisitions; and the third is an outline by two advocates of their Faculty's library from the beginning up to the present day.

*For the Encouragement of Learning* is a rather odd book. A collection of essays, its parts are greater than the whole. It begins with a chapter by the late Dr. T. I. Rae examining certain important themes of the 1680s, and continues with a scholarly and detailed history of the Library up to 1728, by Dr. Brian Hillyard. The historical approach then stops, although Hillyard has evidently researched the story in detail up to 1752, which account, it is stated, may be published separately by the National Library at some time in the future. We follow here with Alastair Cherry on the special collections of printed books, Brian Hillyard on the Keepership of David Hume, an investigation of foreign books in the Library in the eighteenth century by Dr. Alex M. Cain, a survey of the growth of the manuscript collections by Ian C. Cunningham (to 1925) and Patrick Cadell (from 1925), and an investigation of the Library as a "magazine of antiquities" by Dr. Iain Gordon Brown. Then, and only then, does general Library history reappear with a chapter by Peter Wellburn strangely entitled...
"The Living Library": this goes right back to the very beginning again but carries on to 1925. This is done in twenty-seven pages flat, of which fewer than ten cover the period 1800 to 1925. Iain F. Maciver then describes in forty-five pages the movement towards the institution of a National Library from the early nineteenth century to its fruition in 1925, and the final chapter by Dennis Smith covers the period from 1925 in just over twenty-four pages.

The editorial preface says that this volume makes no claim to being a comprehensive history of the Library, and yet the title might suggest just that: there should really have been a subtitle "tercentenary essays"; the reader would then know what to expect.

The styles and techniques of the authors vary greatly: Hillyard has 162 footnotes in his first chapter, Cherry has fourteen, Wellburn seven, and Cunningham and Cadell none at all. Cherry's style is anecdotal (we hear of how Hugh Sharp, the great collector of first editions of literary works in their original condition, died going to meet his fiancée); Cain's article is full of statistics in the manner of French histoire du livre studies; and Brown's essay is stylish and discursive. Given the structure of the volume, there is considerable overlap, and some quotations are repeated, not always cited in the same form.

The volume contains, naturally enough, a great deal of information, and this, refreshingy, is not on altogether predictable topics. Rae's investigation into the origins of the Advocates' Library includes a fascinating study of the social background and family relationships of the advocates of the 1670s and 1680s. He also discusses contemporary private collections and outlines the type of material collected and read. It is quite clear that the Library was fully operative by 1683, and Rae's essay might have been even more interesting if he had attempted to explain why several Scottish institutional libraries were all founded in the 1680s (notably the library of the Royal College of Physicians in Edinburgh, the Leighton Library in Dunblane, the Innerpeffray Library and the Kirkwall Library) and to place the foundation of the Advocates' Library in this wider matrix.

Not all acquisitions have proved equally useful, and not all acquisitions have remained in the Library. I particularly liked the comments of Alastair Cherry, in his well-organized thematic account of special collections of printed books, concerning the Dieterichs Collection, comprising over 100,000 items acquired for £86 in 1820: the price "was a reflection of the modest value placed upon it at the time, an opinion which posterity has found no reason to dispute. . . . Assembled by Georg Septimus Dieterichs ... it contains vast numbers of academic dissertations, enlivened somewhat by early editions of Reformation tracts." The Dieterichs collec-
tion is still in the Library but Cunningham bravely records what important manuscript items have been lost or stolen over the years.

Brown's chapter also investigates what has been lost to the Library in the way of non-printed and non-manuscript items, but this time loss was usually by design. The Advocates' Library for much of its early history was regarded as a national museum and Dr. Brown describes in detail how a great coin collection was acquired, as well as such miscellaneous items as Roman altars, a superb first-century A.D. sword-sheath, and an Egyptian mummy (a great status symbol this). He also shows how the Advocates' Library, in common with many libraries, had difficulty coping with such objects. Almost all except the coins and the mummy went to the Society of Antiquaries in 1851; the coins were sold in 1873 for £800 to the National Museum of Antiquities (the inheritor of the Society of Antiquaries' collections); and the poor mummy was eventually sent to Glasgow in 1958 to a latter-day Dr. Knox for ignominious dissection. The coins were partly catalogued by the young Walter Scott, and his holograph catalogue has been identified in the Royal Museum of Scotland. The £800 received for the coins in 1873 included £50 for a superb Louis XV coin cabinet, which the Museum of Antiquities sold in 1881 for £3,500. This is a good example of the lack of financial foresight which dogged the advocates in their building plans, described by Brown in Building for Books. The cabinet's present whereabouts are uncertain.

Stories of mummies naturally do not figure in other chapters, but I enjoyed the tale, in Maciver's essay, of the casual way in which the biscuit manufacturer Alexander Grant handed over in 1923 his gift of £100,000, a colossal sum which alone made the National Library possible. His banker called upon Hugh Macmillan, Convener of the Faculty Committee to promote the National Library, with a signed blank cheque, and seemed unconcerned as to what amount Macmillan should put in the space, and also unconcerned about receiving a receipt. Macmillan resisted the temptation to write a higher figure, but in any case the munificent Grant gave another £100,000 a few years later. These gifts came after a long struggle to find a secure financial base for the Library. The national role of the Advocates' Library, recognized unofficially since at least the mid-eighteenth century, ground the institution down increasingly in the later nineteenth century, while the advocates, the City of Edinburgh, the government, and powerful and wealthy well-wishers attempted to rectify the situation, not always pulling in the same direction. It took Scotland fifty years longer than it took Wales (1873) and Ireland (1877) to acquire a national library.

The last chapter, by Dennis Smith, looks to the future as well as back to 1925, and carries on the story of the buildings from where Building for
Books leaves off. The volume ends with biographical notes on the Keepers of the Advocates' Library up to 1925 and Librarians of the National Library after that date. It is sad to have to record the death in office of Professor E.F.D. Roberts since the publication of this book. There is also an index and a list of Faculty minutes, but no bibliography, which is a pity as previously-published material on the Library is scattered and elusive, but must have been tracked down for the preparation of this volume.

Building for Books has a narrower canvas to paint, but the story of the accommodation of the Advocates' Library is complicated in the extreme. Iain Brown is to be congratulated on unwinding the tangled threads to present such a polished and witty account. I can think of no other sizeable monograph on the buildings of any institution, certainly not a library of three hundred years standing, which is almost completely concerned with the superseded, the demolished and the unexecuted, especially as the author concludes his story before the current main National Library of Scotland building was constructed. Architectural history, social history, literary history and anecdote, the history of taste, institutional history and economics, and as Brown states "above all ... institutional politics" are interwoven here with great artistry. The text is further enhanced with over one hundred and twenty well-captioned monochrome illustrations to back up the text—plans, maps, photographs and topographical prints—all of which must be especially welcome, with the excellent marginal referencing in the text, to the reader who is unfamiliar with Edinburgh and the complicated topography of the area around St. Giles and Parliament Hall, although the originals of some plans must be very faded indeed. Throughout his text, Brown relates the projects and plans of the Faculty concerning their library to general theories about library buildings, and this is illuminating, although I think at the very beginning of their history the Faculty would never have considered a stall system in the English manner: I know of no seventeenth-century Scottish library to have been so arranged. All sizeable collections were housed in wall-mounted presses and in cupboards.

Brown begins his monograph with an outline of the dichotomy facing the Faculty ever increasingly from its earliest days: a rapidly growing collection of which the advocates were justly proud but which could not be housed properly. The Faculty usually lacked the courage to tackle the problem radically and were far too proprietorial to contemplate seriously handing the Library over to the state. The state, of course, took a long time to decide it wanted to assume control.

Until the plans of Robert Adam to extend the Library in the 1790s, Brown's account has to be that of the various alterations to the semi-subterranean rooms under Parliament Hall which housed the Library from
1702 (before that the Library was in various tenement properties in the area), neither distinguished as rooms nor even adequate as basic library accommodation. The City of Edinburgh owned the property and was asked for help a number of times, including right at the start in 1680, but of course at this period the Town Council had its own library, that of the University or Town's College, to look after. This was far better housed than the Advocates' Library, and also enjoyed, along with the three other Scottish universities, copyright privilege between 1710 and 1837. Despite this prior commitment, the City generously cleared rooms for the Advocates' Library on several occasions.

Adam's designs were never started; but between 1809 and 1818 the Faculty had a superb hall built. However, they sold it in 1825 because it had no contiguity with other library space and in any case did not hold enough books! This hall is now the Upper Library of the Society of Writers to H.M. Signet, another Scottish legal body, and very beautiful it is too—it provides the cover picture of the book, which shows how comparatively bereft of architectural distinction other more permanent parts of the Advocates' Library were—but the advocates preferred to retreat into Stygian darkness, while not being able to remove their books from the Upper Library for years. For this privilege they had to pay £600 per annum rent and to pay bills of upkeep, taxes and insurance. When selling up they undertook not to build for a certain distance behind the Signet Library, and to impose height limitations on any new buildings nearby, both of which conditions proved highly damaging to plans for expansion. The Faculty in 1833 also sold to the Writers for £300 the fine library furniture which had cost them over £1,100 twenty-odd years previously. Presumably, individual advocates looked after their clients' interests slightly better than the Faculty looked after its own corporate interests.

The important plans drawn up by William Playfair after 1825 for a new and very large library are fully described and discussed. Playfair kept having to change them as the alignment of the new projected street to the west of the Parliament Hall complex, built as George IV Bridge, kept altering; and after 1830 the Faculty began to prevaricate. In toto, Playfair's plans, of European significance, remained on the drawing-board, but part was built, the so-called "Corridor." Built to an externally very undistinguished design, this north-facing three-story structure led nowhere for many years, and was isolated until the later 1850s from the older library accommodation, which was of course the Faculty's main complaint about the Upper Signet Library. This range has not been pulled down and remains part of the Advocates' Library. Some of the later tinkering with existing rooms and other piecemeal expansion also remain, as the Faculty reverted to early eighteenth-century prototypes of building strategy, or
rather lack of strategy, but the major building projects of the last decades of the nineteenth century, all very utilitarian, have almost all been swept away by the National Library building, begun in 1937 but not completed until 1955. Before this could be constructed, a Sheriff Court building had to be demolished: this was built in the 1860s on land purchased from the Faculty, who appear to have sold it in the full knowledge that in so doing their own library expansion would be further hamstrung.

The National Library has now built the first stage of a gimcrack palace on a site a mile or more from its heart because no ground adjacent was available for expansion, as desperately needed now as ever. As I write, a huge site is being bulldozed to the immediate south of the main building over the Cowgate—to be used for law courts. Is that evil spirit which imbued the Faculty of Advocates before 1925 with what seems at times to have been little less than collective madness still at work?

The third book under review, The Advocates' Library: 300 Years of a National Institution is a much slighter publication than the other two volumes. In fact, it is little more than a pamphlet. On a first glance it looks very inviting, with lavish use of color illustrations. A few of the illustrations here are also in the other books and this brings home how much can be lost in monochrome reproduction. However, the sources of the illustrations in this work are not given, some captions contain errors of one sort of another, and some seem odd items to choose. Superficially, the textual matter looks well-designed but in fact it is very badly laid out: on several occasions long quotations are separated by page turns from the explanatory textual introductions. The booklet is not well written, there are serious errors of fact (for example Sir George Mackenzie did not give his large collection of books to the Library), and the use of capitalization and commas, scattered liberally and erroneously, is bizarre. Three short quotations give the flavor of too much of the writing: "English History was always on the Advocates' Library's shopping list"; "The problem of learning English, much exercised members of the Scottish Enlightenment"; "Wedderburn ... took private lessons with ... an English Actor called Quinn. This was his first and necessary passport to a career at the English Bar." There are also far too many spelling howlers, e.g., "Cannongate," "Scoticisms," "prolegonoma" (sounds like a disease), "Carlisle" (for Carlyle), "Roseberry" and "Hill-Burton," the last two also appearing in the prodigally spaced and highly idiosyncratic index.

The authors have decided to pinpoint topics in a historical arrangement. Choice of these seems at times a little strange, like the half-page on Adam Ferguson, Keeper for less than a year, or the three dealing with R.L. Stevenson, barely an advocate at all, and in any case one with very slight connection with the Library. There is a valuable postscript by the
current Keeper of the Library on the very recent history and current expansion plans of this highly distinguished legal library. The Advocates' Library is apt to be dwarfed by its mammoth offspring but it continues to enjoy copyright deposit on legal items, and still owns the pre-1925 acquisitions of legal books and manuscripts, although the manuscripts are administered by the National Library. The Faculty of Advocates also owns Sir Walter Scott's library at Abbotsford.

This book represents a lost opportunity to give a succinct historical account of a great library on the occasion of its three hundredth birthday, in an attractive and relatively cheap format. Perhaps such a work can soon be distilled from all three volumes under discussion here. The tercentenary also produced an excellent exhibition, which has no memorial in print; this too should be rectified. However, in the end, the National Library in its wonderful stock and its excellent facilities and services, and the Advocates' Library in its own professional excellence can speak for themselves; they have certainly encouraged learning.

MURRAY SIMPSON

New College Library, University of Edinburgh


Paola Bono's "checklist" of radical and reformist publications in Scotland in the last quarter of the eighteenth century charts an awakening of popular political consciousness even more remarkable than that which occurred in England in the same period. In 1782 Mrs. Hamilton wrote to her brother to the effect that in comparison to the Irish the ordinary people of Scotland had no pretensions to political knowledge and that "whatever changes happen, either in ministry or constitution, they seem to adopt the maxim of Mr. Pope, that 'whatever is, is right'" (quoted p. 9). Yet only ten years later an article in the *Caledonian Mercury* of 30 September 1792 could claim that

That keenness of political inquiry which for a long time seemed to be confined to England has now reached this northern clime, and extended its influence with rapid strides, so that it now pervades the whole land of Caledonia. The peasant seems to be equally knowing in politics with the peer, and supports his argument with as much force and keenness as if the fate of the empire depended upon his
decision of the question. Societies are everywhere formed, and clubs instituted, for the sole purpose of political debate. (quoted p. 9)

As in England, such rapid politicization arose from the radical impulse which the French Revolution gave to already-existing campaigns for political reform. On both sides of the border the press both responded to and stimulated the development and dissemination of political consciousness. The Edinburgh Advertiser, for example, welcomed the fall of the Bastille in its issue of 24-28 July 1789 in terms which anticipate the language and themes which came to dominate the Revolution Controversy.

