JAMES THOMSON, ANGLO-SCOT:
A RECONSIDERATION OF HIS WORKS
IN RELATION TO THE SCOTTISH BACKGROUND

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CHAPTER VII: LONDON YEARS; 'LIBERTY' AND THE DRAMAS

The Seasons, James Thomson's Anglo-Scottish masterpiece, was just the first of several major works which he wrote after he had settled in England. That poem was the closest in time to his own Scottish experience, and clearly shows the influence of the poet's national background. But what of Thomson's later life and works? Did Scottish literary and especially cultural influences continue to act upon him throughout the latter half of his career? They did indeed, in many ways: elements of continuity with the early Thomson, his juvenilia and The Seasons, will be pointed out in this examination of Liberty and the plays, and then (Chapter VIII) in The Castle of Indolence. But first, a brief look at the poet's later life will confirm the continuing presence of certain more immediate Scottish influences and attitudes. The life of Thomson from 1725 until his death in 1748 is a period thoroughly documented by biographers and scholars; there is not space enough here to discuss it in detail, but only to consider its several Scottish implications.

When Thomson arrived in London in the spring of 1725, he was poor and lonely, and at once sought out his Scottish friends there. Early on, he visited Duncan Forbes of Culloden, then a Member of Parliament, who remembered his juvenile poems kindly, and, though he probably did not offer any financial aid, took an interest in the young Scot's projected literary career. Forbes introduced Thomson to many influential people in London, including the "literati folk" Arbuthnot, Pope and Gay, and to powerful public figures the Duke of Argyle and Prime Minister Robert Walpole,
land, as seems probable) Scots artist William Aikman. "Forbes, one of the greatest Scotsmen of his century, joined friendliness and shrewdness, hard-drinking and sobriety, and not only enjoyed and ably criticized the arts, but generously patronized the artists"; he was an "invaluable ally" to Thomson at this time. The statesman and the young poet became "intimate friends," and when Thomson came to write his Seasons, Forbes helped him considerably with it (a fact not generally known); before the poem was published, Forbes and Thomson spent many evenings "closeted" together, "correcting for the press."

Thomson also went to see his University-friend David Mallet upon arriving in London, and Mallet, too, was initially very helpful to the newcomer. In mid-1725, Thomson was appointed tutor to Lord Binning's eldest son Thomas, aged five (later, 7th Earl of Haddington), at East Barnet. Mallet possibly exercised his influence on Lord Binning through his own employer, the Duke of Montrose, whose two sons he taught, in order to secure Thomson's appointment. Lord Binning, (eldest son of the 6th Earl of Haddington) was a Scotsman and an amateur pastoral-poet, married to Rachel, daughter of Lady Grisell and George Baillie of Jerviswood. In fact, Lady Grisell herself (a distant cousin of Thomson's mother) may have had more to do with Thomson's appointment than Mallet. Not many years later, the dying Lord Binning asked that the Baillies provide for the further care and education of his children; Lady Grisell is said to have treated them as well as her own children.

Whatever Mallet's part in securing for Thomson his first teaching post, he was (despite his deserved reputation in London as a literary opportunist, a "talented but unscrupulous man") tremendously helpful to
Thomson in his early months in London. Mallet encouraged Thomson with his literary efforts, and canvassed booksellers to try to find a publisher for "Winter." His faults notwithstanding, "he served Thomson well during his crucial first year in London, and their correspondence shows that they were on intimate terms."\textsuperscript{12}

Thomson moved to another tutoring post in May, 1726, one probably more suited to his interests. He had applied for and obtained a position at a school advertised thus:

'At the Academy in Little Tower-street is to be learned every Qualification necessary for Business or Accomplishment, after a peculiar and approved Method; there being retain'd several Professors, capable to answer for their respective Trusts, to teach Writing, Arithmetick, and Merchants Accounts; all Parts of Mathematicks; and to give Courses of Experimental Philosophy, also the Classicks and Modern Languages; and to Foreigners and others, not well inform'd therein, the English Language, Drawing, Dancing, &c. There are also proper Accomodations for Boarding; and those that do not Board, may be taught either in Publick or Private, the Pupils being under proper Regulations, and the whole Education so calculated, as to answer the Ends of those whose Fortunes are not abounding, as well as of the Rich, the Charge increasing only with the Number of Qualifications to be attain'd; as may be seen at large in the Account of the Conditions and Terms, to be had at the said Academy. Letters are directed to Messieurs Tho. and W. Watts; And from this Academy Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Merchants, may be always likely to be supply'd with Stewards, Clerks, or Book-Keepers, duly qualify'd, and capable to give Security for their Fidelity.'\textsuperscript{13}

The post which Thomson held was as private tutor to a "young Gentleman"\textsuperscript{14} at this Academy. Its proprietors, Thomas and William Watts, were "scientists and mathematicians of some standing," who professed the Newtonian philosophy. Other teachers at the school were James Stirling, F. R. S. (a mathematician forced to retire from Oxford in 1715 for Jacobitical involvement, and friend and correspondent of Newton himself) and John Bland. It is clear, from its learned staff and its advertised
programmes, that Watts' Academy "was a centre for the popular study of Newton's revolutionary philosophy, and that every facility, from competent professors to proper instruments, was made available." Thomson must have greatly expanded his interest in and knowledge of Newtonianism, begun at Edinburgh, while teaching there.\(^{15}\) Stirling may even have introduced Thomson to Newton, thus accounting for the "feeling of personal loss" which pervades the poet's "A Poem Sacred to the Memory of Isaac Newton" (1727).\(^{16}\) Thomson probably also became acquainted with John Gray at this time; Gray, "a gentleman well-versed in the Newtonian philosophy," is said to have advised Thomson on the Newtonian principles expressed in the "Newton" elegy.\(^{17}\) Gray was long a member of Thomson's circle of close friends in London; he later (1764-9) became Rector of Marischal College, Aberdeen, and founded two mathematical bursaries there.\(^{18}\)

Thomson remained at Watts' Academy until autumn, 1730, when (through the influence of the Rev. Thomas Rundle) Charles Talbot, Baron Talbot of Hensol, asked the poet to accompany his son Charles Richard on the Grand Tour of the Continent.\(^{19}\) The complete *Seasons* was lately in print, and was proving highly successful, as was the poet's first play *Sophonisba*; Thomson "gladly accepted"\(^{20}\) the chance to travel abroad:

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Travelling has long been my fondest wish for the very purpose you recommend: the storing one's Imagination with Ideas of all-beautiful, all-great, and all-perfect Nature...I long to see the fields [sic] whence Virgil gathered his immortal honey, and to tread the same ground where men have thought and acted so greatly! If it does not give, it must at least awaken some what of the same Spirit..."\(^{21}\)
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Thomson and his party travelled first through France, whose absolute monarchy he abhorred; the Grand Tour generally sharpened his political
awareness and fired his British patriotism, and at every step he compared unfavourably the countries he visited with Britain. He wrote from Paris, that "one misses that solid magnificence of trade and sincere plenty," such as Britain enjoyed. While in Paris, he saw Voltaire's drama *Brutus* performed ("It is a matter of amusement to me to imagine what ideas an old Roman Republican, declaiming on Liberty, must give the generality of French audience"). Even at this early stage in his Tour, Thomson had begun to envisage his poem *Liberty*:

> Your observation I find every day juster and juster, that one may profit more abroad by seeing than by hearing; and yet, there are scarce any travellers to be met with, who have given a landscape of the countries through which they have travelled; that they have seen...with the M use's eye; though that is the first thing that strikes me, and what all readers and travellers in the first place demand. It seems to me, that such a poetical landscape of countries, mixed with moral observations on their governments and people, would not be an ill-judged undertaking. But then, the description of the different face of Nature, in different countries, must be particularly marked and characteristic, the Portrait-painting of Nature.

In the same letter, Thomson also made the curious remark, that "I shall return no worse Englishman than I came away"; the use of "the word 'Englishman' applied to himself by a young Scot is worth noting here.” The remark, associating himself patriotically with the dominant English culture, hints at nationalistic tensions which Thomson was certainly experiencing in the 1730's, and which are amply evident in the poem which grew from this Tour, *Liberty*, as well as in the plays, as shall be seen.

From France, Thomson's party travelled to the Republic of Switzerland. Thomson was most impressed with Geneva: “the Presbyterian Scot would immediately feel at home in the progressive, tolerant, and strictly
Puritan city, from which so many of his cherished ideals [religious as well as political] had stemmed." He would praise the "brave and industrious Swiss" and also describe their sublime Alpine scenery, in Liberty.IV.

When Thomson at last saw Italy (in 1730), the land of his model and hero Virgil and of the ancient Roman culture and ideals he held so dear, he was deeply disillusioned. He saw only poverty and ruins, the remains of what had once been the great Roman civilisation so admired by Scotsmen of his day. Italy's "bad Government" (under the influence of the Roman Catholic Church) had "even disfigured Nature herself," and human "Arts and Industry" were scarcely to be seen in the desolate landscape. On seeing the City of Rome, he could only exclaim, "Behold an Empire dead!" 27

The poet's melancholy mood at this stage of the journey was aggravated by two unhappy events. First, while in Italy, Thomson learned of the death in 1731 of William Aikman and his son Jocky. Aikman, cousin of Sir John Clerk of Penicuik and patronised by the Duke of Argyle, had proven a good friend to Thomson in his early years in London, had done several portraits of him, and had probably fostered the poet's lifelong interest in fine art. Thomson wrote his very moving and heartfelt elegy, "On the Death of Mr. William Aikman, the Painter" while in Italy, and sent the verses in a letter to Lady Hertford. Secondly, Thomson had met with George and Grisell Baillie in Rome; they had brought the poet's former employer, Lord Binning, with them. He was very ill, and had come to Italy to try to recover his health. But Lord Binning was beyond recovery, and died not long after this meeting with Thomson. It is no wonder that Thomson, saddened by the death of the
Aikmans and the sight of his dying friend Lord Binning, now looked forward to his return to England.

Thomson probably returned to England in about late 1732, when he immediately set about recording his impressions of the Grand Tour in the poem Liberty. Now opened the period of about a decade (1732-42) of his most intense political involvement, as well as his most aggressively British patriotism, fraught with nationalistic tensions. He was also at work on the politically-allusive tragedy Agamemnon, followed by Edward and Eleanora, during this time. Thomson wanted to help preserve Britain's precious liberty, better-appreciated since the Tour and comparison with other societies, in a direct way. He now allied himself more openly with Prince Frederick's Opposition Whig faction, against Walpole and his corrupt and tyrannical administration and his dangerous "peace-at-any-price" policy. Walpole was also anti-Scottish in his policies, and "unpopular with Scotsmen everywhere," so Thomson's Opposition stance was also in a sense pro-Scottish (in company with such notable Opposition Whigs as Duncan Forbes and the Duke of Argyle). Thomson's benefactor Charles Talbot, who was appointed Solicitor-General in 1733, soon found Thomson a government sinecure as his Secretary of the Briefs. However, Talbot died in 1737, and Thomson failed to re-apply for the post. At Talbot's death, Thomson "was so dispirited, and so listless to every concern of that kind, that he never took one step in the affair: a neglect which his best friends greatly blamed in him." Thomson did not again gain a government post until 1744, when Lord George Lyttelton arranged for his appointment as Surveyor-General (or, chief customs officer) of the Leeward Islands. Thomson, of course, remained in London to continue with his literary
affairs, and deputised the post to his friend and University-fellow William Paterson, who went to carry out Thomson's duties in the Barbadoes.  

Among Thomson's "best friends" during his London years were both Scotsmen and Englishmen, for, despite certain nationalistic tensions which became apparent in the poet at this time, he was an amiable, good-natured and tolerant man. He was one of the few Scottish authors who found favour and close friendship with many of the London literati, including Pope, Young, Aaron Hill and Shenstone; Englishmen George Bubb Dodington and George Lyttelton were among his most concerned and generous patrons. When asked whether Thomson was "national in his affections?" the poet's friend and neighbour in Richmond, Dr. William Robertson, replied that, "He [Thomson] had no prejudices whatever. He was the most liberal of men in all his sentiments."  

Still, as was typical of Scots in eighteenth-century London, Thomson's circle of most intimate friends was largely made up of Scots. Scots "were especially conscious of being Scots when they were in London... the sense of Scottishness was strong." Far from home, usually "regarded as foreigners" and set apart by their speech (Thomson kept his broad Scots accent throughout his life), they tended to act as foreigners and to band together, helping one another. Also, this national consciousness was frequently "sharpened by English criticism and hostility." Under such pressures, it is no wonder that complex nationalistic tensions, so typical of educated Scots of the period and latent in Thomson from youth, began to emerge in his works during this period, as he tried to reconcile his strong British patriotism (now somewhat qualified and informed by political and social experience)
with his deep feeling for Scotland.

It was not an easy time for Scots in London: apart from English criticism of their "backwardness and provincialism," there was the very real fear in the 1730's and 40's of Jacobitism. Even avowed Whigs such as Thomson were looked upon with suspicion. Andrew Mitchell, Under Secretary of State for Scotland and Thomson's close friend, wrote to Duncan Forbes in Scotland, that in London c. 1745, every Scotsman was "looked on as a traitor, as one secretly inclined to the Pretender and waiting but an opportunity to declare." Thomson, as an active Opposition Whig, would probably have been one of those Scots under some suspicion, despite his strong British patriotism as proclaimed in Liberty, many Seasons passages, the poem "Britannia," and Alfred: A Masque; Opposition Whigs were not infrequently accused of Jacobitism by establishment Whigs. Indeed, Thomson's overweening and exaggerated pro-British patriotism at this time, particularly in the bombastic Liberty, was probably something of a conscious or unconscious defence mechanism to counteract any such suspicions. Officially, Thomson left no record of his reactions to the Jacobite threat other than some vituperative anti-Stuart historical passages in Liberty. IV. He had always been a staunch Whig, and certainly continued so, firmly opposing Jacobitism. But at the same time, he was also a Scotsman, and no doubt resented the general anti-Scots feeling of the English, aroused by the Jacobite threat. He was also growing increasingly disgusted with the corrupt and anti-Scots Walpole administration; while anxious to be seen to support British, Whig "Progress," his sense of Scottish "independence and love of liberty" would have been outraged by the Prime Minister's tyranny. It is not unlikely that the Jacobite threat of the mid-century stirred Thomson's
"nostalgic patriotism" to some extent, much as had the '15 when he was a student in Edinburgh, under Allan Ramsay's patriotic influence (such sentiment among Thomson and his associates, it will be recalled, produced the Anglo-Scottish patriotism illustrated by the North British publication, the Edinburgh Miscellany). Though he largely channelled his Scottish national sentiment into broader, British patriotism, Thomson was never to lose sight of it.

All Scots, even the most ardent Whigs and Hanoverians, could not but be saddened by the effects of the '45 on their native land and people. Lady Grisell Baillie, Thomson's kinswoman now living in London, found the rebellion "a great affliction to her; the distress of her country and friends went near her heart, and made great impression on her health and spirits." Duncan Forbes of Culloden, now Lord President of Session, had taken an active and patriotic role in trying to minimise violence in the Highlands during the rebellion; after the rebellion (as he had done in 1715) he advocated mercy in dealing with his rebellious countrymen. Like Grisell Baillie and Duncan Forbes, Thomson's attitude was surely such that he wanted, above all, what was best for Scotland: he had family and friends there, and though he was anti-Jacobite, he would be affected by the general tenor of anti-Scottish feeling in England, and would feel concern for them. He seems to have said nothing about his uncomfortable position, so as not to incur undue suspicion, but his very silence is eloquent: he would not compromise his Scottishness in voicing even anti-Jacobite sentiments (which, at the time, might have been taken as anti-Scottish in themselves). An interesting, if improbable, legend survives, that Thomson did in fact write a Jacobite piece. Thomson's garrulous barber William Taylor, interviewed by Thomas Parke in 1791, swore that, "'Shepherd,
who formerly kept the Castle inn, showed me a book of Thomson's writing, which was about the rebellion in 1745, and set to music, but I think he told me not published.' (I mentioned this to Mr. [William] Robertson, but he thought Taylor had made a small mistake; perhaps it might be some of the patriotic songs in the Masque of Alfred.)" If Thomson indeed wrote such a piece, he would wisely have suppressed it, though his "Scottish circle" of intimate friends probably would have enjoyed a Jacobite entertainment or satire; it is difficult to imagine a Scottish work being confused with the very English subject of Alfred. In any case, Thomson certainly shared the deep-seated tensions, the conflicts of the majority of Scots in the period, especially those in London, whose patriotism for Great Britain could not extinguish their persistent Scottish national attachment, their love for their native land.

As long as he lived in London, Thomson continued to maintain a number of fruitful public contacts with Scotland. He kept abreast of Scottish socio-political affairs, and especially schemes for Scottish "improvement," through Duncan Forbes who advocated many such schemes, and through Forbes's agent in Edinburgh, George Ross, who was a close friend and correspondent of the poet and his circle. Through Forbes, he also met John Campbell, Duke of Argyle, who virtually ruled Scotland through much of the century. Particularly, his knowledge of Scottish affairs would have been supplied by his close friend and member of the "Scottich circle," Andrew Mitchell (1708-1771), Under Secretary of State for Scotland under Tweeddale (1743-7), who worked closely with Duncan Forbes to plan Scottish tax-reforms and other improvements, and, as a "Scotsman with a knowledge of the clans," to settle the '45 disruption with justice and mercy to the Highlanders. After 1747,
when the office of Secretary of State for Scotland lapsed temporarily, Mitchell, who took a seat in Parliament for Aberdeenshire, was still consulted by the government as an expert on Scottish affairs. While discussing Thomson's "public" contacts with Scotland, it is revealing to look through the lists of Subscribers to The Seasons (1730), as well as to the Works (1762, Murdoch's Memorial edition); the very high proportion of Scottish Subscribers, some representing institutions and many in high positions, is noteworthy. The abundance of Scots supporters of Thomson's literary achievements illustrates not merely poetical appreciation, but also a sort of Scottish solidarity, a show of national loyalty to their poet. Thomson represented successful Anglo-Scottish, "North British" poetic ambition in Great Britain, and was thus the object of legitimate Scottish national pride.

In private life, too, Thomson continued to maintain his Scottish, especially family, connections. Though he apologised for being a rather poor correspondent, he kept in contact with his family in Scotland and continued to take an active interest in their affairs, particularly of his younger sisters in Edinburgh, Elizabeth ("Lisy") and Jean. He sent them what money he could spare, through friends the Rev. Mr. Gusthart and Baillie Gavin Hamilton there, and helped them set up a milliner's shop, arranging for it to be stocked through his draper-friend in London, John Sargent. He later rejoiced in their marriages: Lisy to Mr. Robert Bell, minister of Strathaven, and Jean to Robert Thomson, master of Lanark Grammar School. Thomson's eldest sister was Mary Craig, wife of Edinburgh merchant William Craig, and mother of the first architect of the Edinburgh New Town, James Craig; she was the executrix (in absentia) of the poet's estate. Thomson's younger brother John came to London to live with him for a time in the
early 1730's, and served as his amanuensis; he became ill with consumption, however, and had to return to Scotland in 1735. He soon died, to Thomson's deep sorrow.57 Two of the poet's distant relations, the brothers Gilbert and Thomas Thomson, served as his gardeners at Richmond,58 probably taking advantage of his genial nature and rather living "upon him" than with him.59 Throughout his life in England, Thomson pursued most of the same interests which he had acquired as a youth in Scotland, such as gardening and landscaping, art history and appreciation (given new impetus by his Grand Tour and the opportunity to collect many prints and drawings, the influence of which is seen in his poetry, where he describes some of these works of art or models scenes after them), and the reading of classical, historical and geographical literature. Around 1735, Thomson settled in a comfortable cottage with a pleasant garden in the London suburb of Richmond; he led a somewhat "irregular" and very casual life, keeping eccentric hours, but the atmosphere of his home was warm and genial. He welcomed friends, and especially the "Scottish circle," to the cottage in Kew Lane, and kept his cellar well stocked with "Scotch ale."60 It is significant that Thomson, in London and particularly after he had settled in Richmond, found himself the centre of an established "Scottish circle" of loyal, intimate friends, many of whom he had known since student days in Edinburgh. He kept in touch with Duncan Forbes, but the Lord President was busy and frequently away in Scotland, so they probably did not see one another often. Forbes's son John, or "Jock," however, grew to be one of the poet's closest friends and an important member of the "Scottish circle." Jock served in the Army
(c. 1738-49), and was at one point living at Brentford (the scene of the unsavoury conclusion to The Castle of Indolence); he later saw action at Dettingen and Fontenoy. Jock is the "joyous youth" of the Castle (Canto I. St.LXII-LXIV), who comes occasionally to disturb the "Scottish circle"'s peaceful indolence with his excess of energy and good-humour. Patrick Murdoch, before he was ordained, was Jock's tutor on the Grand Tour (c. 1729-32); the two probably met with Thomson and Talbot at some point on their tour. Murdoch wrote to a worried Duncan Forbes from the Continent (24 June, 1730):

"the apprehension your Lordship has been under, that [Jock's] head might suffer by some civilities he met with on the road will be over, when I assure you that any vanity of that sort is not his foible"...apparently the youth's interest in study was not equal to his prowess 'at the gouf,' but he was not beyond reform, for, as Murdoch ingenuously adds, 'he is ever ready in very good earnest, to own the necessity of redeeming the time he has lost, and to enter into resolutions and schemes for that purpose.'

Later, though, Jock's high spirits did cause him trouble. He became a chronic over-spender, and was perpetually in debt. Still, he was much loved by his friends. After his father's death in 1749, he settled in Suffolk near Murdoch, by then Rector at Stradishall. Thomson called Jock, "the dearest, truest, heartiest Youth that treads on Scottish Ground." He is frequently and affectionately mentioned by the members of the "Scottish circle," Andrew Mitchell, John Armstrong, Andrew Millar and especially Patrick Murdoch. Mitchell described him as having "his father's good qualities, without his talents." Patrick ("Tatie" or "Peter") Murdoch, Thomson's fellow Divinity student, was an important member of the "Scottish circle," and remained in close contact with the poet throughout their lives. He became a minister of the Church of England, and settled as Rector of Stradishall, Suffolk.
Thomson wrote to George Ross of Murdoch's ordination:

Pe[t]ie came here two three Days ago. I have not yet seen the round Man of God, to be. He is to be Parsonifyed, a few Days hence. How a Gown and Cassock will become him! And with what a bold Leer he will edify the devout Females! There is no Doubt of his having a Call; for he is immediately to enter upon a tolerable Living — God grant him more, and as fat as himself. It rejoices me to see one worthy honest excellent Man raised, at least, to an Independence.68

Murdoch is of course the "little, round, fat oily man of God" with the "roguish twinkle in his eye," of the Castle (Canto I. St. LXIX).69 He was also a "mathematician of some reputation,"70 and especially well-versed in Newtonian philosophy.71 Murdoch edited Thomson's Works (1762), having wisely corrected Lord Lyttelton's liberal emendations to The Seasons and returned to the poet's own text.

Statesman Andrew Mitchell was born in Edinburgh, and left Scotland in 1729 to go to England; he had been a "young contemporary of Thomson's" at Edinburgh University, and remained a faithful friend of the poet. In a letter to John Forbes, Patrick Murdoch praised Mitchell thus:

His honesty and superior talents for business are acknowledged and admired— and what he is in private life you and I best know— Has he not been as a father to us both? the Same to McLaurin's family— to Thomson, and of late to [Hugh] Warrender? and to many others that we never heard of? And all with a narrow fortune, and moving in an inferior Sphere?72

Mitchell, with George Lyttelton, served as executors of Thomson's estate in the absence of his eldest sister, Mary Craig. Murdoch said of Mitchell, that he was "a gentleman equally noted for the truth and constancy of his private friendship, and for his address and spirit as a public minister."73
Hugh Warrender (mentioned in Murdoch's letter, above) was another Edinburgh classmate who remained Thomson's friend in London; like Murdoch, he was also ordained in the Church of England, and later became Rector of Aston, Yorkshire. Also in the "Scottish circle" was Robert Symmer, who had known Thomson in Edinburgh and had contributed to the Edinburgh Miscellany. He seems to have become a "professional tutor to young noblemen."

William Paterson, still another former classmate of Thomson's at Edinburgh University, also stayed a close friend. He seems to have become a clerk in London, and also acted as Thomson's amanuensis for a time. Like Thomson, Paterson too "courted the tragic Muse." Murdoch tells the story that Paterson's Germanic tragedy Arminius (1740) was banned by the Licensing Act, soon after Thomson's own politically-sensitive Edward and Eleanora was prohibited, merely because it was in the same handwriting as Thomson's Opposition Whig play. Arminius ("in the vein of Thomson's Liberty") was, however, "much more provocative than Edward and Eleanora" and thus perhaps "wisely prohibited." Arminius shows the strong influence of Thomson's thought, as well as his style (at least in part, no doubt, the result of their common Scottish background and classical rhetorical training). In 1744, Paterson became Thomson's joint patentee or deputy when the poet was appointed Surveyor-General of the Leeward Islands. He succeeded Thomson in the Surveyor-Generalship in 1746; Thomson probably "resigned the post in favour of his friend" Paterson, who was better at the practical, financial duties of the post than was the poet. Paterson went to live in Bridgetown, Barbadoes in this capacity, and from there continued to correspond with Thomson, no doubt supplying the poet with first-hand descriptions of tropical life. Paterson is portrayed in the Castle as
...a man of special grave remark:
A certain tender gloom o'erspread his face,
Pensive, not sad; in thought involved, not dark.

He was a quiet, modest and good man who was an incurable dreamer: "Ten thousand glorious systems would he build, / Ten thousand great ideas filled his mind."

The remaining member of the "Scottish circle" to be honoured with a place in The Castle of Indolence was Dr. John Armstrong (1709-1779), "One shyer still, who quite detested talk: / Oft stung by spleen" (Canto I. St. LX). Armstrong, a minister's son from Roxburghshire, was the author of the "Winter" poem in imitation of Shakespeare which was said to have influenced Thomson's "Winter." Not very successful as a physician in London, Armstrong continued to write poetry, specialising in didactic poetry such as The Economy of Love (1736) and the blank verse Art of Preserving Health (1744). His "silence and spleen were almost proverbial"; Thomson wrote to Paterson, "'Tho the Doctor increases in his Business, he does not decrease in Spleen; but there is a certain Kind of Spleen that is both humane and agreeable..." Armstrong composed the four concluding stanzas to Canto I of the Castle (St. LXXIV-LXXVII), describing in rather grotesque detail the physical consequences of indolence. Despite his spleen, Armstrong was always a true friend to Thomson, and with the poet's neighbour Dr. William Robertson, attended him at his deathbed.

Another important member of the "Scottish circle" was publisher and bookseller Andrew Millar (1707-1768). He was the son of Robert Millar, minister of Paisley; he served his apprenticeship in printing at
Edinburgh, and may have met Thomson there. He went to London in about 1728 or 1729, eventually setting up at Tonson's old shop, the Shakespeare's Head, which he patriotically renamed "Buchanan's Head." Millar was known for his special generosity to Scottish authors. He published, in addition to Thomson's Seasons and collected Works, a number of Allan Ramsay's and David Mallet's works, Hume's and Robertson's Histories, John Armstrong's didactic poems, and Colin Maclaurin's Account of Sir Isaac Newton's Philosophies (which included Newton's Life by Murdoch). In addition, "He is said to have brought with him to London the unsold sheets of Archibald Pitcairn's Poemata, including some verses by Sir William Bennet" of Grubbet, in Latin, and published these there. Millar "was a good natured fellow, and not an unpleasant companion, but he was a little contracted by his business; had the dross of a bookseller about him." But despite his "certain outward roughness of manner," Millar remained not only Thomson's honest and generous publisher, but also his good friend, throughout the poet's life. Millar offered to donate the profits from Murdoch's 1762 edition of Thomson's Works toward a monument to the poet in Westminster Abbey, completed later that year.

One lifelong friend and compatriot of Thomson's, who stayed rather outside the "Scottish circle" itself was David Mallet. Mallet was not well-liked, even by fellow Scots in London, but he and Thomson, who had been classmates at Edinburgh University, remained close friends. Although they were very different in temperament—Mallet dapper, smooth, dishonest and Thomson unkempt but good-hearted, sincere—Thomson seems genuinely to have liked Mallet, who was helpful to the poet in his early months in London. Mallet may have been the more self-interested party in maintaining the friendship with Thomson, who be-
came the better and more famous author; Thomson's other friends found it difficult to understand their relationship (Dr. William Robertson observed that, "Sir, [Mallet] had not Thomson's heart.—He was not sound at the core; he made a cat's paw of Thomson, and I did not like the man on that account"). Nevertheless, the two had much in common: both attempted the drama, in addition to their favourite genre of descriptive poetry, and also collaborated on the patriotic masque of Alfred in 1740 (after Thomson's death, Mallet claimed Thomson's song from the masque, "Rule, Britannia," as his own, stirring a long-lasting controversy); both espoused the Opposition Whig cause, and were patronised by Frederick, Prince of Wales; most importantly, both shared the typical tensions of being Anglo-Scots in London at that time. Mallet was, on occasion, more explicitly "Scottish" in his writings than Thomson; always the literary opportunist, he tended to exploit his Scottishness when expedient, and also to suppress it as he did his Scots accent when it was more prudent to do so. His play Eurydice (1731) was seen by many as a "plea for the Jacobite cause" (the political parallels were set forth in the anonymous pamphlet, Remarks on the Tragedy of Eurydice in Which It is endeavoured to prove the same TRAGEDY is wrote in favour of the 'Pretender' and is a scurrilous Libel against the present Establishment). If Mallet's neo-Greek tragedy can indeed be interpreted as an instance of "sentimental Jacobitism," then the "structures of feeling" of Thomson's own neoclassical dramas can likewise be seen to correspond, indirectly, to current Scottish-English relations. Thomson, however, seems to have been far more cautious in his expressions of Scottish national feeling. He by no means concealed his love for Scotland, but neither did he draw attention to his nationality for literary effect; rather, he
continued sincerely to try to reconcile his loyalties to Scotland, with his strong British patriotism. He strove to be a true North Briton. His nationalistic conflicts and insecurities, though present, were perhaps less publicly obvious than those of such Scots as, for example, Mallet, James Boswell and Allan Ramsay.

Mallet often followed Thomson's poetic lead, exaggerating or elaborating on Thomson's descriptions and ideas; The Excursion, of course, shows the influence of The Seasons. Mallet's tragic poem Amyntor and Theodora (1747) is another of his specifically-Scottish works; it is set in St. Kilda, and echoes Thomson's tribute in The Seasons to the unspoilt primitivism of the islanders. Likewise based on Martin Martin, it elaborates Thomson's pre-Romantic conceptions of the Highlands and Islands, which would culminate in Ossianic literature.

As they had at Edinburgh University, Mallet and Thomson would continue to take an active interest in one another's literary productions throughout their careers, while struggling, each in his own way, to meet the challenge of surviving as Scots in London.

Joseph Mitchell, poet and dramatist who had helped and encouraged both Thomson and Mallet to make their poetic start in Edinburgh, was one London Scot who failed to gain entry into Thomson's congenial "Scottish circle." This was largely due to his ill-tempered remark, when Thomson presented him with a copy of "Winter," that,

'Beauties and faults so thick lye scattered here, Those I could read, if these were not so near,'

to which Thomson replied, extempore,
'Why not all faults, injurious Mitchell; why
Appears one beauty to thy blasted eye;
Damnation worse than thine, if worse can be,
Is all I ask, and all I want from thee.'103

Whether or not the testy and mercurial Mitchell was joking, Thomson seems never to have forgiven him his remark; perhaps, too, there was some further, unrecorded "personal cause of dislike."104 For one thing, Mitchell was a supporter of Walpole, and this offended Thomson's political principles.105 Also, the less-successful Mitchell probably resented Thomson as a rival poet. Mitchell did, however, pay Thomson a genuine compliment in his "To Mr. Thomson, the Author of Winter," which alludes to his early association with Thomson on the Edinburgh Miscellany:

I prophesy'd of Thee; nor blush to own
The Joy I feel, in making THOMSON known.
Thy first Attempts, to me, a Promise made:
That Promise is, by this Performance, paid.106

Incidentally, Mitchell's mock-heroic poem "The Charms of Indolence," replete with images of languor, published in 1729,107 may have in part suggested to Thomson the theme of his later Castle of Indolence.

One further, very important and personal "Scottish connection" in Thomson's London life remains to be mentioned: the love of the poet's life, Elizabeth Young ("Amanda"). John Ramsay of Ochtertyre described her as a "'gentle-mannered, elegant-minded woman,' with a mother whose manners were coarse and harsh... At the other extreme, a writer who professes to rely on family tradition calls her 'as regular a red-haired, 'rump-fed runyon' as ever startled the passing traveller into wondering whether she were man or woman.'"109 Another source describes Miss Young as a woman "'violent and harsh in expression,'" who
spoke (as did Thomson) with a broad Scots accent; despite her faults, however, she possessed "'as strong humanity as any woman I ever was acquainted with,'" and had "many "'good qualities.'" In any case, Thomson fell deeply in love with Miss Young, from Gulyhill, Dumfries-shire, who was the sister-in-law of his neighbour in Richmond, Dr. William Robertson. Thomson met Miss Young at the Robertson's home, about 1742; his letters to her of 1743-5 reveal his sensitive and passionate nature, his persistence in the strong feelings he held for her, as he "unrestrainedly poured out his love." He wrote (March 10, 1743):

> Not even Friendship and the Study of Nature will be able to maintain any Charms for me. I care not where I am if I am not with you; I care not what I am if I live not for you..."