Nothing has contributed so much to the freedom of mankind as the Art of Printing. The easy circulation of knowledge, thereby communicated to all ranks of people, has dispelled that ignorance and darkness in which their rulers wished them to remain. . . . The consequence has been, the memorable Revolution that has now taken place—one of the most astonishing events in the annals of history. (quoted p. 13)

Yet late eighteenth-century radicalism—in Scotland as in England—was a much more complex and often self-contradictory phenomenon than is apparent in this almost instant response to the French Revolution. Radical sentiments could be driven by a variety of factors—seventeenth-century Whig thought, the Enlightenment notion of progress, the quest for religious freedom, the quite different implications of the American and French revolutions, and so on. Radicalism could include efforts to reform the political system in order to prevent revolution, attempts to return to the principles of liberty which were thought to have existed in its origins, and dreams of tearing it up by the roots in order to initiate a wholly different system.

Bono's introduction, which presents an admirably clear exposition of the political and religious issues in Scotland at the end of the eighteenth century, situates this general pattern of political awakening in a specifically Scottish context. Although the Scottish response to the American crisis had been dominated by the anxieties of Glasgow merchants who feared its effects on trade, and although discussion of the issues it raised seems to have been "confined to the educated and economically well-off sectors of society" (p. 11), Bono contends that it contributed to the re-examination of the Scottish electoral system in counties and boroughs and the criticism of Britain's parliamentary system (especially of the discrepancies between voting qualifications in England and Scotland) which took place between 1775 and 1793.

One of the crucial factors in the upsurge of political consciousness in Scotland in this period was the relationship between civil and religious
liberties. While the Dissenters were at the forefront of political agitation in England, the link between religion and radical politics in Scotland was quite different. Although the tradition in the Presbyterian Church which allowed the congregation to elect its own ministers had been repressed in 1712 in favor of the patronage of aristocracy and landed gentry, writers continued to refer to the sense of liberty and self-worth which this process gave to the people. Bono argues that the renewal of agitation for the repeal of the Patronage Act after 1782 was intimately connected with the rise of political radicalism in Scotland.

A second factor which influenced the development of Scottish radicalism was the high rate of literacy produced by the parish schools. This is perhaps one reason why the publication of radical documents in special cheap editions in Scotland led to particularly severe responses by the authorities—many of Bono's comments on the texts she lists reveal that the authors of even moderate reformist documents were transported to Botany Bay for sedition in the 1790s. What Paine punningly referred to as "criminal justice" in *Rights of Man* was especially harsh in Scotland—the "Scottish Martyrs," in contrast to the fate of many of their counterparts who were tried in England, were usually found guilty and given severe sentences by Robert MacQueen (Lord Braxfield, the Lord Justice Clerk).

And yet, despite the fact that there were specific differences between the situations in England and Scotland, one of surprising things which emerges from Bono's research is that Scottish radicals, on the evidence given here at least, rarely analyzed political oppression in Scotland in national terms. Thus reformers and radicals in Scotland drew on the same range of emotive images as their English counterparts—the British tradition of political freedom, Magna Charta, Anglo-Saxon liberties prior to the Norman Yoke, and the Glorious Revolution, among others. Bono's summary of the anonymous *Considerations on Mr. Paine's Pamphlet on the Rights of Man* (Edinburgh, 1791), for example, reveals that although the author shared Paine's enthusiasm for the French Revolution, he or she rebuked his criticism of Great Britain—which "remains on the whole an exemplary state" (quoted p. 45). Although James Tytler's broadside *To the People and their Friends* (Edinburgh, 1792) criticizes the moderate members of the Scottish Friends of the People for petitioning the House of Commons (since it is not "the democratical part of the constitution," but "a vile junto of aristocrats"), Tytler does not seem to envisage a break with England. On the contrary, he proposes a direct petition to the king, failing which "our Magna Charta hath it for its basis, that the people need not pay any contributions towards the public exigencies of that country to which they do not belong. . . . The conclusion is, if the king hear you not, keep your money in your pockets, and frame your own laws, and the minority
must submit to the majority" (quoted p. 53). Thus Tytler conceives the political struggle to be between "the people" and a corrupt system which favored the rich and the upper classes—between the two nations in Disraeli's sense rather than between Scotland and England.

Towards the end of the 1790s, however—perhaps because of the failure of the reform movement to achieve any significant changes, together with the fact that Pitt's "reign of terror" was conducted with particular severity in Scotland—a nationalist revolutionary edge came briefly into radical politics in Scotland. In 1796-7, a Dundee weaver called George Mealmaker helped organize the secret society of United Scotsmen modelled on the United Irishmen—though it is a matter of debate whether their aims at all resembled those of the United Irishmen since most of their writings have been lost (p. 117). Another Scot who had contact with the United Irishmen was Thomas Muir, an advocate and one of the founding members of the Scottish Friends of the People. Muir seems to have become increasingly radical towards the end of his colorful life: having been transported to Botany Bay for sedition in 1794, he escaped to France (where he was hailed as a hero of the French Revolution and granted a pension) and tried "to renew his contacts with the reformers in Britain, ... urging French military aid to set up a Scottish republic" (p. 142).

Although it is not a completely new area of enquiry, there is clearly a wealth of fascinating work to be done on Scottish radicalism in the 1790s. Despite its occasionally odd English and errors of proof reading (do Lang employ native English speakers as editors?), *Radicals and Reformers in Late Eighteenth-Century Scotland* constitutes both an impressive piece of research in its own right and an indispensable resource for future studies. Its organization makes it particularly "user-friendly" in this respect: it is divided into four categories ("Civil and Religious Liberties: General," "Civil and Religious Liberties: Scotland," "Reports of Trials," and "The Movement Against the Slave Trade"); details of each publication are given in full (including its shelf mark in one of the Scottish libraries); and Bono provides useful contexts and summaries. In addition, there are subject, author, and title indexes, an Appendix which gives biographical notes on all the authors whose publications are listed, plus a useful bibliography of primary and secondary sources. Thus the groundwork has been done for a Scottish E. P. Thompson and for an extension into the Scottish context of the theoretically-sophisticated work which is currently being produced on the response to the French Revolution in England.

**TOM FURNISS**

*University of Strathclyde*

Most of the great creative writers of early Hanoverian Britain were actively engaged in partisan politics, though they were not necessarily loyal to one particular side. Their poetry, plays and prose fictions frequently discussed political issues, raised ideological questions and sought to influence parliamentary and public opinion. Many of these talented writers also engaged in hack journalism, producing pamphlets and periodical essays which were deliberately designed to enlist support for a particular party, faction or ideological stance. Not surprisingly, this close relationship between politics and literature has inspired both historians and literary critics to study in depth the expressed political ideas and convictions of the great creative writers of the age. The result of such inquiries is a better appreciation of the wide-ranging political discourse of the period and a deeper awareness of the views and talents of these creative writers. One creative writer whose political writings have been particularly difficult to interpret is Henry Fielding, though the careful research and persuasive arguments of such scholars as Thomas R. Cleary and Martin C. Battestin have helped us to understand more fully than ever before the changing political aims and the shifting political loyalties of this intriguing contributor to the political debates of the 1730s and 1740s. In attempting to follow and to understand Fielding's apparently wayward navigation of the political shoals of George II's reign we need a modern, scholarly edition of his political writings. W. B. Coley is engaged in producing this and, in doing so, he is putting all scholars of early Hanoverian politics and literature in his debt.

In 1974 Professor Coley produced for the Wesleyan edition of the Works of Henry Fielding *The Jacobite's Journal and Related Writings.* This volume printed Fielding's political journalism of 1747-8. Professor Coley has now produced a superb edition of *The True Patriot and Related Writings* which gives us Fielding's political journalism of 1745-6. In all his political journalism of the later 1740s, Fielding was consistently engaged in promoting the interests of a particular group of Broad-Bottom or Patriot Whigs, including Dodington, Lyttelton, Chesterfield and Bedford, as they strove to forge an effective alliance with the Pelhamite Whigs and to create a broadly-based and more patriotic administration capable of resisting the pro-Hanoverian policy of George II and Granville and of destroying the Jacobite cause.

This magnificent edition prints three Fielding political pamphlets published in October 1745 and the contributions which Fielding made to
all thirty-three issues of the weekly journal *The True Patriot*, which appeared between 5 November 1745 and 17 June 1746. It omits other tracts written by Fielding in 1745-6 which were not informed by the same political purpose as these three pamphlets and periodical essays. The three political pamphlets have never been published since they originally appeared in 1745. Ten of the essays in *The True Patriot* were published in the 1762 Murphy-Millar edition of Fielding's *Works*, and in the Henley edition of 1903, and the whole run of this journal was published in a photo-facsimile edition in 1964, but this is the best effort yet made to identify and publish all of Fielding's contributions to *The True Patriot*. In addition to the essays in all thirty-three issues of the journal that W. B. Coley is confident were from the pen of Henry Fielding, he also prints in a long appendix all the uncertain attributions which bear possible marks of Fielding's hand.

The three pamphlets—*A Serious Address to the People of Great Britain*, *The History of the Present Rebellion in Scotland*, and the *Dialogue between the Devil, the Pope and the Pretender*—all sought to warn the public of the dangers which they faced from the Jacobite rebellion then gaining ground in Scotland and all exhorted Englishmen to unite in armed resistance to the Pretender's claims. These pamphlets stressed the benefits of living under George II's magnanimous rule, when life, liberty and property were all secure, and they warned of the alarming consequences if the Jacobite rebellion should succeed. Religious bigotry, absolute and arbitrary government, and the subordination of British interests to those of France and the papacy would all undoubtedly follow if the English supinely allowed a ragged band of Highland Scottish brigands to destroy the constitution and undermine the rule of law. In his contributions to *The True Patriot*, a weekly half-sheet paper of four pages, Fielding at first took up the same issues. With the defeat of the Jacobite rebels at Culloden, in April 1746, however, Fielding turned his attention to the need to defend the patriotism of the new administration and to condemn the factious conduct of the parliamentary opposition. Despite claiming, "I am of no Party; a Word which I hope, by these my Labours, to eradicate out of our Constitution" (p. 108), Fielding did, in fact, seek to serve the interests of his political friends in the government and to condemn their political opponents. Although he was not much of a political ideologist (indeed, he was often not very comfortable writing about politics at all), Fielding did his best from late February/early March 1746 to explain the virtues of the present government and to define a "new patriotism." Apart from a lengthy discussion in support of the proposals to create a citizen militia, however, Fielding offered no sustained or coherent statement of what this "new patriotism" was and he certainly did not demonstrate how the present ministers were promoting it. By June 1746 Fielding's legal commitments and the journal's
loss of purpose and direction persuaded him to cease producing *The True Patriot*. Apparently the journal was no longer offering either what readers wanted or what the ministry needed.

W. B. Coley has provided a reliable text of these political writings and he has edited them to the very highest standards. In his Textual Introduction he explains the rules he has followed in deciding what text to publish. In seven appendices he provides lists of substantive emendations, accidental emendations, word divisions, collated texts open to public access, and variants in the Murphy-Millar edition of *The True Patriot*, in addition to a brief note on Fielding's use of *hath* and *doth* and an extensive appendix printing the possible contributions which Fielding may have made to *The True Patriot*.

This editorial work greatly increases the value of the volume, but even more significant for most literary critics and historians are the annotations to the texts and the General Introduction. Numerous and lengthy footnotes do much to explain every possible reference and allusion in Fielding's texts, to correct his errors and mistakes, and to set these political writings in their historical context. These footnotes provide a wealth of relevant and accurate information which makes it easier for the modern reader to understand Fielding's texts. This reviewer could detect only a couple of minor errors (possibly misprints) and the occasional statement in these footnotes that might be open to challenge.

The General Introduction provides the available evidence for attributing these political writings to Fielding and details on the circumstances of their composition, printing and publication. It also offers a great deal of information on the biographical and political contexts which determined the appearance and content of these political writings. Much of this material is clearly valuable and almost certainly accurate. The evidence attributing these writings to Fielding, however, is not always totally convincing, while the discussion of the political context in which they appeared, though undoubtedly very detailed, is not entirely satisfactory. There are good reasons for attributing the three individual pamphlets to Fielding and it is also very clear that he played a major role in editing, writing and producing *The True Patriot*. On the other hand, the evidence for attributing to Fielding the contributions to *The True Patriot* that appear in this volume is not entirely convincing. Less convincing is the long discussion seeking to prove the possible involvement in *The True Patriot* of Dodington, Lyttelton, Warburton and Thomson. At times Professor Coley himself appears to recognize that he is skating on some very thin ice. After two pages on James Thomson's possible involvement in this journal, he concludes rather lamely: "In all likelihood Thomson did not contribute a syllable to Fielding's paper, but it would not have been out of place for
him to have done so" (p. xcix). Professor Coley's discussion of the political context in which Fielding wrote these works is rather limited. There is much detailed and accurate information on ministerial relations and tensions in 1744-5, but the detail does at times obscure the significance of what Professor Coley is trying to convey and it certainly does not always advance our understanding of what Fielding was seeking to achieve. More serious still is the fact that, while Professor Coley acknowledges that these writings were devoted to the defeat of the Jacobite cause and sought at times to define a new patriot ideology, he himself offers little explanation either about Jacobitism (whether as a cause or an ideology) or about patriot ideas. In the last decade or two there has been a great deal of excellent scholarly work published on both of these subjects. Admittedly, some of this work appeared after Professor Coley's edition reached the publishers (in 1982, apparently), but John Pocock, Caroline Robbins, Isaac Kramnick, the present reviewer, and a number of others published work on these subjects before that date. There is no indication in the vast array of footnotes in this excellent edition that Professor Coley is abreast of recent research in these particular fields that is so clearly relevant to a full understanding of Fielding's political aims and ideas.