The poet's obsession with Miss Young had a direct effect on his benefic- ficial 1743-4 revisions of the love-poem "Spring," and also on the romantic-tragic plot of Tancred and Sigismunda (1745, the year she finally rejected him). Her rude mother is said to have opposed vehemently her daughter's marriage to the aging and overweight poet; also, perhaps Thomson "indeed was never wealthy enough to marry." Miss Young instead married a young Scots seaman, John Campbell (son of the Rev. Mr. John Campbell, minister of Kirkbean in Dumfriesshire), who later became an Admiral. Poor Thomson succumbed to a fever not long after; Dr. Robertson, who had attended him at this deathbed, reported that, "He seemed to me to be desirous not to live; and I had reason to think that my sister-in-law was the occasion of this.—He could not bear the thoughts of her being married to another." Thompson, grieving for his unrequited love, had come to think of himself, as he wrote to his sister, "too far advanced in life for such youthful
"Undertakings" as romance and marriage.\textsuperscript{117}

James Thomson never did return to his native Scotland, though he certainly would have wanted to; he wrote to his sister Jean in 1747, of a proposed "Visit to Scotland (which I have some Thoughts of doing soon)."\textsuperscript{118} But he remained instead in Richmond, trying to forget "Amanda" and busily working on The Castle of Indolence and his last play, Coriolanus. Perhaps he would have visited Scotland had he lived longer, but he died suddenly at age forty-eight on August 27, 1748.

At his death, of a fever caught while taking a boat down the Thames, his friends, and especially the "Scottish circle," were grief-stricken.\textsuperscript{119} Andrew Mitchell wrote to Murdoch on August 27, informing him of Thomson's death, ending with, "'I am almost sunk wt this last stroke.'"\textsuperscript{120} Mitchell and Lyttelton were the poet's executors on behalf of his next-of-kin, Mary Craig in Edinburgh.

The monument to Thomson in Poets' Corner, Westminster Abbey, was paid for with Subscriptions to the 1762 Works, thanks to Murdoch's and Millar's generosity. It was, appropriately, sculpted after a design by Scotland's foremost architect, Robert Adam.\textsuperscript{121}

James Thomson had not abandoned, nor had he denied his Scottishness when he settled as a man of letters in London, despite the strong anti-Scottish political and cultural pressures of the times. He lived as a Scot, largely among Scots in London, and never lost sight of his early, Scottish-cultivated interests, influences and ideals. Most importantly, the strengths of his Scottishness continued to manifest themselves in his works.

\* \* \*
Thomson's *Liberty* (1735-1736) was written immediately after he had made the Grand Tour, and was directly inspired (or rather, uninspired) by it. As Thomson had written to Dodington from Rome (November 28, 1731), "...I belive [sic] she [my Muse] did not cross the channel with me." As J. Logie Robertson said,

Thomson would doubtless have done better if he had kept to his original plan of presenting 'a poetical landscape of various countries, mixed with moral observations on their government' — Nature was his theme rather than the history of civilization.

He had envisaged "the description of the different face of Nature, in different countries...the Portrait-painting of Nature," when he first conceived of *Liberty*. Unfortunately, the poet abandoned these early aims and adopted a primarily socio-political and didactic, rather than descriptive, purpose: the projected poem of personal observation and description became a far more ambitious, public proclamation, an allegorical dream-vision following the Goddess of Liberty through the rises and falls of civilisations to her present home, Britain, and celebrating Whig progress and potential there. This vast theme proved too ambitious for the poet, who had shown a weakness in such public, abstract expression in a number of *Seasons* passages; he should never have abandoned the subject of nature. *Liberty* was, from the first, an "artistic failure." But at the time, Thomson (who was becoming increasingly involved in political life) saw it as his duty publicly to defend British freedom. Where previously he had seen his role as poet to be mainly a religious one, in *Liberty* he assumed the role of socio-political bard, where he would "to Britons bear" the Goddess of Liberty's "commands." Later in the eighteenth century,
the Earl of Buchan would praise Thomson above all for his libertarian ideals: "the highest encomium of Thomson is to be given him on account of his attachment to the cause of political and civil liberty." The Earl of Buchan may have had in mind especially Scottish ideals of liberty and true freedom, which he perhaps felt had been eclipsed in the Union with England:

Of [Dr. Samuel] Johnson's criticism of the Poem of Thomson, entitled Liberty, I shall say nothing; but I will take the liberty to say that Britain knows nothing of the liberty that Thomson celebrates!

No doubt those poets of freedom Burns, and Byron as well, found much to admire in the political philosophy, as well as the poetry, of their compatriot Thomson. So while Liberty was not successful as a poem, it does reveal much about Thomson's attitudes, his political philosophy, particularly concerning nationalism, in the 1730's: "though Liberty is over-ambitious and abortive, it is in a sense central and representative." It carries on many of the poet's ideas formed in Scotland, themes noted in The Seasons and in the juvenile poems, and is not totally devoid of good poetry.

Liberty can be seen to employ the same basic ingredients which made up The Seasons, only here Thomson has drastically altered their proportions. Where The Seasons was primarily a religious-descriptive poem, Liberty is above all a public, patriotic and socio-political work, with natural description at a minimum and religious thought only implicitly expressed. While both poems are didactic, Liberty is far more heavily so. Liberty is even more thoroughly neoclassical than The Seasons in form, theme and language; Thomson evidently tried to make it an "epic" poem, following upon The Seasons as Virgil's Aeneid followed upon
the Georgics and Eclogues.\textsuperscript{132} The "epic" plan encompassed five books, surveying the rise and fall of civilizations and concluding with an optimistic vision of Liberty's reign in Britain (Part I is "Ancient and Modern Italy Compared," Part II is "Greece," Part III is "Rome," Part IV is "Britain," and Part V is "The Prospect"). The neoclassical "artistic system" of the poem has its "emphasis on expression which developed within the strictest neo-classical orthodoxy";\textsuperscript{133} it is rhetorically elevated throughout, and the language is strongly Latinate. The style is tediously, ponderously decorous. Thomson had heavy-handedly followed his Scottish rhetorical tendency, unskilled as he was at dealing with large abstract topics, and had wrought "involved and difficult" language\textsuperscript{134} in maintaining the pompous tone of the "epic." In fact, Liberty never achieved true "epic" status, as the poet had originally planned it, though "something of the epic shape" remains.\textsuperscript{135}

The poem clearly deals with neoclassical themes to a great extent in its treatment of Greece and Rome, but Thomson, having seen the "dead" Roman Empire on his Grand Tour, had become disillusioned with the fallen classical world, and was impatient to establish "Liberty" in the north, in Great Britain. He wonders what Horace, Tully, and especially his mentor Virgil would now think upon seeing their native parts of Italy:

\begin{quote}
...Once the delight of earth, 
Where art and nature, ever smiling, joined 
On the gay land to lavish all their stores—  
How changed, how vacant, Virgil, wide around,  
Would now your Naples seem?  
disastered less 
By black Vesuvius thundering o'er the coast  
His midnight earthquakes and his mining fires  
Than by despotic rage, that inward gnaws,  
A native foe...  \textsuperscript{(I.277-85)}
\end{quote}
Thomson's special admiration for Rome and the Roman social virtues, chiefly selfless patriotism and cultural progress, learnt in Scotland and part of the juvenilia and The Seasons, recurs in Liberty in abundance (mostly in Parts I and II); however, there seems to be an important change in the poet's attitude toward Rome at this stage. Where in The Seasons and even in the juvenilia (for example, "A Poetical Epistle to Sir William Bennet") Thomson especially liked to identify the Roman Empire with the ascendant British Empire, in Liberty he shows deep disgust with the Roman Empire, and concentrates far more heavily on the early Roman Republic as the model for good government and public virtue. The Goddess remarks:

'What though the first smooth Caesars arts caressed,
Merit, and virtue, simulating me?
Severely tender, cruelly humane
The chain to clinch, and make it softer sit
On the new-broken still ferocious state!
From the dark third, succeeding, I beheld
The imperial monsters all—a race on earth
Vindictive sent, the scourge of humankind!'

(III.484-91 and ff.)

Both imperial and republican ideals were certainly there, in The Seasons, but better-balanced; they become an openly "unresolved conflict" in Liberty.136 This conflict probably indicates a certain corresponding disillusionment with Augustan Britain, once the ideal of civilisation for such ambitious Anglo-Scots as Thomson. By the mid-1730's, Thomson had become increasingly disturbed by Robert Walpole's "tyranny," his strong control over the monarchy, and his unwise peace policy; Augustan enlightenment had begun to resemble despotism, and foreign depredations continued to threaten the age of peace. Also, Thomson had by now come to recognise the weaknesses of the Augustan English literary patronage system. Walpole himself had no use for men of letters,137
and neither did most of his followers, nor the King himself. In addition to these abuses, Thomson was certainly aware of Walpole's anti-Scottish policies, as he shamelessly exploited "North Britain" and gradually "achieved his aim of bringing Scotland into 'a position of quiet subordination.'" This Scottish abuses were at their worst in the 1730's, the period when Thomson seems most clearly to have altered his attitudes to nationalism and "Empire." In short, the promise of a new Augustan Age in post-Union Britain, so bright to the young Scottish poet, had dimmed somewhat by this time. His increasing focus on pre-Empire, early Roman Republican socio-political and cultural ideals might indicate a nostalgia for Scottish national ideals of liberty and freedom, of independent Scottish identity, such as held by those anti-Union Scots who embraced the Republican "Roman ethos" in Thomson's youth. The Union was, in many ways, a huge disappointment to one who had embraced the hopes of the patriotic Athenian Society: "Scotland surrendered its independence as a nation to become part of a flourishing Britain, and expected that if Scotland became North Britain then England should become South Britain. It did not work out that way." Certainly, Thomson was experiencing nationalistic tensions at this time as a Scot in London (intensified by anti-Jacobite feeling there), and this significant shift from imperial to early Republican "Roman" identification seen in Liberty (as well as the plays) illustrates one aspect of these complex tensions.

Thomson was, of course, "heir of a double tradition of liberty." In addition to those adopted Roman values, he had a deep respect for "Northern liberty," a concept glimpsed in The Seasons and made much more explicit in Liberty. He sees "Northern liberty" in general as a fresh burst of freedom nurtured in the harsh, cold north, which re-
placed the fallen ideals of the dead Roman Empire (Part III); the barbarian invasions from the north (Part IV) carried positive, "Gothic" virtues first into Italy. From there, the poet follows "Northern liberty" to Switzerland, then to Germany, to Scandinavia, and finally to Britain. As a Scot, Thomson showed especially close identification with the Swiss (Part IV.337-8 ff), as Calvinists of an efficient and progressive republic; he also admired their rugged mountain scenery, which probably reminded him of his own mountain Border land. In his praise of the Scandinavians, he no doubt recalled their important role in Scottish history, and their influence on Scottish culture. He calls the Swedes the "manly race" (IV.372); he had called the Scots a "manly race" in "Autumn," and he obviously thought of the Scots, too, as bearers of the same "Northern liberty" and strength.

When "Northern liberty" reaches Britain, Thomson's nationalistic tensions again come to the fore. "The thought of ancient Caledonian freedom was congenial to a Scot," and the "Gothic" northern virtues also had "dim" Celtic associations at the time. Thomson by no means hid Scottish national pride in Liberty. The Scots were those northerners who resisted the spread of the corrupt Roman Empire in Britain:

'The North remained untouched, where those who scorned To stoop retired; and, to their keen effort Yielding at last, recoiled the Roman power. In vain, unable to sustain the shock, From sea to sea desponding legions raised The wall immense—and yet, on summer's eve, While sport his lambkins round, the shepherd's gaze. Continual o'er it burst the northern storm' (IV.647-54)

The Romans at last withdrew. The reference is, of course, to Hadrian's Wall near Thomson's native Borders ("The wall of Severus, built upon
Adrian's rampart, which ran for eighty miles quite across the country, from the mouth of the Tyne to Solway Frith."—Thomson's note. The scene recalls a similar Border scene described in "Spring," ll. 840-5, contrasting ancient war with modern pastoral peace. Thomson further notes that the "northern storm" refers to "Irruptions of the Scots and Picts" over the wall. There are several other references to Scotland in Liberty as well, such as the tribute to all Britons, including:

'...the lofty Scot,
To hardships tamed, active in arts and arms,
Fired with a restless, an impatient flame,
That leads him raptured where ambition calls'(V.73-6)

"Ambition" had thus called Thomson himself to England (echoing the sentiments of "Autumn," ll. 894-909).

But even with these expressions of specifically Scottish national pride, Liberty remains overwhelmingly "British" as a whole; it represents Thomson's most enthusiastic, aggressive, even chauvinistic statement of wider "British" patriotism (especially in Parts IV and V). It greatly expands the "dissident Whig panegyric" themes, the bombastic tone of his poem "Britannia" (written 1727, published 1729). In Liberty Thomson takes great pains to disassociate himself from any taint of Jacobitism; in his survey of British history, he launches a vituperative attack on the Stuart reigns (Part IV) without mentioning that the Stuarts were Scots. Further, he makes it clear that it was Scots who first sparked the Civil War and their eventual downfall:

'...instant from the keen resentive north,
By long oppression by religion roused,
The guardian army came...
...There a flame
Broke out that cleared, consumed, renewed the land.' (IV.1016-21)
Probably Thomson's exaggerated, offensively chauvinistic "pro-British" stance throughout Liberty can be explained, at least in part, by his being a Scot (just as might his calling himself an "Englishman" while on the Grand Tour). His nationalistic tensions, or a sort of schizophrenia about national identity and cultural allegiance, were very typical of Scots of the period, as has been suggested; he seems to have felt both pride and shame at being a Scot, especially strongly at this period in the mid-1730's. The dominant "British" patriotism of Liberty might thus be seen as a defence mechanism, a type of extreme reaction to, overcompensation for anti-Scots prejudice. Also, of course, he had begun to take a public Opposition Whig stance at about this time, and he was anxious to show his support for the broader Whig aim of British "Progress," even though he was involved in more narrow Whig "party rage" (V.162) and faction.

Liberty leaves no doubt as to Thomson's stand on that primitivism-progress debate first posed in The Seasons. While he acknowledges the humble, rural origins of Liberty (II.3 ff.), his vision of Great Britain's future is of "public works," bustling cities, "improved" landscapes and waterways, lively trade-- i.e. Whig "Progress." The concluding passage of Part V describes this prospect. The lines

'August around what public works I see!
Lo! stately streets, lo! squares that court the breeze;
...
See! long canals, and deepened rivers join
Each part with each, and with the circling main
The whole enlivened isle...' (V.701-2 and 709-11)

were extracted from this vision, and appended by Thomson's nephew, architect James Craig, to his Plan of the New Town of Edinburgh (1767).
Thomson's proto-Scottish Enlightenment, neoclassical, orderly and optimistic view of Britain's future given in *Liberty* is, like Craig's plan itself, "so irresistibly symbolic of the idea of civilization cherished by the Edinburgh literati" of the Scottish Enlightenment. Again, Thomson is seen, aesthetically and philosophically, to anticipate the Scottish Enlightenment.

*Liberty* functions largely as a didactic poem, preaching the lessons of progress and socio-political, public morality first heard in *The Seasons*. Again (as even in the juvenile "Upon Happiness"), "virtue" is the key, here to the social goals of achievement of the true "real joy" (Part V.239) and "universal love" (V.245) of freedom in progressive civilisation:

> 'On virtue can alone my kingdom stand,  
> On public virtue, every virtue joined.' (v.93-4)

The Goddess of *Liberty* teaches the three chief public virtues which are necessary to maintain British freedom, as:

> '...independent life;  
> Integrity in office; and, o'er all  
> Supreme, a passion for the commonweal.' (v.120-3)

The juvniaelia dwelt mainly on private, individual moral virtue, and *The Seasons* pointed out the need to practise both private and public virtue; here, in *Liberty*, the poet's theme is primarily unselfish public virtue, or "social love." *Liberty* represents the "trend from the private to the public soul" in Thomson's poetry. *Liberty* is based on that generally Shaftesburyian, and more particularly Hutchesonian, benevolism seen in *The Seasons*, where social love is independent of, and superior to, self-interested virtue.
"Tis not enough, from self right-understood
Reflected, that thy ["noblest passion"'s] rays inflame
the heart..." (V.235-6)
or,

"From sordid self shoot up no shining deeds." (V.262)

The poet goes on to describe this selfless benevolence with the Newtonian image of "moral gravitation"^150 (Part V.257). He had previously used the image of gravity to represent the attractive force holding together the Chain of Being, as well as the spiritual harmony with God which is the goal of the individual "rising mind" (Seasons and "Upon Happiness"). In Liberty, overriding concern for the "public good" (V.258) is the cohesive "gravitational" force which achieves the ideal of social harmony. "Moral gravitation" holds together both an "ethical system" and a "philosophy of history" here.\(^{151}\)

Liberty expounds its public morality in an allegorical dream-vision, recalling a similar, Scottish allegory, David Lindsay's The Dreme (1528; this poem may also have influenced The Seasons, as suggested in Chapters V and VI). Like Liberty, The Dreme (which deals specifically with Scotland's potential) treats of such socio-political themes as patriotism, "democracy" and "social justice."^152 Liberty, the five-part historical journey led by the Goddess of Liberty, even more strongly recalls Lindsay's The Monarche (c. 1552-4), which Thomson may have known.^153 The Monarche, in four books, likewise surveys the rise and fall of ancient civilisations-- Assyrian, Persian, Greek and Roman. Like Liberty, The Monarche posits the ideal of a limited monarchy; each poem outlines the duties of a good monarch (in Liberty,
Both poems warn against the abuse of the nation's greatest gifts, freedom and liberty. The Monarche is specifically directed at Scottish reform, civil and mainly religious; Thomson's attacks on the medieval Roman Church (Part IV.48-99) and on the Stuart monarchy (Part IV.957-1115) are similar, in both theme and tone. But while The Monarche is more explicitly religious-didactic, Thomson sublimates his religious message in the broader, socio-political moral philosophy of Liberty.

Liberty's explicit religious references are mostly couched in appropriately "pagan" terms, to fit the neoclassical epic pattern. The invocation by the speaker at the conclusion of each Part of the poem recalls the concluding "prayers" which were typical of the juvenile poems and also found in The Seasons; in Liberty, however, they are addressed not to the One God, but rather to the Goddess of Liberty herself. Thomson also describes the Goddess in such Neoplatonic light and sun-imagery as he usually reserved for the conventional Christian Deity, for example:

'O forming light of life! O better sun! 
Sun of mankind!...
... That, unstained ether all, diffusive smile-'

Nonetheless, the influence of Thomson's traditional religious background is never far below the surface. Liberty, like The Seasons, shows the influence of both old-style Scottish Calvinistic and Moderate beliefs; Moderate influence, demonstrating Thomson's primary social concerns in the poem, naturally predominates here. Typical of the Moderate approach, the poet seeks to "integrate" religious and moral with social purposes in the poem. Thomson does pay homage
to the conventional Christian God, even within the neoclassical "epic" framework of Liberty, as he describes:

'. . .the whole-moving, all-informing God,
The Sun of beings! beaming unconfined
Light, life, and love, and ever active power—
Whom nought can image, and who best approves
The silent worship of the moral heart,
That joys in bounteous Heaven and spreads the joy.'

(III.49-54)

Thomson's benevolistic "beaming" Deity here is clearly influenced by optimistic Moderate views, but at the same time the poet affirms God's Providential omnipotence and omnipresence, His orthodox, non-deistical attributes. In another passage in Liberty, Thomson likewise describes his favourite concept of God, as the "king of nature in full blaze," the too-bright goal of the Neoplatonic "rising mind," within the conventional conception of the beatific vision (III.556 ff).

Scriptural influence is also discernible in Liberty; note the Psalm-like conclusion to Part IV:

'Ye floods, descend! Ye winds, confirming, blow!'

(IV.1187)

To a greater extent than direct Scriptural reference, the rhetoric of the pulpit resounds throughout the didactic poem, as Thomson roundly condemns the enemies of public virtue and of the Scottish Calvinistic idea of the work-ethic, "vanity," "sloth" (indolence itself!) and "idle wealth." Vanity is portrayed in the familiar insect-parable (recalling "Winter," ll. 644-5 and recurring in the Castle, Canto I, St. LI):
...vain insects fluttering in the blaze
Of court, and ball, and play—those venal souls,
Corruption's veteran unrelenting bands,
That, to their vices slaves, can ne'er be free.'

(V.593-6)

"Sloth," the opposite of progressive "Social labour" (III.121-35; V.620 ff.), is shown to have brought the downfall of both Greece and Rome (II.398; III.383). The antithesis to "liberty" is usually "luxury."155

...that worst of plagues,
The pestilence of mind, a fevered thirst
For the false joys which luxury prepares.
Unworthy joys!...'(III.373-6)

While they were not against wealth in itself, Calvinists and Puritans in general held that wealth, abused, could distract man "from the pursuit of a righteous life";156 Thomson, too, attacks idle wealth with especially strong, homiletic rhetoric:

'Lo! damned to wealth, at what a gross expense
They purchase disappointment, pain and shame.
Instead of hearty hospitable cheer,
See how the hall with brutal riot flows;
While, in the foaming flood fermenting steeped,
The country maddens into party rage.
Mark those disgraceful piles of wood and stone;
Those parks and gardens, where, his haunts betrimmed,
And nature by presumptuous art oppressed,
The woodland genius mourns. See the full board
That steams disgust, and bowls that give no joy!
No truth invited there to feed the mind,
Nor wit the wine-rejoicing reason quaffs.
Hark how the dome with insolence resounds!
With those retained by vanity to scare Repose and friends. To tyrant fashion, mark
The costly worship paid, to the broad gaze
Of fools! From still delusive day to day,
Led an eternal round of lying hope,
See, self-abandoned, how they roam adrift
Dashed o'er the town, a miserable wreck!'

(V.157-77)
Such (graphically-illustrated) abuse of wealth, therefore, encourages the sins of vanity and idleness (recalling the juvenile "Upon Happiness" and looking forward to the didactic Castle of Indolence); these sins take on wider, social importance here, and ultimately undermine the commonweal and lead to the fall of a civilisation. The wealthy become,

'A wandering, tasteless, gaily wretched train, Though rich, are beggars, and though noble, slaves.'

(V.155-6)

Thomson would deal with these themes most fully and coherently in the religious-didactic allegory The Castle of Indolence, where similarly, individual religious morality is transformed, secularised to a broader social scale.

Liberty, as a socio-political and didactic poem, is replete with ideas and abstracts, and so tends to rely very little on natural description. Unfortunately, "when Thomson left nature, inspiration left him."157 He was not skilled at handling pure abstracts in poetry, without the framework of concrete nature, and Liberty's theme was not at all congenial to the poet's most valuable Scottish literary inheritance, his talent for natural-descriptive poetry. There is description in the poem, but much of it is highly generalised, such as the several "cataloguing" prospect-views (including the remote Hebridean scene, "the western main, / Where storms at large resound, and tides immense; / From Caledonia's dim cerulean coast," III.227-9, recalling "Autumn," ll. 862-5, and Castle, Canto I. St. XXX, as well as "Britannia," ll. 84-9). Such stylised and largely imaginary prospects generally have limited visual truth; they are often borrowed from literary and travelogue sources (Thomson's "Hebridean" scenes, for example, derive from
Martin Martin as well as from a description in Milton's *Lycidas*). The by-now familiar patterns of second-hand imagery, noted in the juvenilia and in *The Seasons*, recur in *Liberty*: Neoplatonic light-imagery and the "rising mind" (for example, the ascending "living chain," III. 69-70; the beatific vision, III. 554-70; *Liberty* portrayed as setting sun, joining symbolism with fine description, III. 319-27; and so on); Newtonian imagery, from both the *Principia* and the *Optics* (the Sun/Rome as an attractive force, I. 103-6; "moral gravitation," V. 257; colour and prismatic imagery, II. 223-5 and V. 13-14; refraction, IV. 592; and so on); pastoral-Virgilian imagery ("eternal spring," V. 35 and V. 545); and Scriptural imagery ("rainbow" as covenant, V. 549-64). Another sort of descriptive "borrowing" can also be seen, in the poet's descriptions of ancient sculpture (IV. 134-214). Thomson probably saw some of these works on the Grand Tour; he certainly brought back prints and drawings of them, and probably wrote this passage with these before him. He owned pictures of the following, described in *Liberty*: "Fighting Gladiators," "Dying Gladiators," "Venus of Medici," "Apollo," "Laocoon and sons," and "Hercules of Farnese" (all drawings by Castelli), as well as a print of Michaelangelo's "Moses." These representations of works of art, within poetry, look forward to the descriptions of the paintings of Lorrain, Rosa and Poussin in *The Castle of Indolence* (Canto I. St. XXXVIII).

There are some first-hand descriptions in *Liberty*. These rare exceptions are usually based on Thomson's observations on the Grand Tour; such more realistic descriptive passages are by far the best parts of *Liberty*. One such description is that of modern Italy: unlike the stylised prospect of the ancient Roman Republic (I. 45-73 ff.) and its people, the view of modern Italy, and especially Rome itself (I. 107 ff.)
contains effective and realistic descriptive detail. Large abstracts exist there as well, but they come alive, to work within the landscape; concrete and vivid images of decay, reinforced by stronger alliteration, accurately convey both the poet's visual and emotional responses to the ruined civilisation: "noxious glebe" (l. 130); "'Tis all one desert, desolate, and grey," (l. 135), "To weedy wilderness run, no rural wealth" (l. 161); "fractured arches" (l. 235); and the personified Tiber, who "Winds his waste stores, and sullen sweeps along" (l. 203).

Another often-cited poetical passage is the poet's description of the Alps (IV.348-62):

'The hollow-winding stream: the vale, fair-spread
Amid an amphitheatre of hills,
Whence, vapour-winged, the sudden tempest springs;
From steep to steep ascending, the gay train
Of fogs thick-rolled into romantic shapes;
The flitting cloud, against the summit dashed;
And, by the sun illumined, pouring bright
A gemmy shower—hung o'er amazing rocks,
The mountain ash, and solemn sounding pine;
The snow-fed torrent, in white mazes tossed
Down to the clear ethereal lake below;
And, high o'ertopping all the broken scene,
The mountain fading into sky, where shines
On winter winter shivering, and whose top
Licks from their cloudy magazine the snows.'

The mountain scene is sublime—more "amazing" even than the bare mountains of Thomson's native Scottish Borders. The view is active, continually transforming in the shifting light; clouds and fog evolve, the stream falls into the lake. It is the very sort of dynamic scene which Thomson captures most precisely, controlling the action and pace of the elements and delighting in effects of atmosphere and light. Its imagery is visual, concrete, lively and imaginative ("flitting cloud," "broken scene," "vapour-winged," "gemmy shower," "licks the snows") in
contrast to the ponderous abstractions which make up most of the poem. Many of Thomson's stylistic traits noted in The Seasons recur here, as throughout Liberty: onomatopoeic choice of diction ("flitting," "shivering"), creative compounds ("hollow-winding," "fair-spread," "vapour-winged," "thick-rolled," "snow-fed," many of which incorporate quasi-adverbs or unusual adjectival usage), rhetorically effective repetition ("From steep to steep," "On winter winter shivering"), alliteration ("Sudden tempest springs," "thick-rolled into romantic shapes" "solemn sounding pine," "torrent...tossed," "sky...shines"), consonance and assonance ("clear ethereal lake below"), and of course, elevated, Latinate diction ("vapour," "tempest," "illumined," "gemmy," "ascending," "torrent") with the Greek "amphitheatre" and "ethereal." Interestingly, Latinate language is noticeably much less dense here, in a predominantly descriptive passage, than elsewhere in the abstract and didactic body of the poem, for on the whole the language of Liberty is heavily Latinate, pompous and frequently so convoluted as to be unintelligible.160

A passage illustrating Thomson's more-typical use of strongly Latinate language might be this reference to the monarchy under Elizabeth I:

'As yet uncircumscribed the regal power,
And wild and vague prerogative remained—
A wide voracious gulf, where swallowed oft
The helpless subject lay. This to reduce
To the just limit was my great effort.'

(IV.947-51; italics added)

In using such strongly Latinate English (which frequently incorporated words in their original Latin sense) the poet was of course working within the Scottish Humanistic tradition as well as within "epic" convention, but in the vast and abstract Liberty his classical
rhetoric frequently grows monotonous and overwrought. So too, the blank verse (the appropriate metre of "liberty," free from the restraint of rhyme) tends to lack the variety, freshness and flexibility of the blank verse of The Seasons. One significant absence in Liberty is Thomson's experimental and expressive use of Scotticisms and colloquial derivatives; he obviously considered them indecorous in his neoclassical "epic." In The Seasons, such diction was one of his most effective descriptive tools, but as Liberty largely abandons description, it also lacks this original diction. The few Scotticisms or northern archaisms which do occur include "meantime" (I.386, et. al.), "lours" (IV.160), "bootless" (as a quasi-adverb, IV.644), "baffled" (V.716), "thronged" (I.50 and V.190, as "crowded," variation of Scots "thrang," Chambers Scots Dictionary), and "withered" (V.195, possibly in the Scottish sense, of trembling with cold in "wintry winds"). It is interesting to note that these words occur mostly in Parts IV and V (published 1736), presumably when the poet was hurrying to complete the work, and was perhaps not so careful of his "decorous" diction. These Parts also contain most of the "British" and Scottish descriptive scenes.

While Liberty is more strictly neoclassical and decorous, and carries a somewhat more coherent message than The Seasons, it was never popular, nor was it nearly so successful or original a poem. Thomson had tried drastically to alter the proportions of the basic (and, in an important sense, Scottish) ingredients of his poetry—neoclassicism, socio-political idealism, moral and implicitly religious didacticism, and natural description—and the resulting mix did not work. This is, perhaps, because the most Scottish literary elements, realistic natural description and original language subtly influenced by vernac-
ular Scots and northern usage, were the weakest elements in the "epic" scheme of Liberty. In the plays, and especially in The Castle of Indolence, Thomson can be seen to re-work these same elements yet again, to achieve varying degrees of success.

* * *

Like Liberty, Thomson's dramas served to a great extent as vehicles for his Opposition Whig and patriotic ideals. Thomson felt that the drama was a "powerful school of humane polite morality," and pointed out its didactic, civilising function, "Dashing corruption down through every worthless age" (Castle, Canto I. St. XXXII.9). Again, socio-political and didactic, rather than religious-descriptive, aims predominate. The plays are neoclassical, as well: Thomson, especially at first, modelled his plays on classical and French neoclassical drama. There is very little natural description in Thomson's plays; the main focus is, of course, on the characters, or rather on their highly rhetorical, elevated speeches. The poet had great difficulty in giving life—convincing action and dialogue—to his characters taken from literature and history, and they generally act as mouthpieces for various sides of some abstract debate. Voltaire, who otherwise much admired Thomson's plays, felt that, "they want perhaps some fire; and it may be that his heroes are neither moving nor busy enough..." Thomson's inability to make human figures come alive was glimpsed in The Seasons, where the people tended to be stylised and conventional, or caricatured (the exceptions were the mourning lovers in "Spring," whose plight was similar to the poet's own); only Tancred and Sigismunda approaches such realism and psychol-
ogical accuracy, and this, as in "Spring," resulted from Thomson's own experience of the love and loss of Elizabeth Young. In general, Thomson had little sense of human (as opposed to natural or elemental) drama; his control of the human scene in the dramatic genre, of characters within conventional plots, cannot compare with his control of the dynamic natural scene in descriptive poetry. His blank verse tragedies are rhetorical, declamatory, and in some passages poetical, as he delights in the characters' language; like most northerners writing plays in London in the second quarter of the eighteenth century, he chose to work in tragedy, the highest form of dramatic art, and like them, he was "preoccupied with language." His blank verse tended therefore to be rhetorical rather than "emotional." His dramatic efforts were moderately successful in their day, but the vogue for such declamatory tragedy soon passed, and they are largely forgotten now.

The fundamental reason for Thomson's lack of skill as a dramatist surely lies in the absence of a well-developed dramatic tradition in his native Scotland. There had been a thriving medieval drama in Scotland, but it is lost now; only David Lindsay's didactic "morality play" Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis (written c. 1540, published 1602) survives. There was also some dramatic activity in seventeenth-century Scotland. George Buchanan's Latin Jepthes sive Votum and Baptistes sive Calumnia were Biblical plays modelled on classical drama, and written in exile from religious persecution; like Thomson's plays, they commented on contemporary political issues. (Baptistes, on the theme of "liberty," was translated into English by Milton, as a five-part highly-rhetorical prose tract, and published in 1642.) Buchanan also translated into Latin Euripides' Greek
tragedies Alcestis (one of Thomson's models for Edward and Eleanora) and Medea. Also, Sir William Alexander published his Monarchiche Tragedies (Darius, Croesus, Julius Caesar and The Alexandrian Tragedy) in 1607; these plays in the French Senecan tradition were written to be read rather than acted. "Both Buchanan and Alexander were preoccupied with language rather than action in their lengthy dramas. Both authors used ancient settings and stories, which they intended to have contemporary significance."171 James Thomson may have known their plays; he was certainly working within their tradition of Scottish neoclassicism and rhetoric. The only other form of Scottish drama which survived the rigours of the Reformation, and which Thomson must have known, was the Latin school-play, which served a pedantic and didactic function, demonstrating correct and effective grammar and rhetoric.172

The Scottish Kirk of the Reformation, of course, vigorously censured drama for its own, entertaining sake, and Kirk opposition continued strong through mid-eighteenth century (one need only witness the up-roar about John Home's in the 1740's). Apart from certain court entertainments, the Kirk effectively prohibited nearly all "theatrical representations" until the eighteenth century. For years,

no return of the drama is to be traced in Scotland....
It was not until after the ferment excited by the Union and the confusion attending the rebellion, 1715, had subsided, that any stage-adventurer thought of Scotland.173

There was, therefore, practically no drama being performed in the Scotland of Thomson's youth (and if there were, he, as a Divinity student, would surely have been censured for attending it). No wonder that Thomson, who read classical plays as well as Shakespeare and other
English drama at an early age, and who later read and admired French and Italian drama, came to write tragedies of such a highly rhetorical and literary, rather than dramatic, or stage-bias. No wonder that he could not envisage characters with convincing action and dialogue. His early contacts with live theatre were virtually non-existent! No wonder, too, that he behaved as a child starved for sweets when he arrived in London, eagerly attending many plays at Drury Lane within the first weeks; he specifically mentions Oronoko, The Constant Couple, Addison’s Cato and Hamlet. Even then, he wrote to William Cranston, “a tragedy I think or a fine character [sic] in a comedy gives greater pleasure read than acted.” So, his essentially literary bias remained, and his own plays were necessarily highly derivative of sources outside Scottish literature: the classics, English Renaissance drama, and Continental tragedy.