H. T. DICKINSON
University of Edinburgh


John Burns' *A Celebration of the Light* is an exploration of Neil Gunn's personal metaphysics as it is encoded in his fiction, clarified and enhanced by the ethnologically remote but spiritually related vision of Zen Buddhism. Burns is wise to note at the outset of his discussion that Gunn did not become interested in *Zen per se* until 1953, which postdates all of Gunn's novels except *The Other Landscape* (1954). This time factor allows him to emphasize appropriately that Gunn in his writing was not influenced by Zen as such, but rather that Gunn's native sense of the "atom of delight," of the import of those moments of clarity in a person's life in which the world is perceived unencumbered by thought and ego, may be helpfully understood as being of one kin with Zen. In Burns' terminology, Gunn's writings reveal "an extraordinary similarity of temperament between the Scottish writer and certain Far Eastern philosophers."
Originally Burns' Edinburgh University doctoral thesis, *A Celebration of the Light* has been honed and polished to great effect in its published form, which has been issued by Canongate in the UK and by Barnes and Noble in the US. After supplying background details about both Gunn and (especially helpful for the non-Orientalist) Zen Buddhism, the book addresses seven of Gunn's novels which Burns considers representative of both Gunn's art and his emerging philosophic vision. These are: *Butcher's Broom* (1934), *Highland River* (1937), *The Silver Darlings* (1941), *The Serpent* (1943), *The Well at the World's End* (1951), *Bloodhunt* (1952), and *The Other Landscape* (1954). Each novel is treated in a separate chapter; this is potentially a structure which could lead to oversimplification, but Burns has managed to sustain enough thematic energy throughout his discussion to carry his argument to completion in a sophisticated fashion. This may well be the result of his sensitivity to the shared Zen/Gunn conception of Enlightenment/delight, which itself may be nurtured over the course of a lifetime, and which is itself the essence of a life. In this context, although Burns' book is not precisely a biographical study, it is entirely consonant with the thrust of his ideas to treat the subject matter chronologically as well as theoretically.

The proposition of making a meaningful comparison of two organically disparate philosophies, one the personal insight of a singular Scottish writer who lived the greatest part of his writing career without direct knowledge of Zen, and the other an established Asian religious system (with, one might add, until the latter part of his life no direct contact with Neil Gunn), might seem at first glance to be a scholarly conceit, an exercise in apples and oranges. However, Burns has demonstrated ably that there is deep value to be gained from it in this particular case. First, Gunn's own documented affection for Zen, once he had discovered it in his later years, bears out the truth of the connection between the two. Second, as *A Celebration of the Light* shows, the connection holds. Burns argues convincingly that the "delight" to which Gunn was so devoted, that clear light of the "other landscape" of the world as it really is beyond our ordinary apprehension of it, is indeed of the same stuff as the heart of Zen. Burns' exposition of the similarities between Gunn's own philosophical vision and that of Zen is helpful to one's reading of Gunn; the juxtaposition enriches and unifies one's understanding of the metaphysics which so powerfully undergirds Gunn's published fiction.

The work is not without its difficult moments. When one seeks to demonstrate unity of vision between two discrete entities, one runs the risk of drawing a clear comparison where perhaps the reality of correspondence (between, perhaps, a given moment in a Gunn novel and a given feature of Zen iconography) is a bit murky, and one may fall into
wordplay. It is to Burns' credit, and that of the general plausibility of his thesis, that this sort of dubious conjunction only occurs rarely in *A Celebration of the Light*, and Burns recovers well from it when it does occur. Additionally, it might be suggested that the Zen/Gunn connection is most fruitfully drawn in the novels which predate Gunn's awareness of Herrigel's *Zen in the Art of Archery*, which is to say, every novel save *The Other Landscape*. Burns' analysis of this last novel is arguably his weakest of the seven, possibly because the novel itself is not up to the standard of *The Silver Darlings* et al. and thus not as clean in its philosophical structure, but potentially also because, by the time of *The Other Landscape*, Gunn had become conscious of Zen as such; the connection between it and his personal vision may have become too direct to be natural, and Burns may well have labored under that burden in his analysis. Overall, however, Burns' work is solid and commendable.

*A Celebration of the Light* achieves another end as well, which is the expansion of Gunn's scope as a Scottish writer. Certainly much of the scholarship to date on Gunn celebrates him as one with an unusual and welcome positive vision of Scotland and the Scot, achieved artfully and without undue sentiment; that has been among Gunn's greatest strengths, beyond the wise or fine turn of phrase. By the same token, however, the focus of Gunn studies has been primarily on Gunn's vision of Scotland and Gunn the Scot. Therefore, although it has been argued intelligently by many of Gunn's devotees that his work, in classic form, transcends the boundaries of the regional novel to address the universal from within the particular, his work nevertheless still labors, as does that of most Scottish writers, under the regional label. One might hope that such an analysis as Burns', with its cross-cultural referents and its close attention to such universal human issues as the nature of reality and the meaning of life, might assist us to, for a moment, step back from the scenery and the ethnohistory to find the theme behind the Scottish theme, and to step inward into Gunn's personal vision to find the still center within the Scottish center of the writer and the man. To this most desirable end, and for the helpful and unifying conceptual contribution it makes to one's reading of the range of Gunn's fiction, *A Celebration of the Light* is well worthy of inclusion in the corpus of Gunn scholarship.

JODY S. DAVIE

*University of Pennsylvania*

Most books on Hume have been written by philosophers; and, owing to the narrow preoccupation of twentieth-century philosophers with problems of epistemology and philosophy of science, most of them have viewed Hume as an epistemologist. But epistemology takes up only a small part of Hume's writing. The overwhelming part of it was in history, morals, psychology, politics, economics, literary criticism, manners, and religion. Only in the last decade has this incredibly narrow focus begun to be redressed. A handful of studies have appeared on Hume as a moral philosopher, political philosopher, philosopher of religion, and as historian. But most of these are by philosophers who are concerned with the theoretical content of Hume's thought. None of them attempt the special task of examining Hume as a moralist.

There are two barriers to this project. One is erected by Hume who disowned the title of moralist, preferring to consider himself a theoretician of virtue (an anatomist, as he put it, rather than a painter). The other barrier is a prejudice of the dominant liberal moral tradition which grew out of the Enlightenment. Ancient and medieval philosophy was concerned with the question of what constitutes a good life. The central theme of ethics is virtue. Enlightenment liberalism is concerned with the question of what ought I do to. This soon developed into a search for a supreme rule to regulate conduct (Kant's categorical imperative, Mill's utilitarianism). The supreme rule has come to be understood, more and more, in terms of rights, so that liberal moral theory is almost exclusively concerned with right-doing as opposed to the classical question of well-being. For this reason classical moral conceptions such as "virtue" and "wisdom" have virtually dropped out of contemporary moral discourse. A number of philosophers have begun to challenge this dominant liberal tradition. Perhaps the best known and most widely discussed of this sort is Alasdair MacIntyre's *After Virtue*, which argues for a revival of a virtue-based ethics. Commentators caught in the grip of this dominant liberal tradition have been tone deaf to the fact that much of Hume's writing is an answer to the ancient questions of what constitutes the good life. And there is some reason for this, for Hume stands midway between the ancient philosophers of virtue and the modern liberal philosophy of rights. Depending on how one tilts the prism, one can find in Hume a latter-day ancient moralist or a precursor of modern liberalism.

Yet as an eighteenth-century writer and heir to the classical moral tradition, Hume thought that the main purpose of literature was to entertain and instruct. Judgments about virtue and character are not so much
to be found in this or that work as they are the warp and woof of Hume's career as a writer. We are to find Hume's speech about the good life in the structure of his writing. Siebert observes that narrative writing necessarily contains ideals which make narrative meaning possible, and so he turns to those parts of Hume's writings which have a narrative structure in order to discern Hume's ideal of human beauty. As it turns out, most of Hume's writings have narrative form. His monumental *History of England*, which went through at least 167 posthumous editions and remained in print until 1894, constitutes over half of his production as a writer. The *Natural History of Religion* is a narrative; so are the *Dialogues Concerning Natural Religion*. Important parts of the *Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding*, the *Enquiry Concerning the Principles of Morals*, as well as the *Essays, Moral, Political, and Literary* have dialogue or other narrative forms. Even the *Treatise* has important narrative moments. In interpreting the narratives of Hume's writings, full use is made of his letters and of his autobiography, *My Own Life*. Siebert pays as much attention to Hume's voice, tone, and style as to his doctrines. He has an eye for the telling passage and quotes extensively from Hume. Given the present narrow reading of Hume, many of these passages will be enjoyed by the reader for the first time.

In exploring the content of Hume's moral vision, Siebert gives prominence to the *History of England* which, in his hands, becomes a storehouse of moral precepts about what is noble and base in human nature. Over and over, Hume's Clio has occasion to shape the selves of the past according to moral ideas. Prominent also in the account is religion. Hume considered the morality of most religion to be bad. Throughout his life Hume was concerned with the question of why this should be so, and whether a purely secular morality could replace the religious one. The book is divided into five chapters. The first takes seriously Hume's claim that reason is the slave of the passions and that moral order is founded on sentiment. Siebert explores Hume's relation to eighteenth-century discussions of the man of feeling or sentiment. He shows that, like many of his contemporaries, Hume exploited the pathos of sensibility and that this follows from his teaching that nothing confers more merit on human beings than the sentiment of benevolence. Yet Hume also indulged a "sublime" of sensibility for martial heroes like Alexander the Great and Hume's countryman Montrose. In this he resembles Adam Ferguson more than the stock picture of the commercial, Epicurean Hume—a picture Hume was at pains to cultivate.

Hume wrote Hutcheson that his morality was taken from Cicero's *Offices*, not from the Christian devotional, *The Whole Duty of Man*. In Chapter Two, Siebert explores what for Hume was a problematic aspect of hu-
man psychology, namely religious belief. It is problematical, because, for Hume, men are governed by impressions and the passions we have about them. The object of religious belief, however, is spiritual and cannot be reduced to complexes of impressions. There is both the question of how we can have such ideas and how they can exercise such control over individuals and entire societies. The transcendental drive of religion shifts the attention of men away from this world to another world where anything is possible. Such thinking threatens the peace of society and disorders the soul of the individual. A major task of the History is to document the utterly destructive effects of religion on society. Drawing passages scattered throughout his writings, Siebert pieces together Hume's ideal of a religion that would be free of these defects. It would however, be a philosophic religion and not available to the populace.

Chapter Three discusses Hume's solution to the problem that religious zeal poses to society. In many ways this is the most original discussion in the book. Siebert shows that, for Hume, the only remedy for the transcendental urge in religion is to tie it to the things of this world. In this respect, modern theism is not advanced over polytheism. True, modern theism is more philosophic and more in accord with reason than polytheism. But precisely for that reason it is more dangerous. For Hume taught that philosophy also has a transcendental urge, and the more rational a religion (such as modern theism) becomes the more absurd and inhumane its doctrines become. In Hume's mind, pagan mythical religion affirmed the customs and traditions of the civic order and so set lightly on men's minds. Modern theism, however, throws into question the common course of the world and alienates from common life. Although Hume began his career with a whiggish view of religion, preferring Protestantism to Catholicism on the grounds that the former tends to be supportive of liberty, a change occurred during the writing of the History. The destruction wrought by the Puritan revolutionaries in the English Civil War forced Hume to an appreciation of the humanizing effects of liturgy, ritual, religious art, and other "superstitious" practices of the Catholics and Anglican traditions. Such practices are a world of impressions which move more or less in rhythm with the natural world. For the same reason Hume argued for an established church: it would humanize the clergy by tying their interests to that of the civil order.

In Chapter Four, Siebert examines various dynamical strategies Hume uses in his writing and in his life to teach the wisdom of "mitigated skepticism." Of special mention here is his discussion of the quartet of essays in the Essays, Moral, Political, and Literary: "The Epicurean," "The Platonist," "The Stoic," and "The Sceptic." Siebert is really the first to comment on this remarkable set of essays which purport to explicate dialectically what
the good life is. That they should have gone all this time without comment by moral philosophers shows the great gulf that exists between contemporary liberal moral theory and the classical moral tradition. In the last chapter, Siebert shows how Hume’s autobiography functions to explicate and exemplify the self shaped by his moral ideal. It is, I think, the most perceptive thing written on My Own Life.

The only study even remotely comparable to this one is Jerome Christiansen’s Practicing Enlightenment: Hume and the Formation of a Literary Career (1987). Though it has its moments, Christiansen’s book is a textbook case of what is misplaced about much deconstructive analysis: the study tells us more about the political views of the author than about Hume. There is no attempt to treat Hume seriously as an inquirer into truth and so no attempt to take seriously the moral ideal he proposes. By contrast Siebert takes Hume very seriously as a moralist and is at pains to reveal the strengths and weaknesses in his vision of the good life.

DONALD LIVINGSTON
Emory University


A well-chosen title, as Goldsmith pointed out, can help a book get off to a good start. "To distinguish this book from much recent writing on his novels, Scott the Poet would make a satisfactory enough title," writes Nancy Moore Goslee in her Introduction, "but a prosaic one. Further, its flat claim is too restricted, as if he were the only poet worthy of the name. Though readers in 1810, at the peak of his poetic reputation, might well have agreed upon such a claim, his absence from the modern canon of Romantic poets strongly refutes it. My aim is to recall his presence. Giving this book and thus Scott, the title 'Rhymer' recalls a specific element of his poetry, its closeness to the speech and song of oral tradition, and also a specific, half-legendary and half-mythical figure who offers a model for the poetry arising out of that tradition," (p. 1).

Drawing on recent developments in feminist theory and narrative theory, Scott the Rhymer is well-informed and critically alert, a valuable addition to Scott studies. Separate chapters are devoted to each of the verse-tales. It is a measure of the writer’s commitment to the subject in hand that she finds fresh things to say about Rokeby and Harold the Dauntless, as well as about Marmion and The Lady of the Lake.
Part of Nancy Moore Goslee's argument is summarized thus by her publisher:

Scott alternates between poems in which enchantresses seem to control their worlds and those in which women are only pawns, desirable for the land they inherit. The poems of the latter group are more realistically historical in plot, turning upon major battles; those of the former are more romantic and magical. Yet both follow similar narrative patterns derived from medieval and especially Renaissance romance. Both, too, show a wandering in more primitive, violent societies which delays the rational, gradual progress seen as cultural salvation by Enlightenment historians.

Throughout, the author demonstrates her wide reading in the astonishingly diverse sources which inform Scott's poetry. Chapter 3, for example shows convincingly that in The Lady of the Lake Scott makes selective use of motifs derived from his reading of Malory. Professor Goslee writes,

A stag hunt as a prelude, a magical lake and island presided over by a lady, a magic and mysterious sword, and the king's promise of a boon to the lady, all appear in both Malory and Scott. Yet as these parallels underscore the strangely magical nature of the world in which the king finds himself, they also recall the political problems shared by romance king and actual king alike (p. 70).

Malory, however, is only one among many works which went to the making of The Lady of the Lake. Nancy Moore Goslee patiently tracks Scott's reading, and as a result is able to throw new light on his art as a narrative poet. If she does not fully succeed in her aim of recalling the "presence" of the poet, this is perhaps because modern academic criticism is by its very nature far removed from straightforward, unanalytical acceptance of the popular narrative and descriptive values which Scott adopted. As far as it goes, John Lauber's comment in Scott (Twayne's British Authors, revised edition, 1989), that "The public for Scott's verse was the entertainment-seeking one that today is amused by television, movies, or best-selling novels" is true, and deserves to be borne in mind by all academics writing primarily for each other.

Following upon the publication in 1987 of Jerome Mitchell's Scott, Chaucer, and Medieval Romance, the University Press of Kentucky are to be congratulated on contributing notably in successive years to the serious study of Scott's medievalism and knowledge of Renaissance narrative poetry.

Donald A. Low
University of Stirling

Not since John Drinkwater's play *Robert Burns* flopped in 1925 has there been such a risible work of fiction allegedly based on the life of Scotland's national poet. Even the much-maligned Pentateuchal efforts of James Barke (1946-54), so roundly condemned by Burnsians, if not Burns scholars, at the time, were meticulous in historical detail and the overall framework. What we have here, however, is something completely different. It is a historical novel which treats the basic facts with a cavalier disregard for the truth. Events and personalities alike are distorted and taken out of their proper context in order to give some sense and meaning to the author's batty hypothesis.

A historical novel is generally regarded as a work of fiction which revolves around a set of fictional characters. Authenticity and realism are imparted by the atmosphere and detail, but historical events and actual personalities of the period are peripheral to the narrative. To produce a historical novel as a piece of "faction" calls for a very special range of skills and an absolute mastery of the facts. If you must go to such lengths, why adopt the novel medium at all? Surely such a work has more credibility and impact as a straightforward piece of historical biography?

The genesis of this book is not without interest. The brief preface tells us that Mr. Campsie got the idea when he gave a lecture on "Burns, the Political Journalist," at a St. Andrews University summer school. During this he mentioned that you could then destroy a person's character as easily with a quill pen as you could nowadays with a ball-point. Afterwards he was approached by an elderly American, a descendant of Tom Paine, who claimed that his ancestor's reputation had been destroyed by government agents to wreck his credibility—"a fact of political life which unhappily still exists today, and may well have happened to Burns." In *Who's Who in Scotland* (1986) Mr. Campsie included in a list of publications *The Clarinda Conspiracy* as being "in the press." In fact he was still trying to find a publisher as late as November 1988 and during 1987 revamped it as a play, staged at the Edinburgh Festival Fringe under the thought-provoking title of *Dundas, the Man who Murdered Burns*.

The thesis of both play and novel is that in 1787-88 Burns was the victim of a plot engineered by Henry Dundas, then Treasurer of the Navy. Virtually everyone from the poet's Edinburgh period was a part of the conspiracy. Burns, so the argument goes, was browbeaten, cajoled and press-ganged into the hated Excise. Creech withheld his royalties at Dundas's behest, in order to force the poet into such a state of penury that he would forego his independence for the slavery of a Civil Service appoint-
Even the advice given by Tennant of Glenconner which led to Burns taking the lease of Ellisland is described as part of the Byzantine conspiracy to muzzle a dangerous radical.

The resulting mish-mash reads like one of those lurid thrillers based ever so loosely on the Kennedy assassination, where wild speculation is dressed up as hard fact.

Of course, there is more than a hint of what we can expect by merely perusing the blurb on the dust-jacket. "Two hundred years ago Robert Burns rode to Edinburgh on a borrowed pony and lodged in a narrow close in the street called the Lawnmarket." So far so good; but then it continues: "He was preaching liberty, equality and the brotherhood of man and took Scotland and, later, Britain by storm." Straightaway we have the nub of the false premise on which the plot is fabricated. We are asked to believe that Burns came to Edinburgh in the winter of 1786 with things other than a second edition of the Poems on his mind. Indeed, one cannot escape the Messianic analogy. Thanks to the celebrations in 1989 there can be few people unaware of the earth-shattering events whose Bicentenary has been commemorated so widely of late. We feel immediate unease at the manner in which Mr. Campsie asks us to revise our historical perspectives.

In no uncertain terms he tells us that the French Revolution broke out, not in July 1789 as we have been led to believe, but at least two years earlier. If this sounds preposterous, it should be noted that, as a curtain raiser for the novel, Mr. Campsie published an article in The Glasgow Herald which sought to prove just that—with side-swipes at "a nameless Burns historian" and "academics" who had dared to contradict him. To back up his assertions, he quoted at length from The Edinburgh Courant in August-September 1787. To be sure, there were stray reports of "insurrection" in parts of France, triggered by the imposition of a Stamp Duty. The newspaper could not help noticing the parallel with the course of events in the American colonies, but unfortunately failed to point out that eleven years elapsed between the Stamp Act of 1765 and the actual outbreak of the Revolutionary War. In any case, the Courant (September 10, 1787) contradicted itself by pointing out that, so far, there had been no actual outbreak of violence in France, apart from a solitary incident when a mob attacked the home of Commissary Chenon. The marquis d'Argenson had prophesied revolution in France as far back as 1750, and since that time France had lurched from one political crisis to another and teetered on the verge of bankruptcy.

Ironically, it was the various well-meaning attempts by Louis XV and Louis XVI, supporting their chief ministers, to institute systems of taxes that applied evenly and aimed at destroying the vested interests of the
privileged classes that provoked the worst unrest. The Revolution was initially a power struggle between the autocratic king and the nobility, supported by the parlements. That the Affair of the Tiles at Grenoble in 1788 was not the signal for outright revolution shows that, even at that time, the Ancien Regime still enjoyed a measure of stability.

But Mr. Campsie will have none of that. Burns's international message in 1786-7 did not fall on deaf ears in a city which, to quote Henry Cockburn at the time, was "like an armed camp." Thus the blurb again, omitting to point out that this was written in 1854 shortly before the ageing Cockburn died, and referred to the political turmoil of 1793.

Revolution was sweeping the Western world. America had already gone up in rebellious flames, ignited by a disaffected Englishman called Tom Paine. It took France only two more years to explode [some contradiction here, surely]. The terrified authorities believed that Lowland Scotland was on the brink of armed insurrection, gleefully awaiting a landing by the French who were to make commando raids on Ireland.

The ensuing two paragraphs go off at a tangent, launching a vitriolic attack on the person of Henry Dundas—"a paranoid, alcoholic lecher, who was also a serious depressive." A great deal of the book is, in fact, taken up with amateur psychoanalysis of Dundas. For thirty years the most powerful man in Scotland (1775-1805), "King Henry the Ninth" was the Tory party manager in Scotland, but his omnipotence only took off after he became Home Secretary in 1791, and peaked in the years of repression (1793-5). The notion that Dundas manipulated the career of Burns is not new by any means. Catherine Carswell (1930) hinted as much but did not pursue it to any real extent. Dundas, as the political boss of Scotland, wielded enormous patronage, but his control over even the humblest placeman has been exaggerated.

So far as the Excise was concerned, it must be pointed out that it was the least politicized (and therefore least corrupt) of all the branches of the Civil Service at the time. Appointment to the Excise was by rigorous selection and a system of examination which was a century ahead of its time. In the 1780s the only political appointees were the five Commissioners who made up the Excise Board in Edinburgh—and of these at least one, Robert Graham of Fintry, was a known Whig. Yet we are asked to believe that no one with the slightest hint of Whiggism stood a chance of retaining a government post, let alone obtaining a position in the first place.

"Worse still," continues the blurb, "Dundas was an amateur versifier and was rabidly jealous of Burns, whom he also hated because the poet had had an affair with the Duchess of Gordon, whom in turn Dundas loathed because of her political-salon influence over William Pitt the
Younger, then Prime Minister." This exceedingly clumsy sentence reads like the spoof scenario for an episode of *Soap*, but the blurb ends on a revealing note: "The scene is set for the unfolding of Alistair Campsie's powerful novel—the fruits of years of research and the seed of decades of controversy."

There is something faintly meretricious about any book which sets out deliberately to provoke controversy with a conscious eye on potential sales. It is a well-tried trick in artificially stimulating the public curiosity. The controversy, I fear, may turn out to be just as disappointing as the fruit of the research itself.

To fit the conspiracy theory it is necessary for Mr. Campsie to bring forward the paranoia of 1793 by six years. the action of the novel takes place between Sunday, September 2, 1787 (when Dundas meets Graham of Fintry at Athole House and the plot is initiated), and Wednesday, March 19, 1788, when the embattled bard has a final showdown with his grasping publisher. The plot, such as it is, is brutally summarized in the Preface which tells us that "Robert Burns wrote searing political poetry until he somehow joined the hated Excise, after which he settled down to write rustic love-songs and died young. He was also said to be a confirmed sex maniac and a raging drunkard, a bizarre contradiction in terms."

"Facts are chiels that winna ding" and we can easily test the veracity of the first astounding statement by examining the Kilmarnock Poems. There are, indeed, political overtones in "The Twa Dogs" and "The Author's Earnest Cry and Prayer," but hardly searing. Ironically, the latter contains the lines

And ane, a chap that's d-mn'd auldfarran
Dundas his name.

which show that Burns had a high regard for the sagacity of Henry Dundas. The sentiments of "A Dream" are more radical, perhaps, but hardly the sort of thing to take Scotland by storm and panic the government into extreme acts of repression. The cantata "Love and Liberty" may have been composed in 1785, but it was not published in the poet's lifetime. Mr. Campsie makes a very great deal of "Address of Beelzebub" (written in June 1786 but likewise posthumously published). It becomes *prima facie* evidence in the hands of Dundas that Burns is preaching revolution.

On the other hand, it is clear that the author is absolutely convinced that Burns had a drastic change of poetic career in 1787 and wrote only "rustic love-songs" thereafter. Nevertheless, at a seminar entitled "Burns, Song and Revolution" at Stirling University in September 1989, Jean Redpath sang a round dozen of the political songs of Burns dating from his
later years (that is to say, from 1792 onwards). The radical poems of Burns from the same period are even more outspoken, culminating in "A Man's a Man," which was directly inspired by the infamous sedition trial of Muir and Palmer in the summer of 1793. There is not much evidence here that Dundas, for all his power, succeeded in muzzling Burns.

The Preface ends: "The following account is fictional although it is based on existing letters and evidence, except for the letter which I suggest Burns wrote to the Morning Post about the sleazy involvement of his larcenous publisher, William Creech, with a high-class prostitute. I have also advanced the date of the letter by a year and have taken other minor liberties to illustrate the paranoia of the government at that time." That last sentence covers a veritable multitude of sins. Were this presented as straightforward historical biography, of course, it would require to be supported by footnotes giving the provenance and sources in order that the reader might judge the truth of the matter for himself. But presented as "fiction" the necessity to justify extraordinary statements is conveniently eliminated.

Nor is that all. The fictional medium permits the author to invent scenes and situations which, on sober reflection, are most unlikely to have taken place. It is known that Dundas was at Athole House on September 2, 1787—as was Graham of Fintry. Burns himself missed meeting Dundas by only one day. On the opening page of the novel itself we are treated to the great man's musings. Dundas desperately tries to blot out the vision of Burns, "but it was too powerful and he could see the drunken swine strut down the Royal Mile in Edinburgh, dispensing copies of his poems as if they were gold, and all the time they were preaching sedition.

The complex, not to say tortuous, plot to inveigle this drunken rabble-rouser into the Excise—an organization luridly painted as a cross between the KGB and the CIA—starts dramatically at Athole House, blithely ignoring the inconvenient fact that Burns himself had expressed a hankering to get into the Excise eleven months earlier, when he wrote to Robert Aiken on that very subject. He also discussed the prospect of an Excise career with Sir John Whitefoord in December 1786.

By page 12 we are getting a graphic view of a recurring nightmare of Dundas, that he is in the hands of a mob of revolutionaries singing in French, with Burns egging them on. At Miss Nimmo's tea-party someone admonishes Burns: "The country's like an armed camp. All the loyal citizens are joining the militia, and you mock us. You're a veritable heathen." The militia units embodied during the American War had been disbanded several years earlier and it was not until 1795 "when haughty Gaul invasion" threatened that they were re-activated.
Miss Nimmo's brother William is described on many occasions (pp. 18-93) as a very high official in the Excise, based at headquarters in Edinburgh. It is Nimmo who allegedly examines Burns and grants him his certificate of fitness. It is in order to curry favor with this leading luminary of the Excise that Burns is at Miss Nimmo's tea-party in the first place. In fact, Nimmo was merely a supervisor at Lanark. Burns, in his all too brief stint in the service, was to attain the acting rank of supervisor (1794), a position which was only one rung higher on the ladder than excise officer. The "great man" who examined Burns is now believed to have been Thomas Wharton, the senior Commissioner and unofficial Chairman of the Board whose signature appears on the poet's Excise commission.

Chapter 3 is undated but clearly belongs to late 1787. It deals with a meeting in Whitehall between Dundas and William Pitt no less to discuss what is to be done to muzzle this unruly poet. This wholly fictional encounter is the most ludicrous episode in the entire book. The consensus of opinion is that Dundas and Pitt would have had far more important things on their minds than scheming over a poet whose radicalism was still latent at the time. Addington is referred to twice as Speaker of the House of Commons, trying to obtain for Burns a sinecure in the Salt Office; but Addington did not become Speaker till 1789 and as plain MP for Devizes in 1787 had no more influence than any other back-bencher of the period.

Pitt and Dundas point to the parallel between Burns and Paine, and Dundas drunkenly mumbles "We should have hanged him." There is a parallel between Paine and Burns, in that Paine himself was an exciseman. There the similarity ends. Paine was dismissed the service—not once but twice, for faking his official returns and for absconding as a near-bankrupt. Far from wishing to hang Paine in 1788 the government of the day allowed him to go about England quite freely. He was actually in London at this time, trying to interest wealthy backers in his project for erecting iron bridges, and the bridge over the Tyne at Sunderland is a lasting memorial to this little-known enterprise. Here again, Mr. Campsie is advancing the date of official vituperation against Paine by several years. It was not until the publication of the first part of *The Rights of Man* in 1791 that Paine became the object of government vindictiveness, culminating in his indictment for treason in May 1792.

By page 63 the story has moved forward to December 17, 1787. "Everyone knew the city was alive with spies. The contrived fear of the French was so pronounced that the womenfolk were indoctrinated into keeping miniature guillotines... Unbelievably they were encouraged to tell their frightened children, 'If they come here, they'll cut off your heads like that.' Down the blade would slice..." Dr. Guillotine's ingenious contraption was not adopted by the National Assembly till December 1791, was
tested on corpses the following spring and first used, on a convicted highwayman, on April 25, 1792. Every schoolboy knows (but seemingly not Mr. Campsie) when the guillotine became such a dreadful instrument of the Terror.