As Scottish Reformation rigours began to ease and a more Moderate attitude spread in the late seventeenth-early eighteenth centuries, Scots again began to write plays, but these, both at home and in London, were “almost exclusively” comedy at first, such as Archibald Pitcairn’s anti-Kirk satire The Assembly (1692), Allan Ramsay’s The Gentle Shepherd (1725) and Joseph Mitchell’s The Highland Fair (1731). A real tradition of “poetic tragedy” had so far been a missing link in the development of Scottish literature, an important link by which a “poetry becomes self-conscious,...mature.” James Thomson himself would begin to fill this gap. Thomson was the foremost figure in the shift of Scottish dramatists from comedy to tragedy in the early to mid-eighteenth century; in London, he initiated the revival of serious Scottish drama after its long suppression by the Scottish Kirk. He began by attempting strict neoclassical tragedy along the lines of
Addison's Cato (itself strongly influenced by French Neoclassical drama): "the pseudo-classic story had come into vogue with Joseph Addison's 1713 success Cato. Scottish playwrights favored the antique trappings of neoclassic tragedy to clothe assessments of the political events of Hanoverian England."\(^{179}\) Thomson soon moved away from rigid neoclassical rules, however, to explore "new directions,"\(^{180}\) increasingly incorporating the sentimental or "romantic" element and loosening the form considerably. His influence was seen by many as detrimental to the development of British drama. Walter Scott, for example, "thought that Thomson and others 'who followed the same wordy and declamatory system of composition, contributed rather to sink than to exalt the character of the stage....'"\(^{181}\) Nonetheless, such "wordy and declamatory" style and elevated diction were well within the Scottish rhetorical (and Renaissance dramatic, such as it was) tradition. Many felt, too, that such themes of pre-Romantic "melodrama" as Thomson and his followers experimented with, "would deprive the theatre of substance for generations."\(^ {182}\) But it remains true that the various dramatic "concessions" which Thomson and his followers allowed themselves to make-- modifying the classic unities, "conceding historical accuracy to give ancient characters contemporary political significance," and especially incorporating pre-Romantic with classical elements-- "are concomitant with the aesthetic strictures of the Common Sense School, which holds a middle ground experimental in method and ethical in end."\(^{183}\) Again, we see Thomson innovating and practising, rather than preaching, Scottish Enlightenment aesthetics. While Thomson's blank verse tragedies are not entirely successful, they "are among the best things of the kind that were written in that period."\(^{184}\) They are of interest as expressions of Thomson's political
ideals and moral views. More importantly, they play a significant role in Scottish literature, representing a continuation of the Scottish Humanistic tradition, as well as a rebirth of serious Scottish drama.

Thomson's first tragedy was Sophonisba ($^{185}$ (1730) on the strict classical, or more properly the French Neoclassical, model. The theme of Sophonisba is the true history of the Queen of Carthage, who dies rather than submitting to Rome, and who also exemplifies the primary Roman social virtue of patriotism. The story of Sophonisba was treated in Roman histories, notably Livy's; it also occurs in Petrarch's Trionfi, which Thomson surely knew. The story had already been the subject of many dramatic adaptations when Thomson borrowed it, the first being Trissino's Italian Sofonisba. The Prologue to Thomson's play refers to the Italian roots of this tragedy ("With her th' Italian scene first learn'd to glow"). Trissino's tragedy, "closely modelled on classical tragedy," in turn influenced many more Italian and French dramatic versions of the tale, including Pierre Corneille's Sophonisbe (1663); Thomson's debt to Corneille is also acknowledged in the Prologue ("Her charms the Gallic muses next inspir'd: / Corneille himself saw, wonder'd, and was fir'd"). There were also English versions, notably those by John Marston (1606) and Nathaniel Lee (1676). A Scot, David Murray of Gorthy, also wrote an early version of the tale, which was, "according to contemporary opinion, already one of the most popular tales in Scotland." For his verse-tragedy, in the form of a dramatic poem, The Tragicall Death of Sophonisba (1611), Murray employed "imitation with invention," chiefly based on Trissino's play, with Marston's English play a secondary influence.
Thomson did not rely on any single source for his version of the popular tale, but drew from a variety of sources. He certainly knew of the historical Sophonisba from Livy and other historians; he attempted to keep closer to the truth of history than had many of the other dramatists of the story ("As to the character of Sophonisba; in drawing it, I have confined myself to the truth of history").

While he was probably not directly influenced by Trissino, he had probably read the Italian play, as it had been popular in Scotland since the days of James VI; he owned a volume of Theatro Italiano (1723) which included the play. Thomson remained closer to the historical truth than the French version by Corneille, though there are some echoes of the Sophonisbe; he also owned Theatre de Corneille (Paris, 1722) as well as the works of other French dramatists. The famous eulogy of Sophonisba, "She had a Roman soul" (V.ix;III.101), comes from Corneille. The unfortunate, much-parodied line, "Oh Sophonisba! Sophonisba Oh!" echoes Nathaniel Lee. It also seems probable that Thomson knew Murray's Scottish Sophonisba. Both Murray and Thomson make the apt parallel of Sophonisba with Dido (in Thomson, II.11;III.33) which R. D. S. Jack points out does not occur in Trissino; the allusion to Dido originates in Petrarch's Trionfi. Both Murray's and Thomson's heroines, portrayed as "victims of love" like Dido, "embrace death as a friend." Both Scots playwrights show a highly rhetorical bias. Murray's verse-tragedy so simplifies the tale's action that it becomes simply two soliloquies, first Massinissa's, then Sophonisba's; Thomson's play is also much simplified, and concentrates on the speeches rather than on any dramatic action. While both Murray's and Thomson's characters remain flat, there is a strong
element of psychological truth in each, particularly in their descriptions of Massinissa's mental torment. Murray's character is "swolne with grieffe and rage," "halfe mad, distraught, confus'dly doth hee write," and so on, representing "a deeper psychological study of character, than almost any other earlier poem by a Scots author."203 Thomson portrays Massinissa thus, using much imagery from nature, particularly of storms:

What dreadful havoc in the human breast
The passions make, when unconfin'd, and mad,
They burst unguided by the mental eye,
The light of reason, which in various ways
Points them to good, or turns them back from ill!
O save me from the tumult of the soul!
From the wild beasts within!-For circling sands,
When the swift whirlwind whelms them o'er the lands;
The roaring deeps that to the clouds arise,
While through the storm the darting lightning flies;
The monster-brood to which this land gives birth,
The blazing city, and the gaping earth;
All deaths, all tortures, in one pang combin'd
Are gentle to the tempest of the mind. (I,v;iII.24)

What of other, more immediate influences on Thomson's Sophonisba? The play is dedicated to Queen Caroline. "Although correspondence to contemporary political events is less apparent...than in his later dramas, [Sophonisba] can be interpreted as a plea for the Queen to disengage herself from French influence."204 The play could equally well bear a "Scottish" interpretation: the heroine's self-sacrifice in the face of Rome's superior power might parallel Scotland's sacrifice of her national identity in the recent Union with the dominant English nation and culture. As they were in The Seasons, Roman and British imperial ambitions might again be equated, although Thomson's increasing ambivalence toward Rome and what she stood for, first noted in Liberty, also recurs in Sophonisba. Thomson clearly admires Roman Re-
publican social "virtue" as well as strength: the magnanimous Roman leader Scipio triumphs, and Sophonisba is paid the ultimate posthumous compliment, "She had a Roman soul; for every one / Who loves, like her, his country, is a Roman" (V.ix;III,101)--just as many Scots, such as Thomson himself, hoped to be thought best of as "British" citizens. Yet Thomson also expresses, through Sophonisba herself, disgust with Roman imperial oppression and "slavery"; she and her country (like Scotland) represent admirable independence of spirit, an ideal of individualistic "liberty" for which the poet shows considerable sympathy. This pattern of sympathy with the smaller, weaker nation, along with predominant admiration for Rome, will be seen again in Thomson's last play, Coriolanus. Massinissa was born a Carthaginian, but chose to join the Romans (he sought "union" with them); his contribution to their cause is his potential strength of character, as he was trained in the "wintry blasts" of "misfortune's school" (echoing Thomson's description of the brave and hardy Scots in "Autumn," 11. 894-5, "a people in misfortune's school / Trained up to hardy deeds"; also see Liberty, V.73-4). Massinissa, however, proves too emotional when he is ultimately caught between two strong loyalties, patriotism for Rome and his love for Sophonisba, Queen of Carthage. So too, Thomson's nationalistic tensions again appear, as he tries to reconcile his sentimental Scottish national feelings, his love for Scotland, with his strong British patriotism. He finally makes the Roman/British parallel explicit in the play, as:

'...warm with freedom under frozen skies,
In farthest Britain Romans yet may rise.'

(V.ix;III,102)
The overall moral of the tragedy (predictably at this stage, c. 1730, in Thomson's career, when he was most reform-minded and socially aware) is that of social love, or the consideration of public good over private, as touched on in *The Seasons* and elaborated in *Liberty*, for:

'...such is
The spirit that has rais'd Imperial Rome.' (V,ii;III,89)

*Sophonisba* was an immediate success with the public, enjoying a ten-night run at Drury Lane (the London theatre of Whig affiliation), but the play was not without its faults: "its diction is ponderous, Baroque circumlocution...strains for elegance" and neoclassical elevation. The dialogue is not natural, and Thomson's Scottish Humanistic bias, emphasising powerful rhetoric (reinforced by the homiletic influence of his religious background) occasionally leads him to declamatory excess. (Such faults, of course, are familiar in Thomson, and could be found in *The Seasons* and abundantly in *Liberty*, where abstract material far outweighs concrete; without the solid foundation of natural description, Thomson seems frequently to lose rhetorical balance and control.) The characters in *Sophonisba*, speaking so unnaturally and acting so little, are flat, "too devoid of individuality"; Syphax, for example, is all evil, Sophonisba is all patriotism, Massinissa is all passion, and so on. Such weak characterisation, also typical of Thomson, might well be expected of a dramatist who had had so little early experience of live theatre, performed drama; his characters function more as rhetorical arguments than human figures.

A contemporary pamphlet by one "T. B.," entitled *A Criticism of the New Sophonisba*, jealously attributed the play's success at Drury Lane to the large and loud Scots contingent in the audience, to "'Scotchmen
with tuneful Hands and merry Feet*, who attended the performances in force." The pamphleteer also "commented with heavy wit upon all the faults he could discover in the work." But despite its faults, 

Sophonisba was a success because it contained some effective, persuasive rhetoric (for example, the heroine's fiery anti-Roman speeches, I,i; III,iii; V,vi; and so on), it told a moving and patriotic tale, it was well-acted, it could be applied to contemporary politics, and especially because it contained some passages of well-crafted heroic poetry.

In 1737, Walpole's government passed the notorious Stage Licensing Act, by which stage plays had to obtain a permit from the official Censor, the Lord Chamberlain, before they could be produced. This measure was designed to curb the rash of blatantly anti-government political allusion in contemporary drama. Thomson, who had by now openly espoused the Opposition Whig cause and who fully intended to incorporate his views into his plays, was evidently deeply disturbed by the Act. Andrew Millar published, in January 1738, a new edition of Milton's defence of freedom of the press, Areopagitica; its anonymous Preface is attributed to Thomson. Responding to the Licensing Act in his eloquent and indignant Preface, he "denounced censorship of the press with vehemence." As had his model in poetry, Milton, Thomson saw literary censorship as a major threat to all British liberty (the word "liberty" frequently recurs), and akin to the horror of "Slavery." He asks,

because wicked things are publish'd, must there be no publishing? I know it is objected that there is a Medium between an absolute Liberty of the Press, and an absolute Suppression of it: Which I admit; but yet aver the Medium (by which either Licensing, or nothing at all is meant) is far worse on all accounts, than either Extreme.

(cont'd)
For though we are indeed told, that Licensers would serve us with wholesome Goods, feed us with Food convenient for us, and only prevent the Distribution of Poison; sure such Cant was never meant to impose on any, but those who are asleep, and cannot see one inch before them. Let no True Briton therefore be deceived...

In view of the Licensing Act of 1737, it is a wonder that Thomson's next play, which appears to be clearly and defiantly political, was produced at all. However, Agamemnon (1738), Thomson's second classical tragedy, was licensed; probably, at this stage, government ministers did not want to draw unnecessary attention to its possible political implications.

Again, Thomson seems to have used more than one source for his play: the plot comes from Seneca’s tragedy, and from Aeschylus’s version (the opening, and especially Cassandra’s speeches, are almost direct translations from Aeschylus). The character Melisander was added by Thomson, after the account by Nestor of Aegisthus, from Homer’s Odyssey. Unfortunately, however, Thomson "entirely distorted" the classical plot to fit the contemporary political situation, with great loss of dramatic effect. In general, the wicked usurper Egisthus seems to have represented Walpole; Clytemnestra, the misled Queen Caroline; Agamemnon, the weak King George II; and threatened Orestes, Frederick, Prince of Wales. Thomson’s efforts to tone down criticism of the Queen herself, while attacking the Prime Minister Walpole, resulted in the character of Clytemnestra being considerably weakened into a weepy, "timorous and despondent" figure, scarcely recognisable as the classical Queen.

Once again, the play might lend itself to an alternative, "Scottish"
interpretation. The usurpation theme suggests that Thomson may have had in mind the Jacobite threat (current throughout the early eighteenth century). The Pretender, like Agamemnon, returns to his land and would hope to regain a lost throne. Thomson's complex of nationalistic feelings might well dispose him, at once to do his patriotic Whig duty and warn against the dangers to liberty and good government of usurpation (by external, Jacobite force as well as by internal, ministerial influence), and perhaps also to reveal an element of sympathy or "sentimental Jacobitism" for the weak, defeated King Agamemnon/Stuart and his threatened son Orestes/Prince Charles Edward.

Agamemnon is generally less "classical" than Sophonisba, "more addressed to the common passions"; it is a more "romantic version" of the classical tragedy. Again, there is little action, and the dialogue consists of highly rhetorical speeches, but there are also a number of individual passages of good descriptive poetry. One such is Melisander's speech describing his exile on a desert island (Melisander, as opposed to the other characters, was a figure almost wholly developed by Thomson, so it is interesting to note the originality and superiority of his descriptive, poetic speech):

A mossy cave, that fac'd
The southern sea, and in whose deep recess
Boil'd up a crystal fountain, was my home.
Herbs were my food, those blessed stores of health!
Only when winter, from my daily search,
Withdraw my verdant meal, I was oblig'd
In faithless snares to seize, which truly griev'd me,
My sylvan friends; that ne'er till then had known,
And therefore dreaded less the tyrant man.
But these low hardships scarce deserve regard;
The pangs, that sharpest stung, were in my mind:
There desolation reign'd; and there, cut off
From social life, I felt a constant death.
And yet these pangs at last forgot to throb:
What cannot lenient gentle time perform?
I eat my lonely meal without a tear;
Nor sigh'd to see the dreadful night descend.
In my own breast, a world within myself,
In streams, in groves, in sunny hill, and shade;
In all that blooms with vegetable life,
Or joys with kindred animal sensation;
In the full-peopled round of azure heaven;
Whene'er I, studious, look'd, I found companions.
But, chief, the muses lent their softn'ing aid.
At their enchanting voice my sorrows fled,
Or learn'd to please; while, thro' my troubled heart,
They breath'd the soul of harmony anew,
Thus of the great community of nature
A denizen I liv'd; and oft, in hymns,
And rapturous thought, even with the gods convers'd,
That not disdain sometimes the walks of man.

There is more than a little of Thomson himself, lover of nature,
humanitarian and poet, in the character of Melisander; there may also
be some influence of Scotsman Alexander Selkirk's island adventure,
described by Defoe in Robinson Crusoe (1719), on this scene. Also, as
Douglas Grant has pointed out, 'These lines are reminiscent of those
upon a shipwrecked mariner which Thomson had earlier included in Sum-
mer.' Other notable descriptive passages in the play are the dy-
namic descriptions of the "signal / Of conquer'd Troy" (I,ii;III,119)
and of the voyage and storm:

'When to the joyous breeze we spread our sails
And left that bay, where Simois and Scamander
Mix with the rapid Hellespont; while Troy,
Or what was Troy, yet wreathing smoke to heaven,
And Ida's woody top, receding, sunk
Beneath the trembling main, the sky was fair;
And, wing'd our course with slender airs, we sail'd,
Till strait as evening fell, the fluttering gale,
Increasing gradual from the red north-east,
Blew stiff and fierce. At last the tempest howl'd.
Next morning, nought but angry seas and skies
Appear'd, conflicting, round. Mean-time, right on,
Our strong-ribb'd vessel drove before the blast,
That, falling somewhat of its fury, gave us
A quick auspicious voyage. Safe, we pass'd
The Cyclad isles, that, o'er the troubled deep,
Seem'd then to float amidst the mingling storms,
Only at one, with much ado, we touch'd,
Nor without risk.'

(III,1;III,156-7)
This description, in Thomson's best manner, elevated as befits the 
tragedy and also active and vigorous, employs most of the poet's 
peculiar linguistic devices, noted in The Seasons (including unusual 
and effective choice of diction, and especially verb-forms). Other 
noteworthy descriptions in Agamemnon are the prophecies of Cassandra; 
graphic and gruesome, they recall the elements of the grotesque and 
supernatural which are important in Scottish literature, hence their 
appeal to Thomson; for example:

'A black swarm
Of fell ideas seize my fancy.-Hence!
O snatch me from this palace! shambles rather!
It smells of carnage; breathes a hideous stream,
As if from gaping sepulchres exhal'd.
And, lo! the spotless loves, the sports, the joys,
The weeping Lares fly: while in their place,
The vices all, the raging furies come;
And with them Comus, the flush'd god of banquets,
Bemear'd with gore—They sing the funeral hymn—
What do I see? What mean these mangled forms?
These pale, these nightly phantoms; such as rise,
To working fancy's eye, in troubled dreams?—
See! where they sit for ever at the gates,
Demanding vengeance—Vengeance is at hand—
Ha! 'tis the murder'd boys, whose limbs were here,
Serv'd up to their own sire, to be devour'd!—

(V,iii:III,195)

Like Sophonisba, Agamemnon also proved a success, particularly in its 
printed version. Its political implications certainly contributed to 
this success. Andrew Millar first printed three-thousand ordinary 
and one-hundred fine copies of the play; in only three days he had to 
print a second edition of fifteen-hundred copies to meet public de¬
mand.225

Thomson's next play, Edward and Eleanor226 (1739) was not so fortun¬
ate. It was banned by the Lord Chamberlain for its political implica-
tions, probably due to a ministerial change of policy, the government
having grown stricter since the success of Agamemnon and the subsequent rash of Opposition plays such as Mallet's Mustapha and Henry Brooke's Gustavus Vasa. Dr. Johnson quoted one ministerial writer's remark, that in Edward and Eleanora Thomson "'had taken a Liberty which was not agreeable to Britannia in any Season.'" (Johnson's source for this was the Daily Gazeteer, 12 April 1739, which described the play as, "'but a melancholy Instance of the Advantages Arising from our full Enjoyment of Liberty, and what can bring no Benefit to Britannia in any Seasons whatever.'") Another ministerial paper, the Hyp-Doctor (5 June, 1739), while in the process of "heaping derision" on Edward and Eleanora, blamed Thomson's attitude on his being a Scot ("'I should be apt to suspect that Mr. T...was a Scot, For the Scots killed most of their Kings: And Captain Porteous was a pretty Fellow in his Time'"). Thomson and his friends protested ignorance of the reason for the ban. His "naive and provocative disclaimer that the play had political significance was of course untrue," but in fact Edward and Eleanora, based on the apocryphal story of Edward I's Crusade to the Holy Land, was far less boldly political or controversial than Agamemnon had been. The play is dedicated to the Princess of Wales, wife of Frederick; Edward and Eleanora clearly represent the Prince and Princess. Gloster is the spokesman for Thomson's idealistic "patriotic philosophy." The play is chiefly a praise of the Prince (leader of the Opposition Whig faction), and alludes to a ministerial threat to the distant English throne (i.e. Walpole).

But beyond general political parallels, the play represents an experiment by Thomson, in moving away from neoclassical tragedy to a far more sentimental or "romantic" theme. There is some modelling on
Euripides' Alcestis\(^2\) (which had been translated by George Buchanan from Greek to Latin), such as the scene where Daraxa describes Eleanora's pathetic farewell to her household (III,iv),\(^3\) but the play is not itself a tragedy. It is rather a love-story, a "melodrama";\(^4\) its "improbable" plot and "too virtuous" characters\(^5\) reach a happy ending. Edward and Eleanora shows Thomson increasingly returning to concern with individual passions, with personal as well as public values (a concern which is more fully realised in Tancred and Sigismunda and in The Castle of Indolence). It is didactic not only on social and political issues, but also on the poet's familiar themes (juvenilia and Seasons) of private "virtue" and "vanity," as emotive sermon-like rhetoric reasserts itself:

\begin{quote}
'What is vain life? an idle flight of days,  
A still delusive round of sickly joys.  
A scene of little cares and trifling passions,  
If not ennobled by such deeds of virtue.  
And yet this matchless virtue! what avails it?  
Th' afflicting angel has forsook the prince,  
And now pours out his terrors on the princess.  
Forsook him, said I?—No, he must awake  
To keener evils than the body knows,  
Which minds alone, and generous minds can feel.  
O virtue! virtue! as thy joys excel,  
So are thy woes transcendent; the gross world  
Knows not the bliss or misery of either—
\end{quote}

(III,i;IV,41)

The play is especially strongly didactic on the issue of religious toleration, as Thomson preaches against "religious bigotry,"\(^6\) showing Moderate influence on his views; he surely had in mind the recent traumas caused by religious intolerance in England and especially in his native Scotland. The Arab Selim's criticism of the Crusaders for their bigotry and religious persecution (V,i; IV,74-5) recalls Thomson's comment on "Christian crimes" ("Summer," 1. 855), and looks forward to his criticism of wars waged by "Christian kings" (Castle, Can-
Some party-writers attacked Edward and Eleanor's alleged "deism" (such as "Algernon Sidney" in the Daily Gazetteer for 2 June, 1739), accusing Thomson of avoiding references to the orthodox Christian God, but such attacks were mainly disguised attempts further to discredit the political implications of the play. Though critical of certain attitudes of the established Christian religion, the play is in fact orthodox; indeed, "except for special cases like this, Thomson's religious views came in for little criticism from the orthodox in his own day." 241

Thomson's experimental "romantic" drama of Edward and Eleanor, weighted as it was with much "preaching" and rather pious moralising on religious toleration, presented "no conflict," 242 and achieved "no dramatic development"; 243 nonetheless, its general political implications, with the added interest piqued by its having been prohibited, made it a "highly successful" published work in its day. 244

Alfred, a Masque 245 was a collaboration between Thomson and David Mallet, presented on 1 August, 1740 at Cliveden, to celebrate the birthday of Prince Frederick's daughter Augusta. After Edward and Eleanor, Thomson's dramatic works became generally less-obviously controversial; 246 the English historical and musical pageant Alfred is not an Opposition Whig statement, but rather a broader Whig panegyric. It is not necessary here to say much about Alfred, except that it chiefly reiterates the chauvinistic patriotic themes of Liberty (including the optimistic Whig vision of Britain's progress and glorious future, and another attack on the Stuart monarchy). There is much description of a highly conventional, pastoral nature, such as the rural "Happy Man" theme (Colin's speech, I,1;III,213) which first appeared in the
juvenile "Of a Country Life" and The Seasons, and would recur in the Castle. Alfred is remembered mainly for the Bard's concluding ode, "Rule, Britannia," which family tradition and abundant evidence attribute to Thomson; the song's merit, however, is in Thomas Arne's music rather than in Thomson's lyrics. Alfred was produced again at Drury Lane in 1745 (possibly, in part, to arouse patriotic feeling in view of the Jacobite threat). After Thomson's death, Mallet considerably revised it (including "Rule, Britannia," which he then claimed as his own) for his collected Works of 1759.

Thomson's next tragedy, Tancred and Sigismunda (1745) is generally considered his best. It had to be much shortened for the stage, but the published version demonstrates the uninhibited fullness of Thomson's dramatic voice. Andrew Mitchell, probably referring to the abbreviated Tancred and Sigismunda, later remarked to James Boswell that, "'the drama was not [Thomson's] province. He was too descriptive. When a sentiment pleased him he used to extend it with rich luxuriance. His friends used to prune very freely, and poor Thomson used to suffer.'" This comment recalls Thomson's youthful poetic "luxuriance" in rendering the Psalm for Divinity class, censured by Professor William Hamilton; the poet's rhetorical over-enthusiasm was never entirely subdued. Tancred and Sigismunda, the best of Thomson's "dramatic experiments," achieved Voltaire's ideal of the drama, that the most perfect form a play could take would be effected by an expert blending of what was best in the classical and romantic methods. [Thomson] proposed, therefore, to graft the style of development in a story, and the manner of interpretation of character, both as seen in the romantic drama, on the ever-honoured irrefragable unities of the classical drama.
The by-now familiar theme of selfless patriotism ("Reason," represented by Siffredi's sacrifice) is important in the play, and again seen to be in conflict with the love of the hero and heroine ("Passion," as seen in Edward and Eleanora), but now Thomson's sympathy is wholly with the tragic lovers, not with the misguidedly patriotic Siffredi. Patriotism takes second place to romanticism; for the first time, Thomson asserts that Passion can be right, Reason wrong. 

The Prologue to Tancred and Sigismunda pays tribute to Thomson's English models of "romantic" tragedy, Otway, Rowe and especially Shakespeare:

> Thrice happy! could we catch great Shakespeare's art,  
> To trace the deep recesses of the heart.  

Shakespearean "romantic" influence on the poet could be seen as early as Sophonisba; the plot of that play parallels in many ways that of Antony and Cleopatra. But where in Sophonisba, patriotism or Reason overcame the heroine's Passion, in Tancred and Sigismunda the lovers' ill-fated Passion dominates, ultimately to bring about the tragic catastrophe. Romeo and Juliet inevitably comes to mind.

Thomson's immediate literary source for Tancred and Sigismunda was the interpolated tale of the Fatal Marriage told by Donna Elvira in LeSage's picaresque novel Gil Blas of Santillane (1715-35). There seem to be "no [contemporary] political allusions at all" in Tancred and Sigismunda, with the exception of Thomson's reconciliatory gesture,
'I here renounce those errors and divisions
That have so long disturb'd our peace, and seem'd
Fermenting still, to threaten new commotions—
By time instructed, let us not disdain
To quit mistakes...'

(II,iv;IV,124)

Benjamin Victor, in a letter to the Daily Post (26 April, 1745) pointed this out as a statement of the current Opposition Whig stance. In 1742, Walpole's administration had at last fallen, and the Opposition Whigs, the party of "liberty," prevailed. This new freedom from political purpose allowed Thomson to develop plot and characters with far greater fullness and imagination than in the previous plays. But more important than political allusion, the love-story of Tancred and Sigismunda has a strongly subjective element, which (like the dejected lovers in "Spring") gives life and psychological realism to the drama. The "greater emotion" in this play, dealing with the unfortunate lovers, was surely inspired by the poet's own deep and troubled love for Elizabeth Young. Also, the aspect of "parental tyranny" as exercised by Siffredi brings to mind Miss Young's cruel mother, who opposed her daughter's marriage to Thomson. Grieving Siffredi finally warns parents:

'...who from nature stray,
And the great ties of social life betray;
Ne'er with your children act a tyrant's part...'

(V,viii;IV,199-200)

It was in 1745, the year Tancred and Sigismunda appeared, that Thomson made his last attempt to woo and win Miss Young, and was rejected.

While Tancred and Sigismunda makes scant reference to the contemporary political scene, the familiar didactic strains of public morality
and social benevolence recur in the tragedy. But further, the play represents Thomson's increasing emphasis on personal moral concerns and individual didacticism, corresponding to its return to more subjective expression, its "romantic" focus on individual sentiments. This attitude was present in The Seasons and especially in the juvenilia, largely disappeared from the "public" poem Liberty and the early plays, and began to reassert itself, as has been suggested, in Edward and Eleanora. Such a renewal of personal concern and subjective values would culminate in The Castle of Indolence, where Thomson reaffirms the structure of thought of Scottish Calvinistic individual morality, based on the secularised "virtue" of Industry, as the root of social love. Tancred now insists that, "There is, / Can be no public without private virtue—" (II,viii;IV,136). Thomson confirms his conventional religious faith in Tancred and Sigismunda, in, for example, Tancred's prayer which is addressed to an ever-active, non-deistical God:

'O wonder-working Hand
That, in majestic silence, sways at will
The mighty movements of unbounded nature;
O grant me, heaven! the virtues to sustain
This awful burden...

(I, iv; IV,109)

Tancred and Sigismunda never achieves wholly "natural" portrayal of action, character, dialogue and emotion; there is still that characteristic "aloofness which results from exalted language and thematic priorities," appropriate to Thomson's chosen, highest form of drama, the tragedy. He continues to deal much in abstracts, such as "passion versus reason," "public good versus private morality," and so on; he still values "philosophical expression above psychological motivation," and tends to "verbosity" in his philosophical specu-
lations. Nonetheless, Tancred and Sigismunda is certainly Thomson’s tightest, most carefully-constructed plot, his most readable and "human" play. It was widely popular from the first (again, it was well-acted; "the performances of [David] Garrick and [Susannah] Cibber ravished the heart of every beholder"),\(^264\) and enjoyed numerous revivals throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It was also very popular in Scotland, being "one of the few plays by a Scot presented in Edinburgh which played more than one season"; with The Gentle Shepherd and Home’s Douglas, it became a repertory favourite in the North.\(^265\)

In Tancred and Sigismunda, as in The Seasons, Thomson’s bold experimentation, with a liberal dose of personal, subjective experience, had at last brought him a substantial and long-lived success in the field of tragedy.

Thomson’s final play was Coriolanus\(^266\) (written 1746-7). Thomson did not live to see it produced in January, 1749; it had been delayed by a dispute between actors Garrick (Tullus) and Quin (Coriolanus).\(^267\) Its performance in 1749 was given partly to benefit the late poet’s sisters in Scotland.\(^268\)

Thomson again drew from several sources for his plot. He almost certainly knew Shakespeare’s version\(^269\) as well as its source, Plutarch. Thomson’s version is closer to Plutarch than Shakespeare in some ways, for instance in the question of man’s "Nature," which Plutarch and Thomson dwell on more explicitly than Shakespeare. Some details (such as the women’s names) follow the story as told in the Roman history of Dionysus of Halicarnassus.\(^270\) Thomson’s "handling of the action is an improvement on Shakespeare; his scenes are more neatly connected and the dramatic unities are more closely observed...."\(^271\) His se-
quence of events differs from Shakespeare's: where much of Shakespeare's action occurs in the Roman political arena itself, Thomson's Coriolanus is better-balanced and more concentrated (encompassing Shakespeare's Acts IV and V, mainly); much of Thomson's action takes place in the Volsciens' camp, and the plot is given more from their point of view. Again, the pattern seen in Sophonisba, of Thomson's ambivalence toward Roman values and of a degree of sympathy for the integrity of the smaller nation, recurs: are the Romans models of social virtue, or are they oppressors? heroes or tyrants? (Thomson seems never to have resolved this dilemma to his own satisfaction, but, as in the case of his own "British" and "Scottish" conflicts, the ambivalence seems to generate a certain creativity, a "negative capability" in his handling of nationalistic themes.)

Why did Thomson choose this story to dramatise, this cold, proud hero whom even Shakespeare was not able to animate? For the first time, in the plays, there is no "love-interest" in the plot; Thomson was despondent when he wrote the play, following the loss of his beloved Elizabeth Young, and clearly sought to avoid any trace of the "romantic," which had played such an important role in his previous dramas. In writing to Mallet to ask him to read the play, his mood is obvious: "'Tho pretty much indifferent whether he [Coriolanus] ever appear upon the stage or no, yet I am far from being so with regard to his having your approbation..." The poet, numb with grief, returned to the solid and admired, yet remote, classical world for his historical and political plot, and there reiterated his complex public values, his views on nationalism and patriotism, steering clear of private concerns once again. He likewise chose a hero significantly deficient in emotion, particularly love.
One critic has seen a contemporary political, Jacobite allusion in Coriolanus:

In July, 1745, Charles Edward Stewart, taking advantage of the war with France and Spain and the British disasters on the continent, landed at Moidart and marched down through England until in December he had reached Derby with a victorious army of Camerons and Macdonalds, and the City of London went mad with panic fear. The story of Coriolanus is a close parallel: the noble and victorious commander camping down before the walls of his own capital with a foreign army, and then withdrawing without exploiting his successes... is it not natural that Thomson should bear his part in celebrating it?^5

Note, again, the Rome/Britain parallel implied here: the City of Rome is directly compared with London. Was Thomson, in fact, "celebrating" the retreat of the Stuart Pretender? He did, after all, show some element of sympathy with the brave, warlike Volscians, who were perhaps analogous to the Scots, representing a certain "sentimental Jacobite" feeling, or at least a concern for his countrymen in general. The pacifist character Galesus might speak for those, such as Duncan Forbes, who would urge mercy on the Jacobites. But Coriolanus, as well as Scottish Jacobite hopes, were killed; both had been proud "traitors" to their nations, Rome and Great Britain. While it does seem likely that Thomson had the complex Scottish situation in mind here, his final moral,

'Then be this truth the star by which we steer,
Above ourselves our Country should be dear'

(V,iv;IV,286)

ultimately refers to his united "Country," Great Britain.

Whatever the fascinating political implications, as a tragedy Corio-
lanus seems to have fallen victim to Thomson's personal despondence over his ill-fated love; his attempt to renounce passion and to return to "reason and philosophy" in his last play resulted in an unsympathetic "hero of sounding brass, whose verbal clangour is continuous and unconvincing....The whole play is cold, heartless, immobile... lacking in spirit." The poet's relentlessly elevated rhetoric, his "public" didacticism on the social virtue of patriotism, and (through the gratuitous invented character of Galesus) Pythagorean philosophy and pacifism, is abstract and empty; the "characters" are merely mouthpieces for various ideas. There is no enlivening passion, no human interest to stir dramatic conflict. Like the preponderance of the "failed epic" Liberty, Coriolanus lacks the vital ingredients of Thomson's best work-- natural description, and personal experience and feeling-- to leaven the heavy abstraction. In sum, Coriolanus lacks poetry.