This book bristles with anachronisms, great and small. Poetical young ladies "gushed and dropped their drawers at once"—eight years before the said undergarments were invented (to counteract the see-through effect of the very revealing Directoire fashion); they did not become fashionable in England till the accession of Queen Victoria forty years later. Robert Ainslie describes himself as a born-again Christian, a neologism of very recent vintage, while Burns himself denounces Henry Dundas and his nephew the Lord Advocate as "sly and vapid shysters"—half a century before the term crept in in New York legal circles.

This outburst follows the poet's Pavlovian reaction to the mere mention of Dundas, paraphrasing the words in the footnote to the elegy "On the Death of the Late Lord President" in the Geddes MS annotations. In that collection (and the Glenriddell MS) Burns reserves his invective for Robert Dundas and Wilhelmina Alexander whose shared crime in his eyes was that they ignored poems sent to them. Significantly, Burns did not feel the same hatred for Boswell who merely ignored a letter. But the note in the Geddes Burns shows that the "incurable wound of my pride" was the sole reason for Burns's antipathy towards the Dundas family at this period, and there was nothing more sinister as Mr. Campsie implied.

Part of the convoluted plot centers on allegations that Burns lied about his age and the size of his family when he entered the Excise. The regulations stated that candidates, on application, had to be over 21 and under 30 years of age; and if married had to have no more than two children. At the time of the poet's application for his certificate of fitness (December 1787) he was a month short of his 29th birthday and was technically a bachelor. Having obtained the certificate, the next step was to undergo six weeks intensive training. On the satisfactory completion of this training an Excise commission was issued and the expectant went on the waiting list for a vacancy. This explains to a large extent why it was not until September 1789 that Burns actually began his Excise career, almost three years after he first contemplated this move. This leisurely induction into the service is hardly in keeping with the urgent necessity of shackling a dangerous dissident!

Mr. Campsie has totally misunderstood this procedure in concocting an implausible explanation for the notorious "Horse-litter Letter" of March 1788. This curious piece of epistolary exhibitionism is elevated into a deliberate smokescreen by Burns to conceal the fact that Jean was on the point of giving birth to twins. The accepted story is that the twins
died within days of birth, and they are not referred to in any of the poet’s letters. Mr. Campsie, however, stoutly maintains that the twins survived and moved with Jean and Robert Junior to Ellisland. There is a dramatic scene in which his Excise superiors confront Burns with the lies he has told in order to win entry under false pretences. As evidence, he quotes an Excise census of officers dated October 10, 1789, which gives the number in family as six. By that time Francis Wallace Burns had been born; but in addition to Frank and Bobby the poet had living with him and Jean his young cousins John and Fanny Burnes (a fact mentioned in a letter to James Burness of Montrose the previous February). "I purpose keeping her in my family till she be quite woman grown," writes Burns; and, in fact, Fanny eventually married Jean's younger brother Adam Armour. Incidentally, I have since examined the Mauchline parish register for 1788 and have found no entry for the birth or death of the twins, which is very much in keeping with the belief that they died on March 10 and 22 respectively. Such ephemeral lives were not considered worth the trouble of pen and ink.

The plot of this novel being on the threadbare side, several attempts have been made to pad it out. There is a sort of sub-plot involving the exploits of a phantom burglar who is eventually revealed as Deacon Brodie, role-model for an infinitely more powerful novel, Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde. That Mr. Campsie has, indeed, done quite a bit of historical research is obvious, because it reveals itself all too plainly. In fact, Mr. Campsie has become so captivated by his researches in the pages of the Edinburgh Courant that he is in danger of losing the main thread in superfluous detail. In the development of brand names, especially for patent medicines and textiles, this was an interesting period, but it need not have been laid on quite so thickly. This is a curious example of the genre known nowadays as a "shopping and mowing" novel. This, and the exotically alliterative title, are characteristics of those pulps one buys at O'Hare or JFK to while away the tedium between in-flight movies and meals.

The eponymous heroine is not so central to the narrative as the title might suggest, but Mr. Campsie does convey the strange blend of suppressed libido and Calvinistic constraint that characterizes poor Agnes McLehose. The love-making scenes range from a grotesque marathon with the Duchess of Gordon to torrid encounters of the classic bodice-ripping variety with Jenny Clow and Bunty McFadden, described, as John Cairney has written, with agricultural severity. Readers, however, are more likely to be repelled by the mawkish description of the scene in which Clarinda masturbates our hero, the only approximation to physical passion which Mr. Campsie permits them.
This is a rather drab and depressing little book in which all but a very few of the dramatis personae are viewed through bile-tinted spectacles. The only figures not actually libelled are the bookseller Peter Hill, the printer William Smellie, and the members of the Cruikshank family. Robert Ainslie comes across as a myopic little onanist, William Craig as a raging pederast. Dundas in his cups provides the occasion for some of the most revealing and perceptive descriptions of drunkenness I have ever come across. Burns himself is variously a forger and a drug-addict, a weak and rather spineless individual, easily duped by every scheming female in sight, and readily manipulated by the plotters and intrigues with which Auld Reekie is exclusively populated. It is an essentially misanthropic view of Edinburgh society in the Age of Enlightenment which, like the heavy-handed juggling of dates and facts, does not stand up to serious examination.

Proof positive of the conspiracy is given in an italicized tailpiece. The poet's death "in poverty" is contrasted with the way in which all of the bit-players in this sordid drama, and their relatives, were handsomely repaid by Dundas for their services. It would have been expecting too much to mention that Jean Armour received a pension equal to the poet's Excise salary from the Civil List, that Robert Junior secured a position in the Stamp Office through the courtesy of Speaker Addington, and that the other surviving sons rose to high rank in the very East India Company which Henry Dundas was said to have in his pocket.

The mystery remains as to why such a free spirit as Burns should have been so anxious to get into the Excise. The answers are quite simple. The job offered security, a salary which, if not a fortune, was seven times as much as Robert and Gilbert had paid themselves as farmers at Mossgiel, and probably just as important, generous provision for widows and orphans. It is interesting to note that Jean received more by way of her Excise widow's pension than Burns got in seven years' salary (not counting the aforementioned Civil List pension). The reasons why Burns pulled such strings as were available to him in order to get into the Excise were continually expressed in his correspondence, and were uppermost in his thoughts when he penned that hysterical letter to Graham of Fintry in December 1792. He succinctly put his motives in verse:

Searching auld wives' barrels,
Ochon, the day!
That clarty barm should stain my laurels!
But, what'll ye say?
These moving things ca'd wives an weans
Wad move the very hearts o stanes!
An admirable desire to do the best thing by Jean and baby Robert was the sole motivating factor.

JAMES A. MACKAY
Glasgow


The advent of the computer has completely altered the making of concordances, and James Mackay's *Burns A-Z* is no exception. The Burns world had been waiting for someone willing to put in the hundreds of hours it would take to key in all the Bard's poetic output. A new Burns concordance to replace that of J. B. Reid's *Complete Word and Phrase Concordance of the Poems and Songs of Robert Burns* (1889) had been particularly needed because there had been two major new editions of Burns's works at the end of the century—William Wallace's revision of Robert Chambers' edition (4 vols., 1896) and William Ernest Henley and Thomas F. Henderson's edition (4 vols., 1896-7). The Wallace edition did not add any new Burns poems or songs, and the Henley and Henderson added only eleven, but they drew attention to the need for a concordance in which words were more accurately identified. With the definitive James Kinsley *Poems and Songs of Robert Burns* (3 vols., 1968), which includes variants of the texts, this need became obvious, and it was only a matter of time until one appeared. I suppose that each of the active Burns scholars (myself included) was waiting for someone else to produce it. We are all hugely grateful to James Mackay for having done so.

In his Preface Mackay gives some convincing arguments for having created his concordance. Since Reid's day about a hundred poems have been admitted to the Burns canon, and quite a number which are in Reid's work are now recognized as either doubtful or spurious. Furthermore, since Kinsley, a whole new category of poems by Burns has been made available to the general public—the bawdy ones. In Burns's own time it was known that the poet wrote and collected this material, and it is quite possible that Reid knew of, or had even seen, *The Merry Muses of Caledonia* (1799), because at about this time a copy of the work passed through the hands of William Scott Douglas, whose six-volume edition of Burns's Works (1877-9) was the standard edition at the time that Reid was compiling his concordance. From c. 1872 there were other editions of *The Merry Muses*, all spuriously dated 1827, and it is possible, even likely, that
Reid had access to one of these. Neither Scott Douglas nor Reid, of course, would have dared use such a volume in their days.

Taking all of this into account, Reid's *Concordance* was a very respectable performance—he claims to have included over 11,400 words and almost 52,000 quotations; Mackay, on the other hand, has assembled about 15,000 words and almost 80,000 quotations.

A really useful addition to Mackay's volume is an Appendix which contains "Dubious and Spurious Works." Since these have not been collected anywhere (Kinsley, for example), Mackay gives the entire text in each case, and even though not admitted to the canon they are keyed in to the concordance. In all there are 111 of these poems and songs in Mackay; there are no doubt more, but at least all of the spurious poems which have made their way into collected editions of Burns have been so noted. The earliest entry is for a song which appeared in the *Scots Musical Museum* in 1790. Burns's popularity was so great that during his lifetime there were already spurious poems about—"I myself, have lately seen a couple of Ballads sung through the streets of Dumfries, with my name at the head of them as the Author, though it was the first time ever I had seen them" Burns complained in 1794. Alexander Wilson's well-known anonymous *Watty and Meg*, probably first published in 1792, was also popularly attributed to Burns at the time.

Reid's *Concordance* was the standard for a century, and I expect that Mackay's *Burns A-Z* will last just as long.

G.R.R.


Readers of William Soutar's poetry owe a debt of gratitude to W. R. Aitken, the noted librarian and bibliographer, for once more bringing a living reminder of the Perth poet to them. New readers will discover the grace and strength of this Scottish writer who, cabined and confined for thirteen years from spondylitis, kept despair at bay to the day of his death by his poetry.

Aitken knew Soutar and responds sensitively to the wide range of the poet's interests. He divides the poems by language, English and then Scots, dates each by composition and follows Soutar's categories in the main, arranging the shorter English poems in a section called *Epigrams and Miniatures*. Otherwise, the poems in Scots, after a note on pronuncia-
tion, are *Bairnrhymes, Riddles, Whigmaleeries* (fantastic or droll notions), *Occasional Verse: Satires and Epigrams,* and *Poems and Lyrics.* These are followed by the two sections that Soutar was preparing before his death (he had lists for further poems in these two categories)—*Yon Toun,* about the city of Perth (my burgh); and *Local Habitation,* on the countryside around Perth and its "craturs." These were never completed but belong to the *Bairnrhymes, Whigmaleeries* and *Poems and Lyrics.* Their common characteristic was to be that all subjects therein had to belong to Perth and Perthshire. As Soutar put great store by these proposed poems, it is a tribute to Aitken's sensitivity that he has kept together those that exist, in separate sections in this edition.

The editor has reprinted the poems, both English and Scots, from the latest texts that Soutar himself saw through the press in the nine volumes of his poetry that he published in his lifetime, unless there was a later MS. Poems published posthumously or now printed for the first time are taken from the MSS. The glossary comes from Soutar's own glossaries to his various collections published and unpublished. All this information appears in Aitken's clear Introduction. Apart from anthologies by William Montgomerie, Douglas Young and Maurice Lindsay where individual poems of Soutar's occur, and two earlier collections, one of Hugh MacDiarmid's in 1948 and a shorter selection by Aitken in 1975, this is the first considerable selection from a bulk of Soutar's best work.

The first short lyric group of *Poems in English* is presented by the editor to illustrate how Soutar progresses from literary influences to his own manner. The earlier group up until 1940 is concerned with the transition of natural beauty and human life to the quick descent to oblivion. Yet to repine lost youth is only to "pluck a flower of stone," the "channerin worm" is everywhere. But this is not a morbid poetry; the delight in green grass, light and flowers, the high winds and bird song is made only more intense by the shadow beneath. The poems are short lyrics, graceful and sensitive. Among the early poems, "The Mood" (1931) is interesting because it shows the poet allowing the banal chatter of his visitors to flow over his head, while his "hearkening blood" hears the cuckoo's "wordless word" from a neighboring wood: "I listen, and a man that is not I / Listens . . . Back to an age of stone." The wisdom of this mood is to recognize "our own solitude." At this time Soutar worried at his indifference to other people and this reminded him of his favorite emblem—the unicorn, also solitary and aloof and self-willed. The word "blood" begins to occur in the early poems showing that D. H. Lawrence cast an influence on Soutar, suggesting that the senses were a better guide than the intellect. A freer movement of verse and more contemporary idiom were also present as
well as a sharing with Lawrence of detailed and accurate description of the natural world.

Soutar was a pacifist and held with Wilfred Owen, poet of the 1914-18 war, a detestation of the violence and carnage of war. He learned from Owen the technique of assonance, repetition of rhyme, and the long line that, in "The Children" (1937), one of his best poems, extends the stain of their blood across the earth. The emotional pile-up of images makes this poem have an impact lacking in "Summer" (1940) that expresses the horror of men going to war as human disobedience to the Divine Law.

Poems written in the last three years of Soutar's life have a deeper tone and a sense of maturity. He was no longer apart from people but thought of the "divine commonality" of Burns, e.g. "The Unknown" (1941)—"Blood of our blood / bone of our bone." Poems of 1943, the last year of Soutar's life, have a change of tone again. Aware of impending death, this valiant man wrote in his Diary that he knew that it was near but that he was not anxious. He made no reference even to his folks and latterly put his Diaries of a Dying Man under his pillow. Meanwhile he continued to write and to prepare for future publication. "Revealment" (1943) refers to the everlasting life within the bough: "In the end, only our place is what we want; / Home to the quiet of a little room / Serene as they" ("The Arrival," 1943).

The last two poems offered to us by Aitken—"Inheritance" (1943) and "June" (1943) are concisely and beautifully phrased and show the control, the quiet and direct simplicity that Soutar had always aimed to achieve in poetry, "We, who in common share the sun / By our inheritance are one."

The short English poems that Aitken has put in a category labelled Epigrams and Miniatures are mild little pictures, ironic at their sharpest. There are no rapiers here. Soutar was the kindliest of men and had great tolerance. The epitaphs (on ex-service men) are more severe. Perhaps the "The Shoreless Sea" (1935) is a recollection of his voyages on the North Sea and on the Atlantic during his two years of war, 1916-18 in the Royal Navy. In it there are one or two charming miniatures and at least two epigrams that recall Soutar's lurking humor.

While the Poems in English are sensitive and at their best have the bloom of perfection on the phrases that gently fall into place, it is Soutar's Poems in Scots that leap into vivid and sometimes wild life of their own and have brought him his true reputation. It was apparently only the success of Hugh MacDiarmid's lyrics that encouraged Soutar to try out his Perthshire Scots in verse. He felt that if children got accustomed to the vocabulary, that would be a firm foundation on which to build an active language. Children knew and spoke Scots but could not write it. Soutar had his eye on the schools that might introduce Scots into their curricu-
Meanwhile he combed Chambers' *Scots Dialect Dictionary* (3 vols., 1931-?) testing Scots vocabulary. Fun for the bairns was in his mind when he created his *Bairnrhymes* in *Seeds in the Wind* (1933), the most successful of Soutar's volumes in Scots, reaching a second edition, revised and enlarged, in 1943 and a third, illustrated by Colin Gibson, in 1948. Aitken has given us a lavish sample of those entrancing rhymes. At once the reader feels that Soutar is in complete control of his verse within the language he spoke every day, so that its effect in the poems is easy and familiar, colloquial and close to the work and life of the folk. Soutar's Perthshire Scots certainly works from singing games, those to get the fun going at parties, ballads and beast-fables, to tales in verse that suit the narrative and spirited action. Aitken gives us one hundred and twenty-three bairnrhymes that Soutar hoped would sow a harvest in increased interest in Scots. The earwigs, grasshoppers, ants and spiders are there with the toads and puddocks (particularly entertaining), the weasels, mice and rats (all observed with a nice exactness—the rat's watery eye, the weasel glancing sideways along his snout). Little children join in the spree and we hear of some of Soutar's very early adventures.

Soutar wanted to give more fun for the bairns and so concocted series of riddles in Scots such as appeared in his youth in children's newspapers and in comics. He produced these in 1937; a second series was begun in 1940. During the first three months Soutar, who daily added to these morsels, really whets to encourage children to become more familiar with Scots. Aitken gives us seventeen of the later ones. They are ingenious and witty, not beyond solution by a smart child or persevering adult, "My father is the licht: / My mother is the weet" (1935). "You laddie wi the gowdan pow / Sae brave in the simmer sun" (1942). The answers are printed later in the book.