Happily, Coriolanus did not signal a final decline in Thomson's poetic powers. He eventually overcame his personal despondence and grief, to complete in 1748 the imaginative and finely-crafted Castle of Indolence, a work which in many ways ranks with his Seasons as an Anglo-Scottish masterpiece. This work will be examined in Chapter VIII.

* * *

In all of Thomson's later works-- Liberty and the dramas, as well as The Castle of Indolence-- can be traced, in varying degrees, the continuity of the major influences which the poet carried with him from Scotland. For all his years in England, Thomson was never to lose the love and nostalgia he held for his homeland, reflected in these later
works both implicitly and explicitly. He would always retain his Scottish Humanistic knowledge of and respect for classical culture, most prominently illustrated in Liberty and the neoclassical plays, and particularly shaping his complex concept of Rome, with relation to Scotland and to Great Britain. His ideals of liberty, national and individual freedom, and the "social virtue" of patriotism were perhaps as much a product of his upbringing as a Scot, as of his awareness of traditional classical ideals. His views on religion and morality in relation to society, his didactic mode continued to bear the strong influence of his Scottish religious background, both old-style Calvinistic and Moderate. His literary language in these mature works also continued to show the Scottish influences noted in The Seasons: notably, in Liberty and the dramas, the tendency to use strongly Latinate English in a declamatory, highly elevated rhetorical style. Although James Thomson left his native Scotland at the age of twenty-five in 1725, never to return, the "Scottishness" of the poet would fortunately continue to "show itself," to exert its distinctive influence on his works, throughout his life.
CHAPTER VIII: 'THE CASTLE OF INDOLENCE'.

The Castle of Indolence¹ (1748) represents James Thomson's auspicious return to his most congenial mode, the poem of natural description which also serves a religious-didactic function. In the descriptive, religious-didactic Castle, he employs those very Scottish-based ingredients which made The Seasons work; further, the poet's return to natural description corresponds to his return to more varied and creative use of poetic language, this time within the discipline of strict form. Socio-political and neoclassical elements interact in the Castle scheme as well, but they do not dominate as they had in Liberty and the classical tragedies. In general, in the Castle Thomson can be seen to achieve true "integration"² of religious with social purposes--the goal of the Moderates--framed in this instance by the "simplified" Spenserian allegory.³ The Castle of Indolence is an allegory in the Spenserian manner, and much more: it is Thomson's own, final re-working of many of the themes which had appeared in his poetry since his youth. It is simultaneously public and private, objective and subjective;⁴ the "indolent bard" lives within the Castle, providing the important element of personal experience, and also views it from without, pointing out the poem's very serious moral-didactic message. "The subjective and the objective sides, the aesthetic and moral aspects, are both covered by the term Indolence."⁵ The Castle was written over a period of about fifteen years: "It was, at first, little more than a few detached stanzas, in the way of raillery on himself, and on some of his friends, who would reproach him with indolence; while he thought them, at least, as indolent as himself. But
he saw very soon, that the subject deserved to be treated more seriously, and in a form fitted to convey one of the most important moral lessons. The poem is Thomson's most compact and formally controlled major poem; it exemplifies, as well as preaches, the lesson of Art successfully improving upon Nature. Here the poet, like his Knight of Arts and Industry, "polished nature with a finer hand" (II. xviii.2). The Castle of Indolence is Thomson's most consciously artistic work.

Thomson's return to natural description is indeed refreshing after the heavily abstract Liberty and plays. The poem's central moral of "industry" versus "indolence," or action versus stagnation, is itself drawn in terms of the natural world, in a passage from the Bard's Song which also highlights Thomson's special skill at describing dynamic nature-in-process:

'Is not the field, with lively culture green,
A sight more joyous than the dead morass?
Do not the skies, with active ether clean
And fanned by sprightly zephyrs far surpass
The foul November fogs and slumberous mass
With which sad nature veils her drooping face?
Does not the mountain stream, as clear as glass,
Gay-dancing on, the putrid pool disgrace?
The same in all holds true, but chief in human race.'

(II.xlix)

The "November fogs" described here also recall the Scottish fog-scene in "Autumn."

The description in the Castle is not precisely the same sort of realistic natural description which predominated in The Seasons, however. While it is based on observation and employs vivid natural imagery as well as much "realistic detail," it most frequently goes beyond realistic depiction, to a realm removed from, surpassing the natural world,
to the extremes of "super-natural" description. As Léon Morel pointed out, Thomson's choice of the Spenserian "supernatural" theme (modelled on The Faerie Queene) itself reflects the poet's Scottish Border background. Thomson would naturally have been attracted, as a Scot brought up on folk-tales and Border ballads, to such "fairy-marvels" and not only to happy fairy-tales, but also to the more sinister supernatural. Two types of "supernatural" description thus predominate in the Castle. First, there is a large proportion of highly idealised and fanciful description, as befits a "fairy-tale"; there is a wealth of delicately sensuous, impressionistic "atmosphere-painting" such as "had been frequent in Scots poetry." These idealised descriptions also include a number of pastoral-conventional scenes and selective prospect views. Secondly, at the other extreme of "supernatural" description in the Castle, is Thomson's introduction of the less-Spenserian, more Scottish element of the "grotesque," mildly to wildly exaggerated description. Although G. C. Macaulay calls this "the most serious fault in connection with the imitation of Spenser" in the Castle, it nonetheless plays a vital part in the allegory, and surely can be attributed to the influences of Scottish folklore and possibly of Middle Scots poetry on Thomson. The central irony of the Castle, which governs most of its descriptions, is that the idealised "appearance" of indolence is deceptively luxurious and attractive, while its "reality" is ugly, graphically illustrating the poet's stern religious-didactic lesson that indolence is sinful. As the poem is subjective to a great extent, the irony is largely self-directed; Thomson himself, as a Castle inmate, is torn between indolence and virtuous industry. Between the two poles of idealised and grotesque description, he often makes pointed contrasts (such as in II.lxvii, where the "appearance" drops sharply away to reveal the harsh "reality").
senting the deeper moral contrasts. This abrupt visual effect recalls the Scottish ballads, where such sudden contrasts or shifts of focus are an important dramatic device. 12

Among the many passages of the first type of "idealised" description in the Castle is the description of the natural setting of the Castle itself (I.ii-vii). This pastoral scene, couched in "images of rest" (I.iii.i) and set in a surreal "season atween June and May" (I.ii.6), affords an example of that skilful "atmosphere-painting" which especially characterises Canto I of the poem. Typical of much of the description in the Castle, the mood is created not merely with visual imagery, but with abundant imagery of sound and movement as well. While the overall scene is generalised and owes something to The Faerie Queene, 13 Thomson characteristically adds details of accurate, realistic description, for example in the passage:

Was nought around but images of rest:
Sleep-soothing groves, and quiet lawns between;
And flowery beds that slumberous influence kest,
From poppies breathed; and beds of pleasant green,
Where never yet was creeping creature seen.
Meantime unnumbered glittering streamlets played,
And hurled everywhere their waters sheen;
That, as they bickered through the sunny glade,
Though restless still themselves, a lulling murmur made.
(I.iii)

Realistic touches within the stylised "sunny glade" are enhanced with unusual and effective choice of diction, involving, chiefly, many verb-forms (for example, the alliterative compound-epithet "sleep-soothing," archaic "kest," "breathed," "creeping," "glittering," "played," "hurled," "bickered," quasi-adverb "restless still" with the added connotation of oxymoron, and "lulling murmur made") describing the action and process of the scene; fanciful and thoroughgoing per-
sonification (poppies "breathed," lively "streamlets played," and so on), also reinforcing action, movement and giving the landscape an imaginative life of its own; carefully-chosen sound effects of onomatopoeia, alliteration and assonance; and the occasional Latinate polysyllable ("influence," "unnumbered") serving to vary and control the pace. Thomson's versatile and original use of language, seen in *The Seasons*, is again evident in such descriptive passages of the *Castle*. Worthy of note, too, is the poet's use of extensive "negative" rhetoric ("nought but," "never yet," "unnumbered"); such "negative" rhetoric is especially typical of Canto I. This device is calculated to reinforce the "negative" message underlying the superficially "positive" or idealised scenes presented here. While the "lowly dale, fast by a river's side, / With woody hill o'er hill encompassed round" (I.ii.1-2) where the Castle lies is generalised and imaginary, it might also incorporate the poet's recollection of his hilly, stream-filled Scottish Borders (or, perhaps, a scene outside Edinburgh, for the "murmuring main" was heard in the distance). Indeed, one of the diversions of the Castle's inmates, including Thomson and his fellow-Scots, was

...to retrace our boyish plays,
Our easy bliss, when each thing joy supplied—
The woods, the mountains, and the warbling maze
Of the wild brooks!... (I.xlviii.5-8)

J. Logie Robertson notes that these are, "recollections of his native Teviotdale," "the memories of childhood and youth [which] are summoned as a preservative against vice and vain imaginations, which come to an indolent life." A. D. McKillop comments that,
The implication is that this Wordsworthian regeneration may save the victim of Indolence, the hedonist in the Castle, and thus become an inward counter- or anti-enchantment, a virtuous alternative to illusion. But the private and subjective history...cannot easily be made to run concurrently with the social or public history, the framing allegory. The Knight of Arts and Industry has still to do his work in Canto II. 16

McKillop's use of the word "regeneration" in connection with Thomson's youthful moral ideal of virtue is intriguing: the Scottish Calvinistic concept of spiritual "Regeneration" which indeed cannot come entirely from within, but which must be initiated from without through Divine grace 17 (paralleling the mission of the Knight in the Castle) is a scheme which might usefully be applied to the interpretation of the allegory, as shall be demonstrated. Thomson's "memories of childhood," therefore, went beyond the recollection of the Scottish Border landscape to encompass the spiritual values of his Scottish Calvinistic upbringing, alluded to even as early in the poem as this passage in Canto I. The only sinister note in this idyllic scene is the description of the "blackening pines, ay waving to and fro," which "Sent forth a sleepy horror through the blood" (I.v.6-7), just barely hinting at the Castle's grotesque reality, and the spiritual depravity it represents.

Like that of its setting, the description of the interior of the Castle of Indolence (I.xxxiii-xliv) maintains a subtle balance between vivid, sensuous detail and generalised impression. The poet deliberately idealises the scene, much as the inmates' dreams raise an artificial, supernatural fantasy-world, "a world of gayer tinct and grace; / ...And shed a roseate smile on nature's face" (I.xliv. 2, 5).

Multi-sensuous images—textures and tastes, sounds and sights, are
subtly blended in this vivid "atmosphere-painting." All is soft, well-padded against the outside world: "Soft quilts on quilts, on carpets carpets spread" (I.xxxiii.6). A perpetual rich and exotic banquet is laid (I.xxxiv). Visual images are of "art within art": tapestries of pastoral and Biblical scenes (such as the poet may have seen at Hagley) and landscape paintings by Claude Lorrain, Salvator Rosa and Nicolas Poussin. The metaphor of "art" within the Castle is a very important one, as the poem itself seeks to explore the relationship of Art and Nature, the theme of Art controlling or enhancing Nature; the Knight of Arts and Industry effects Virgilian "improvement" or "nostalgic progressivism," "creating the landscapes he enjoys" with "landscape gardening as the representative art. The double role of the poet...is closely analogous." Thomson's lifelong interest in landscape gardening has already been noted; it was an interest acquired even as a youth in Scotland, and which influenced his conception and execution of descriptive poetry. His knowledge of and taste for the fine art of painting, and particularly landscape painting, likewise developed from youthful associations, such as his friendship with William Aikman, who acted as Sir John Clerk of Penicuik's art agent in London. The poet owned many prints and drawings, and a number of books on artistic theory and art history, among them Scott George Turnbull's Treatise on Ancient Painting (1740), a work to which Thomson and several of his friends subscribed. Landscape painting, too, influenced to an extent the poet's way of seeing and describing nature, particularly in prospect-view. Thomson's accurate and enthusiastic impressions of landscape paintings as portrayed in the Castle reveal not only his trained and critical eye, but also his strong sensibility to such works of representative, visual art:
Sometimes the pencil, in cool airy halls,
Bade the gay bloom of vernal landskips rise,
Or Autumn's varied shades imbrown the walls:
Now the black tempest strikes the astonished eyes;
Now down the steep the flashing torrent flies;
The trembling sun now plays o'er ocean blue,
And now rude mountains frown amid the skies;
Whate'er Lorrain light-touched with softening hue,
Or savage Rosa dashed, or learned Poussin drew.

(I.xxxviii)

"In this poem art always extends, duplicates and interchanges with nature....The friendly rivalry between art and nature enriches life...."21

Aural imagery, which "becomes increasingly important" in the Castle,22 further sets the gentle, languid atmosphere of Indolence in Canto I.
The poem's opening stanzas, describing the Castle's setting (such as the passage quoted previously), make the "hypnotic effect pervasive.... The fusion of sound is far from commonplace."23 Stanzas xxxix-xli, set within the Castle, further develop the aural imagery; the poet includes here a reference to a contemporary musical novelty, the AEolian Harp, "reinvented" by a Scots musician of Thomson's acquaintance, James Oswald.24 The Harp is placed in an open window to catch the wind and emit pleasing vibrations:

Ah me! what hand can touch the strings so fine?
Who up the lofty diapason roll
Such sweet, such sad, such solemn airs divine,
Then let them down again into the soul?
Now rising love they fanned; now pleasing dole
They breathed, in tender musings, through the heart;
And now a graver sacred strain they stole,
As when seraphic hands an hymn impart:
Wild warbling Nature all, above the reach of Art!

(I.xli)

Again, "Art and nature...find common ground; the harp at the same time represents spontaneous natural force and surpasses the effects of art....Nature expresses the whole range of human mood and feeling with incomparable power."25
Ultimately, the interior of the Castle of Indolence, coloured by the dreams of the inmates, proves so very falsely idealised that the poet of nature cannot describe it:

No, fair illusions! artful phantoms, no!  
My muse will not attempt your fairy-land;  
She has no colours that like you can glow;  
To catch your vivid scenes too gross her hand.  

(I.xlv.1-4)

Another idealised and literary-conventional description in the Castle, which is specifically Scottish, is the famous description of the solitary "Shepherd of the Hebrid Isles" (I.xxx). Versions of this remote, "romantic" scene, which echoes Lycidas, occur in The Seasons ("Autumn," ll. 862-5), "Britannia" (ll. 88-9) and Liberty (II.227-9). A. D. McKillop calls this scene in the Castle, where the shepherd has a vision of the "second sight," "A more truly 'romantic view'" than any of Thomson's previous Hebridean scenes. Although Thomson never visited the Hebrides, "emotional remembrance of Scotland" (homesickness or "heimweh") seems to have inspired the idealised scene. Thomson's description of "second sight" may have been suggested by Martin Martin's reports; the superstitious poet certainly knew of such phenomena in local Scottish folklore as well. Significantly, he appears to make allowance for the possible truth of this supernatural experience:

(Whether it be lone fancy him beguiles,  
Or that aerial beings sometimes deign  
To stand embodied to our senses plain) (I.xxx.3-5)

One further idealised description which should be mentioned occurs in
Canto II; this is Thomson's conception of the retreat of the Knight of Arts and Industry in "Deva's Vale" (II.xxv-xxviii). Here, the poet reiterates the familiar classical "Happy Man" theme, specifically set in "Britain-land" (II.xxiv,1), and illustrates the Virgilian ideals of "nostalgic progressivism" and rural "improvement" which figured significantly in The Seasons' vision. Again, Thomson blends broad literary convention with realistic and freshly-described details, for example:

Nor from his deep retirement banished was
The amusing cares of rural industry.
Still, as with grateful change the seasons pass,
New scenes arise, new landskips strike the eye,
And all the enlivened country beautify;
Gay plains extend where marshes slept before;
O'er recent meads the exulting streamlets fly;
Dark frowning heaths grow bright with Ceres' store;
And woods imbrown the steep, or wave along the shore. (II.xxvii)

Especially notable here are the poet's use of Latinate diction ("extend," "recent," and so on, and the allusion to "Ceres") in keeping with the Virgilian theme, as well as his effective use of personification animating the "enlivened country." The locating of the scene in "Deva's Vale" is intriguing; critics have discovered "no special reason" for Thomson's use of this place-name, other than the allusion to Lycidas, 1. 55. Thomson seems not to have known the English Dee Valley, and his description of the Knight's retreat does not correspond to that sandy estuary. There, however, two Rivers Dee in Scotland, as well as the ancient location near Aberdeen, mentioned in Ptolemy, of "Devana" or "Devanha." Thomson may have had his homeland in mind when he chose the name for the remote, idealised setting of "Deva's Vale"; in pastoral poetic convention, the "poet is traditionally associated with a river near his birthplace."
In sharp contrast to such idealised, stylised and literary-conventional descriptions as these, are Thomson's "grotesque" descriptions in the Castle. The humorous caricatures of the poet himself and his friends in Canto I are part of this exaggerating tendency, but are only mildly distorting portraits (cf. "Autumn," the caricatures of the huntsmen); they are rather "burlesque" than truly "grotesque."

They are not, however, without an edge of satirical truth and realism. The caricatures contribute to the Castle's subjective vision, and demonstrate Thomson's genial wit. They provide pleasant relief from the preceding passage, the ironic view of corruption in the real, Fallen world outside the Castle (I.xlix-lvi, the "Mirror of Vanity" passage). Thomson affectionately caricatures William Paterson (lvii-lix), Dr. John Armstrong (lx), John Forbes (lxii-lix), George Lyttelton (lxv-lxvi), James Quin the actor (lxvii), and Patrick Murdoch; the "wretch" (lxii) expelled from the poet's circle was possibly one Henry Welby. Thomson himself, with his reputation for a seemingly-indolent, very casual lifestyle of "nightly days" (I.xxxi), was drawn (probably by Lyttelton) thus:

A bard here dwelt, more fat than bard beseems
Who, void of envy, guile, and lust of gain,
On virtue still, and nature's pleasing themes,
Poured forth his unpremeditated strain,
The world forsaking with a calm disdain:
Here laughed he careless in his easy seat;
Here quaffed, encircled with the joyous train;
Oft moralizing sage; his ditty sweet
He loathed much to write, ne cared to repeat. (I.lxviii)

The more extreme, truly "grotesque" description enters the Castle as early as Canto I, xlvi and xlvii, with the first glimpse of the Castle's ugly reality, its private hell-on-earth, still concealed at this stage from the deceived followers of the Wizard Archimago. The "fiends whom
blood and broils delight," the "foul demons" are not yet allowed to
disturb the Castle's false peace. The "hellish" description here,

     Down, down black gulfs where sullen waters sleep,
     Or hold him clambering all the fearful night
     On beetling cliffs, or pent in ruins deep,
     (I.xlvi.6-8)

owes much to literary convention, notably to Dante and Milton, and also
possibly to Gavin Douglas's translation of Virgil's *Aeneid*, where he
describes the "deidly golf" of hell,

     A hiddus hoill, deip gapand and grisly,
     All ful of cragis...
     With a fowle layk, als blak as ony craw.35

Thomson's description, like Douglas's, goes beyond literary allusion
to carry a strong strain of horrible realism, appropriate to its sym-

bolic function in the poem, representing the gruesome "truth" of
indolence. In general, there is a stronger strain of descriptive
realism in these "grotesque" scenes of the poem, however exaggerated,
than in the more "idealised" scenes; Middle Scots poetry as well as
old-style Scottish Calvinistic sermon-rhetoric (where descriptions of
hell were especially vivid, and replete with forceful concrete imagery)36
influenced such passages in the *Castle*. Also, such figures as the
"hags of hell," "fiends," "demons" and "spirits" which recur in the
poem's "grotesque" descriptions are, of course, a part of Scottish
folklore and were, in a sense, very real to the superstitious poet from
the Borders.

Another grotesque description occurs at the conclusion to Canto I,
lxxiv-lxxvii, in the rather repulsive, hyperbolic personifications of
the illnesses which result from indolence, those "diseased and loath-
some" inmates of the Castle's private hell, where "Fiends and hags of hell their only nurses were." These stanzas of the allegorical poem were written not by Thomson, but by Dr. John Armstrong, with graphic physiological detail and a Scottish delight in wild hyperbole (recalling such Middle Scots poetry as Dunbar's "The Dance of the Sevin Deidly Synnis"; the Middle Scots allegory King Hart is likewise built on the metaphor of bodily illness). Armstrong probably had immediately in mind Allan Ramsay's poem "Health," especially Ramsay's description of "Lethargus," the "lazy lubbard," when he wrote these stanzas.

The "grotesque" descriptive aspect of the Castle greatly intensifies in the more serious, didactic Canto II. In lxvii-lxviii, the Knight of Arts and Industry waves his "anti-magic" wand, "Truth from illusive falsehood to command," and the hideous, grotesquely-exaggerated reality within the Castle of Indolence is revealed:

Sudden the landscape sinks on every hand;
The pure quick streams are marshy puddles found;
On baleful heaths the groves all blackened stand;
And, o'er the weedy foul abhorred ground,
Snakes, adders, toads, each loathly creature crawls around.

And here and there, on trees by lightning scathed,
Unhappy wights who loathed life yhung;
Or in fresh gore and recent murder bathed
They wtering lay; or else, infuriate flung
Into the gloomy flood, while ravens sung
The funeral dirge, they down the torrent rolled:
These, by distempered blood to madness stung,
Had doomed themselves; whence oft, when night controlled
The world, returning hither their sad spirits howled.

(II.lxvii-lxviii)

Thomson's graphic description here, his vivid concretising of moral corruption, cannot help but call to mind similar startling and surreal descriptions in Middle Scots poetry, particularly the descriptions of
the netherworld in Gavin Douglas's translation of the *Aeneid* and also his "hellish" landscapes in the allegorical dream-vision *The Palice of Honour*. Looking forward to Thomson, Douglas in the *Palice* described the dreamer's vision of the sudden transformation of a beautiful garden into this horrible wilderness:

> In that desert dispers in sonder skatterit
> Wer bewis bair quhome rane and wind on batterit.
> The water stank, the feild was odious,
> Quhair dragouns, lessertis, asis, edders swatterit,
> With mouthis gapand, forkit taillis tatterit,
> With mony a stang and spousis vennemous
> Corrupting Air be rewme contagious.
> Maist gros and vile enpoysenit cludis clatterit,
> Reikand like hellis smoke sulfurious.

*(Palice, Part I, ll. 346-54)*

In Thomson's vision of "hell," the imagery of wetness predominates: "marshy puddles" of "loathly" reptiles and other beasts, "fresh gore," Stygian "gloomy flood," "torrent," "distempered blood." In lxxvii-lxxx, his "hellish" description continues with the gruesome "desert wild" of "gibbets, bones, and carcasses defiled" contrasted with yet another wet, inclement and very cold landscape:

> ...a joyless land of bogs,
> The saddened country a gray waste appeared,
> Where nought but putrid streams and noisome fogs
> For ever hung on drizzly Auster's beard;
> Or else the ground, by piercing Caurus sealed,
> Was jagged with frost or heaped with glazed snow.

*(II.lxxviii.1-6)*

Douglas in *The Palice of Honour* depicted a similar hell of extremes of desert and wintry bog:

> My rauist spreit in that desert terribill
> Approchit neir that vglie flude horribill,
> Like till Cochyte the river Infernall,
> With vile water quhilk maid a hiddious trubil,
> Rinnand ourheid, blude reid, and Impossibill

*(cont'd)*
That it had bene a riuier naturall;
With brayis bair, raif Rochis like to fall,
Quhairon na gers nor herbis wer visibill
Bot swappis brint with blastis boriall.

(Palice, Part I, ll. 136-44)

Douglas's description continues thus, with the descriptive emphasis on the damp, cold and inclement "Scottish" climatic details. Douglas's Eneados likewise describes a "northern" hell of damp, chilly foggy atmosphere -- a description which is, of course, very much within the Scottish "winter" descriptive tradition, and also characteristic of descriptions of hell in Scottish folklore, such as the ballad "The Daemon Lover." Much of Thomson's portrayal of the Castle's private "hell" also comes within the Scottish tradition of "winter" descriptive poetry.

Elsewhere in the Castle, Thomson in fact makes the explicit comparison of indolence with "Snows piled on snows," which "in wintry torpor lie," and describes those who repented of their indolence in terms of a thaw:

The awakened heaps, in streamlets from on high,
Roused into action, lively leap away,
Glad-warbling through the vales, in their new being gay.

(II.lxiv.7-9)

He also personifies the allegorical figure of "Scorn" in northern "winter" alliterative terms:

...his eye
Was cold and keen, like blast from boreal snow.

(II.lxxx.6-7)

Such hyperbolic "winter" scenes, like the other "grotesque" descriptions in the poem, incorporate a strong element of realism and observed nature.
In general, the "grotesque" descriptions in the Castle, while highly imaginative and even surreal, are based on a core of accurate description and detail, and play a vital role in the allegory, functioning to convey Thomson's conception of the harsh and horrible reality of the sin of indolence. They are more grotesque and detailed than any such descriptions in Thomson's immediate model, Spenser's Faerie Queene, and can be seen rather to derive from the poet's Scottish heritage of literature and folklore.

The absurd, serio-comic concluding scene to The Castle of Indolence (II.lxxxii), where the unrepentant indolent are pictured as a "herd of bristly swine" being driven through the mire of Brentford Town, literally brings the poem down-to-earth, into specifically-British (English) mud, from its allegorical extremes of idealised and grotesque description back to "realism." This unpleasant descriptive passage calls to mind William Dunbar's characterisation of "sloth" in "Sevin Deidly Synnis," "lyk a sow out of a midding." The metaphor of the unregenerate being "driven" as in a herd figures importantly in Scottish Calvinistic writings, which probably influenced Thomson, as shall be seen.

Through these various types of vivid and imaginative "supernatural" description within the allegorical framework, Thomson puts forward the serious didactic message of The Castle of Indolence; it is a secularised moral injunction, issuing directly from the poet's Scottish Calvinistic religious background. It represents his most fully achieved "integration" of religious with social, private with public, aims in poetry. While Thomson had apparently long since given up the formal practise of religious worship, in this, his last major work, he
reasserts his religious faith, which characteristically shows the influences of both old-style Scottish Calvinistic and Moderate belief. Thomson reiterates his basic religious philosophy through the Song of the poem's Bard, Philomelus:

Thus, ardent, burst his strain:—'Ye hapless race, Dire-labouring here to smother reason's ray That lights our Maker's image in our face, And gives us wide o'er earth unquestioned sway; What is the adored Supreme perfection? say! What, but eternal never-resting soul, Almighty power, and all-directing day, By whom each atom stirs, the planets roll; Who fills, surrounds, informs, and agitates the whole?

'Come, to the beaming God your hearts unfold! Draw from its fountain life! 'Tis thence alone We can excel. Up from unfeeling mould To seraphs burning round the Almighty's throne, Life rising still on life in higher tone Perfection forms, and with perfection bliss. In universal nature this clear shown Not needeth proof: to prove it were, I wis, To prove the beauteous world excels the brute abyss.'

(II.xlvii-xlviii)

Here, the God of The Seasons—His "panergism" or ever-active, omnipresent and omnipotent Providence, His "beaming" benevolence—reappears. The influence of "rational" Moderate belief is obvious; the Neoplatonic "rising mind" leading to Divine perfection and highest "bliss" (a favourite theme in Thomson even as early as the juvenile "Upon Happiness") once again informs the poet's optimistic faith. The "rising mind" recurs in II.lxiii. Thomson's God here, as in The Seasons, is the conventional Moderate Christian Deity. The Knight of Arts and Industry bids his companion the Bard to, "thy heavenly fire impart; / Touch soul with soul, till forth the latent spirit start" (II. xlv. 8-9), making the Bard his spokesman for explicit religious doctrine; this is significant, as it reaffirms Thomson's conception (noted in the
juvenilia and *The Seasons* of the poet's role as a sacred calling. Appropriately, the Bard Philomelus is a "Druid" (Druids, the priestly religious leaders of the ancient Celtic Britons, "were regarded by the eighteenth century as Nature's poet-priests");50 William Collins was to call Thomson himself a "Druid" in his elegy, "Ode on the Death of Mr. Thomson."51

This Moderate view of the Deity notwithstanding, the fundamental religious message which Thomson puts forward in the *Castle* and which motivates the allegory as a whole shows the distinct influence of the poet's old-style Scottish Calvinistic upbringing, even at this late stage. Thomson has begun with a Scottish Calvinistic structure of thought here, and has given it a broader, secularised moral and social message to carry in the didactic poem. The primary lesson of the *Castle* is addressed to the individual soul, on the basis of Calvinistic spiritual individualism: Thomson yet again teaches that "virtue" is the key to true "happiness" (II.xxxvi ff.), and he especially strongly and rigorously condemns "vanity" (particularly in the form of "sloth" or indolence). In Canto II of the allegorical poem, the attractive, sensuous trappings of indolence are ultimately repudiated, much as Scottish Calvinism had sought to reject such worldly sinful pleasures and to impose its moral rigours on Scottish culture.52 So, despite its benevolistic doctrinal aspects as sung by the Bard, Thomson's moral stance in the *Castle* proves in many ways just as stern as the Calvinism he knew in youth. The *Castle* is certainly less "cheerfully optimistic"53 in its philosophy than *The Seasons*; Thomson seems more concerned now with the value, and even the necessity of "suffering"54 to attain sanctification, as he makes clear in Canto II.lxxii-lxxiii. The Knight exhorts his followers to:
'Then patient bear the sufferings you have earned, And by these sufferings purify the mind...' (II.lxxii.1-2)

Throughout the poem, Thomson is frank about his belief in "hell" or punishment, and the need for repentance and acceptance of Divine grace; he likewise shows a much more explicit awareness of personal sin than elsewhere in his mature poetry. Much as Gavin Douglas had portrayed the "sleuthfull" in The Palice of honour, suffering in the "laithlie deip" of hell's pit, Thomson in the more heavily didactic Canto II of the Castle portrays the indolent not merely as lazy, amusing characters, but as unregenerate sinners deserving of terrible punishment. He clearly recognises the repercussions of indolence in the Fallen world, both on the individual and on society.

The grim opening lines of The Castle of Indolence— with their homiletic tone, heavy didacticism, archaic style— announce the poem's Scottish Calvinistic moral of the work-ethic:

O mortal man, who livest here by toil, Do not complain of this thy hard estate... (I.i.1-2)

What is this "work-ethic" which the Castle propounds? The so-called Calvinistic work-ethic is not authentic to Calvin's religious teaching at all, but seems to have developed in English and Scottish Calvinism with the growth of commerce in the seventeenth century. These Calvinists, of course, continued to maintain that salvation by works was impossible, and that faith alone could save; as Thomas Boston expressed it, "Sinner, I would have thee believe that thy working will never effect it [recovery, or Regeneration]. Work, and do thy best; thou shalt never be able to work thyself out of this state of corrup-
tion and wrath."\textsuperscript{57} But at the same time, they came to place increasing importance on the value of work, where "the success of our works provided the manifest proof of our election and our salvation."\textsuperscript{58}

Further, good works done in the true state of grace would count toward the "glory" of the elected one, or saint, at the Last Judgement: "...it is Christ's stamp on good works, that puts a value on them, in the eye of a gracious God."\textsuperscript{59} Thus, Thomas Boston, for instance, exhorts his congregation to,

\begin{quote}
Dispatch the work of your day and generation, with speed and diligence....God has allotted us certain pieces of work, of this kind, which ought to be dispatched, before the time of working be over....Therefore, whatever is incumbent upon thee to do for God's honour, and the good of others, either as the duty of thy station, or by special opportunity put into thy hand, perform it seasonably, if thou wouldst die comfortably. \textsuperscript{60}
\end{quote}

Even though good works could not earn salvation, then, it was seen as the Scottish Calvinist's duty to work hard and well at his calling; his success at material endeavours would give glory to God, and might also signify his election to eternal happiness. Thomson likewise stops short of preaching that good works will merit eternal salvation, even in the Castle; like his Scottish Calvinistic teachers, he focuses on the more immediate, social benefits of work well done. Yet, as the Castle amply illustrates, "For tho' good works do not merit salvation, yet evil works merit damnation" (Boston).\textsuperscript{61} To Scottish Calvinists and all Puritans, "waste of time is...the first and in principle the deadliest of sins. Loss of time through sociability, idle talk, luxury, even more sleep than is necessary for health...is worthy of absolute moral condemnation."\textsuperscript{62} From such moral rigour grew that so-called "work-ethic" which is the social, secularised application of Scottish
Calvinistic thought. From this condemnation of indolence and emphasis on unflagging labour at one's calling, logically grew the economics of "capitalism," or the "ethos of rational organisation of capital and labour" and the system which Thomson the progressive Whig supported for the good of Great Britain.

The Moderates of the Scottish Church extended this ethos, in a sense (like Thomson in the Castle), into the areas of both social concern and aesthetics. Individual good works, provided they were carried out in the spirit of selfless benevolence, could certainly benefit society as a whole. Further, Moderate Francis Hutcheson perceived a certain element of pure aesthetic pleasure which is the God-given reward for useful, rational endeavour or empirical thought, "apart from the ultimate practical benefits such an endeavour brings." This reward for intellectual activity which Hutcheson pointed out can conceivably be expanded to include a certain "aesthetic" pleasure deriving from any sort of labour well-done. Thomson thus interprets this idea in the Castle, to make the apt contrast between the "improved," idealised beauty which is the result of industry (exemplified in the retreat of the Knight of Arts and Industry in Deva's Vale) and the ugly, aesthetically-revolting reality of the sin of indolence. He clearly equates hard work with virtue, health and godliness (though not with a guarantee of eternal salvation); the Knight himself personifies the "sentimentalized Protestant energy" of the Scottish Calvinistic work-ethic, the individual moral basis for a virtuous and progressive society.