One of the richest sections in Aitken's edition is that of the *Whigmaleeries*—short ballads of fantasy and droll humor. Their progenetrix is Dunbar's *Kynd Kittock* that Soutar never forgot. The alarming fact that God Himself joins in the fun is riotously described in "Ae Nicht at Amulree" (1937) when "Wull Todd... Gaed hame byordinar fou":

```plaintext
When God saw Wull he gien a lauch
..............................................................
... Wull cam styterin on.

Straueht oot He breeng'd, and blared: "Wull Todd!"
Blythe as Saint Johnstoun's bell:
"My God!" gowp'd Wull: "Ye'r richt," says God:
"I'm gled to meet yersel."```
The comic irreverence, as in Burns, is no sign of disrespect and is repeated elsewhere in Soutar's *Whigmaleeries*. God is treated familiarly, more often than not, laughing at the oddities of His human creation. The intense interest in the Almighty's reaction reveals that a forgiving God has pity. He laughs because He understands. The *Whigmaleeries'* Scots is a richer, closer-woven yarn. Aitken tells us that the glossary needs to accommodate six hundred words for thirty-six poems. The fantastic notions can touch on any subject: "Myth" (1938), the Trochrie wench who tried to entrap the unicorn; "Orpheus" (1939), an "orra-man"; Caesar the "Magister Mundi" (1942); "Alexander" (1943), who is rebuked by a baggage for weeping for worlds to conquer: "I thougt ye were maybe minded / O' the braw lads that are dead!"

In the *Occasional Verse: Satires and Epigrams*, Aitken starts off with "The Thistle Looks At a Drunk Man" (1926). In the Burns stanza Soutar castigates MacDiarmid for his vituperation against the Burns tradition. However, he was affected by MacDiarmid's denunciation of Scottish provincial life and wondered if Scots was adequate to sustain great literature. This doubt probably kept him from writing in Scots until much later. The rest, the *Satires and Epigrams* and *Topical Tropes*, are sharper than those in English; the vivid Scots can jab. Symbol (1932) attacks quite bitterly the neglect of the great Glasgow shipyards: "What has ye dune to oor youth?" In *Topical Tropes*, the last poem refers in a hopping rhythm to the development of Soutar's illness. The whole approach to his illness is grotesque and very Scots, reminding one of the innumerable jests about funerals and death that abounded in Scots society, as in "Sic A Hoast" (1942).

Now comes the section on which Soutar's reputation firmly rests, *Poems and Lyrics in Scots*. Soutar once defined poetry as "all the passions and pains of humanity stark clear from the shadow of individuality." No one could achieve all that, but despite his state of illness, he maintained a steady, dispassionate point of view. In this selection Aitken chooses *The Auld Tree* (1931), an extraordinarily long poem for Soutar, dedicated to Hugh MacDiarmid in praise of A Drunk Man Looks At the Thistle. Despite its medieval dream technique, the thistle, the sword of Wallace and the Eildon tree, the poem does not reach a universal level as does "Birthday" (1933), a gracious vision of the white unicorn with the babe on his back.

"The Tryst" (1932), one of the very few personal poems in the selection, is a memory of frustrated passion as ethereal as "The Wife of Usher's Well" and with the real spine-tingling impact of a great ballad. In the dawn, the girl "smool'd saftly thru the mirk... Sae luely, luely cam she in
/ Sae luely was she gaen / And wi her a' my simmer days / Like they had never been."

"The Whale" (1932) is a tale of wonder written in the ballad style, recalling some of the legends of the unicorn. But the most impressive poem of all has the symbolic haunting images of "Song" (1933):

Whaur yon broken brig hings owre;
Whaur yon water mak's nae soun';
Babylon blaws by in stour:
Gang doun wi' a sang, gang doun.

It is Soutar's own desolation, but he keeps steady and even snatches from the ordeal the wan beauty in the song, "Death is your only door."

The Theme and Variation group continues on an interesting idea—to select a poem by a foreign writer and either to give a more or less literal translation of the theme into Scots, to write a new poem altogether, or to express a wholly diverse point of view. Of course Soutar is depending on translation by others, sometimes pedestrian, from Russian, Sanskrit, Yiddish, German or Hungarian, and receives the theme as truth or accepts it through imagination.

Originally in his collection Theme and Variation Soutar printed after the title of each poem, "Variation on a theme by . . ." giving the name of each poet. In the manuscript, prepared in February 1941, he dropped the phrase and printed only the poet's name. W. R. Aitken provides the texts of the translations in an appendix to his 1975 collection to aid students in their study of poetic creation. The section reveals Soutar's versatility and his roving interest in European literature. Inspiration did come to Soutar from these themes. In a selection like this it is better to concentrate on the poems themselves; this is the only section drawn from Soutar's own collections. Hence Aitken has put Andras Ady's poem at the end of the book despite the fact that it dates from 1934. "I Yearn For Others' Love" is rendered by Soutar as "I Lang to Gie Mysel" (1939)—"I wud be nae mair loveless; I wud gang / Hale in the herts o' a': this is my sang; / My sorrow and my sang."

These are rich and ample selections presented by Aitken with clarity and with appreciation of his poet. They should give pleasure to readers and help to keep the reputation of a great Scottish poet alive.

HELEN M. MACKENZIE
Ohio University

Thomas Percy thought of himself throughout his long life as a man of the cloth above all else; his literary productions, while not incidental, always took second place to his calling. In the eighteenth century, of course, it was not seen as unusual for Percy to devote long periods away from his charges pursuing other interests, in his case principally literary interests, although he also spent a good deal of time as tutor to Algernon, a son of the Earl (later first Duke) of Northumberland, both at Alnwick Castle and London. During this time he also enjoyed a living as vicar of Easton Maudie, a small community in the Diocese of Peterborough. Years later, as Bishop of Dromore, in County Down, he took his responsibilities seriously, remaining in residence almost continuously from his ordination in 1782, except for attendance at the House of Lords in Dublin, until August 1791 when he left for England with his family, not to return to Ireland for over two years. Nevertheless, by the standards of the day, Percy was a conscientious pastor.

What literary work he did was sometimes done mostly for money, although here he was like most eighteenth-century scholar-editors. In financial terms he was respectably but no abundantly rewarded for his literary endeavors. Today, of Percy's considerable output, he is remembered almost exclusively for his work on the ballads, commonly called Percy's *Reliques.* Scholars with an interest in Scottish material will recall that a significant amount of ground-breaking had been done by James Watson in his *Choice Collection of Comic and Serious Scots Poems* (3 parts, 1706-11) and by Allan Ramsay in his two collections, *The Ever Green, Being a Collection of Scots Poems, Wrote by the Ingenious before 1600* (2 vols., 1724) and his immensely popular *Tea-Table Miscellany* (4 vols., 1723-37). Despite the words in the title of *The Ever Green,* Ramsay managed to slip in a couple of his own poems; the *Tea-Table Miscellany* contains traditional songs and ballads, including "Bonny Barbara Allan" (Child 84) which is there first printed.

Two other publications had their influence on Percy: Lady Elizabeth Wardlaw's "Hardyknute" (c. 1710) and James Macpherson's *Fragments of Ancient Poetry, Collected in the Highlands of Scotland, and Translated from the Galic or Erse Language* (1760), a work which took Britain and Europe by storm and over which there is still some controversy. Had "Hardyknute" proved to be genuinely old, the time of the ballad would have placed it considerably before "Sir Patrick Spens." Neither Sir David Dalrymple, who supplied the text of "Hardyknute" to Percy, nor Percy himself accepted the work as genuinely traditional, although Percy did
publish it in his Reliques. There is a Ramsay connection here too: he included the poem in The Ever Green and again in Vol. 2 of The Tea-Table Miscellany (1726). In both cases the text was extended from twenty-nine to forty-two stanzas, leaving scholars with the still-unresolved question whether the additional stanzas are the work of Wardlaw (who died only in 1727) or Ramsay himself.

Ossian, the purported bard who was "translated" by Macpherson, was another problem for Percy to grapple with, for almost from the day of publication the authenticity of the Fragments was called into question by Samuel Johnson, among others. One of the reasons for Percy's skepticism over the authenticity of the Ossianic poems was the absence of any mention of wolves, a subject which occupied him for a short while, a subject perhaps abandoned because of Johnson's scorn for it (p. 215).

It appears to have been a manuscript which Humphrey Pitt gave to Percy in 1753 which aroused the latter's interest in ballads. This was to result in his epoch-making Reliques of Ancient English Poetry: Consisting of Old Heroic Ballads, Songs, and Other Pieces of our Earlier Poets (Chiefly in the Lyric Kind.) Together with Some Few of the Later Date, in three volumes in 1765, a seminal collection in the history of ballad studies. It is interesting to note the use of the word "English" in the title, when in fact much of the material presented by Percy was Scottish, or if it existed in two or more versions the Scottish version was the more robust—we think, for instance, of the incomparably greater "Twa Corbies" when compared with the rather pallid "Three Ravens" (Child 26).

According to Bertram H. Davis, Percy was in two minds about whether to include only ballads or ballads and songs (p. 77). He wrote, "Sold [the publisher Robert] Dodsley my Old Ballads," in his diary in 1761, but when it came to a title for the work, as we have seen, he incorporated the words "English poetry." To William Shenstone, Percy wrote that he would in principle not admit to his collection work written since the Restoration, "but he would not totally exclude a few good later poems, English or Scottish, written in imitation of earlier ballads" (Davis' words, p. 77). With this decision the Pandora's box was opened. Although at the time (as now) there was some indecision about exactly what constituted a ballad and what an old song, the difficulty was not really the choice of what material to include, but what to do with the text once it was decided to include a particular title, for Percy saw nothing wrong with polishing up old ballads. (We see from the typically fulsome eighteenth-century title that Percy more or less admitted what he was up to.) Thus, to the despair of the folklorist, was lost the opportunity to gather ballads precisely as they existed in the mid-eighteenth century. Others who followed saw no reason not to do the same: John Pinkerton added a second part consisting
of fifty-five stanzas to "Hardyknute" in 1781 claiming to publish the poem for the first time complete, but he was caught out and obliged to recant in 1786; Walter Scott, more notably, altered and even added stanzas to material, much of it collected from oral sources, thus casting a shadow on his *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* (1802-3).

The success of Percy's *Reliques* was considerable; during his lifetime there were further editions in 1767, 1775 and a fourth edition of 1794, nominally edited by Percy's nephew, the Reverend Thomas Percy, but in fact edited by Percy himself. Since this was the last edition on which Percy worked, it is considered to be the most authoritative.

Davis has written what will probably remain the definitive biography of Thomas Percy. The considerable diaries left by the Bishop of Dromore have been mined, although unfortunately some portions of these are missing. As protégé of the Duke of Northumberland (a Percy), Thomas had access to almost everyone of consequence in London. Davis draws the picture of a man who was obviously good company and made friends easily—these included Johnson, Boswell, Garrick, to name but three. Many of Percy's friends and acquaintances wrote memoirs or kept diaries or wrote letters which have been preserved, and Davis has been indefatigable in consulting this source material. If one might venture a hesitation about such a superbly researched book, it is that Davis knows almost too much about what Percy did—time and again we are told who Percy's dinner companions were on a given date, whether the reader wants to know this or not.

There are a few minor errors: James Beattie's *Minstrel* was first published in 1771, not 1770 (p. 280); the third edition of Wordsworth's *Lyrical Ballads* was published in 1802, not 1801 (p. 312). The extensive Index has some annoying omissions: not all of the mentions of the Bannatyne Manuscript are indexed; "Chevy Chase" somehow fell through a crack.

Percy's *Reliques* and the interest which it aroused in the critics of the time helped to focus people's attention on early poetry, both written and oral. In so doing it played a major role in the development of the Romantic Movement, not only in Britain but throughout a large part of Europe. Readers of Professor Davis' book will come away from it with a better understanding of the man behind the *Reliques*.

G.R.R.


Origins to 1660

Writing as a contributor myself (to Volume Two) I am perhaps not an ideal person to review these essays in detail and do not propose to venture into the occasionally unfamiliar ground covered by many of the contributions. Instead, I will try to put the volume into literary-historical perspective.

 Literary history as we understand it is a late eighteenth-century development, a by-product of "the ordering of the arts" and inspired by the example set by Dryden's Essay of Dramatic Poesie. Johnson's and Warton's basic methods, linking biography, chronology and critical estimate by narrative, were adopted by, for example, Taine, Legouis and Cazamian, Saintsbury and the individual authors of the Oxford and Cambridge volumes. A roll-call of their Scottish equivalents would have to include inter alia David Irving, John M. Ross, of whom more later, G. Gregory Smith, T.F. Henderson, John Spiers, Kurt Wittig and Maurice Lindsay. Their panoramic interpretations of trends and "appreciations" of texts have now been succeeded by those of specialist scholars working within a loosely-supervised group or writing independently for academic journals like SSL or SLJ.

Since the late 1950s, evidence to be considered has multiplied, encouraging one-tree specialists to flourish amid a forest of cultivators. Other disciplines, notably psychology and sociology, obscured the traditional Johnsonian approach and greater accuracy was demanded as primary sources increased. With the coming of the computer the polyhistor has lost much of his confidence and the classical form is almost exhausted, though a few brave spirits of superior learning and originality continue to risk opprobrium by practising it, usually under the guise of "Introductions" or "Critical Surveys." Of adherents to the fast-disappearing tribe of homines multarum literarum only the full-dress biographers seem to have survived without blemish to go on writing lives of the poets, reconstructing elusive personalities from primary and secondary sources, public and private letters, and merchants' invoices.
If the days of the omniscient Master of Balliol are indeed done, and the individual, as Arnold said of the Romantics, does not know enough, what new-style models present themselves to be followed by the home team? Inter-disciplinary, structuralist, neo-Marxist, linguistic? The editors and contributors to this first volume of our new *History of Scottish Literature* have felt free to steer clear of such outgrowths, cleaving so far as practicable to a narrative-chronological model and ignoring those who are wary of blanket terms like "mediaeval" and "renaissance."

Under the general editorship of Cairns Craig, the Aberdeen University Press has now stood up to be counted. There has not been much recent competition and so those seeking an updated wall-to-wall coverage by specialists of various aspects of Scottish literature had to turn to Kinsley's 1955 collection or to more subjective narratives by Spiers and Wittig analyzing "the tradition."

Plato it was who first pointed out that one swallow does not make a summer and it is surely fair to comment that a set of specialist articles by fifteen authors, each supported by footnotes and a list of "further readings," should not have been called *The History*. Professor Jack tries to anticipate this in his *Introduction* by justifying an editorial policy aiming at compromise between chronological and thematic, made necessary by two aspects of the character of Volume One, of necessity governed by a wider time-span than the other three volumes and the status of available documentary and textual evidence. The earliest poems mentioned are Latin hymns from the later sixth century, the latest post-Reformation "Inglis" and "Scottis" ballads, separated by a thousand years. Volumes II, III and IV together cover just over three hundred years. Reconstruction of accurate texts is not always reliable as they have nearly all been influenced by editors and printers, as in the case of the *Bannatyne MS*.

The editor's stated object is to illuminate Scottish Literature and to indicate paths for further research. Our one-tree expert in "Middle Scots" is well served at the familiar table marked Barbour to James VI via Henryson, Dunbar, Douglas and Lyndsay, by fellow experts including Matthew McDiarmid, John MacQueen, Priscilla Bawcutt and the editor himself, but in the later chapters he is guided to tributaries in the form of other Scottish literary histories about which he may have known little, in particular early Scottish drama, Latin poetry and prose and the classical tradition of Gaelic poetry. A new generation of scholars, for whom this book is presumably intended, may now be urged by the example of this volume to widen the established perspective, seeking hitherto unknown "connections" with what has for long been considered the mediaeval mainstream. However, the paucity of records suggests that, as one contributor observes, "an extensive and important part of Dark Age and mediaeval Scottish litera-
ture has been irretrievably lost." It is hard to see where one goes from there without a reincarnated (and unreconstructed) W.P. Ker, possessing the necessary philological equipment, to lead the way.

No serious scholar will deny that novel tendencies in literary theory and history must be supported on a sound base of reliable textual criticism. Radical study of MSS has of late been neglected in English mediaeval studies and recently-promoted models have prospered even in the face of authoritative texts such as the EETS and STS provided. However, this present volume happily shows no sign of the aberrations encouraged by modish theory which prefers to disregard inconvenient textual and other hard evidence.

This volume's most venerable ancestor is John Merry Ross's Early Scottish History and Literature, published in 1884. Ross, a classical scholar, encyclopaedist and latterly senior English master at Edinburgh Academy, had none of the advantages bestowed by the STS, founded only two years earlier, and his book is to be judged as a stylish narrative of a century ago. However, Ross deserves to be remembered here not only for his well-balanced erudition but also because his lightly-worn authority helped to generate confidence in students treading the same path. At a time when encouragement to pursue the historical study of literature is needed, the Aberdeen History is welcome as a soundly-rooted signpost to the many possible tracks which Scottish mediaeval studies might follow.

A. M. KINGHORN
Canterbury; Emeritus Qatar

1660-1800

There have been almost as many histories of Scottish literature published in the last decade as in the first three-quarters of the twentieth century. All of the other recent histories have been written by a single author, whereas the one under review has been a collaborative effort, with only one thing common to the four volumes, its General Editor Cairns Craig. No one can be a specialist in all the areas of Scottish literature from earliest times to the 1980s, so the idea of a history by many hands should give readers expert coverage of a very broad field. It is here that the General Editor should have set out the parameters of each volume and of each essay. Unfortunately, it does not seem that this plan was followed; apparently each contributor was allowed to set his/her own limits. The result is
that a consistent focus is lacking. This review will confine itself to the second volume of the set.

I have always felt uneasy with the essentially English chronology which has been imposed on Scottish literature. Perhaps set into place by the *Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature*, 1660-1800 is not a meaningful division for Scottish literature. As though to underline what I have said, only two of the eighteen essays in this volume concern themselves with the period from the Restoration until the Union: Hugh Ouston's "Cultural Life from the Restoration to the Union" and Alasdair Cameron's "Theatre in Scotland 1660-1800," although apart from Ramsay's *Gentle Shepherd* and John Home's *Douglas* the Scottish drama of the period makes pretty thin reading—Glasgow's first theater was destroyed shortly after completion in 1752 by a mob led by the dissenter George Whitefield.

As one would expect, each of the three big names of eighteenth-century Scottish poetry rates a chapter: Ramsay, Fergusson and Burns. Alexander M. Kinghorn and Alexander Law write on Ramsay, whose two volumes of *Poems* (1721-8) made his reputation as a poet; but it was with his play *The Gentle Shepherd* (1725) and his four-volume collection *The Tea-Table Miscellany* (1723-37), both of them eighteenth-century best-sellers, that Ramsay made his considerable reputation.

Robert Fergusson, the subject of an essay by F. W. Freeman, was a greater poet than Ramsay (but by no means as good a self-promoter), handling Lallans with a much surer hand. So good was his "Farmer's Ingle" that critics have charged Burns with copying the poem in his "Cotter's Saturday Night," and the older poet's "Hallow Fair" in "The Holy Fair." Freeman is good on how Fergusson "creates and resolves tension," although he insists too much (as he did in his book on the poet) on the political element in Fergusson's work.

Carol McGuirk completes the essays on the trio with her essay on "Myths of Burns." Probably only Byron among major poets has had more myths woven around his life and doings than has Burns. McGuirk recognizes that Burns was both maker of and subject of myth, whose genius lay in synthesizing "dialect Scots, anglo-scottish sentiment, and neoclassical English." She argues elegantly against Burns as "poseur" and for Burns as artist.

Thomas Crawford contributes "Lowland Song and Popular Tradition in the Eighteenth Century" following up on an abiding interest which has
resulted in two books and several articles on the subject. His essay points out that songbooks abounded in eighteenth-century Scotland (seventy-four published in Scotland before Burns published his poems); writers were busily making words to music, printed or in the folk tradition, before Burns turned his genius to the task. This suggests that there was significant "interpenetration of the cultures of the upper and lower classes in Scotland" and Crawford's essay claims that there was indeed "unity of the lowland song culture in the eighteenth century." He goes contrary to some received opinion in his essay, but he makes his case persuasively.

The only other poet to be given separate attention with an essay is James Thomson. The poet who emerges from Mary Jane Scott's essay is a more complex writer than we had often been told heretofore. He "typically reveals a deeper awareness of the evils of the fallen world than do such English optimists as Shaftesbury." This is not surprising; Scottish Presbyterianism is far more concerned with the Fall of the Old Testament than it is with the Redemption of the New. And in a way, nicely connected by Scott, this ties in with the eighteenth-century "sociological debate . . . of Primitivism v. Progress." Like Crawford, Scott makes her case well.

Mary Jane Scott's chapter is called "James Thomson and the Anglo-Scots," but the title is somewhat misleading, because the real subject of her essay is Thomson. She lists fourteen other Scottish poets of the period who wrote in English, but of these only five are discussed at any length in her essay or elsewhere in this volume; the others share the fate of William Falconer's Shipwreck (one of them) and are "sunk without trace." But a literary history, as I understand one, is meant to give the uninformed reader information on works about which he does not know a great deal.