In the religious-didactic Castle, a number of Scriptural "illusive allusions" operate to reinforce the moral lesson of the work-ethic.
The Wizard's overall stratagem in Canto I recalls the general Biblical theme of the Temptation and Fall of man. His beguiling speech (I.ix-x) is a subtle and very clever parody of Christ's Sermon on the Mount, Matthew 6; the Wizard is portrayed as a particularly convincing anti-Christ, the antithesis of the Knight in Canto II. In fact, "Scriptural parody frames the more obvious Spenserian core" of the whole of Canto I. Stanza xi, for example, echoes the curse in Genesis 3:

"Outcast of Nature, man! the wretched thrall Of bitter-dropping sweat, of sweltry pain, Of cares that eat away thy heart with gall, And of the vices, an inhuman train, That all proceed from savage thirst of gain: For when hard-hearted Interest first began To poison earth, Astraea left the plain; Guile, Violence, and Murder seized on man, And, for soft milky streams, with blood the rivers ran."

In I.xix, echoes of Ecclesiastes 2:18-23 and Psalms 39.6 also occur. J. Logie Robertson pointed out that II.lxxvii.l, "Their scornèd day of grace was past," recalls the Scots Paraphrase, X. Besides direct Scriptural influence, the rhetoric of the pulpit was also an influence on the Castle's exposition of the Scottish Calvinistic moral theme. Much of the Bard's Song in Canto II resembles a rhetorically-polished, persuasive homily, characteristically building in religious enthusiasm until the Bard ascends the familiar "rising mind" (II.lxiii), and demonstrating Thomson's effective use of rhetorical questions, parallel and antithesis, frequent exclamations and apt and vivid illustrative imagery. The Knight himself adds force to the logic of the "sermon" of the didactic Canto II with his striking "anti-magic" views of the horrors of hell (calling to mind the especially graphic imagery which old-style Scottish preachers had long tended to employ for their de-
scriptions of hell and of human depravity); waving the wand which reveals the appalling truth about indolence,

'Ye impious wretches (quoth the Knight in wrath) 
Your happiness behold!'...

(II.lxvii.1-2)

and,

'For you (resumed the Knight, with sterner tone) 
Whose hard dry hearts the obdurate demon sears—
That villain's gifts will cost you many a groan; 
In dolorous mansions long you must bemoan 
His fatal charms, and weep your stains away.

(II.lxxxii.1-6)

Generally, the Bard (approximating the poet Thomson himself) teaches a more Moderate lesson than the sterner Knight, who is not only "gentle" (II.lxxi) and compassionate, but also capable of wrath and hard justice; the influences of both old-style and Moderate Scottish religious belief on Thomson are obvious.

The Knight of Arts and Industry can in fact be seen, to some extent, as a sort of secularised Christ-figure, the foil to the charismatic anti-Christ, the Wizard of Canto I. At least one critic, Horace Hamilton, has compared the Castle to the Christian salvation myth in general, which is rather overstating the case and is not entirely applicable; A. D. McKillop has tended, on the other hand, to play down the religious message of the Castle rather too much. Parallels with the orthodox Christian redemption myth are certainly there, even though they are secularised to a large extent in the broader, social purpose of the poem. It seems plausible to suggest that Thomson had in mind in the Castle, not precisely the "salvation" myth, but rather more specifically, the "Regeneration" doctrine of Calvinism (i.e. "begun
Recovery" or the possibility of salvation, the process of Fallen Man's return to holiness through grace). The Knight, whom Thomson at first intended to name the "Knight of Resolution," leads his repentant followers out of the Castle, not immediately to perfect happiness in heaven, but to a sanctified, dutiful life on earth, "a life more happy and refined" (II.lxxi.5). It is their faith in the saving Knight, their pledge of union with him, not their works on earth, which has made possible their sanctification. As for the private "hell" of the Castle, it too is an earthly state as yet; thus, as Thomas Boston preached, "As a gracious state is a state of glory in the bud, so a graceless state is hell in the bud, which, if it continue, will come to perfection at length." Interestingly, Boston employed the Scriptural metaphor of "stagnation" to describe the unregenerate, depraved spiritual condition, with "grace" as the "stream":

When the spring is stopt, the mud lies in the well unmoved: But when once the spring is cleared, the waters springing up, will work away the mud by degrees. Even so, while a man continues in an unregenerate state, sin lies at ease in the heart: but as soon as the Lord strikes the rocky heart, with the rod of his strength, in the day of conversion; grace is in him a well of water, springing up into life, John iv.14. working away natural corruption, and gradually purifying the heart, Acts xv.9. Thomson likewise uses this metaphor in the Bard's Song, as noted on page 451 above:

'Does not the mountain stream, as clear as glass, Gay-dancing on, the putrid pool disgrace?... (II.xlix.7-8)

Boston's use of the words "work away," twice, to describe the water's regenerative effect, is also worth noting. Further, Thomson in the
Castle makes frequent, explicit reference to "grace" (in Calvinistic doctrine, the gift offered by Christ in the process of Regeneration, which, if accepted with faith, brings sanctification):

But ah! their scornèd day of grace was past
(II.lxxvii.1)

It [vision of the "goodly hospital"] was a worthy edifying sight,
And gives to human-kind peculiar grace,
To see kind hands attending day and night
(II.lxxxv.1-30)

'...soft and pure as infant goodness grown,
You feel a perfect change: then who can say
What grace may yet shine forth in Heaven's eternal day?'
(II.lxxiii.7-9)

'Grace be to those who can and will repent;
But penance long and dreary to the slave,
Who must in floods and fire his gross foul spirit lave.'
(II.xxxix.7-9)

The Knight of Arts and Industry, then (like Christ), offers grace to those who will accept it, and follow him with "Resolution" out of the Castle. As for those who fail to repent, Thomson pictures them being driven like a herd of "filthy" swine through muddy Brentford Town (II.lxxxvi). Thomas Boston, too, makes use of similar, concrete imagery, describing sinners as "unclean," "filthy" beasts ("the wicked are driven away in their wickedness at death"; "What a multitude of devil's goats do now take place among Christ's sheep"; and so on). So, while The Castle of Indolence should not be seen solely as a religious parable of "Regeneration," it should be kept in mind that such Scottish Calvinistic structure of thought very probably did form the basis for much of the Castle's stern moral, didactic theme as well as for its manner of exposition.

Only when the rigorous private morality of the individual work-ethic
and the possibility of spiritual Regeneration have been so established, can Thomson's wider social goals, as he expounds them in the Castle, be realised, and the Moderate ideal of "integration" of religious with social concerns be achieved. Public is based on private good (as the poet also expressed in The Seasons, and in the late play Tancred and Sigismunda). This focus is the opposite of Thomson's approach in Liberty, where the "public good" was the primary theme. The "public good" as Thomson envisages it in the Castle includes the familiar abstract themes of Virgilian "improvement," Whig progress, British patriotism and the cultivation of true Liberty. Again, within the goals of the Knight of Arts and Industry, Thomson asserts the same socio-political ideals put forth in The Seasons, the dramas, and especially the public poem Liberty. The tale of the Knight's several missions (II.xiv-xviii) culminating in his British quest, is a reworking of the theme of the "cycle of cultural history" seen in Liberty. The Knight of Arts and Industry thus plays two mutually-reinforcing roles in the poem: that of Christ-figure or saviour in the "Regeneration" parable, and that of the "complete personification of benevolent, Whiggish public service" in the parallel secular, social myth.

The related Primitivism-Progress debate recurs in the Castle, as part of the secularised social allegory; again, Thomson is seemingly ambivalent. The alluring world of the Castle itself is one sort of primitivistic idyll, though deceptive, and Thomson obviously condemns this (somewhat as Thomas Boston, who terms unregenerate man "natural," with all its connotations of primitivism). Yet, Thomson also satirizes the real world of eighteenth-century society outside the imaginary
Castle, which is described essentially as an urban and "progressive" society in the "Mirror of Vanity" passage (I.xlix-lv). This clever Augustan social satire is partly self-ironic: Thomson and his fellow-inmates scoff at the corruption in society they see on the outside, while they remain, for the time being, blissfully unaware of the depth of corruption inside the Castle, i.e. spiritual depravity or sin. Thomson's "Mirror" view of society in this passage recalls Gavin Douglas's use of the "Mirrour" symbol in The Palace of Honour (Part III, ll. 1476 ff); in that poem, the "Mirrour of Venus" shows the speaker a harsh vision of Biblical and classical history:

And breiflie euerie famous douchtie deid
That men in storie may se or Chronikill reid
I micht behald in that Mirrour expres,
The miserie, the crueltie, the dreyd,
Pane, sorrow, wo, baith wretchitnes and neid,
The greit Inuy, couetous dowbilnes,
Tuitchand warldlie vnfaithfull brukilnes.
I saw the Feind fast folkis to vices tyst,
And all the cumming of the Antechrist.
(Palice, III.1693-1701)

In Thomson's own vision, witty self-irony particularly reflects upon authors:

Why, authors, all this scrawl and scribbling sore?
To lose the present, gain the future age,
Praised to be when you can hear no more,
And much enriched with fame when useless worldly store:
(I.liii.6-9)

(This sentiment is echoed in the more serious complaint of the poet's plight in Canto II, "They praised are alone, and starve right merrily," II.ii.9.) The reference in the "Mirror" passage to "puzzling sons of party" (I.liv) recalls Thomson's Opposition Whig involvement. His comment on wars is deadly serious; "Christian kings, inflamed by black desire" (I.lv) echoes "Summer" (l. 855) as well as Edward and El-
eanora (V.i), in its disillusionment with abuses in a progressive, Christian society committed in the name of established religion. As Thomson makes clear in the "Mirror of Vanity" passage, then, Progress is certainly open to abuse and corruption, particularly in urban society such as his contemporary London.

Again, however, while he condemns certain ills of progressive, urban society, Thomson's stance is not simply Primitivistic; his "Virgilian" attitude of "nostalgic progressivism," presented in The Seasons, is most fully worked out in the Castle, where the Knight's (and Britain's) socio-political goal of progress does encompass urban development, trade and cultural refinement and is at the same time rooted in healthy rural industry. The Bard's Song (II.lv-lvi) includes yet another rendering of the Horatian-Virgilian, conventional and idealised "Happy Man" theme seen as early as the juvenile "Of a Country Life," and again in The Seasons and Alfred. The Bard specifically refers to "Maro" in II.liii; Gavin Douglas's Palice also paid tribute to Virgil. The Knight of Arts and Industry himself retires to a rural home in "Deva's Vale," but his rural retreat is not primitive; it is "improved" and cultivated, in the Virgilian ideal, representing true beauty in contrast to the false charms of the Castle. Even so, the Knight must leave his home to take a more active, public stand against corruption in modern Britain. While Thomson's ideal of Progress is based on rural life, then, it is again seen not to be exclusively rural. The Bard accompanies the Knight out of idyllic "Deva's Vale," to play his public, "British harp"; the poet's (ultimately, Thomson's) role is thus not only religious, but socio-political as well. It becomes clear that Thomson's own solution is again "nostalgic progressivism," with the emphasis on "progressivism," and that the tension between
"Indolence" versus "Industry" in many ways parallels the original "Primitivism" versus "Progress" dilemma. 84 Thomson would hope that, on the firm basis of individual industry, social progress would be achieved in Great Britain.

The genre of The Castle of Indolence is the allegory; Thomson succeeds here in combining the traditional "psychological" allegory, with its dominant narrative device of the individual knightly quest 85 (bearing the religious-didactic message of Regeneration and the possibility of salvation), with public, socio-political and satirical purpose. The "psychological" allegory or quest has had innumerable literary antecedents since the Middle Ages; Thomson's own juvenile "Upon Happiness," as well as a passage in Tancred and Sigismunda (the "Course of Honour") 86 portray similar moral and spiritual pilgrimages. Thomson's immediate model for the Castle was, of course, Spenser's The Faerie Queene. He reportedly had read Spenser at an early age, 87 and owned his works. 88 The Faerie Queene would have appealed to Thomson, as a Scot, in its supernatural themes 89 and also in its archaic English language, which, as such, bears a close kinship with Scots vernacular and especially literary Middle Scots. Indeed, eighteenth-century Spenserian imitation was "connected especially" with the Scottish poets, who, like Thomson, seemed to be drawn to the archaic manner. 90 Thomson carries out the strict Spenserian form of the Castle, nine-line stanzas in the ABABCCDE rhyme-scheme, with discrimination and decorum; he was by this stage so self-assured with literary English usage that he could work well within the limits of complex strict-form, and delight in it (a skill he now shared with the Middle Scots Makars and also with the Gaelic poets, who prided themselves on their mastery of formal intricacy). 91 Indeed, the discipline of strict-
form encouraged Thomson to avoid the rhetorical excess which characterised so much of his work in blank verse, and the fact that he was able to maintain this discipline in a poem of length, while at the same time making innovations on the Spenserian style, demonstrates his "improved" poetic art. "Thomson's original effects here go far beyond mere imitation; at his best he makes the Spenserian stanza his own." 92

Beyond the Spenserian model, Thomson also drew from a wide variety of other sources for the descriptions and symbolic conceptions of his allegory. The poem's central symbol of the "castle" is highly literary-conventional, and does occur in The Faerie Queene, but for Thomson and his fellow Scottish inmates of the Castle of Indolence, a castle had long been a literal presence in their lives as well. 93

Thomson, Murdoch, Paterson, Armstrong and Forbes had all lived in Edinburgh for a time, where the fortress-Castle dominates the townscape and connotes rich, romantic history as well as awesome power (or, perhaps, the deceptive appearance of power, since by Thomson's day the centre of Scottish government was no longer Edinburgh but London; the "appearance" versus "reality" theme is important in the poem), and the threat of harsh punishment within-- ideas which apply to the Castle of Indolence itself. There are several Scottish literary "castles," also. A Scot, Alexander Barclay, translated in the sixteenth century Pierre Gringore's poem The Castell of Laboure, the opening of which is said to resemble Thomson's Castle. 94 Barclay's own Fourth Eclogue included a description of the "tower" of virtue and honour. 95 The Middle Scots allegory King Hart 96 (attributed to Gavin Douglas, though its authorship is uncertain) 97 is built around two symbolic castles, those of
"King Hart" himself (the human heart) and "Dame Pleasance." The poem is a psychological allegory, portraying the "struggle for man's soul" and the conventional duel between Conscience and Sin; like Thomson's Castle, it is to a great extent a self-directed satire. King Hart functions as a "sermon on mutability," borrowing from both courtly-love poetry and homiletic literature such as morality drama. Physical imagery also plays an important role in the poem, where the metaphors of "decrepitude and the forces of bodily sickness" act upon the "castle" of the human body; such imagery of bodily sickness also occurs in Thomson's Castle, especially in the stanzas by John Armstrong on the physical manifestations of indolence (I.1xxiv-lxxvii) and in the allegorical personification of Beggary (II.lxxix), which represent spiritual ills. The overall theme of imprisonment and release governs both of these Scottish "castle" allegories of knightly quest. In addition to thematic parallels, the "general artistic method" of King Hart bears affinity with Spenser's later Faerie Queene, and thus with Thomson's Castle, although Thomson would not have known King Hart itself, as there were no early printed texts of the poem. Thomson would, however, almost certainly have known the other works of Gavin Douglas, and especially his Palice of Honour (London, c. 1553; Edinburgh, 1579). As has been suggested throughout this chapter, there are many points of similarity between Thomson's Castle and Douglas's Middle Scots allegory of religious knightly quest, the Palice, in theme and descriptive imagery; there are also linguistic similarities (as shall be explored below). "The Palice of Honour is a long, ambitious poem; in it Douglas combines the debate of moral and aesthetic issues with the pictorial richness that was traditionally associated with the form," much as does Thomson in The Castle of Indolence.
Both Thomson's and Douglas's central, symbolic "castles" are described with extravagant idealism and aureation, and are ultimately inexpressibly beautiful (but Thomson, of course, makes this the point of his irony-- the beauty of the Castle of Indolence is truly unreal). Douglas "seems almost to equate Honour with God himself,"¹⁰⁴ and Thomson likewise portrays the Knight of Arts and Industry as more than a little Christ-like, though both poems also embody a strong secular element as well as their fundamental religious-didactic purpose: Douglas's "concept of Honour is more secular and this-worldly than perhaps he would admit, and not fully reconcilable with the explicitly Christian doctrines -- of sin and redemption, for instance -- that he also expounds."¹⁰⁵ Thomson, on the other hand, always admits to a social, secular purpose, running parallel to his religious and moral allegory of "Regeneration" in the Castle; his key concept of "virtue," like that of Douglas,¹⁰⁶ carries both religious and secular meanings, such as honour, courage and progressive "improving" activity as well as "moral excellence" and spiritual goodness. Thomson's poem shares with Douglas's a strong strain of "self-directed" humour¹⁰⁷ as well as a "nice northern inventiveness of nightmare,"¹⁰⁸ a fantastic imagination making possible their vivid "supernatural" descriptions. Finally, both The Castle of Indolence and The Palace of Honour include the poet as a central figure in the allegory. Douglas's poet-figure is subjective; he is the dreamer of the dream-vision, and acquires a moral "education" in his quest.¹⁰⁹ Thomson's Castle in fact holds two poets, the subjective "bard...more fat than bard beseems" (Thomson himself, the inmate of the Castle, I.lxviii) and the Bard Philomelus, the more objective teacher and companion of the Knight. In general, Gavin Douglas "In his method of handling allegory...recalls Spenser so strongly
that it seems probable that the latter was his pupil... Douglas's reputation in England was considerable, so that [Spenser] must have known him. Thomson, in imitating Spenser, was therefore the indirect heir to a Scottish tradition of allegory. It seems probable that he inherited this Scottish tradition directly as well, through The Palice of Honour of Gavin Douglas.

In addition to Douglas's Palice with its central "castle" symbol, the Middle Scots allegorical tradition is rich in religious-didactic and moral works (such as Alexander Montgomerie's The Cherry and the Slae, which Thomson surely knew, and which advises, "Quoth Reason, then let us remove, / And sleep no more in Sleuth"). Scottish literary tradition also includes an amount of socio-political allegory. Frequently, the two purposes were combined, as in David Lindsay's satirical moral allegories The Dreme, The Monarche and Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis (the first part of which, in fact, closely parallels the allegory King Hart); Thomson's Castle similarly combines its primary religious-didactic purpose with socio-political goals.

Besides these Scottish allegories, Thomson also drew from broader European literary sources for The Castle of Indolence. The descriptions of the Castle's hell-like reality, for example, owe something not only to Gavin Douglas, but also to Virgil's Aenéid (and probably Douglas's translation of it), to Dante's Inferno, and to Milton's Paradise Lost. Certain episodes of the Castle, especially the more "romantic" ones, derive from Tasso's Gerusalemme Liberata, which Thomson knew: "both Tasso and Thomson were attracted emotionally and as artists to the very sensuous indolence they were intent on condemning." These various
Italian influences on Thomson's Castle show the poet, in the Scottish tradition, truly "immersed in cultural internationalism," as do certain French influences on the poem such as Rabelais. "We may say that there is as much Rabelaisian exaggeration as Spenserian luxury in the furnishings of Thomson's halls..." Further, the Castle's "one great rule for all; / To wit, that each should work his own desire" (I.xxxv.5-6) is related to Rabelais' Abbey of Thélème, in Gargantua and Pantagruel, translated by a Scot, Thomas Urquhart, where the cardinal rule is, "DO WHAT THOU WILT" (Works, translated Urquhart and Motteux, I.lvii). "As Rabelais says in the passage just cited: 'All their life was spent not in laws, statutes, or rules, but according to their own free will and pleasure. They rose out of their beds when they thought good; they did eat, drink, labour, sleep, when they had a mind to it, and were disposed for it.'" Beyond his debt to a long tradition of Western, including Scottish, allegorical convention in the Castle, Thomson was also clearly influenced by other types of Scottish literature. As has been suggested, Middle Scots descriptive poetry, and especially the Scottish ballads and folklore, almost certainly coloured the descriptions (particularly the more "grotesque" and supernatural descriptions) of the Castle. The knightly quest was a favourite ballad theme: the similarity has been pointed out, for example, between Thomson's Knight's call to action (II.xxxi) and the summons of Lord Hardyknute in the eighteenth-century ballad forgery by Lady Wardlaw, "Hardyknute." Thomson's passage does indeed resemble the "Hardyknute" passage in theme, language and vigorous rhythm; Thomson would certainly have known the "ballad," as it was published by James Watson in 1719, and also by Ramsay in the EverGreen.
The Castle of Indolence is, then, a complex "illusive allusion" in which Thomson has re-worked a great variety of literary conventions, not least his native Scottish literary heritage, toward his own unique artistic goals.

* * *

The language of The Castle of Indolence makes a very interesting study; the elements of Thomson's original, innovative Seasons diction recur here, but in new ways, to "new purposes." There is a good deal of the poet's familiar Latinate English in the Castle, but it is better-balanced and integrated: "there are no lines strikingly dominated by Latinisms, such as we find elsewhere in his work...." Also, the Latinisms tend to occur more frequently in the more serious, didactic Canto II. Thomson again uses abundant, creative compound words in the Castle, as well as many unusual and effective quasi-adverbs. "His lavish use of alliteration, assonance, and internal rhyme need hardly be illustrated"; the poet's skilful handling of subtle sound effects is at its best in this poem of intricate formal artistry. It is worth noting how these artistic devices increase in frequency with the poet's return to descriptive poetry; the alliteration, of course, is also a particularly Scottish or northern stylistic trait. Most noteworthy in the poetic language of the Castle is Thomson's use of "Spenserian" archaisms. The poet seems to have found many of these words in John Hughes' "Glossary Explaining the Old and Obscure Words in Spenser's Works," from Hughes' 1715 edition of Spenser's Works which Thomson owned. But Thomson's archaisms in the Castle are by no means exclusively or strictly Spenserian: most of Spenser's archaisms
have their immediate roots in Middle English, which is also the basis of vernacular Scots. Gavin Douglas, for example, showed a "tendency to archaism" in both the Palice and the Eneados, especially in verb-forms, which probably owed much to Chaucer, but which resulted in a poetic effect far closer to Spenser, prior to the English poet's writings. Archaisms and archaic forms also occur in the Middle Scots works of Dunbar, Lindsay and Bellenden. While Thomson did derive many of his archaisms for the Castle from Hughes' Spenserian Glossary, he may have used other sources as well, perhaps contemporary glossaries of Scots such as Allan Ramsay's EverGreen glossary, which itself drew heavily upon Thomas Ruddiman's extensive glossary for Gavin Douglas's Eneados (1710) which Thomson would also have known. A brief look at Thomson's "Spenserian" archaisms in the Castle reveals that many of these also occur in Ramsay's glossary, including such so-called "Spenserian" archaisms as: "depaynt," "ene," "keist" (Thomson uses "kest"), "eith" (Thomson gives "eath"), "mot," "schene" (Thomson gives "sheen"), "mell," "noy," "wene" or "wein" (Thomson uses "ween"), and "wist" (Thomson gives "wis"). Many other words are also found to be common to Thomson and to Ramsay's Scots glossary, and these will be noted below as the archaic language is discussed in more detail. Both archaic Spenserian, and Scots, diction would have had poetic appeal in their novelty to eighteenth-century readers, as well as their peculiar "romantic" connotative force. Further, a fair number of words archaic even in Spenser's day were current in the Scots and northern dialects of Thomson's day (and can still be found in modern Scots); such words would have had special expressive appeal beyond literary antiquarianism, for the Scots-speaking poet Thomson.
Some of the Spenserian archaisms in the Castle which also have or had Scottish or northern dialect usage, are: "moil" (I.i.3; Thomson defines it as, "to labour." 130 It is not in Hughes' Glossary,131 but occurs in Chambers Scots Dictionary and the English Dialect Dictionary); "swaltry" (I.xi.2; Thomson gives "sultry" as its definition. Oxford English Dictionary notes its dialect usage; Scottish National Dictionary defines it as, "oppressively hot"); "stound" (I.xiii.2; Thomson defines it as "misfortune, pang"; OED says "pang" is its "chiefly northern" usage; SND gives "a stunning blow," Chambers gives "ache, pain...pang"); "inly" (I.xxviii.1; Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue says it derives from OE, "inwardly"); McKillop notes that by the eighteenth century, it was not felt to be a Spenserianism.132 OED says it is obsolete in English; it is apparently obsolete in modern Scots as well); "losel" (I.lvi.9 and II.xxiii.7; Thomson gives "loose, idle fellow." It also occurs in Hughes. Now only in dialect usage in English, but occurs in Modern Scots. The Roxburghshire Word-Book also cites it); 133 "swink" (II.i.4; Thomson defines it as, "to labour," as does Chambers; SND says it is chiefly, as in English, a literary usage now); "hreme" (II.vii.9; occurs in Hughes' Glossary; DOST traces it from ME, "furious." SND defines "breem" as "keen...fierce...violent," now obsolete in English except in dialect; Chambers also gives "keen, fierce, violent, bleak." As "brim" it occurs in Ramsay's EverGreen glossary); "wonne" (II.vii.7 and II.xxxvii.5; occurs in Hughes. Thomson defines it as "dwelling"; SND traces its roots in Old Norse, through OE and OS to ME and Scots. The Roxburghshire Word-Book gives "wonne" as "chief house on a farm.134 The verb "won," "to dwell," occurs in Ramsay's EverGreen glossary); "thronged" (II. xliii.1 and II.lxxxii.7, meaning "crowded," is Thomson's version of
Scots "thrang"; SND and OED say this usage is current in Scottish and northern dialects; "felly" (II.xlii.9; Spenserian definition, from Faerie Queene, is "cruelly"; DOST gives "fierce." OED and SND say it is now obsolete, in both English and Scots. Beattie's eighteenth-century list of current Scottish usages which were by that time poetical or archaic in England, included "fell");¹³⁵ "spill" (II. lix. 3; Robertson defines it as, "Scots for 'spoil; to waste.."¹³⁶ OED says it is obsolete in English; SND says it is obsolete in Modern Scots, but was in use until early nineteenth-century; also occurs in Chambers); and "unkempt" (I.xi.7; Robertson defines it as "uncombed," from Scots "unkaim'd; rude.¹³⁷ Thomson himself defines it as "unda¬
dored" and notes that he derives it from Latin, incomptus. OED cites Thomson's use in Castle as first example of the word in the sense of "Having the hair uncombed or dishevelled." SND and Chambers give its Scots equivalent as meaning "not combed," and Thomson probably had the Scots "unkaim'd" in mind when he chose the adjective. Ramsay's Ever¬
Green glossary gives "kemd" for combed).

Other "archaisms" in the Castle, in more general Scottish usage, in¬clude: "louting" (I.xiii.3; occurs in Hughes, as well as in Ramsay's EverGreen glossary. Thomson defines it as, "bowing, bending"; OED says it is archaic in English, DOST and SND cite it as a Scots usage. Ro¬bertson notes that it is, "still in use in Lowland Scots";¹³⁸ The Roxburghshire Word-Book's variation is "loutherin'");¹³⁹ "lubbard" (I.lxxiv.4; Scots variant of English "lubber," which occurs in "Au¬
tumn," l. 562. DOST gives ME root; Armstrong's use of "lubbard" here probably based on Ramsay's poem "Health," where he describes "Lethargus" as the "lazy lubbard");¹⁴⁰ "muchel" (II.vii.2; Thomson gives "much, great." This is in general use in Scots, as cited by SND; cf. also
"mickle," "meikle," "muckle." EverGreen glossary gives "meikle";
"rabblement" (II.xlv.3; Robertson defines it as, "Mob. From the
noise of their chattering. Lowland Scots 'raible,' to chatter
[Burns]." The word occurs in Spenser, Faerie Queene I.xii, as
OED points out, but is "rare" in English. On the other hand, it is
in use in Modern Scots, from"raible" or "raibble"; SND cites example from
Jamieson, 1887, of "rabblement" as "noisy mob"; also occurs in Cham-
bers); and. "sicker" (II.xxxix.1; Thomson defines it as "sure, surely";
it does not occur in Hughes' glossary, but is in the EverGreen
glossary. OED says the usage, common in ME, is now limited to Scots
and northern dialects; SND cites "sicker" and also "siccar," as "safe,
secure" as well as "sure"). In the Castle, Thomson also uses some of
his favourite, rather idiosyncratic, onomatopoeic and descriptive words
which had occurred in the juvenilia and The Seasons, such as
"flounce" (II.xliii.7), "bicker" (I.iii.8) and "keen" (as a verb, II.
i.4). Expressions common in Scottish speech, "ay" and "for aye," and
"meantime" also frequently recur. Other, more subtle Scotticisms are
present in the Castle as well, such as Thomson's use of "tradesman"
(I.xiv.6) in the Scottish sense, listed in Beattie's Scoticiams, of
"one who works with his hands at a trade," rather than in the Eng-
lish sense of "shopkeeper." The word "glaive" (II.xxxix.6) is an unusual and interesting usage;
Thomson defines it as "sword, coming from the French" (and ultimately,
as Robertson suggests, from the Latin "gladius"; "glaive" occurs in
Ruddiman's glossary to Douglas's Eneados, and he cites both the French
and the Latin antecedents). It it not found in Hughes' Glossary.
OED gives examples of its archaic use in both English and Scots; it
occurs in Faerie Queene V.xi.58, as a "halbert" or long-handed
weapon. It also occurs in Blind Hary's Wallace X.36?, Douglas's Eneados III.vii (and Ruddiman's glossary), Ramsay's EverGreen glossary (as "glave"), and in Burns, Byron and Scott. OED speculates that in the earlier Scottish quotations cited, it possibly represented a corruption of the Gaelic claidheamh, which became "glaymore," "claymore."

In general, "glaive" seems to have lingered longer in Scottish than in English use, hence Thomson's choice of the uncommon word. Other words in the Castle of Gaelic origin, which are not particularly associated with Spenser, are "glen" (II.lv.4, also in the EverGreen glossary) and "bard" (II.xxxiii.1 et. al.); the noun "coil" (I.ii.8) describing the insects' noise, is said by Robertson to be related to the Celtic "goil,"¹⁴⁷ but J. A. H. Murray in the OED discounts this theory, and says that the word is of unknown origin. Several of the more striking descriptive words in the Castle, while they do occur in Spenser in some instances, are not particularly Spenserian and in some instances might have come to Thomson through the Middle Scots "aureate" tradition, for example "burnished" (I.lxiv.1) which is repeated many times in Douglas's Palace of Honour, and "enamelled" (I.li.3) which occurs notably in the poetry of Douglas and especially of Dunbar, and is also found in the EverGreen glossary, as "enamilit."

In general, the diction of Thomson's Castle can be seen to compare with that of The Seasons in its originality and flexibility, with added linguistic freedom sanctioned by the poem's "archaic" genre, allowing the poet to draw even more liberally from his Scots language source. Thomson's return to the poetry of description did indeed seem to have inspired his innovative verbal skill once more. This time, though, the language is more polished, better-balanced by virtue of the artistic discipline demanded of the poem's strict form.
In The Castle of Indolence, then, we discover the mature genius of the poet of The Seasons. In the Castle, Thomson employed the very themes—descriptive, religious-didactic and philosophical, socio-political and Virgilian— which made up The Seasons. There is much continuity between the two works, yet there is creativity as well; the Castle is an imaginative and carefully-crafted Spenserian poem in strict form, and while it may lack something of The Seasons' spontaneity, it demonstrates Thomson's versatility, his development as a literary artist. Most importantly, the Castle shows Thomson, as he did in The Seasons, putting to best possible use his Scottish cultural and literary resources: poetry of vivid description, rooted in love and close observation of the natural world, and including the imaginative supernatural and grotesque; moral allegory and religious didacticism, based to a great extent on old-style Scottish Calvinistic structures of thought, as well as Moderate interpretations; socio-political views strongly influenced by classical Virgilian ideals of "nostalgic progressivism" and by strong North British patriotism; and a poetic language much influenced by native Scots. Thomson adapted these elements in new ways in the Castle, to create a significant, delightful and uniquely Anglo-Scottish poetical work.
CHAPTER IX: CONCLUSION—THOMSON AND LATER SCOTTISH POETRY

James Thomson, writing as a Scot in London, brought many of the most distinctive qualities of Scottish literary culture together with those of Augustan England, to become by far the most successful and influential Anglo-Scottish poet of his day. A further study of Thomson's influence on subsequent British poetry would make a vast thesis in itself. Still, it is interesting to consider that Thomson (whom many criticised for "selling out," abandoning his native land and language to write poetry in England, in English) did in fact have a significant influence on the Scottish poets who came after him. This influence took many forms, helping to shape the broader conceptions of poetry, as well as the genres, styles, language and subject-matter of his Scottish successors. Thomson truly brought Anglo-Scottish poetry into its own, as one of the legitimate native literatures, along with Gaelic and Scots, of Scotland.

Thomson was a great inspiration to his fellow "Scottish Augustans." As has been suggested throughout this thesis, he frequently innovated and put into practise the literary aesthetics of the Scottish Enlightenment, which Anglo-Scottish rhetoricians such as Beattie, Blair and Kames would methodise. Their theories (like Thomson's poetry and drama) were firmly rooted in the neoclassical, Scottish Humanistic tradition, but also went beyond neoclassical strictures to allow for greater "sensibility" and subjective response. The poet Thomson and the Scottish Enlightenment rhetoricians, who rose from the same cultural background, thus laid the groundwork for the Romantic Movement in literature.
Thomson's contemporary "Scottish Augustan" poets were, of course, impressed by his success in The Seasons, and they aspired to have some share in the Anglo-Scottish triumph. David Mallet and Thomson, as has been shown, grew from the same Edinburgh literary milieu; Mallet's Excursion and Thomson's Seasons influenced one another, particularly in their imaginative descriptions of nature. Mallet likewise took up Thomsonian poetry of scientific inquiry, and especially the description of nature from the viewpoint of Newtonian science, which both poets had studied at Edinburgh University. Michael Bruce ("Elegy on Spring" and the blank verse "Lochleven"), John Wilson ("The Clyde") and Tobias Smollett ("Ode to Leven Water") were three among many minor eighteenth-century Scottish poets who followed Thomson's lead in the poetry of natural description in English. Thomson's subject-matter of closely-observed natural description was, in fact, his chief contribution to British and European poetry.

Significantly, Thomson's "Scottish Augustan" descriptive poetry also influenced a number of eighteenth-century Scottish Gaelic poets. He especially influenced the choice of "seasonal" subject-matter in the poetry of Alexander Macdonald, Duncan McIntyre, Rob Donn Mackay, Ewen MacLachlan, William Ross and Dugald Buchanan. Alexander Macdonald (1701-1780), for example, wrote Odes to Spring and Winter; "It is clear enough that he had read James Thomson's 'Seasons', and made some use of that work for his own poetry." Here is a passage from Macdonald's "Ode to Winter" (in the original Gaelic, followed by an early twentieth-century translation):

A mhìos nuarranta, gharbh-fhrasach, dhorch',
Shneachdach, cholgarr' is stoirm-shianach bith;
Dhìisleach, dhall-churach, chathach, fhliuch, chruaidh, Bhiorach bhuagharr, 's tuath-ghaothach cith; Dhèigheach, liath-reotach ghillb-shleamhain gharbh, Chuireas sgiobairean fairge 'nan ruith; Phlichneach, fhùnntainneach ghuineach gun tlathss; Cuiridh d' anail gach câileacht air chrith.

Grim month of wild showers and dark days, Snowy, fierce, with tempestuous strife; Ugly, blinding, wet, drifting, and hard Keen winds and cold snow-drifts are rife; Grey, frosty, sleet-slippery, stern, Making shipmasters quicken their pace; Your breath makes all animals quake, Sleety, venemous, cold without grace.]³

Other eighteenth-century Scots worked primarily in Thomson's didactic and philosophical vein (reinforced as it was with the influence of Scottish rhetorical education, as well as homiletic style), notably Robert Blair (a contemporary of Thomson's at Divinity Hall, author of the blank verse Grave, 1743), Dr. John Armstrong (friend of Thomson and author of the blank verse Art of Preserving Health, et al.), William Falconer (The Shipwreck) and James Grainger (the unfortunate Sugar-Cane). Detailed description also plays an important role in these didactic works.

Thomson's Spenserian poem The Castle of Indolence inspired many Scottish imitations in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. ⁴ Other Scottish poets were, like Thomson, drawn to the model of Spenser at least partly because of the relationship between Spenserian archaic diction and the Scots language (see Chapter VIII, above). Perhaps the best of these Scottish imitations was James Beattie's The Minstrel (1771, 1774; his essay "The Castle of Scepticism," too, was influenced by Thomson's Castle). ⁵ The Minstrel bears many similarities to Thomson in philosophy (the work-ethic, "nostalgic progressivism," a
basis of religious orthodoxy, humanitarianism) as well as in manner. 6

The following stanza from The Minstrel, for example, propounds the di-
dactic message of "improvement" also found in Thomson's Castle:

What cannot Art and Industry perform,  
When Science plans the progress of their toil!  
They smile at penury, disease, and storm;  
And oceans from their mighty mounds recoil.  
When tyrants scourge, or demagogues embroil  
A land, or when the rabble's headlong rage  
Order transforms to anarchy and spoil,  
Deep-versed in man the philosophic sage  
Prepares with lenient hand their frenzy to assuage. 7

Other, less-successful Scottish Spenserian poems were attempted by
William Hamilton of Bangour ("On Seeing Lady Mary Montgomery sit to  
her Picture"), William Julius Mickle ("The Concubine," or "Syr Martyn"),  
and William Wilkie ("A Dream. In the Manner of Spenser," in the  
Epigoniad). 8 Into the Romantic period, Anglo-Scots Byron, 9 Walter  
Scott, 10 and especially Thomas Campbell (Gertrude of Wyoming) 11 prac-
tised the Spenserian mode made popular by Thomson and Beattie. The  
theme, though not the form, of Dorothea Mallet Celesia's Indolence was  
also directly inspired by Thomson's Castle. 12

Thomson's Whig socio-political ideals of "Liberty," tutored in Scot-
land, continued to be much respected throughout the eighteenth century,  
by such Scottish Augustan poets as Thomas Blackwell of Aberdeen, whose  
Memoirs of the Court of Augustus echoes Liberty. 13 Thomson's neo-
classical "epic" strain was attempted, with even less success than he had  
achieved, by such poets as Wilkie in his Epigoniad and Mickle in his  
Lusiad. Thomson's heroic, patriotic themes had perhaps greater influ-
ence through his tragedies. As the major figure in the revival of  
serious Scottish drama in the eighteenth century, Thomson inspired his  
countrymen such as Mallet, Paterson (Arminius) and John Home (Douglas)
to attempt heroic tragedy.

One of Thomson's more important Scottish influences was his "remarkable" use of the supernatural and superstition, associated with the wilder aspects of Scottish scenery, as poetic themes in Augustan poetry.¹⁴ "Their treatment of the supernatural is the most fruitful and the most individual contribution made by these Scots [Thomson and his followers] to English literature."¹⁵ Such use of the supernatural occurs also in Mallet, Armstrong, Beattie, Blair, Mickle and others; it reaches its peak in James Macpherson's Ossianic poems, Fragments of Ancient Poetry (1760), Fingal (1762) and Temora (1763). Macpherson brought to these prose-poem "translations" classical, Scriptural and Augustan English poetical influences, including that of Thomson, as well as genuine knowledge of medieval Gaelic ballads.¹⁶ Macpherson "lavishly exploited" "the more romantic elements of superstition and legend, wild scenery and haunting place-names, discreetly introduced by Thomson..."¹⁷ in his Caledonian prospect-views, his remote Hebridean scenes, and his portrayals of superstitious peasants and their fears of demons and spirits. Macpherson's editor of 1805, Malcolm Laing, pointed out many phrases which he felt were influenced by Thomson, such as:

like the shrill spirit of a storm

(Fingal, Book I, p. 37)

which he compared to Thomson's "genius of the coming storm" in "Winter," ll. 191-4:

Then too, they say, through all the burdened air
Long groans are heard, shrill sounds, and distant sighs,
That, uttered by the demon of the night,
Warn the devoted wretch of woe and death,
The wind was abroad, in the oaks. The spirit of the mountain roared.

(Dar-Thula: a Poem, p. 401)

which he compared to the same winter storm in Thomson, ll. 66-71.18

Another Ossianic illustration, a passage from Fragments of Ancient Poetry, shows similar thematic and "atmospheric" influence, as well as the influence of Thomsonian language and descriptive, personifying technique:

Evening is grey on the hills. The north wind resounds through the woods. White clouds rise on the sky; the thin-wavering snow descends. The river howls afar, along its winding course...

(Fragments, Part III)19

(Note the Thomsonian compound quasi-adverb "thin-wavering," and also the Latinate "resounds" and "descends.") Interest in such "'matter' of the North."20 as Thomson introduced and Macpherson elaborated on in English poetry, would become an important element in the literature of the Romantic Movement.

In addition to his influence on the Anglo-Scottish and Scottish Gaelic poets of the eighteenth century, Thomson also made a significant impact on poets in vernacular Scots, most notably on Robert Burns. Thomson's influence on Burns has frequently been pointed out, not least by Burns himself, who often referred to Thomson in his correspondence, for example:

The poet...looks...thro' Nature up to Nature's God, until he...bursts into the glorious enthusiasm of Thomson: "These, as they change, Almighty Father, these / Are but the varied God; the rolling year / Is full of thee."21
"It is obvious that Burns - in common with the generality of his contemporaries - thought highly of Thomson." In the poetry of Burns, stylistic traits (such as abundant double-adjectives), general thematic similarities ("his treatment of the wilder aspects of Nature... winter, storms, floods," sympathetic treatment of animals, and the contrasting of the poor man's situation with that of the vain rich) and many close verbal echoes indicate "that Burns knew Thomson's work so well that he either consciously or unconsciously drew from it when necessity arose," and also that Burns "found in Thomson a pervading sentimentalism which enforced his own temperamental predilections." Thomson's Whig libertarianism would also have appealed to the ardent democrat Burns. This passage from the "Brigs of Ayr" illustrates the thematic, descriptive influence of Thomson on Burns:

As yet ye little ken about the matter,
But twa-three winters will inform ye better.
When heavy, dark continued, a' day rains
Wi' deepening deluges o'er flow the plains;
When from the hills where springs the brawling Coil,
Or stately Lugar's mossy fountains boil,
Or where the Greenock winds his moorland course,
Or haunted Garpal draws his feeble source,
Aroused by blustering winds an' spotting thowes,
In mony a torrent down the snow-broo rows;
While crashing ice, borne on the rushing speat,
Sweeps dams, an' mills, an' brigs a' to the gate;
And from Glenbuck down to the Ratton-Key
Auld Ayr is just one lengthen'd, tumbling sea...

("Brigs of Ayr," ll. 111-24)

Thomson's description of the river in spate in "Winter," ll. 94-105, may indeed have inspired Burns's description of the same event in (Scottish) nature; it is just one of many such parallel scenes in the works of the two most eminent Scottish poets of the eighteenth century.

Many other eighteenth-century poets who wrote in Scots also emulated
Thomson, and particularly imitated his vigorous descriptive manner. Léon Morel draws attention to one such Scots poet, David Davidson, and quotes from his *Thoughts on the Seasons* (1789):

"Frae thatched eaves the icicles depend
In glitt'ring show, an' the once bick'ring stream,
Imprison'd by th' ice, low-growling, runs
Below, the crystal pavement."25

(Note the Latinism "depend," and the Scoticism "bick'ring," as well as the compound quasi-adverb "low-growling" here.) Davidson in his Preface to *Thoughts on the Seasons* said, "That I have expressed my thoughts partly in my native dialect, was my inclination. Let not this inclination condemn the production; for, the worth of a story consists not merely in, the language in which it is told."26 His poetic language, a curious hybrid which indeed varies from strong Scots to nearly-pure English diction, shows the clear influence of Thomson, as does his "seasonal" theme, which borrows closely and extensively from the elder poet. He pays explicit tribute to his model Thomson in the Preface: "The chaste, harmonious Thomson, when his prospect extended but little beyond the walls of Kensington Gardens, could circumvene the skirts of the Grampian Hills....With a prospect, not more extensive than Thomson's, I have circumven'd the hillocks of my natal soil...."27

The Romantic period saw Thomson's most distinctively "Scottish" influences-- the poetry of nature and the theme of northern mystery and superstition-- come to the fore, not only in Scottish poetry but also in all European literature. Walter Scott's descriptions of the living Border landscape and its people, his portrayals of Scottish superstitions and the supernatural, and his remote and romantic Highland scenes, while they owe much to Scottish folklore and ballads and to
"Ossian," are surely also indebted to the pre-Romantic poet Thomson. Thomas Campbell was another Anglo-Scottish Romantic poet, strongly influenced by Thomson's language, style and subject-matter. His religious-philosophical (Pleasures of Hope), sentimental-descriptive and Spenserian (Gertrude of Wyoming), supernatural ("Lochiel's Warning") and patriotic ("Ye Mariners of England") poems, as well as many more short lyrics, show clear Thomsonian influence. This descriptive-philosophical passage from The Pleasures of Hope (1799), in the Scottish "winter" tradition, will illustrate:

Let Winter come! let polar spirits sweep
The dark'ning world, and tempest-troubled deep!
Though boundless snows the wither'd heath deform,
And the dim sun scarce wanders through the storm;
Yet shall the smile of social love repay,
With mental light, the melancholy day!
And, when its short and sullen noon is o'er,
The ice-chain'd waters slumbering on the shore,
How bright the faggots in his little hall
Blaze on the hearth, and warm the pictur'd wall!
...

Trim the gay taper in his rustic dome,
And light the wintry paradise of home;
And let the half-uncurtained window hail
Some way-worn man benighted in the vale!
Now, while the moaning night-wind rages high,
As sweep the shot-stars down the troubled sky,
While fiery hosts in Heaven's wide circle play,
And bathe in lurid light the milky way,
Safe from the storm, the meteor, and the shower,
Some pleasing page shall charm the solemn hour—...
(Pleasures, Part II, ll. 115-24; 131-40)

Numerous descriptive details here (the imagery of "deformation" in snow, the "ice-chain'd waters," the contrast of outdoor cold with indoor comfort, the meteor) are Thomson's, as is the philosophical concept of "social love": the passage is thoroughly Thomsonian.

A host of minor Scottish Romantic poets, writing both in English and
in Scots, continued to follow Thomson's lead in the poetry of natural
description, throughout the early part of the nineteenth century. A
great many were from Thomson's native Borders, and described this
region in their poetry. One such poet was John Leyden, born in
Roxburghshire, who edited *Scottish Descriptive Poems* (1803) and who
wrote explicitly of the Borders in *Scenes of Infancy, Descriptive of
Teviotdale* (1803). Here is one such Border description from that poem:

> From wilds of tawny heath and mosses dun,
> Through winding glens scarce pervious to the sun,
> Afraid to glitter in the noon-tide beam,
> The Teviot leads her young, sequester'd stream;
> Till, far retiring from her native rills,
> She leaves the covert of her sheltering hills,
> And, gathering wide her waters on their way,
> With foamy force emerges into day.
>
> While, far remote, where flashing torrents shine,
> In misty verdure towers the tapering pine,
> And dusky heaths in sullen languor lie,
> Where Cheviot's ridges swell to meet the sky.

> As every prospect opens on my view,
> I seem to live departed years anew;
> When in these wilds a jocund, sportive child,
> Each flower self-sown my heedless hours beguil'd....

The pervasive air of nostalgia and sentimentality about such localised
descriptive poetry was present to an extent in Thomson's more general-
ised Border descriptions, also; such deep feeling inspired some of
his finest Scottish descriptions. It was this element of emotional
recollection of the homeland which, when taken in isolation, was to
degenerate into "kailyard" literature later in the nineteenth century.
Leyden's poem, however, does succeed in capturing much of the realism
and energy of Thomson's Border descriptions.

Direct Thomsonian influence declined in Scotland in the Victorian per-
id, when Augustan literature had generally fallen out of favour. By
this time, however, Thomson's influence, particularly on the poetry of natural description, had been thoroughly assimilated into British Romantic poetry, and so continued to assert an indirect influence. In poets such as Alexander Smith, who was himself strongly influenced by the Romantic poets, echoes of Thomson could yet be heard. For Smith, who lived for many years in Glasgow, the Highlands were still the remote and mysterious regions of superstition and wild beauty; despite their mystery, he could also describe them with sensuous accuracy of detail and lavish personification, born of personal observation:

And when the proud sun fired the dripping pines,  
I wandered forth, and drank with thirsty eyes  
The coolness of the sun-illumined brooks  
In which the quick trout played. The speckless light,  
The beauty of the morning, drew me on  
Into a gloomy glen. The heavy mists  
Crept up the mountain sides; I heard the streams;  
The place was saddened with the bleat of sheep.  
' 'Tis surely in such lonely scenes as these,  
Mythologies are bred. The rolling storms—  
The mountains standing black in mist and rain,  
With long white lines of torrents down their sides—  
The ominous thunder creeping up the sky—  
The homeless voices at the dead of night  
Wandering among the glens— the ghost-like clouds  
Stealing beneath the moon— are but as stuff  
Whence the awe-stricken herdsman could create  
Gods for his worship.'

(from "A Boy's Poem," City Poems)³²

A late Victorian tribute was paid to Thomson, appropriately, by his Anglo-Scottish namesake, James Thomson ("B. V."); his poem "The Lord of the Castle of Indolence" (1859), in the same, Spenserian form as the elder Thomson's Castle, likewise places the speaker and his friends within the Castle, lending subjective truth. Here, however, the stern, Scottish Calvinistic didactic message of sin and punishment found in
Canto II of the earlier poem is absent; indolence is now described solely as luxurious, "blessed" escapism from the vain world. "B. V.'s poem is "a fine distillation of the theme of the higher Indolence in the original Canto I, clear of all suggestions of evil or impending disaster." He describes the Lord of the Castle thus:

Nor did we lack our own right royal king,
The glory of our peaceful realm and race.
By no long years of restless travailing,
By no fierce wars or intrigues bland and base,
Did he attain his superlofty place;
But one fair day he lounging to the throne
Reclined thereon with such possessing grace
That all could see it was in sooth his own,
That it for him was fit and he for it alone.

James Thomson the elder was, then, a significant influence on many later Scottish poets-- and not only on Anglo-Scots, but on the Scots and Gaelic poets as well. This long-lived emulation and imitation by the poets of his homeland is one, positive measure of Thomson's success as a truly "North British," Scottish poet.

Into the twentieth century, although the direct influence of Thomson can no longer be realistically claimed, Scottish poets continue to demonstrate kinship with the eighteenth-century Anglo-Scot, and to dwell on the same themes which he introduced and explored. These poets represent all three languages of Scottish literature-- Gaelic, Scots and English-- as well as various poetic modes ranging from intricate strict form to free verse. Scottish poetry of natural description and the exploration of man's relationship to the (often harsh and "wintry") natural environment is clearly thriving. The theme of nature and natural description figures in most modern Scottish poetry to some extent, particularly in the poetry of Norman MacCaig, Scottish
Gaelic poet Sorley Maclean, George Bruce (who, like Thomson, also incorporates many "art" images from painting and sculpture into his poetry), Orkneyman George Mackay Brown, Iain Crichton Smith and Sydney Goodsir Smith. Norman MacCaig is perhaps the foremost nature-poet of Scotland today. His close observation of the natural world, his sensitivity to sense-impressions, his vivid descriptions carried out with searching and almost scientific accuracy, are certainly in the spirit of Thomson. Such poetry of "scientific" inquiry came to MacCaig, perhaps, through John Davidson at the turn of the century, and is also a significant element in the extraordinarily diversified poetry of Hugh MacDiarmid. MacDiarmid in the twentieth century approximates Thomson's own complexity of philosophical statement, intellect and allusion, his emphasis on poetry as an expression of empirical scientific method as well as a vehicle for socio-political comment, his true internationalism and world-wide reputation, and above all his "idea of poetry as a means of advancing the boundaries of consciousness."

Dr. Johnson's fulsome praise of Thomson's genius (his "eye that distinguishes in every thing presented to its view whatever there is on which imagination can delight to be detained, and... a mind that at once comprehends the vast, and attends to the minute. The reader of The Seasons wonders that he never saw before what Thomson shews him, and that he never yet has felt what Thomson impresses") might equally well apply to Scotland's chief poet, MacDiarmid, today. Other twentieth-century Scottish poets besides MacDiarmid who, like Thomson, make far-reaching socio-political statements in their poetry and show especial concern for Scotland's situation, include Edwin Muir, and more recently Edwin Morgan and Alexander Scott. Satire attacking human vanity, an important didactic theme in Thomson, is the province of
witty Scots poet Robert Garioch. Further, Garioch, like MacCaig and indeed most of these diverse modern poets, writes from a firm foundation of Scottish Humanism and classical learning; these poets thus share in the same, living tradition of vernacular humanism as Thomson. Religious poetry, too, which was after all Thomson's primary theme, remains a viable force in modern Scottish poetry, notably in the visionary religious-philosophical poetry of Edwin Muir and in the work of his disciple, Roman Catholic poet George Mackay Brown. Brown, like Muir and James Thomson, shows a deep awareness of religion in its historical context, and ultimately "tries to fathom God's purpose." While it would be presumptuous to venture that any of these important modern Scottish poets was directly influenced by James Thomson, it is heartening to find that so many of them are maintaining his poetic priorities, aspiring to his goals, exemplifying so many of his high standards for a true Scottish poetry in the modern world.

The present century has witnessed a healthy resurgence of nationalism in Scotland; in literature, the so-called Scottish Renaissance movement has again focused attention on the development of a native Scottish literature. This focus has sometimes, however, tended to become too narrow: as in the eighteenth century, the definition of "native" Scottish poetry has been too frequently limited to that which is written in Scots. What of Anglo-Scottish poetry, not to mention the Scottish Gaelic? The lesson which the poetry of James Thomson holds for twentieth-century literary nationalists can only be that the Anglo-Scots, too, can bring much that is distinctively Scottish to poetry written in the English language, and that their contributions are one very important part of Scottish literature, which must not be neglected.
The purpose of this thesis has been to show that James Thomson's Scottish background—literary, and broadly cultural—had a fundamental and far-reaching influence on the poet's work. Thomson's upbringing as a son of the manse, his life in the Border landscape, his thorough humanistic education at the Jedburgh Grammar School, his early contacts with Sir William Bennet, and especially with Robert Ricol-toun, his classical, philosophical and theological education at Edinburgh University, and especially his involvement in the Edinburgh cultural life of the early eighteenth century (a critical period for post-Union Scotland) and his continuing links with Scotland even while he lived in London, all helped to shape his ideals of poetry and the poet's role, as well as his choice of eclectic subject-matter and his distinctive, original style. To an appreciable extent, Scottish literature, folklore and language also directly influenced his poetry. These Scottish influences are perhaps best seen in The Seasons, written just after he left Scotland, but they are present, too, in his other works, the juvenilia, Liberty, the dramas and especially The Castle of Indolence. It is hoped that this thesis will have shed some light on the importance of James Thomson's Scottish background to his art, and, in so doing, have broadened somewhat the concept of literary "Scottish-ness," ultimately to enrich subsequent studies of both Scottish, and eighteenth-century, literature.
The identity of ‘Mis John’: a footnote to James Thomson

Mary Jane W. Scott

In a number of letters to his friend Dr. William Cranstoun, the young James Thomson made affectionate reference to a character whom they both knew in their native Scottish Borders, called ‘Mis John’. As A. D. McKillop points out,1 ‘Mis John’ was a humorous nickname in the eighteenth-century for a clergyman, but the identity of Thomson’s friend has not been established with any certainty.

The 11th Earl of Buchan (Thomson enthusiast of the late eighteenth-early nineteenth centuries) noted that ‘Mis John’ was ‘undoubtedly the Revd. J. Wilson, Minister of the Parish of Maxton in Roxburghshire, a particular friend of Dr. Cranstoun of Ancrum and of Thomson’.2 He meant the Rev. Gabriel Wilson of Maxton, and this identification has stood unchallenged. McKillop implies some doubt, however; he accepts fully only what is made clear in the letters themselves, which indicate that ‘Mis John’ was ‘evidently a neighbouring clergyman of a markedly humorous and pedantic character’.3 One of the letters refers both to ‘Mis John’ (in a jocular context) and to ‘Mr. Wilson’ (in a business-like postscript),4 suggesting that they were not the same person.

The Rev. Gabriel Wilson was a ‘High-Flyer’, an evangelical clergyman and close associate of the stern Rev. Thomas Boston of Ettrick. Boston and Wilson were so-called ‘Marrow-men’, taking up the defence of The marrow of modern divinity in the major Presbyterian controversy of the early eighteenth-century. Practically nothing is known of Wilson’s personality, however, and there is no evidence to support a ‘humorous’ bent. A remark by Thomson, following a visit to Drury Lane (‘O! if I had Mis John here to see

1 Alan Dougald McKillop, ed., James Thomson: letters and documents, Lawrence, Kansas, 1958, p. 3.
2 David Erskine, 11th Earl of Buchan, annotation on copy-letter from James Thomson to William Cranstoun (20 July 1725), MS Laing II. 316, Edinburgh University Library.
3 McKillop, p. 3.
4 Ibid., pp. 5-6 (letter from Thomson to Cranstoun, [Feb. 1725]).
some of their top fools he would shake the scenes with laughter ... 1) could hardly apply to a 'High-Flyer', to whom imaginative literature and the drama in particular were anathema. It thus seems unlikely that Thomson's friend was a 'High-Flyer' such as Wilson.

One Border clergyman would appear to be an especially likely candidate for 'Mis John'. This is the Rev. James Ramsay (1672-1749), minister at Kelso from 1707 until his death. Kelso being located very near Thomson's parish of Southdean and Cranstoun's parish of Ancrum, and both the young men's fathers being ministers, it is highly probable that the families knew and had close communication with Ramsay.

James Ramsay was an active representative of the Synod of Merse and Teviotdale, and was Moderator of the General Assembly in 1738 and 1741.2 In contrast to Wilson of Maxton, Ramsay was a 'Moderate' clergyman—a far more likely companion for the young poet, who held similar views on religion and society. Ramsay was in fact a personal friend of Thomas Boston, and knew Wilson, but in theological matters (chiefly, the Marrow controversy) he firmly took the opposite stance.3

It is not known whether Ramsay enjoyed and encouraged the belles lettres, but he was certainly well-versed in the classics, having taken an M.A. at St. Andrews in 1687. Though some4 had scant respect for his learning, he seems to have been well-read, especially in matters of theology. Thomas Boston wrote that it was Ramsay who first 'put the book in my hand, viz Pareus on Ursin's Catechism ... 4'. Ramsay's list of publications5 testifies to some degree

1 Ibid., p. 6.
3 Ramsay's Moderate stance was satirised by John Witherspoon in Ecclesiastical characteristics (1751), in which the author criticised the Moderates for being too closely allied with the nobility and too little concerned with the common people. It is true that Ramsay had common interests with a number of the local lairds, and among them was Sir William Bennet of Grubbet, a close friend and early patron of James Thomson. The Whigs Ramsay and Bennet worked together in 1715, defending Kelso from the Jacobite rebels. See James Tait, Two centuries of Border church life, Kelso, 1889, pp. 17-18.
5 For example, John Ramsay of Ochteryre, who wrote that James Ramsay was 'a man of strong mother-wit but little learning, no innovator or metaphysician ... 5'. See Scotland and Scotsmen in the eighteenth century, the MSS of John Ramsay of Ochteryre, ed. A. Allardyce, Edinburgh & London, 1888, i, 274, author's note.
6 Boston, 'Memoirs', p. 20.
7 Scott, Fasti, lists: Letter from a gentleman to a Member of Parliament, concerning toleration; Remarks
of academic interest in Church issues. He may, then, have been a ‘pedantic’ character, but it is also possible that he was active in fostering imaginative literature, and especially English poetry, as were so many Moderate clergymen of the time.

James Ramsay was perhaps best known as a man with a large (if somewhat coarse or slapstick) sense of humour, both in his style of preaching and in his general behaviour. He was often the protagonist of comical incidents, and just as often the target of practical jokes. One source relates a picaresque tale about the jovial clergyman having great difficulties with a recalcitrant horse. This story might relate to references in two of Thomson’s letters: (‘You write to me that Mis John and his Quadruped are making a large exentical orbit together with 2, or 3 walletfuls of books... there is one thing I hear storied... that his horse is metamorphosing into an ass...’; and an appeal to Cranstoun to write to him more of ‘Mis John and his horse [who] would also make a very good paragraph...’). The tale of Ramsay, though possibly exaggerated, might well carry some grain of truth, and thus be linked with Thomson’s references to the comical pair, ‘Mis John’ and his horse.

The portrayal of Ramsay as an extremely good-humoured man agrees with what Thomson wrote of ‘Mis John’ (‘Tell him when you see him that I laugh in imagination with him ha! ha! ha! Mis John how in the name of wonder drag’d you so much good humour along with you thro the thorny paths of systems and school divinity...’). Indeed, Ramsay’s sense of humour was in much the same vein as Thomson’s own (as revealed in the poet’s more personal letters and in many anecdotes preserved by his biographers)—a rather heavy-handed humour perhaps, but certainly arising from a kindly and optimistic nature. The Rev. James Ramsay, pedantic and personable minister of Kelso, must surely have been a congenial neighbour and companion for the young James Thomson, and it seems probable that he is the ‘Mis John’ of the letters.

upon the case of the Episcopal clergy and those of the Episcopal persuasion; Toleration’s force removed; and, An examination of three prelatical pamphlets (all Edinburgh, 1703). These pamphlets were written as part of the debate over toleration of the Episcopal religion in Scotland; they are in the National Library of Scotland.

2 Ibid., pp. 22–23.
3 Ibid., p. 2 (letter from Thomson to Cranstoun, 11 Dec. 1724).
5 Ibid., p. 6 (letter from Thomson to Cranstoun, [Feb. 1725]).
"A Winter's Day. Written by a Scotch Clergyman. Corrected by an eminent Hand."

Now, gloomy soul! look out—now comes thy turn; With thee, behold all ravag'd nature mourn. Hail the dim empire of thy darling night, That spreads, slow-shadowing, o'er the vanquish'd light. Look out, with joy; the Ruler of the day, Faint, as thy hopes, emits a glimm'ring ray: Already exil'd to the utmost sky, Hither, oblique, he turns his clouded eye. Lo! from the limits of the wintry pole, Mountainous clouds, in rude confusion, roll: In dismal pomp, now, hov'ring on their way, To a sick twilight they reduce the day. And hark! imprison'd winds, broke loose, arise, And roar their haughty triumph thro the skies. While the driv'n clouds, o'erccharg'd with floods of rain, And mingled lightning, burst upon the plain. Now see sad earth—like thine, her alter'd state, Like thee, she mourns her sad reverse of fate! Her smiles, her wanton looks,—where are they now? Faded her face! and wrap'd in clouds her brow! No more, th' ungrateful verdure of the plain; No more the wealth-crown'd labours of the swain; These scenes of bliss, no more upbraid my fate, Torture my pining thought, and rouze my hate. The leaf-clad forest, and the tufted grove, Ere while, the safe retreats of happy love, Stript of their honours, naked, now appear; This is, my soul! the winter of their year! The little, noisy songsters of the wing, All, shiv'ring on the bough, forget to sing. Hail, rev'rend silence! with thy awful brow! Be musick's voice for ever mute—-as now: Let no intrusive joy my dead repose Disturb—no pleasure disconcert my woes. In this moss-cover'd cavern, hopeless laid, On the cold clift I'll lean my aking head, And, pleas'd with winter's waste, unpitying, see All nature in an agony with me: Rough, rugged rocks, wet marshes, ruin'd tow'rs, Bare trees, brown brakes, bleak heaths, and rushy moors, Dead floods, huge cataracts, to my pleased eyes (Now I can smile!) in wild disorder rise: And now, the various dreadfulness combin'd, Black melancholy comes to doze my mind. See: night's wish'd-shades rise, spreading through the air, And the lone, hollow gloom, for me prepare!

(cont'd)
Hail! solitary ruler of the grave!
Parent of terrors! from thy dreary cave!
Let thy dumb silence midnight all the ground,
And spread a welcome horror all around.
But hark!—a sudden howl invades my ear!
The phantoms of the dreadful hour are near.
Shadows, from each dark cavern, now combine
And stalk around, and mix their yells with mine.
Stop, flying time! repose thy restless wing;
Fix here—nor hasten to restore the spring:
Fix'd my ill fate, so fix'd let winter be,
Let never wanton season laugh at me!

Now Summer with her wanton court is gone
To revel on the south side of the world,
And flaunt and frolic out the live-long day.
While Winter rising pale from northern seas
Shakes from his hoary locks the drizzling rheum.
A blast so shrewd makes the tall-bodied pines
Unsinew'd bend, and heavy-paced bears
Sends growling to their savage tenements.

Now blows the surly north, and chills throughout
The stiffening regions; while, by stronger charms
Than Circe o'er fell Medea brew'd,
Each brook that wont to prattle to its banks
Lies all bestill'd and wedg'd betwixt its banks,
Nor moves the wither'd reeds; and the rash flood
That from the mountains held its headstrong course,
Buried in livid sheets of vaulting ice,
Seen thro' the shameful breaches, idly creeps
To pay a scanty tribute to the ocean.
What wonder? when the floating wilderness
That scorns our miles, and calls Geography
A shallow pryer; from whose unsteady mirrour
The high-hung pole surveys his dancing locks;
When this still-raving deep lies mute and dead,
Nor heaves its swelling bosom to the winds.
The surges, bated by the fierce north-east
Tossing with fretful spleen their angry heads
To roar and rush together,
Even in the foam of all their madness struck
To monumental ice, stand all astride
The rocks they washed so late. Such execution,
So stern, so sudden, wrought the grisly aspect
Of terrible Medusa, ere young Perseus
With his keen sabre cropt her horrid head,
And laid her serpents rowling on the dust;
When wandering thro' the woods she frown'd to stone
Their savage tenants: just as the foaming lion
Sprung furious on his prey, her speedier power
Outrun his haste; no time to languish in,
But fix'd in that fierce attitude he stands
Like Rage in marble.—Now portly Argosies
Lie wedg'd 'twixt Neptune's ribs. The bridg'd abyss
Has chang'd our ships to horses; the swift bark
Yields to the heavy waggon and the cart,
That now from isle to isle maintain the trade;
And where the surface-haunting Dolphin led
Her sportive young, is now an area fit
For the wild school-boy's pastime.