The position of Gaelic in Scottish literature has always been tenuous. For centuries there were books printed in Scots, but not in Gaelic, not even the Bible; the earliest Gaelic New Testament dates from 1767, the Old Testament from 1783-1801. This was due in part to the organization of the Highlands, with its small widely-scattered population and the extreme poverty, even by the standards of the Lowlands. Much of the poetry was oral (the basis of the Ossian controversy), preserved by clan bards, or at best known in a single manuscript. Derick S. Thomson, the doyen of Gaelic scholars, has contributed an important essay on the subject —"Gaelic Poetry in the Eighteenth Century: The Breaking of the Mould." He argues that there had been a gradual undermining of this tradition in
the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, pointing out that it was the '45 which put an end to it. Under other circumstances the names we find in Thomson's essay (Alexander Macdonald, Duncan Macintyre, Robert Mackay) would be as familiar as those of Ramsay, Fergusson and Burns, but this was not to be. There are some voices keeping the tradition alive, notably Sorley MacLean and Iain Crichton Smith, but the tragic prognosis is that Scottish Gaelic will join the ranks of languages kept alive only in the academic community.

Possibly the best author with whom to make the transition from poetry to prose in this volume is Tobias Smollett, whose first published work was his poem "The Tears of Scotland." Written in the immediate aftermath of the defeat of Scotland at Culloden in 1746, it is one of the most widely anthologized of Scottish poems. Now little remembered as poet, Smollett appears in Kenneth Simpson's essay as novelist of the "comic grotesque." The most important element which Simpson finds in the work of Smollett is how it foreshadows "a major emphasis in twentieth-century writing: the recognition, even the celebration, of the subjectivity inherent in human perception." In his "exuberantly Freudian use of language" Smollett, according to Simpson, "points forward to" the twentieth century, and particularly Joyce. Although London-based, Smollett's writing was significantly influenced by his Scottish education, as we see from his interest in language and rhetoric. Simpson quotes Lord Woodhousetle on Smollett: "He could adopt, alternately, the solemn, the lively, the sarcastic, the burlesque, and the vulgar." Like Burns, though, he made of these apparently antithetical qualities very positive contributions to Scottish literature.

The greatest biographer in the "English" language left the world diaries which are major source-books for an understanding of the second half of the eighteenth century, Gordon Turnbull points out in his essay on James Boswell. Emotionally a Scot to the core, Boswell was of the group of Anglo-Scots who assiduously tried to "purify" their language of Scotticisms—in 1779 James Beattie had published *Scoticisms* [sic], *Arranged in Alphabetical Order Designed to Correct Improprieties of Speech and Writing* which went through three editions. Turnbull makes an interesting point, equating Flora Macdonald's shepherding of Prince Charles "through the Western Islands to safety" and Boswell doing the same for Johnson, a man who from reputation should have been far from welcome in Scotland. In the end the monumental *Life of Johnson* set Boswell to "carving the [Life
of Johnson] ... from his own record, so much a record of failure and loss...." In so doing Boswell has, says Turnbull, turned his own "secondariness into success, and like Scotland ... [achieved] a considerable compensatory triumph." I would not put it as strongly as that, but Turnbull has argued convincingly.

No figures other than those already mentioned rate a separate chapter in this History. There are two important chapters which complement each other—Hugh Ouston's "Cultural Life from the Restoration to the Union" and Iain Brown's "Modern Rome and Ancient Caledonia: The Union and the Politics of Scottish Culture." These two essays, which appropriately lead off the book, are essential reading for anyone wanting to understand the milieu in which Scottish writers functioned. Even Anglo-Scots like William Wilkie who took the high road to England brought with them cultural, religious, linguistic and emotional baggage which was not easily discarded.

Geoffrey Carnall's essay "Historical Writing in the Later Eighteenth Century" obviously begs the question: Where is its companion piece, the earlier period with writers like Sir George Mackenzie, John Cockburn, Sir James Dalrymple, Sir Robert Sibbald, and many others? Some of these "missing" authors do receive passing mention in other essays, but if later historians deserve a place, surely early ones do too. This gap is particularly unfortunate when we recall that the earliest history of Scottish literature was written and published during the early period—Lives and Characters of the Most Eminent Writers of the Scots Nation by George Mackenzie (1669-1725, not Sir George) which appeared in three large volumes 1708-22.

There are other essays which space will allow me only to mention. From Ian Ross there is a short piece on aesthetic philosophy which is up to the high standard of excellence we have come to expect from this fine scholar. Given the great influence which Calvin and John Knox exerted on the whole life of Scotland during the period covered by this volume, Richard Sher is obliged at times merely to mention names, without telling the reader what relationship the church had with the author—to do so adequately would require a book of its own. So too with "The Language of Sentiment" in which John Mullan chooses David Hume, Adam Smith and Henry Mackenzie as exemplars. John R. R. Christie has contributed the only chapter in the book which I question, not because of its undoubted erudition and quality, but because I am not sure that it has a place in a
collection such as the present one. Its title, "The Culture of Science in Eighteenth-Century Scotland," may be somewhat misleading to the modern reader, because many Scots of the period were thought of, Christie points out, as men of letters; nevertheless, he is obliged to admit that they were not "producers of notable imaginative literature."

The difficult task of summing up has fallen to the Editor of this volume of The History of Scottish Literature, Andrew Hook. "Scotland and Romanticism: The International Scene" places Scottish literature in its European and American context. He seems to have tried to fill in some of the gaps left by "missing" essays; thus he supplements Derick Thomson's account of Ossian poetry from a Gaelic point of view by placing the poetry at the center of a major European movement; Hook wisely ignores what is unimportant (the controversy) and concentrates on what is important (the influence). He ends with a glimpse forward to what Scottish literature would give to an eager world in the following century, the fiction of the "Author of Waverley."

G.R.R.

Nineteenth Century

This third volume was probably the most difficult to get together for the new History of Scottish Literature, but it was also the most needed, and of all four volumes it offered most opportunity for significant revision of earlier literary-historical orthodoxies. What we get is certainly the fattest volume in the series, with nearly 450 pages of text totalling over a quarter of a million words. The contributors include many Scottish scholars long active in the field, along with some newcomers, and among the twenty-four chapters are several notable essays, some interesting ideas, and some useful sections of summary or survey. No one seriously interested in the period should neglect the book. Along with its very real achievements, however, there are also some disappointing weaknesses, and taken together the achievements and the weaknesses throw instructive light on the present state of nineteenth-century Scottish literary studies.

Nineteenth-century Scotland presents any literary-historical project with special problems, caused equally by scale and by the narrowness of the dominant interpretative tradition. For the MacDiarmid generation, Victorian Scotland was a literary black hole, but unfortunately it was a black hole suffering from overpopulation. The nineteenth-century expan-
sion of the reading public, and the multiplication of publishing opportuni-
ties, produced an exponential growth in the number of authors, books, pe-
riodicals and newspapers. Not only were far more authors writing and
publishing, they were each writing and publishing far more works than in
any previous generation. There is still no modern collected edition of any
nineteenth-century Scottish writer, and the sheer quantity and variety of
available material must daunt even the experienced researcher. More-
over, on all but the most important figures, there are no comprehensive
bibliographies; it takes prolonged legwork in a major library to work out
just what most mid-Victorian Scots wrote, and just when they wrote it.

Traditionally, with Scottish literary studies, the problem of scale has
been simplified by writing off most nineteenth-century literature as at best
culturally valueless, politically and linguistically contaminated, and proba-
bly harmful to its benighted readers. It has been convenient, as well as
conventional, to construct the teaching canon and the evaluative vocabu-
lar y for Scottish literary history largely in terms set by the twentieth-
century Scottish Renaissance, but this has had unfortunate effects in de-
laying or repressing any full-scale reassessment of the preceding period. A
strong, but not untypical, statement of the traditional account is that given
by J. D. Scott: "after 1832, the national inspiration failed. . . . no Scottish
writer attempted to forge within the smithy of his soul the uncreated con-
science of his race. The country of Dunbar and Burns was silent"
(Horizon, 13:77, May 1946, 298).

Patently, whatever its other characteristics, Victorian Scotland was not
silent (clamorous might be the word), yet the old critical agenda is proving
surprisingly long-lived. In the present volume, for instance, Paul
Henderson Scott's opening piece entitled "The Last Purely Scotch Age"
trundles out once more an alleged "loss of collective nerve" and
"weakening of the will for national survival" (p. 20), just like an essay from
the old Saltire Review in the nineteen-fifties. Andrew Noble's ably-written
if strident polemic against John Wilson ("Christopher North") clings to a
Renaissance-derived national literary teleology, when he argues that
"Wilson was significantly responsible for setting back Scottish literature by
almost a century" (p. 149). Gillian Shepherd's brief chapter on the Kail-
yard reiterates the traditional prosecution case that the Kailyard writers
"sought to thwart a national consciousness that might have been" (p. 317).
Even the volume editor himself, Douglas Gifford, in his pivotal contribu-
tion on "Myth, Parody and Dissociation: Scottish Fiction 1814-1914," takes
for granted the familiar Renaissance historical assumptions about a "loss
of cultural identity" and "the failure of Scottish institutions" (p. 217),
though Gifford goes on interestingly (for over 30,000 words) to orches-
trate, author by author through the period, a more sophisticated sense of
how literature dealt with such loss. In several chapters, it seemed as if the contributors were desperately forcing the material into this older negative paradigm, deriving a kind of schizophrenic reassurance from invoking the familiar orthodoxies, even when it means blinking the facts.

But, of course, in the past two decades, there has been an abundance of new research calling into question the traditional approach. It was this revisionary work that justified undertaking a new multi-volume *History*, and some of the most valuable chapters are those that draw on or summarize the newer work. The two professional historians, for instance, Christopher Harvie and D. J. Withrington, both give much more complex and positive views of nineteenth-century Scottish society and institutions than their literary colleagues; Withrington, in particular, gives a fascinating account of how Idealism influenced Victorian Scottish education (pp. 54-59), in markedly different terms from the long-dominant version of George Elder Davie’s *Democratic Intellect*. Francis Russell Hart, whose book on the Scottish novel refocused critical evaluation of the romance strain in nineteenth-century Scottish fiction, contributes a rather fragmentary essay on Stevenson (which is nonetheless packed with provocative ideas). Emma Letley draws on her recent book-length study to illustrate the positive linguistic effects in nineteenth-century Scottish fiction. William Donaldson summarizes and illustrates the startling thesis of his book on *Popular Literature in Victorian Scotland*, about the distinctive literary achievements in Scottish newspaper writing of the period.

This redrawing of the literary map is extended to fresh genres and authors by other contributors. Edwin Morgan uses his impossible assignment of "Scottish Poetry in the Nineteenth Century" to draw attention to international influences (including Whitman and Nietzsche). William Findlay takes the Donaldson approach across from fiction into poetry, to rehabilitate William Thom and Janet Hamilton as urban poets. David Robb extends Hart's dialectic to re-examine the relation between George MacDonald's realistic and romance fictions. In several chapters, one gets the sense that only the tip of the iceberg is showing, and that the contributor has simply been too overwhelmed by the range of available material to do more than point at author after author who deserves full-length reconsideration (as, for instance, in Ian Campbell's account of nineteenth-century non-fictional prose, especially pp. 176-180).

In the long run, for many readers, some of the best chapters may turn out to be the surveys of single authors, by well-established critics. Thomas Crawford, for instance, contributes a notably clever discussion of James Hogg in terms of his regional and national connections, David Hewitt writes on Scott, Keith Costain on Galt. All these are general critical essays, rather than old-fashioned career summaries, but they are interesting...
and will be valued. There are only three essays that show any concern with current non-Scottish critical preoccupations—Roderick Watson's packaging of Carlyle as a poststructuralist before his time, Jenni Calder's dutiful and rather narrowly-based piece on women in nineteenth-century Scottish fiction, and Alan MacGillivray's essay on "Exile and Empire," an excellent topic that MacGillivray treats interestingly, though he is apparently unaware of non-Scottish critical approaches to rereading the culture of imperialism. As with other volumes in the series, the conventional literary-historical chapters are supplemented with separate essays on folklore (by Mary Ellen Brown), Gaelic poetry (by John MacInnes), and drama (by Alasdair Cameron).

The volume, therefore, provides a deal of mixed feeding. It lacks the virtues of those old-fashioned literary histories that one keeps on the shelf as reference books, even when their critical views are outdated; general literary histories should surely make it easier than this one does to find out the dates and main works of each major author. The volume would, I think, have benefitted from firmer editorial planning and control; several of the essays overlap in the topics or authors topics they discuss—three successive historical background chapters, a discussion of George MacDonald's novels in Campbell's chapter on non-fiction, and Gifford's own introduction giving capsule criticisms of all the authors who will be treated, not only in specialized chapters, but also, yet again, in his own "Myth" chapter (indeed, Mrs. Oliphant receives fuller treatment from Gifford than in the "Women" chapter). There are several authors or topics that get shortchanged—there's virtually no discussion of Lockhart, for instance (or Aytoun, or Pollock, or Campbell), there's no discussion of later periodicals such as the North British Review or the Scots Observer, there's no chapter focussing on publishing houses—and on many topics a kind of allusive gesturalism substitutes for straightforward coverage of information.

Perhaps unreasonably, I was disappointed that the ferment of revisionist interpretation and work expanding the traditional canon did not result in any coherent new literary map or overview of the period; there probably isn't one yet. The scholars, teachers and readers concerned and knowledgeable about nineteenth-century Scottish literature now constitute a sizeable community, but it has certainly not found a new interpretative orthodoxy to replace the old orthodoxy of the Renaissance generation. Nor has it, on the evidence of this volume, successfully raided out much beyond conventional literary-historical approaches to incorporate insights or strategies from New Historist, cultural-studies, feminist or other recent critical schools; Gifford's discussion of the parodic in nineteenth-cen-
tury Scottish fiction would have been strengthened and clarified by cross-reference to Mikhail Bakhtin.

It would, though, clearly be wrong to end on a negative note. If it is not a new map, it is at least a new group photograph. The new History is valuable in making a significantly varied sample of recent Scottish discussion conveniently available, and for the generally high quality of the contributions. With all its faults, the publication of volume 3 is an important event, and its editor, general editor and publisher deserve our thanks for thus bringing to completion so ambitious a project.

PATRICK SCOTT
University of South Carolina

Twentieth Century

Cairns Craig brings the sequence of this groundbreaking history to its conclusion with his own volume, tackling the still-evolving twentieth century and bringing together, in the format of the previous volumes, a collection of essays covering major themes, genres, authors, periods or language areas, with reading suggestions, a general introduction and a full and very usable (and necessary) index. Briefly, the subjects are modern poetry in Scots; the Greig-Duncan Collection of Scottish folk-song; foundations of the modern Scottish novel; recent Scottish thought; MacDiarmid, early and late (two essays); novelists of the Renaissance; inter-war criticism; Muir; Maclean; Scottish dramas 1900-1950 (in a hilarious and peculiarly appropriate misprint); post-MacDiarmid makars; twentieth-century Gaelic poetry; the industrial novel; Compton Mackenzie; four novelists from the 1950s and 1960s; Spark; twentieth century women writing; internationalized Scottish poetry; Gaelic prose; Scots poetry and the city; Scottish theater 1950-1980—an introduction and 23 essays, all but 400 dense and well-filled pages.

It must be said without demur that this volume is an outstanding achievement, bringing together the work of many specialists to give a snapshot view of a country's literature at a period when it stands at a crossroad (many crossroads, the introduction suggests and many contributors underline) and when the methodology, the critical underpinning, the attention of writers and educationalists, politicians and pundits is ill-directed, unfocussed, often hostile and rarely thought through. The volume is fuelled by several things, including anger at generations of neglect, an eagerness to fuel a debate clearly under way but fragile in its underpinning, and a width of awareness of movements alongside Scotland which
could profitably be put to use in understanding Scottish contemporary writing better—such as the self-awareness of other small countries with powerful and potentially dominant neighbors, the move to preserve and study cultures under threat, the very obvious link between political awareness and writing, the need to find new visions, as well as new comparisons, for an adequate verbalization of Scottishness, Scottish identity, Scottish writing—Scottish literature.

There was never a collection of essays such as this—even one much less ambitious than this history—without an uneven texture. The *History of Scottish Literature*, its four volumes the product of many different hands with very little duplication, is bound to be perceived as uneven in texture, not least since the diversity of opinion it makes room for will give each reader a different perception of overall effect, no matter how strong or how tactful the editorial control exerted in selection, editing and final balancing. One of the strengths of Cairns Craig's own volume is also the source of what may be perceived by some readers as a weakness: the list of contents described above will amply demonstrate a diversity of approach, making room for two essays on MacDiarmid's enormous oeuvre, but cramming several Renaissance novelists into one (admittedly excellent) essay by Isobel Murray, highlighting writers as diverse as Compton Mackenzie and Sorley Maclean for individual treatment at length, while including other authors in categories such as "industrial novel" or "post-MacDiarmid makars" where the coverage may seem curiously out of proportion to intrinsic qualities. Inevitably, readers will wish for more on their own preferred authors—many will probably look with surprise for more on Grassic Gibbon or Edwin Morgan—or respond with surprise to a contributor's own extended discussion of an author long studied, minutely researched and frequently very obviously deeply admired.

Uneven texture will be an inevitable response—inevitable given the differences between each chapter, individually contributed (two chapters on theater, two on MacDiarmid, amply illustrating the differences possible)—and defenses would include the emergent state of both subject and criticism, and the availability of a wealth of writers working on parts of the field, while the larger picture of "Scottish literary criticism" is still taking shape. Certainly there are really original fields here, areas of largely neglected writing (Gaelic prose, women novelists in Scotland, drama, critical writing and philosophy, the industrial novel) where most readers will have much to learn. There are, alas, uneven endnotes and suggestions for further reading, some much more cursory than others: a volume such as this is a powerful case for a regular updating of such volumes as W. R. Aitken's invaluable bibliography of almost a decade ago (along with equivalent volumes for Gaelic literature) and a powerful argument for the regular
gathering together and critical surveys of recent work by journals such as *Scottish Literary Journal, Books in Scotland, Cencrastus*—and *Studies in Scottish Literature*. In the present state of publication (newspaper, journal and book-length) in Scotland, there is a flood of eligible material, but a paucity of opportunity for a forum for critical discussion, and a disappointing time-lag between publication and discussion.

*The History of Scottish Literature*, as reviewers have pointed out, partakes fully as much of the nature of a well-crafted snapshot of the current state of understanding of the subject as it does of literary history. The fact that—even with the guidance of a volume editor—it consists of an assembly of many critical approaches and points of view will inevitably make it a discussion rather than a literary history in the sense of a volume thought through and carried through under the pressure of one critical intelligence, informed by (if limited by) one author. A volume such as the present one reflects the kaleidoscope of its contributors in its desire to redress previous imbalances, to respond to what has been discussed critically by underplaying it in favor of what has been neglected, to highlight areas felt to be in special need of attention—Gaelic, women's studies to name two—and its character arises from these sources. A single-author history of the period would gain in coherence what it would lose in this multiple, often angry, always energetic and enthusiastic assembly.

Cairns Craig in his introduction to this volume succinctly finds a reason for the existence of a project such as the *History of Scottish Literature*, when he points out that "traditions of writing in Scots provided a medium for expressing international political and social concerns in a way which was impossible to writers in England, where traditions of dialect writing had neither the flexibility nor the status that they had in Scotland." Importantly, they retain that unique ability while they retain the ability to change: when these traditions fossilize, then the energy of a volume such as this, exploring the new rather than assembling received opinion, will cease to be possible. Scottish literature in the twentieth century can pay this project no greater compliment than to render a revision imperative, and soon.

IAN CAMPBELL

*University of Edinburgh*