Meantime the evening skies, crusted with ice,
Shifting from red to black their weighty skirts,
Hang mournful o'er the hills; and stealing night
Rides the bleak puffing winds, that seem to spit
Their foam sparse thro' the welkin, which is nothing
If not beheld. Anon the burden'd heaven
Shakes from its ample sieve the baulded snow;
That fluttering down besprinkles the sad trees
In mockery of leaves; piles up the hills
To monstrous altitude, and choaks to the lips
The deep impervious vales that yawn as low
As to the centre, Nature's vastly breaches.
While all the pride of men and mortal things
Lies whelm'd in heaven's white ruins.—

The shivering clown digs his obstructed way
Thro' the snow-barricadoed cottage door;
And muffled in his home-spun plaid encounters
With livid cheeks and rheum-distilling nose
The morning's sharp and scourging breath; to count
His starving flock whose number's all too short
To make the goodly sum of yester-night;
Part deep ingurgitated, part yet struggling
With their last pantings melt themselves a grave
In Winter's bosom; which yields not to the touch
Of the pale languid crescent of this world,
That now with lean and churlish husbandry
Yields heartlessly the remnants of his prime;
And like most spendthrifts starves his latter days
For former rankness. He with bleary eye
Blazons his own disgrace; the harness'd waste
Rebellicus to his blunt defeated shafts;
And idly strikes the chalky mountains tops
That rise to kiss the Welkin's ruddy lips;
Where all the rash young bullies of the air
Mount their quick slender penetrating wings,
Whipping the frost-burnt villagers to the bones;
And growing with their motion mad and furious,
'Till swoln to tempests they out-rage the thunder;
Winnow the chaffy snow, and mock the skies
Even with their own artillery retorted;
Tear up and throw th' accumulated hills
Into the vallies. And as rude hurricanes,
Discharged from the wind-swoln cheeks of heaven,
Buoy up the swilling skirts of Araby's
Inhospitable wilds,
And roll the dusty desert thro' the skies,
Choaking the liberal air, and smothering
Whole caravans at once; such havock spreads
This war of heaven and earth, such sudden ruin
Visits their houseless citizens, that shrink
In the false shelter of the hills together,
And hear the tempest howling o'er their heads
That by and by o'erwhelms them. The very birds,
Those few that trooped not with the chimeing tribe
Of amorous Summer, quit their ruffian element;

(cont'd)
And with domestic tameness hop and flutter
Within the roofs of persecuting man,
(Grown hospitable by like sense of sufferance;)
Whither the hinds, the debt o' the day discharg'd,
From kiln or barn repairing, shut the door
On surly Winter; crowd the clean-swept hearth
And cheerful shining fire; and doff the time,
The whilst the maid's their twirling spindles ply,
With musty legends and ear-pathing tales;
Of giants, and black necromatic bards,
Of air-built castles, feats of madcap knights,
And every hollow fiction of romance.
And, as their rambling humour leads them, talk
Of prodigies, and things of dreadful utterance;
That set them all agape, rouse up their hair,
And make the ideot drops start from their eyes;
Of church-yards belching flames at dead of night,
Of walking statues, ghosts unaffable,
Haunting the dark waste tower or airless dungeon;
Then of the elves that deftly trip the green,
Drinking the summer's moonlight from the flowers;
And all the toys that phantasy pranks up
To amuse her fools withal.—Thus they lash on
The snail-pac'd Hyperborean nights, till heaven
Hangs with a juster poizes when the murk clouds
Roll'd up in heavy wreathes low-bellying, seem
To kiss the ground, and all the waste of snow
Looks blue beneath 'em; till plump'd with bloating dropsy,
Beyond the bounds and stretch of continence,
They burst at once; down pours the hoarded rain,
Washing the slippery winter from the hills,
And floating all the vallies. The fading scene
Melts like a lost enchantment or vain phantasm
That can no more abuse. Nature resumes
Her old substantial shape; while from the waste
Of undistinguishing calamity,
Forests, and by their sides wide-skirted plains,
Houses and trees arise; and waters flow,
That from their dark confines bursting, spurn
Their brittle chains; huge sheets of loosen'd ice
Float on their bosoms to the deep, and jarr
And clatter as they pass; th' o'erjutting banks,
As long unpractic'd to so steep a view,
Seem to look dizzy on the moving pomp.

Now ev'ry petty brook that crawl'd along,
Railing its pebbles, mocks the river's rage,
Like the proud frog i' the fable. The huge Danube,
While melting mountains rush into its tide,
Rolls with such headstrong and unreined course,
As it would choke the Buxine's gulphy maw,
Bursting his chrystal cerements. The breathing time
Of peace expir'd, that hush'd the deafning scenes
Of clam'rous indignation, ruffian War
Rebels, and Nature stands at odds again:
(cont'd)
When the rous'd Furies of the fighting winds
Torment the main; that swells its angry sides,
And churns the foam betwixt its flinty jaws;
While thro' the savage dungeon of the night
The horrid thunder growls. Th' ambitious waves
Assault the skies, and from the bursting clouds
Drink the glib lightening; as if the seas
Wou'd quench the ever-burning fires of heaven.
Strait from their slipp'ry pomp they madly plunge
And kiss the lowest pebbles. Wretched they
That 'midst such rude vexation of the deep
Guide a frail vessel! Better ice-bound still,
Than mock'd with liberty thus be resign'd
To the rough fortune of the froward time;
When Navigation all a-tiptoe stands
On such unsteady footing. Now they mount
On the tall billow's top, and seem to jowl
Against the stars; whence (dreadful eminence!)
They see with swimming eyes (enough to hurry round
In endless vertigo the dizzy brain)
A gulph that swallows vision, with wide mouth
Steep-yawning to receive them; down they duck
To the rugged bottom of the main, and view
The adamantine gates of vaulted hell:
Thence toss'd to light again; till borne adrift
Against some icy mountains bulging sides
They reel, and are no more.—Nor less by land
Ravage the winds, that in their wayward rage
Howl thro' the wide unhospitable glens;
That rock the stable-planted towers, and shake
The hoary monuments of ancient time
Down to their flinty bases; that engage
As they would tear the monuments from their roots,
And brush the high heavens with their woody heads;
Making the stout oaks bow.—But I forget
That sprightly Ver trips on old Winter's heel;
Cease we these notes too tragic for the time,
Nor jar against great Nature's symphony;
When even the blustering elements grow tuneful,
Or listen to the concert. Hark! how loud
The cuckoo wakes the solitary wood!
Soft sigh the winds as o'er the greens they stray,
And murmuring brooks within their channels play.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER I


4 Some Scottish character-traits might conceivably be "racial" in origin; most are a national response to "geography, climate, history, social conditions, education, religious beliefs, and various conventional Scottish attitudes, opinions, and prejudices." Kurt Wittig, The Scottish Tradition in Literature (Edinburgh, 1958), p. 5.


7 Sir George Douglas, Scottish Poetry: Drummond of Hawthornden to Fergusson (Glasgow, 1911), p. 79.

8 Ralph Cohen, The Art of Discrimination: Thomson's 'The Seasons' and the Language of Criticism (London, 1964). I am indebted to Professor Cohen for his monumental critical study, on which, due to the sheer volume of Thomson criticism, I have had to depend fairly heavily in preparing this chapter.

9 ibid., p. 459.

10 Douglas, p. lx.

11 Cohen, Art, p. 382.


16 James Beattie, Scoticisms, arranged in alphabetical order, designed to correct improprieties of speech and writing (Edinburgh, 1787).

17 Beattie, "Poetry and Music," p. 110 (note); Blair, Rhetoric, p. 506. Adam Smith, too, disapproved of Ramsay's Gentle Shepherd: "It is the duty of a poet to write like a gentleman. I dislike that homely style which some think fit to call the language of nature and simplicity and so forth." Hugh Blair "could not approve the Shepherd partly because he was so conscious of a public outside Scotland; it is so entirely formed on the rural manners of Scotland, that none but a native of that country can thoroughly understand or relish it," and partly because he was so ready to believe that the vernacular was near dead...." David Craig, Scottish Literature and the Scottish People 1680-1830 (London, 1961), p. 61.

18 Cohen, Art, pp. 109-11, 182.

19 Patrick Murdoch, ed., The Works of James Thomson, With his Last Corrections and Improvements, To which is prefixed an Account of his Life and Writings (London, 1762), I, i-xx.


27 Joseph Warton, Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope (London, 1756), I.


30 ibid., I, 26.

31 According to Dr. Geoffrey Carnall, Department of English Literature, University of Edinburgh, in personal interview with present writer, May, 1976.

32 "Fete at Dryburgh Abbey," Kelso Mail (17 August, 1812); this article was sent by the Earl of Buchan to the manse at Ednam in September, 1812; National Library of Scotland M3 9648, fol. 29 ff. The article describes a procession, with music, to the Thomson monument (the "Temple of the Muses") erected by the authority of Lord Buchan. In the procession were members of the Masonic Lodge of Newstead (Thomson had been a Mason); the Master of the Lodge dedicated the monument. In Dryburgh village the returning procession met a pageant of the Seasons (women and girls dressed to represent the four Seasons). Here, Lord Buchan recited Burns's poem on Thomson, written for the 1790 celebration of Thomson's birthday held at Ednam Hill. The procession continued on to Dryburgh Abbey, for a ball and supper, followed by a 1:00 a.m. torchlight procession back to the "poetic temple," where an illuminated picture of Britannia" by artist Frederick DeWaldeck "produced a striking and romantic effect." The Earl of Buchan addressed the group, and toasted the Prince Regent (George IV). "God Save the King" was sung, followed by Thomson's "Rule, Britannia." The Master of the Lodge toasted the Countess of Buchan, and the ceremony concluded with a fireworks display.

The "Temple of the Muses" still stands (the present writer has come upon it, hidden in the woods beside the Tweed near Dryburgh Abbey). It consists of nine open Ionic columns of Dryburgh free-stone, covered with a solid stone dome; originally, each capital had the name of (cont'd)
one of the nine Muses on it, but these have disappeared. At the top of the monument is a stone Lyre of Terpsichore, surmounted by a bust of Thomson, by John Smith of Darnoch. The better-known Thomson monument in the Borders is the obelisk which stands on Ednam Hill near the village of Thomson's birth.


34 Cohen, Art, p. 271.


37 The Bee, or Literary Weekly Intelligencer, ed. James Anderson, V, VI (1791), VII, VIII (1792), XVIII (1793).

38 Matthew P. McDiarmid, ed., The Poems of Robert Fergusson, Scottish Text Society, 3rd ser., No. 21 (Edinburgh and London, 1954), I, 55. Other Scots besides Cape Club members celebrated Thomson's birthday in the eighteenth century: "Mr. Thomson's anniversary has been celebrated in Scotland by so many others since [Earl of Buchan's occasions], that it would be impertinent to take farther notice of them," "A Friend to Thomson and to Justice," The Bee, VII (February, 1792), 237.


40 In addition to David Nichol Smith's essay, see Franklin Bliss Snyder, "Notes on Burns and Thomson," Journal of English and Germanic Philology, 19 (1920), 305-17. Snyder's article is derivative of the works of Dr. Otto Ritter on Burns, notably Ritter's review of Molenaar's Robert Burns' Beziehungen zur Literatur, in Herrig's Archiv, cv, 403; and, Ritter's monograph Quellenstudien zu Robert Burns 1773-1791 (Berlin, 1901).


42 Burns, "Extempore— on some Commemorations of Thomson," Poems and Songs, St. 1, p. 459.

43 Ralph Cohen has identified John More as the Rev. John Moir, a clergyman in England. Moir may have been Scottish by birth or ancestry, but Cohen has no evidence of this. See Cohen, Art, Appendix II, "The Identification of a Critic," pp. 508-12.

44 ibid., p. 290.

Cohen, Art, p. 103.

ibid., p. 102.


ibid., III, 298-9.

ibid., III, 298-9.

Cohen, Art, p. 39.


It is not easy to define precisely why Scots has always been considered an especially "vivid" or "expressive" language. Some reasons might be: many Scots words are based on onomatopoeia; many describe concrete rather than abstract characteristics, and many tend to concretise abstracts; many are action-words, verbs and adverbs; many are short and to the point, pithy and concise, and often made more emphatic by hard consonant sounds and/or unusual diphthongs; finally, many are similar to English words and suggest them to the English reader, while adding the interest of novelty, which in itself might lend "expressiveness"; to the Scots speaker, of course, the words would have childhood and local connotations, making them especially meaningful to him. In Thomson's case, the onomatopoeic, concretising, active and direct qualities of Scots may have influenced his choice of English diction, in addition to the connotations he might have been aware of in similar-sounding Scots words, especially in the earlier versions of The Seasons. See Craig, Scottish Literature and People, pp. 243-7, 76. Also see discussion of Thomson's language in Chapters VI & V.III.


ibid., III, 300.

ibid., III, 289.

Cohen, Art, pp. 101-3.

Earl of Buchan, "Eulogy of Thomson the Poet, delivered by the Earl of Buchan on Ednam Hill, where he crowned the first Edition of the Seasons with A Wreath of Bays, on the 22d of September 1791," The Bee, V (1791), 200 ff. The "Eulogy" is also included in the Earl of Buchan's "Essay on the Life of Thomson." The Earl singled out Dr. Johnson's negative comments, and took the opportunity to make it a nationalistic and political issue. The "Eulogy" opens with an angry defence of Thomson against Johnson's allegedly "anti-Scottish" criticisms, and calls Johnson an "overbearing pedant." Buchan was especially indignant at Johnson's (all too appropriate) censure of Liberty, and exclaimed, "I am sorry to be obliged to own that Britain, especially Scotland, knows but too little of the Liberty that Thomson celebrates!"


Cohen, Art, pp. 394-5.

ibid., p. 412.


North [Wilson], "Rhapsody," Fytte I, 873-7. Also see Cohen, Art, p. 408.

Cohen, Art, pp. 424-5.


Wittig, pp. 5-6; also, pp. 107-12, 135 ff., and 197-8. Wittig says that much work needs to be done in the area of comparative literary study, among Scots, Scottish Gaelic and Anglo-Scottish literatures. Also see Derick S. Thomson, "Gaelic Writers in Lowland Scotland," *Scottish Literary Journal*, 4, No. 1 (May, 1977), 37-8.

Brooke, *Naturalism*, p. 46.


Morel, p. 487.


G. Gregory Smith, p. 55.

91 Wittig, p. 276.


94 Ibid., p. vi.

95 James Thomson, "An Elegy Upon James Therburn in Chatto," in Poetical Works (OSA), ed. Robertson, pp. 507-8. Robertson notes, p. 508, that "It is scarcely possible that this is Thomson's."


97 Macaulay, p. 248.

98 Ibid., pp. 139-40.

99 Sir George Douglas was even more inconsistent than Macaulay about Thomson's cultural heritage. He insisted that Thomson, "to all intents and purposes ceased to be a Scotsman" when he settled in London, and spoke of the poet as a sort of traitor to his native land. He asserted that Thomson would have been better off, "if, instead of joining Pope upon the banks of the Thames, he had stayed here, at home, in Scotland, with Allan Ramsay! Flesh-pots of Egypt...flesh-pots of England! What has a poet to do with such things as these?" Douglas then went on to pay tribute to the particular landscape which had inspired Thomson's descriptions, and to the "literary culture of Scotland at that period that, even in a sparsely-populated district [the Borders], the young poet could find congenial companionship and sympathetic appreciation." He recognised Scottish influences, both cultural and environmental, which helped shape the young poet, and which continued to act upon the mature Thomson, who thus could hardly have "ceased to be a Scotsman": Douglas, pp. 46, 72.

100 Bayne, James Thomson.

101 Ibid., p. 123.


103 McKillop's chief works on Thomson include:

(1) The Background of Thomson's 'Liberty,' Rice Institute Pamphlet XXXVIII, No. 2 (July, 1951).
McKillop has also written numerous scholarly articles and notes on Thomson.


Cohen, Art, op. cit.

Cohen’s ambiguity is illustrated in such passages as these. On R. D. Havens’ qualification of Stopford Brooke’s Scottish nationalistic theory of Thomson, as being incomplete, Cohen writes:

But Mallet, who was also a Scot, did not write poetry of the same quality as Thomson, and Hinchcliffe, who was not, did. Moreover, in his 1726 preface Thomson pointed out that the poem was suggested by Virgil and the Scriptures....The poem, moreover, pictured, along with Scottish scenes others, that Thomson never saw, and expressed moral and didactic sentiments in no way dependent upon Scottish scenery or traditions. Art, p. 357.

One presumes that this is Cohen’s interpretation of Havens’ opinion—but Cohen’s presentation leaves some room for doubt. Is this Havens, or Cohen, or both?

Likewise, on the various "developmental" criticisms of Thomson, Cohen writes:

...the developmental analogies and personifications placed The Seasons within the tradition of nature poetry, though it was not clear whether Thomson belonged here since he lacked knowledge of Scottish poetry. Art, p. 228.

Again, was it merely the developmental critics of the nineteenth century who felt that Thomson "lacked knowledge of Scottish poetry," or is this Cohen’s view as well? Cohen’s attitude to Thomson’s "Scottishness" is similarly ambiguous throughout Art, and the issue is not raised at all in Unfolding.
109 Letter received from Professor Ralph Cohen, 28 September, 1976.


114 Fairchild, I, 514-5.


116 Herbert Drennon, "James Thomson's Contact with Newtonianism and his Interest in Natural Philosophy," *PMLA*, 39 (1934), 71-80.


118 *ibid.*, p. 192.


121 Maurice Lindsay, *History of Scottish Literature* (London, 1977). Professor John MacQueen, reviewing Lindsay's *History*, comments on Lindsay's "insensitivity to some aspects of language" in this regard; John MacQueen, "The Lowland Contribution" (review of Maurice Lindsay's *History of Scottish Literature*), *Times Literary Supplement*, No. 3,939 (9 September, 1977), 1089.


125 Speirs, Scots Literary Tradition, op. cit.

126 Nichol Smith, "Thomson and Burns," op. cit.

127 ibid., 182.


131 F. R. Leavis, Revaluation (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1964).

132 Oliver, pp. 119-49 (quotes, from p. 123 and p. 134).

133 Terence Tobin, Plays by Scots, 1660-1800 (Iowa City, 1974), pp. 134-5, etc.


NOTES FOR CHAPTER II

1 Haliburton [Robertson], "Poet of the Woods," 473.


3 Hew Scott, Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae (Edinburgh, 1917), II ("Merse and Teviotdale, Dumfries and Galloway"), 139.
Grant, James Thomson, p. 1. It is interesting to note that Thomson was the grandson of a gardener; his uncle and cousin Robert were also gardeners, for Sir Gilbert Elliot of Minto (see Grant, p. 15; also, Sir Harris Nicolas, ed., The Poetical Works of James Thomson, I, vii). Both the poets Allan Ramsay and David Mallet, whose subject-matter included natural description, were near-relations to gardeners as well. Indeed, after the 1707 Union there were a great many Scots gardeners working in England, "in which business they showed particular skill, and left Scotland, where gardens were few and poor, for England, where they abounded"; Henry Grey Graham, The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century (London, 1909), pp. 513-4. Janet Adam Smith, "Some Eighteenth-Century Ideas of Scotland," in Scotland in the Age of Improvement, eds. N. T. Phillipson and Rosalind Mitchison (Edinburgh, 1970), p. 110, attributed the Scots' gardening skill to "the good teaching of mathematics and mensuration in Scottish schools...." Alexander "Jupiter" Carlyle also recorded that, "most of the head-gardeners of English noblemen were Scotch," including the gardener for the Duke of Portland at Bulstrode, and the gardener at Blenheim: Alexander Carlyle, The Autobiography of Dr. Alexander Carlyle of Inveresk, ed. John Hill Burton (London and Edinburgh, 1910), pp. 379-80.

In Thomson's youth, most gardens in Scotland were very formal and symmetrical, as opposed to the more "natural" or picturesque gardens he would have known as a grown man in England; Somerville, Life and Times, pp. 330-1. William Bennet's garden at Marlefield would undoubtedly have been, when Thomson visited it as a boy, an old-fashioned seventeenth-century-style formal garden; the landscaped gardens he knew in England, such as Hagley Park and Leasowes, would have been the new-style, more free and natural gardens.

Thomson had two other relations (possibly nephews, though this is not likely) who lived near him in Richmond: "One of them was formerly gardener to Lord Bute, now a nursery-man at Milend near London, the other is full brother to this man, and is at present gardener to squire Bouverie"; letter from anonymous "Friend to Thomson and Justice," The Bee, VII [1792], 236-7. Also see The Bee, VI [1791], 284.

Thomson certainly developed a knowledgeable interest in the art and science of landscape gardening, and it thus seems probable that this interest grew from early Scottish experiences. He was always closely observant of the landscape, and his Seasons descriptions and prospect-views demonstrate a trained eye. For further study of Thomson and his views on landscape gardening, see Isabel Chase, Horace Walpole; Gardenist (Princeton, 1943), pp. 109-15.

Scottish Enlightenment philosopher Henry Home, Lord Kames theorised on the emotional effects of landscape gardening (such as Thomson described in his poetry), in Elements of Criticism, II, 342 ff., op. cit.

Thomas Thomson's trials, which, of course, he passed, included: a homily (on the text of I John iii.3, "Every man that hath this hope in him, purifieth himself even as he is pure"); a "commonhead" (on (cont'd)
"De meritis bonorum operum"); a popular sermon (on Phil. ii. 2.,
Wherefore, my beloved, as ye have always obeyed, not as in my presence
only, but now much more in my absence, work out your own salvation
with fear and trembling"). He was also required to "dispute" and to
answer questions in theology and Greek. John Burleigh, Ednam and Its
Indwellers (Glasgow and Dalbeattie, 1912), p. 87.

6 Murdoch, ed., Works (1762), I, ii.

7 Douglas Grant, p. 3.

8 Alexander Grant, The Story of the University of Edinburgh during
its First Three Hundred Years (London, 1884), pp. 334-7.


10 Burleigh, p. 86.

11 McKillop, ed., Letters, pp. 3 (note), 5 (note). Also, Thomas
Boston's mother was an Alison Trotter of Duns, Berwickshire, thus
possibly related to Thomson's own mother, Beatrix Trotter; Alex-

12 James Thomson, "On the Death of His Mother," in Poetical
Works (OSA, 1908; 1971), pp. 434-6.

13 Daiches, Paradox, p. 43.

14 Weber, Protestant Ethic, pp. 157-8, 163.

15 For example, John Witherspoon's satire of 1751, Ecclesiastical
Characteristics, directed against the Moderate James Ramsay of Kelso,
who was friendly with the local gentry, including Sir William Bennet
of Grubbet. James Tait, Two Centuries of Border Church Life (Kelso,
1889), pp. 2-3.


17 Fairchild, I, 510.

18 George Watson, "Rev. Thomas Thomson, M.A., the Father of the
Poet of the 'Seasons,'" Border Magazine, VIII, No. 92 (September,
1903), 177.

19 McKillop, ed., Letters, p. 5 (note), gives an account of Thomas
Thomson's death.
Sir James Balfour Paul, ed., The Scots Peerage (Edinburgh, 1907), II, 595; III, 551. Also see Matthew Scobie's (1770) Map of Roxburghshire (Edinburgh University Library Map Room).


Watson, "Thomas Thomson," 178, quoting John Bell, editor of Thomson's Works (1855). Exorcism remains a live issue in the Scottish Church today; an article in The Scotsman (22 May, 1976) reports the General Assembly's statement that ministers should not themselves attempt to perform exorcisms, but should instead bring in a medical doctor.

ibid., 177; Watson does not cite the Somerville source, and careful checking failed to turn it up.

Murdoch, ed., Works (1762), I, iii.

Oliver, "Scottish Augustans," p. 142.

ibid., p. 126.


Burleigh, p. 159.

Douglas Grant, pp. 3-4.

J. Logie Robertson, ed., Poetical Works (OSA, 1908-1971), p. xix, lists nine Thomson children: Andrew (b. 1695); Alexander (b. 1697); Issobel (b. 1699); James (b. 1700); John; Jean; Elizabeth; Margaret; and, Mary. Scott, Fasti, II, 139 lists eight children (omits Jean).

Douglas Grant, pp. 7-8; Murdoch, ed., Works (1762), I, iv.

Fairchild, I, 510.

Douglas Grant, pp. 8-9.
ibid., p. 4; Murdoch, ed., Works (1762), I, gives September 11, and although some later biographers give September 7, the 11th is more likely.

Somerville, Life and Times, pp. 304-5. He compares this grave situation with a similar crisis about one-hundred years later (after the Union), when the British Government was able to help Scotland considerably; he cites it as an illustration of the benefits which came from the Union.


ibid., pp. 159-60; also, Somerville, pp. 360-1.

Alexander Jeffrey, The History and Antiquities of Roxburghshire (Edinburgh, 1855-64), I, 69, 16-17.


Nichol Smith, "Thomson and Burns," 182.


Douglas Grant, pp. 9-10.

Wittig, Scottish Tradition, pp. 144-5 (note).

Taylor, p. 4.

More [Moir], Strictures, pp. 172-3.


Douglas Grant, p. 10.

Watson, Southdean, pp. 2-3. Watson gives convincing evidence that the "Zedon" of Froissart's Chronicles is Southdean ( Sudon, or Sou'den, as it is pronounced even today).

Professor William Beattie, Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities, University of Edinburgh, in personal interview, 15 April, 1976.
52 Jeffrey, I, 16.

53 Bayne, James Thomson, p. 28.

54 This idea was suggested to me by Professor John MacQueen; see also, Sir. Paul Harvey, ed., The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature (Oxford, 1937) , p. 447, asserting that the "romantic" element of Virgil's feeling for nature in the Aeneid might derive from his Celtic background.

55 Jeffrey, I, 79.

56 Weber, pp. 123, 164. Weber's reference is to "Puritan"; I have substituted "Presbyterian" as the Scottish form of "Puritan" Protestantism.

57 G. Gregory Smith, Specimens of Middle Scots (Edinburgh, 1902), pp. xlvi-xlvii.

58 Jack, Scottish Prose, p. 25.

59 Somerville, Life and Times, p. 350.

60 Weber, p. 168.

61 Craig, Literature and People, p. 128.


63 William Harvey, Scottish Chapbook Literature (Paisley, 1903), p. 25.

64 Here are some sample chapbooks which were possibly available to the young James Thomson. They are taken from William Beattie, Catalogue of the Lauriston Castle Chapbooks in the National Library of Scotland (Boston, 1964):

(I) Religious/Didactic-

a) "Hidden things brought to light, for the increase of knowledge in reading the Bible" (Edinburgh, 1704).

b) "The New Pictorial Bible" (Glasgow).

c) "Heaven's glory, and Hell's Horror" (London, 1674).

d) "Help unto Prayer; for Children" (Edinburgh, 1704).

e) "The Age and Life of Man" (Edinburgh, n. d.-- there were numerous editions of this chapbook, from the seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries. In Scoto-English).
(II) History-
   a) "Robert III, King of Scotland" (in verse—Edinburgh, 1700).
   b) "The History of Sir William Wallace" (Glasgow, n. d.—there were many versions of this tale in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries).
   c) "The famous and renowned history of the nine worthies of the world" (London, 1650).

(III) Travel / Geography-
   a) "A Geographical Description of Scotland," James Paterson (Edinburgh, 1681; heavy with Scottish patriotic, nationalist overtones and praise of Scottish achievements, especially in astronomy. Includes "A Description of the Comet").
   b) "Description of Mt. Vesuvius" (Kirkcudbright, n. d.).
   c) "A great vision, seen in Turkie land" (London and Edinburgh, 1702).
   d) "A description of the four parts of the world" (London and Stirling, n. d.).

(IV) Superstition / Prophecy-
   a) "A Most Strange and Dreadful Apparition" (London, 1680).
   b) "Visits from the world of spirits" (Glasgow, n. d.).
   c) "The whole prophesie...by Thomas Rymer" (Edinburgh, 1685 and many other editions).
   d) "A New Prognostication...1701...Scotland" (Glasgow, 1701).

(V) Pastoral-
   a) "Dorastus and Fawnia," Robert Greene [or, Pandosto, the source of Shakespeare's A Winter's Tale], (London, 1703—has many similarities with the plot of Ramsay's Gentle Shepherd).
   b) "The wandering shepherdess" (Falkirk, n. d.).

(VI) Middle Scots-
   a) "The cherry and the slae," Alexander Montgomerie (editions 1688, et. al.).
   b) "The flyting betwixt Montgomerie and Polwart" (1679).

(VII) Other Classics and Literary Works-
   a) "Ovid's art of love," trans. Dryden (Newcastle, n. d.).
   b) "Paradise Lost" and "Paradise Regain'd" (London, n. d.).
   c) "Sir Gawen" (Stirling, n. d.).


67 Douglas Grant, p. 10 (he offers no proof that the school was in Chesters; it was located in Southdean village in the late eighteenth century, according to Rev. William Scott, "Southdean," First Statistical Account, XII).


69 ibid., pp. 195-6; for example, James Watson's (Edinburgh, 1709) The Child's Tutor; or The Shorter Catechism...having before it all the words thereof, ranked in the most convenient order as to the accent, sound of the vowels, and division of syllables, for the benefit of young children, and direction of such as are commonly entrusted with their education; or, Robert Freebairn's publication (1708) which included the alphabet and Shorter Catechism, with prayers, etc. and added (to the material of such earlier works as The A. B. C. or a Shorter Catechism for Young Children, 1644) the Arabic and Roman numerals. Such texts were very common in the eighteenth century.


71 Graham, Social Life, p. 421.

72 Graham, Scottish Men of Letters, p. 283.

73 George Watson, The History of Jedburgh Grammar School (Jedburgh, 1909), p. 7. Watson's source is cited as Historical Notices of the Superstitions of Teviotdale, p. 535. The story is also told by George Tancred, Annals of a Border Club (Jedburgh, Edinburgh and Glasgow, 1903), p. 7. There are a number of references to James Brown in the Minutes of the Jedburgh Town Council, I (1715-1735); Scottish Record Office MS B.38/7/1, fol. 28. These Minutes note that Brown's successor was appointed in March, 1721.

74 Boston, Works, XII, 14-15.

75 Scotland, Education, I, 83.

76 ibid., I, 86, 73; also, James Grant, History of the Burgh and Parish Schools of Scotland (London and Glasgow, 1876), I, 159, 90-92.
Graham, Social Life, pp. 443-4 (note; Graham's source is Munimenta Univ. Glasg., ii, 537). For another, similar example, see Scotland, Education, I, 82.

"A Catalogue of All the Genuine Household Furniture...of Mr. James Thomson..."


Joannes Despauterius, Ninivitae Gramaticae, Syntaxis, Ninivitae Artis Versificatoriae Compendium and De Figuris (in one volume, and including George Buchanan's De Prosodia Libellus; Edinburgh, 1702).

Duncan, Ruddiman, pp. 149-50.


Duncan, Ruddiman, pp. 149-50.

ibid., p. 154.

ibid., pp. 66-7.


Graham, Social Life, p. 440; also, Scotland, Education, I, 84.

Scotland, Education, I, 84: The range of plays put on in schools broadened considerably by the second quarter of the eighteenth century, when the Kirk began increasingly to accept the drama. Shakespeare and contemporary English plays were put on, as well as Scottish pieces such as the very popular Gentle Shepherd.


Douglas Grant, p. 11, traces this from Shiels' biography on.

ibid., pp. 16-17; Alexander Grant, Story, I, 262 ff; Edinburgh University Matriculation Rolls, Edinburgh University Library.
"Catalogue," Items No. 57, p. 10; No. 83, p. 10; Nos. 89-90, p. 10.

Watson, Jedburgh Grammar School, p. 7.

Spacks, Varied God, p. 5.


"Wideopen" was once a part of the Bennet family's Grubbet estate (until 1700), and later became so again. Thus the Homes, Mrs. Thomson's family, probably had a long-standing connection, possibly a friendship, with their neighbours the Bennets. See Jeffrey, III, 303-6.

Scott, Fasti, II, 98.


Ramsay of Ochtertyre, Scotland and Scotsmen, II, 54-5.

Tancred, Border Club, p. 522.

Tait, Border Church Life, p. 34.

Kinghorn and Law, eds., Ramsay, IV (1970), 25-8; the Archers were established in 1676, as an exclusive Scottish patriotic club which "took itself seriously and encouraged a romantic belief in a mythical military tradition...." After the 1715 Jacobite rebellion, the Archers did not march again until 1724; they had been looked upon as disaffected. "None, indeed, were then admitted to it, who were not supposed to bear an attachment to the house of Stuart," Hugo Arnot, The History of Edinburgh From the Earliest Accounts to the Year 1780 (Edinburgh, 1816), pp. 273-5.

Ramsay of Ochtertyre, Scotland and Scotsmen, I, 39 (note).

Archibald Pitcairn, Selecta Poemata Archibaldi Pitcairni, Gulielmi Scot a Thirlstane, Thomas Kincadii, et aliorum (Edinburgh, 1727):

a) "Ode to Sir William Bennet" ("Ad Dom. Gulielmum Bennet, Militem Baronettum"), by William Scot of Thirlstane, pp. 111-13;

William Scot or Scott of Thirlstane (1674?-1725), was a Latin lyricist from Selkirkshire. Member of Faculty of Advocates, and "scholarly writer of sentimental and humorous lyrics, and an adept at macaronic verse." Thomas Wilson Bayne, "Scott, Sir William," DNB, XVII (1897), 1046.

Poems on the Royal Company of Archers (bound with Selecta Poemata, above; Edinburgh, 1727):

a) "To Mr. DAVID DRUMMOND, Pres. of the Royal Co. of ARCHERS, MDCCXV. By Sir W. B.," pp. 19-20; a patriotic piece in rhymed couplets.
b) "To Mr. DAVID DRUMMOND, in Imitation of Mr. KINCAID'S Latin poem to him, by Sir W. B.," pp. 25-6, in triplets.

ibid., pp. 33-41.


Ramsay, Works, eds. Kinghorn and Law, III, 316-7, 325:

a) "To Sir William Bennet of Marlefield"
b) "Spoken to Aeolus, in the House of Marlefield, on the Night of a violent Wind"
c) "A Poem in Honour of the Return of the Sons of Sir William Bennet of Marlefield."


However, the only writer who even suggests this significant possibility is Eric S. Taylor, p. 31.

Tancred, p. 5; also, George F. S. Elliot, The Border Elliots and the Family of Minto (Edinburgh, 1897), p. 295: Sir William Bennet as well as George Baillie of Jerviswood, witnessed Sir Gilbert Elliot's second marriage, to Jean Carre.


Ancrum is located about six miles from Minto. When Thomson went to London, he carried a Letter of Introduction from Cranstoun to a "Mr. Elliot," who was possibly a brother of Gilbert Elliot (2nd Bart.) of Minto; Sir Harris Nicolas, ed., Poetical Works of James Thomson (Aldine, 1847), I, xlii. By virtue of this Introduction, the poet was well-received. See James Thomson, "To William Cranstoun," [c. February, 1725], Letters, ed. Mckilop, p. 4; "To William Cranstoun," April 3, 1725, Letters, p. 7. Thomson's family seems to have maintained close relations with the Elliots of Minto; Miss Elizabeth Bell, a descendant of Thomson, made reference to her close emotional ties with Minto, where she was an occasional visitor, in a Letter to Mrs. Stewart, January 20, 1829, Edinburgh University MS Dc.6.111, fol. 146 v.

Elliot, Border Elliots, p. 311.

ibid., pp. 291-2.

ibid., p. 314.


Douglas Grant, p. 13.

Murdock, ed., Works (1762), I, ii.


Somerville, Life and Times, p. 129.

Douglas Grant, p. 13.


Robert Riccallton, The Works of the Late Rev. Mr. Robert Riccallton in three vols. (Edinburgh, 1771-2). Other works by Riccallton, listed in Scott, Fasti, II, 119, include:

a) The Politick (Edinburgh, 1722).

b) A Sober Enquiry into the Grounds of the Present Differences in the Church of Scotland (n. p., 1723).

c) "Letters to a Friend," Edinburgh Christian Instructor, vi (n. d.).


e) Poem, "A Winter's Day," Savage's Miscellany (1726), and later in Gentleman's Magazine (May, 1740-- see Appendix II).


Somerville, Life and Times, p. 128.


Riccallton, "Of Human Knowledge," Works, I, 157: "On these, and such inquiries, is founded, not only the whole practice of agriculture...but all that is valuable in any branch of knowledge, the profoundest science, and deepest mysteries of philosophy not excepted."

ibid., 160.


Boston, Fourfold State, pp. 443-4; Alan Dugald McKillop, The Background of Thomson's Seasons (Minneapolis, 1942), p. 25.
For a full discussion of Thomson's use of the "Chain of Being" concept, see A. D. McKillop, Background of Thomson's Seasons, pp. 19 ff. Thomson's idea of the "rising mind" occasionally takes the extreme form of "empirical immortality"; his "conception of advancing knowledge comes from modern science; his notion of new levels of knowledge in other states of being is based on the idea of the chain and correlates a universe of infinite gradations with a process of discovery. Religious and philosophical tradition makes the individual soul the protagonist," p. 25.


Taylor, p. 23.

Riccartoun, "Of Happiness and Perfection in general, absolute and limited," Works, I, 22; Addison, Spectator No. 413 ("Supreme Author"); Milton, Paradise Lost III, 374 ("Author of all Being"); Thomson's "Spring," l. 860; "Summer" (1727-38), l. 186.


Fairchild, I, 539-40, 542-3.

ibid., I, 510.


Somerville, Life and Times, p. 128; John Hutchinson (b. Yorkshire, 1674- d. 1737) was an amateur theologian and amateur scientist, a fundamentalist who made a special study of Biblical symbolism, insisting upon the study of Scriptures in the original Hebrew to extract their full symbolic meaning. He studied the earth, to seek confirmation of Revelation, and was strongly against Natural Theology and Deism, and even rejected Newton's discoveries as wrong because they were not authorised by the Scriptures. Hutchinson's works were collected by Spearman and Bate, and published in twelve vols. in 1748. His principle work was Moses's Principia (Part I, 1724; Part II, 1727). See Leslie Stephen, "Hutchinson, John," DNB, X (1891-2), 342-3.

The anonymous An Abstract from the Works of John Hutchinson, Esq. (Edinburgh, 1753) is a very useful summary of the twelve vols. of Works, and clarifies the somewhat obscure notions of Hutchinson himself.


151 Cohen, Unfolding, p. 3, commenting on Spacks' Vision.


155 McKillop, Background of Thomson's Seasons, pp. 8-9, 33.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER III


2 Douglas Grant, p. 16; Grant found the story in Robert Chambers, Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen (1835), IV, 346-7.

3 Taylor, p. 309.

4 William Gusthart took an M.A. at Edinburgh in 1698. He was minister of Crailing and Nisbet, 1708-20, was "deputed to congratulate George I" on his accession, was one of His Majesty's Chaplains in Ordinary, and was Dean of the Chapel Royal (succeeding James Ramsay of Kelso, with the change of government). Gusthart was sent to the Tolbooth Kirk in Edinburgh in 1721. He died in 1764. Scott, Fasti, II, 124.

5 Murdoch, ed., Works (1762), I, iii-iv.


7 Douglas Grant, pp. 27, 282 (note).
According to Thomas Somerville, cited by George Watson, "Rev. Thomas Thomson," 177. I was unable to trace the original source in Somerville.


Fairchild, I, 511.

McKillop, ed., Letters, pp. 1, 3 (note).

Somerville, Life and Times, p. 44.

Alexander Grant, Story, I, 270.

Douglas Grant, p. 22.

ibid., p. 17.

Matriculation Rolls, Edinburgh University Library.

Alexander Grant, Story, II, 322-3.

ibid., II, 328.

Douglas Grant, p. 22. Colin Drummond later taught David Hume, whose scepticism might have been a "reaction" to Drummond's old-fashioned views; Alexander Grant, Story, II, 328.

The Chair of Rhetoric and Belles Lettres (including English Literature) was not established until 1760; the first Professor was Hugh Blair.

Thomas Ruddiman provides a prime example of such an old-style rhetorician. See Duncan, Ruddiman, pp. 109-12, 120.

Haliburton [Robertson], "Poet of the Woods," 469.

Herbert Drennon, "James Thomson's Contact with Newtonianism and His Interest in Natural Philosophy," PMLA 39 (1934), 73 (note).

Douglas Grant, p. 23.

Taylor, p. 10 (note).

Drennon, "Newtonianism," 71.
Incidentally, Prof. Stewart, who probably knew the poet, was among the Subscribers to Allan Ramsay's Poems (1721); this fact illustrates the breadth of eighteenth-century Scottish culture, where science and poetry could and did co-exist. It also shows how Edinburgh itself, at that time, was a "small world," a close-knit society.

Both Thomson's fellow-students, Patrick Murdoch and David Mallet also had a strong knowledge of Newtonianism, no doubt fostered at Edinburgh University. Murdoch edited Colin Maclaurin's An Account of Sir Isaac Newton's Philosophical Discoveries (London: A. Millar, & J. Nourse, 1748) and wrote the Memoir of his teacher, Maclaurin, which prefixed the volume. He wrote a number of other scientific and mathematical works as well, including: *Huygens's Sailing, applied to the true figure of the Earth* (1741); *Neutonigenesis curvarum per umbra* (1746); trans. Anton Friedrich Büsching's *A New System of Geography* (1762); On the best form of geographical maps (1751); and *ascribed*, A plain account of the old and new stiles (1751). Mallet's *Excursion* (1728) shows a good grasp of the technicalities of Newtonian science, especially the Optics, as applied to natural description.

Thomson himself was a Subscriber to Colin Maclaurin's *Newton* (with Murdoch's Memoir); Drennon, "Newtonianism," 74. The work is listed in the poet's "Catalogue" of effects, Item No. 219, p. 16.


Taylor, p. 5.

By at least 1741; see footnote No. 40, below.


ibid., II, 82-3.


Alexander Grant, Story, I, 272, lists Prof. Robert Stewart's curriculum for 1741, as:

(a) Dr. John Keill's *Introductio ad veram Physicam* [1702];
(b) Mechanics (various authors);
(c) Hydrostatics and Pneumatics, from his own researches;
(d) Dr. David Gregory's *Optics* [1695];
(e) Isaac Newton's *Of Colours*;
(f) Parts and workings of the eye, vision;
(g) Kinds of microscopes, telescopes;
(h) Dr. David Gregory's *Astronomy* [1702];
(i) Some propositions of Newton's *Principia*;
(j) Astronomical observations; experiments in Mechanics, Optics, Hydrostatics, and Pneumatics, etc.

McKillop, *Background of Thomson's Seasons*, pp. 64-5, 65 (note).

Ibid., p. 66; the description of the meteor is found in a letter from Edinburgh; William Whiston, *An Account of a Surprising Meteor Seen in the Air, March the 6th* (1715-16), p. 28.


Alexander Grant, Story, I, 264-5.

Douglas Grant, p. 23.

James Gregory's successor, in 1725, was another Newtonian mathematician, Prof. Colin McLaurin, of whom Patrick Murdoch wrote a biographical Memoir (see footnote No. 29, above).

Drennon, "Newtonianism," 73.

Alexander Grant, Story, I, 274.

Clive, p. 23. The interest of Scottish lawyers in history has long been notable, and led to the achievements during the Scottish Enlightenment, of such historian-lawyers as Adam Ferguson, William Robertson and David Hume.

T. Johnson, Letter to Prof. Charles Mackie, 21 January, 1721, MS Laing II.91, Edinburgh University Library.
51 Alexander Grant, Story, II, 367.

52 Sir George Douglas, Scottish Poetry, op. cit., p. 47.


54 Bower, History, II, 85 ff.


56 Nicolson, Newton, p. 148.

57 Joseph Addison, "The Pleasures of the Imagination" series of essays, in The Spectator, ed. Donald F. Bond (Oxford, 1965), III, Nos. 411-421 (June 21-July 3, 1712), 535-82. The "Pleasures of the Imagination" essays deal with the following recommendations for English literary aesthetics, all recognisably incorporated by Thomson into his works, especially The Seasons:

(a) #411- Sight as the chief sense; "Pleasures" primarily visual.

(b) #412- Recommending greatness, novelty, variety; describing the prospect-view as "an image of liberty," comparable to speculations on eternity to the mind;

(c) #413- Recognising God as the "Supreme Author" of our being, and ultimate source of the pleasures of the imagination (uniting orthodox religion with aesthetics);

(d) #414- Art as defective, compared with nature's "infinite variety" (cf. "Spring," ll. 468-9, "But who can paint / Like Nature?"); reference to Virgil, and poets' love of "a country-life" (Thomson wrote a juvenile poem called "Of a Country Life," and rural nature was to continue to be an important theme in his poetry); Relationship of Art to Nature; Discussion of landscape gardening which, like other arts, is more pleasing the more closely it resembles Nature;

(e) #415- The idea that Art and Nature "mutually assist and complete each other" to produce delight; the qualities of greatness, novelty, and beauty in poetry; references to architectural art;

(f) #416- The "Secondary" pleasures of the Imagination, especially through art and verbal description; elaboration on verbal description of the poet, to enhance natural beauty;

(cont'd)
(g) #417- Idea that the poet should actively cultivate his imagination and understanding, by studying the country-life itself, as well as descriptive poets Homer, Virgil and Ovid (Homer for the "sublime," Virgil for the "beautiful," Ovid for "strangeness" or novelty); special recommendation of the poetry of Milton (Thomson's model), especially Paradise Lost, for true "genius" in descriptive poetry;

(h) #418- Discussion of "terror and pity" and the sublime (Aristotle and Longinus); reference to "seasonal" description, and the freedom of the poetic imagination to enrich, "mend" and control the landscape; the power of description to raise the passions;

(i) #419- On the "supernatural" and sublime in poetry; reference to childhood fears, etc. and the "fairy way of writing"; the role of allegory;

(j) #420- The importance of historical, scientific, philosophical and geographical literature (non-fiction); the concept of universal order and the Great Chain of Being;

(k) #421- Discussion of moral and didactic literature, and allegory (such as Thomson would attempt in The Castle of Indolence).

58 Daiches, Paradox, p. 82.

59 Dr. Nicholas Phillipson, personal interview, 25 May, 1976. Dr. Phillipson says that the 1720's and 1730's were the foundation period for the Scottish Enlightenment later in the century.

60 Clive, p. 237.

61 Daiches, Paradox, pp. 71-2.


63 The phrase is Douglas Duncan's; see his Ruddiman, p. 70.

64 Daiches, Paradox, p. 16.


66 Daiches, Paradox, pp. 18-19.


68 Murdoch, ed., Works (1762), I, vi.

69 Fairchild, I, 510-11.

70 Graham, Social Life, p. 353.

71 ibid., p. 349.

72 Clive, p. 237.


74 Daiches, Paradox, p. 45.

75 Fairchild, I, 545-6.

76 Morel, James Thomson, p. 252.

77 Fairchild, I, 539-40.


79 Oliver, "Scottish Augustans," p. 140.


82 Maurice Lindsay, Scottish Literature, p. lll.


89 Fairchild, I, 425-6.


91 Oliver, "Scottish Augustans," p. 140.


95 *ibid.*, I, 335-7.

96 Professor William Hamilton (1669-1732) was educated at Edinburgh University, and came to the Divinity College as Professor from Cramond Parish; he served as Professor from 1709 until 1732. Hamilton was Moderator of the General Assembly in 1712, 1720, 1727 and 1730. He wrote *The Truth and Excellency of the Christian Religion* (Edinburgh, 1732). Scott, *Fasti*, I, 11, 146.


100 Somerville, *Life and Times*, p. 64.

101 Drummond and Bulloch, *Scottish Church*, p. 23.
102 ibid., p. 23.
103 ibid., p. 23.
112 Robert Wodrow, Analecta: or, Materials for a History of Remarkable Providences; mostly relating to Scotch Ministers and Christians (n. p., for Maitland Club, 1843), III, 432.
113 Douglas Grant, p. 34.
115 Professor William Hamilton, "Notebook (1707-1727)," including Divinity Class-Lists and a Theological Library List, Reid Bequest [uncatalogued], Edinburgh University Library.
116 Scott, Fasti, II, 76.
117 ibid., II, 81.
119 Eric S. Taylor, p. 14 (note), lists James Thomson's Exercises thus: Thomson "delivered a lecture on Psalm 98, a homily on Matthew XXVI.29, an exercise on Psalm 110 Sect. 10, and some exegeses and 'additions.'" Taylor seems to have confused James Thomson, Junior's (probably the poet's) work with James Thomson, Senior's. His ref- (cont'd)
erence to "Psalm 110" seems to be a misreading; the present writer could find no note of this at all in Professor Hamilton's records.

120 Bower, History, II, 92-3.
122 ibid., p. 15.
123 Fairchild, I, 511.
124 ibid., I, 511.
125 Oliver, "Scottish Augustans," p. 120.
126 Daiches, Paradox, p. 12.
129 Duncan, Ruddiman, pp. 150-1.
135 McKillop, ed., Letters, pp. 41, 43 (note).
136 Haliburton [Robertson], "Poet of the Woods," 477.
137 Daiches, Paradox, p. 22.

139 For example, Sir William Bennet wrote this letter to the Countess of Roxburgh (2 March, 1721): "Madam...the Jacks [Jacobites] are horn mad one [sic] accounts they have gotten from the other side of the water; they promise themselves wonders from Mr. Law and fancy that the Spanish army is recal'd from Africa in order to serve the pretender. They have long subsisted one [sic] a thin dyet," MSS of the Duke of Roxburghe, Historical Manuscripts Commission, 14th Report (Appendix, Part III), pp. 53-4.

The periodical of the Opposition Whig faction in London, The Craftsman, by "Caleb D'Anvers" [Nicholas Amhurst or Amherst] reminded it readers of the Jacobite threat (Sat., November 4, 1727). This article moved from a confident stance, in the face of the puny "Weakness" and "Impotence" of the pretender's cause (p. 275), to a bitter invective against the corrupt, selfish and treacherous "outlaw" Jacobites, to (p. 278) the resentment and indignation felt by members of the Opposition Whig faction [like Thomson himself], who were often loosely labelled as "Jacobites" for daring to oppose Robert Walpole (pp. 279-80), to a serious warning of the continuing Jacobite threat. See The Craftsman, 4th Edition for 1726-7 (London, 1728), II, 269-83.


141 Arnot, History of Edinburgh, op. cit., p. 146.


143 Somerville, Life and Times, pp. 378-80.

144 Mackie, Short History, p. 221.


146 John Ker, 5th Earl and 1st Duke of Roxburghe (d. 1741) was pro-Union, and of the Squadrone faction of Scottish Opposition Whigs. He resisted Queensberry, the engineer of the Union of 1707, over the management of Scottish affairs. He was a Fellow of the Royal Society, and served as a pall-bearer at Isaac Newton's funeral in 1727. "T. F. H." [Thomas Finlayson Henderson], "Ker, John," DNB, XI (1892-1893), 50-51.

147 Mallet knew the Duke of Roxburgh when he was Secretary of State for Scotland. See letter, Mallet, "To Prof. John Ker," 26 September, 1723, "Original Letters of David Mallet, Esq. to Mr. John Ker, Professor of Greek, in King's College, Aberdeen," communicated by James Drummond, The Edinburgh Magazine, or Literary Miscel¬lany, I (January-June, 1793), 173-4.

149 ibid., pp. 52-3.

150 Daiches, Paradox, p. 23.


154 ibid., pp. 31-2.

155 Daiches, Paradox, p. 155.


157 Duncan, Ruddiman, p. 150; also see Daiches, Union, pp. 186-7 on "vernacular humanism."

158 These poets have verses in Selecta Poemata Archibaldi Pitcairni (Edinburgh, 1727), op. cit. and/or Poems on the Royal Company of Archers (bound with Selecta Poemata, above).

159 Duncan, Ruddiman, p. 147.

160 Kinghorn and Law, eds., Works of Allan Ramsay, IV, 27.

161 ibid., 27.

162 McElroy, "Literary Clubs," pp. 64-5.

163 Duncan, Ruddiman, p. 21.


165 McElroy, "Literary Clubs," p. 75.

166 One of Thomson's earliest supporters, English critic William Benson, was Thomas Ruddiman's chief adversary in the bitter dispute (cont'd)
(1735-45) over whose Latin Psalms, Buchanan's or Johnston's, were better. Benson had praised Thomson's juvenile "Psalm 104."
Duncan, Ruddiman, p. 116; Douglas Grant, p. 23.

167 Kinghorn and Law, eds., Works of Allan Ramsay, IV, 111.


172 ibid., 163.

173 Fairchild, I, 434.


175 Somerville, Life and Times, pp. 29-30.

176 ibid., pp. 29-30.

177 Ramsay of Ochtertyre, Scotland and Scotsmen, I, 39 (note).


179 Jeffrey, III, 339.


says that he feels sure that Martin is correct.


"Biographical Memoir...Duncan Forbes," 666.

Martin, Ramsay: Study, pp. 156-7 (note).

Elizabeth Bell, To Mrs. Stewart, 20 January, 1829, MS Dc.6.111 fol. 146, Edinburgh University Library.

Martin, "Ramsay," I, 194 (note) lists:

(a) Fraser Tytler, Poetical Works of James I (1783), pp. 188-91;
(b) Francis Garden, Lord Gardenstone, Miscellaneous Prose and Verse (1792), pp. 61-2;
(c) Gentleman's Magazine, 91 (1821), Part II, 351;
(d) Sir Harris Nicolas, ed., James Thomson (1847), I, cxi;
(e) Leigh Hunt, Men, Women, and Books, 2 vols., (New York, 1847), I, 55;
(f) Thomas Somerville, My Own Life and Times (Edinburgh, n. d.), pp. 29-32;
(g) Edmund H. Barker, Literary Anecdotes and Contemporary Reminiscences, 2 vols. (London, 1852), II, 16; and,
(h) Notes and Queries, 9th Series, X (1902), 245; 10th Series, II (1904), 386; 12th Series, II (1916), 29, 72.

Thomas Bayne, "Allan Ramsay and Thomson (1)," Notes and Queries, 9th Series, X (1902), 245.


Martin, Ramsay: Study, p. 73.

Thomas Bayne, "Thomson and Allan Ramsay (3)," Notes and Queries, 12th Series, II (1916), 72.

Taylor, pp. 32-3.

Leigh Hunt, quoted by Thomas Bayne, "Allan Ramsay and Thomson (1)," Notes and Queries, 9th Series, X (1902), 245.

196 *ibid.*, I, vi.

197 "Biographical Memoir...Duncan Forbes," 540.

198 Margaret Forbes [daughter of Duncan Forbes of Culloden], Letter to 11th Earl of Buchan, 4 June [1791], MS Laing II.330, Edinburgh University Library.


201 "A. B. C." [Alexander Balloch Grossart?], "Memorials of the Author of 'The Seasons'...," *op. cit.*, 371. Eric Taylor, however, feels that the portrait is later (c. 1725, after the poet had gone to England); he feels that the note on the drawing is incorrect, but cites no proof of this. [Taylor], "crayon portrait," 421.

202 See "Catalogue" of Thomson's household effects, *op. cit.* The poet actively cultivated his artistic tastes. His own prints "show a dominant interest in the heroic and sentimental treatment of classical, historical, and Biblical subjects." He also owned many French and English art-books. In addition to *The Seasons*' use of painterly technique, *Liberty II* includes an account of ancient art, where Thomson "brings in poetry to enlarge the scope of painting and sculpture (ll. 330-7)....Color and design are both conceived in terms drawn from description and narration; it is on the model of poetry that the fine arts become descriptive and dramatic." In *The Castle of Indolence*, Thomson's references to Lorraine and Salvator Rosa indicate a shift of interest from "classical, historical, and Biblical" art, in the 1730's, more toward landscape painting. Alan Dugald McKillop, *The Background of Thomson's 'Liberty*', Rice Institute English Monograph Series, XXXVIII, No. 2 (Houston, 1951), 60-1, 71-2.


204 Kinghorn and Law, eds., *Works of Allan Ramsay*, IV, 44.

205 Phillipson, "Sir John Clerk" lecture.


208 Dr. Alexander Pennecuik, "To my Friend inviting him to the Country," in Veitch, Scottish Border, II, 241-2; also see Chapter IV, below.

209 Alexander Pennecuik, "William Lithgow, his Epitaph," in Watson's Choice Collection, Part II (1709), pp. 67-70; also see Chapter IV, below.


212 Although the original "Newberry MS" of Thomson's juvenile poems is now missing, the Newberry Library has recently recovered its photostat copy of the MS. Also see Hans Schmidt-Wartenberg, "Das Newberry Manuskript von James Thomson's jugendgedichten," Anglia, n. f. bd. 11 (1898), 129-52; also, Alan Dugald McKillop, "Two Eighteenth-Century 'First Works'" (including Thomson's juvenile poems), Newberry Library Bulletin, 4, No. 1 (November, 1955), 13-23. The juvenile poems will be discussed in detail in Chapter IV. For the early letters, see McKillop, ed., James Thomson: Letters and Documents, pp. 3-4 (note).

213 Ramsay of Ochtertyre, I, 8.


215 Craig, Literature and People, op. cit., p. 54.


218 Macaulay, pp. 139-40.


221 Murdoch, ed., Works (1762), I, v.
Phillipson, personal interview.


ibid., I, 461-2.


Ramsay of Ochtertyre, I, 22-5.

Graham, Scottish Men of Letters, p. 281.

McElroy, Improvement, p. 20.

London's Athenian Society was established in the late seventeenth century by publisher John Dunton; the club was composed of learned men from a variety of fields—literature, philosophy, mathematics, science, religion, law, and so on. The Society published, in question-and-answer form, the periodical Athenian Gazette, or Casuistical Mercury (1691-1697), a Whig-biased periodical. The readers' questions were answered anonymously; the earliest Athenians who wrote for the Gazette were Richard Sault (mathematics, poetry and translation) and the Rev. Samuel Wesley ("polymath and poet," father of John Wesley). Other writers soon helped, including the Cambridge Neoplatonist John Norris of Bemerton, who wrote for the Gazette gratis but was not officially a Society "member." Jonathan Swift wrote an Ode to the Athenian Society in 1692. The rights to the Gazette's format were sold to Andrew Bell in 1702, who titled his publication the Athenian Oracle; Sarah Malthus published a "revival" of Athens, the Athenae Redivivae, or the New Athenian Oracle, in 1704. It is generally held that the Athenian Gazette was the predecessor of the popular Tatler and Spectator periodicals. See Gilbert D. McEwen, The (cont'd)

234 Fairchild, I, 412-3.

235 Ramsay of Ochtertyre, I, 22 (note).

236 Dr. Alexander Law, personal interview. See McKillop, ed., Letters, pp. 52-3 (note); James Thomson, 'To David Mallet,' [21-27 August, 1726], Letters, p. 50.


238 Fairchild, I, 416-19.

239 Ramsay of Ochtertyre, I, 21-2 (note). This volume of translations is evidently no longer extant.

240 ibid., I, 22 (note). While no longer extant, the Scots Miscellany is apparently not a "bibliographical ghost," however; it is clearly referred to in the Preface to The Edinburgh Miscellany (1720), p. ii.

241 Ramsay of Ochtertyre, I, 22 (note).

242 Joseph Mitchell, John Calendar [or Callender, of Craigforth], et. al., Lugubres Cantus: Poems on Several Grave and Important Subjects, Chiefly Occasion'd by the Death of the Ingenious Youth John Mitchell (London, 1719). Copies of the Lugubres are rare today; the volume can be found in the following collections: Edinburgh (Central) Public Library (Edinburgh Room); National Library of Scotland; British Library, London; Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, D. C.; Brown University Library; Yale University Library; and New York Public Library.


244 Fairchild, I, 413 (note).

245 ibid., I, 413 (note); "J. C." [John Callender], 'Epistle to Robert Blair,' in Lugubres, Part II, pp. 186-92.

246 Ramsay of Ochtertyre, I, 22 (note).

247 ibid., I, 22 (note). Duncan's publications were: An Exposition of the Epistle to the Hebrews (1731); and translation of


250 Ramsay of Ochtertyre, I, 22 (note).

251 The Edinburgh Miscellany was printed by James McEuen and Company, Edinburgh. McEuen came to have shops in both Edinburgh and London. He was a Whig, and for a time published the Edinburgh Evening Courant newspaper. He was also a bookseller, and the heir to Allan Ramsay’s circulating library. See W. J. Couper, The Edinburgh Periodical Press (Stirling, 1908), II, 19, 24-5. The Edinburgh Evening Courant gave notices of the publication of The Edinburgh Miscellany in No. 165 (December 29-31, 1719), p. 990 and No. 166 (December 31-January 4, 1719/20), p. 996. No. 165 went thus: "N. B. at the said Mr. James M'Euen's Shop will be published next Monday the Edinburgh Miscellany, Volume first..." [a second volume was never published]. The rare Edinburgh Miscellany can be found in the following collections: Edinburgh (Central) Public Library (Edinburgh Room); National Library of Scotland; Edinburgh University Library; Yale University Library; Swarthmore College Library; and The Mitchell Library, Glasgow.


253 Ibid., pp. iv, i-iii.

254 Daiches, Union, p. 182.

255 "J. C." [John Callender], "An Address to the Masters in the University of Edinburgh," II. 47-50, in Edinburgh Miscellany, p. 122.


257 Thomas Boyd, "A Poem Upon the Young Company of Archers," in Edinburgh Miscellany, pp. 39-41


260 Taylor, pp. 43-4.


264 Martin, Ramsay: Study, p. 171.

265 McElroy, Improvement, p. 20.

266 Alexander Fraser Tytler, Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Honourable Henry Home of Kames (Edinburgh and London, 1807), I, 71, reported that Lord Hailes had told him the story.


268 Ross, Lord Kames, pp. 89, 89 (note).

269 Tytler, Henry Home, I, 70-1.


Macaulay, p. 8; Murdoch, ed., Works (1762), I, v.


Taylor, p. 58.

ibid., pp. 57-8.


Fairchild, I, 514, quoting Morel, James Thomson, p. 34.


Murdoch, ed., Works (1762), I, vi.

Douglas Grant, p. 37.

Murdoch, ed., Works (1762), I, vi.


Douglas Grant, p. 39, illustrates this with quotes from Thomson's "Memorial Verses On the Death of His Mother":

But ah! that night
...
When on the margin of the briny flood,
Chill'd with a sad presaging damp I stood,
Took the last look, ne'er to behold her more,
And mix'd our murmurs with the wavy roar;
Heard the last words fall from her pious tongue,
Then, wild into the bulging vessel flung,
Which soon, too soon, convey'd me from her sight,
Dearer than life, and liberty, and light!

(Poetical Works, OSA 1908; 1971, pp. 434-6.)

Wittig, Scottish Tradition, p. 154.


NOTES FOR CHAPTER IV

1 Macaulay, James Thomson, p. 8.

2 Craig, Literature and People, p. 265.

3 Morel, James Thomson, p. 492.

4 Craig, p. 237.

5 Ms. Judith Kalata, Letter to Mary Jane Scott, 4 August, 1976 reported that the MS was missing. Mrs. Susan Dean, Letter to Mary Jane Scott, 21 July, 1976, reported that the Newberry Library's photostat copy of the MS has recently been re-discovered (it, too, had been missing since 1970). The original MS has not yet been recovered. The photostat is not entirely legible, unfortunately.

6 Hans Schmidt-Wartenberg, "Das Newberry Manuskript von James Thomson's jugendgedichten," Anglia, n.f., bd. 11 (1898), 129-52. Trans. for M. J. Scott by Mrs. Wayne Wilson, Columbia, South Carolina; and

8 Morel, quoted by Schmidt-Wartenberg, 137.
9 Schmidt-Wartenberg, 137.
10 ibid., 137.
11 The Edinburgh Miscellany (Edinburgh, 1720).
13 Matriculation Rolls, Edinburgh University Library.
18 Murdoch, ed., Works (1762), 1, iii.
20 Schmidt-Wartenberg, 136.


27 Haliburton [Robertson], "Poet of the Woods," 469.

28 McKillop, Background of Thomson's Seasons, p. 7.

29 Fairchild, I, 514.

30 The "Newberry MS" (photostat) of Thomson's juvenile poems, Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois, U.S.A. Best text is MS, pp. 53-4, which differs slightly from Schmidt-Wartenberg's reading, 151-2. While Schmidt-Wartenberg gives a more accurate reading of the MS poem than does Robertson, Poetical Works (OSA, 1908; 1971), pp. 507-8, even he misreads "Wow" (l. 1) as "Now," "car" or "cur" (l. 6) as "carle," "be" (l. 26) as "he," and "wacth" (metathesis in MS, l. 12) as "watch."


34 McKillop, "First Works," 19.

35 ibid., 19.


40 Thomas Bayne, "Thomson and Allan Ramsay," Notes and Queries, 12th Ser., II (1916), 72.

41 "com'd" is a Scotticism also found in Thomson's early letter "To William Cranstoun," 11 December, 1724, Letters, p. 2; also see McKillop, ed., Letters, p. 3 (note).

42 Bext text for both "Upon Beauty" and "Upon the Hoop" is MS, pp. 1-5, 16-17, with help of Schmidt-Wartenberg's readings, 138-9, 140. The MS of "Upon Beauty" is damaged somewhat, and Robertson fills in some additional material in his printed text, Poetical Works (OSA, 1908; 1971), pp. 502-5.


44 "I have always been of the Opinion that none make better Wives than the Ladies of Scotland...You see I am beginning to make Interest already with the Scots Ladies," James Thomson, "To Mrs. Jean Thomson" (the poet's sister), 4 October, 1747, Letters, p. 191. Thomson's "Amanda," the unrequited love of his life, was Miss Elizabeth Young, a Scotswoman from Gulyhill, Dumfriesshire whom he met in 1742, through her brother-in-law in Richmond, Dr. William Robertson. See Chapter VII, pp. 402-4.

45 Taylor, p. 35.


51 McKillop, "First Works," 21.

"Catalogue" of Thomson's effects, *op. cit.*, cites "Waller's Works" (n. d.), Item No. 84, p. 11.

Best text for "Sick Kite" is MS, pp. 25-6; Schmidt-Wartenberg also prints the poem in full, 143. Best text for "Hawk and Nightingale" is MS, pp. 40-1; the MS is damaged somewhat, and Schmidt-Wartenberg prints the text, insofar as it can be read, 146-7.


Martin, Ramsay; *Study*, p. 62.


*Aesop's Fables, With His Life: In English, French, and Latin* [English Fables trans. by Mrs. Aphra Behn], (London, 1687), pp. 152-3.


*Aesop's Fables* [trans. Aphra Behn], pp. 150-1.


ibid., pp. 100-101 ff.

MS text, pp. 12-14; best printed text is *Poetical Works* (OSA, 1908; 1971), pp. 512-14 (does not differ from MS except in punctuation and modernised spelling).


Robertson, ed., Seasons and Castle (1891), pp. 4-5.


A search failed to turn up any songs of closer resemblance to Thomson's poem. The original Yarrow ballads, "The Dowie Dens of Yarrow" and "Willie's Drowned in Yarrow," treat of violence and death. The lyric "The Haughs O' Yarrow," published by Peter Buchan, ed., Ancient Ballads and Songs of the North of Scotland (1828; rpt. Edinburgh, 1875), II, 211, seems to be a development from "Leader-Haughs and Yarrow." Many of the Yarrow lyrics, especially in the nineteenth century, are on the theme of nostalgia and love of that Border region; Thomson's verse could be said to be in this "nostalgic" vein, but it is an Augustan, rather than a Romantic, expression.


Taylor, p. 31 (note).


Printed text used here is Poetical Works (OSA, 1908;1971), p. 514 (Robertson used the Aldine text, essentially the same as MS, with the addition of punctuation, and exception of l. 6; MS omits "the" here, and thus scans better). Robertson notes that the poem was "Written in 1714, aet. 14," p. 514 (note).

Isaac Watts, "Asking Leave to Sing," in Horae Lyricae and Divine Songs, ed. Robert Southey (Boston, 1854), p. 3. This verse also recalls John Callender's "An Epistle to Mr. M[itchel]," Edinburgh Miscellany, p. 116, in its opening lines on the poet/mentor relationship.

Best text is MS, pp. 26-31; Schmidt-Wartenberg also prints full text, 143-5.


The Scotticism "bypast" also appears in "The Fable of an Hawk and [a] Nightingale," l. 29, and in a letter from Thomson, "To David Mallet," 12 October, 1725, Letters, p. 20; McKillop, ed., Letters, p. 21 (note).


Best text is Edinburgh Miscellany, pp. 203-4.

Only text is MS, p. 7; Schmidt-Wartenberg's annotation, 147-8.

Best text is MS, pp. 39-40, with Schmidt-Wartenberg's notes, 146. The MS was partially torn through ll. 3-13, and Sir Harris Nicolas arbitrarily completed these lines. J. Logie Robertson followed the Aldine edition, which gave a number of variants from MS (which, in general, improve the metre). The fact that Nicolas could so readily complete the missing lines indicates how very conventional, trite the verse is.

Best printed text is Schmidt-Wartenberg, 141-2, who prints it in full; MS, pp. 19-22.

Best text is MS, p. 12; Schmidt-Wartenberg prints it in full, 139-40.

Best printed text for "Ten o'clock" is Schmidt-Wartenberg, 142-3, who prints it in full; MS is slightly torn, pp. 24-5.

Best text for "Lisy" is Poetical Works (OSA, 1908; 1971), pp. 511-13.

Morel, p. 489.


ibid., p. 513.

Ramsay of Ochtertyre, Scotland and Scotsmen, I, 12-16.

Text for "Thrisis and Corydon" is MS, pp. 22-4; Schmidt-Wartenberg's notes, 142.


100 Alexander Pope, "Winter," in Poems, ed. Butt, pp. 135-8. Pope's l. 29, "Tis done, and Nature's various Charms decay," is echoed in Thomson's "Winter" (1726) l. 359, "Tis done!-Dread Winter has subdued the Year."


102 James Maidment, ed., Scottish Elegiac Verses, 1629-1722 (Edin¬burgh, 1842) gives an interesting sample of such verse, in Thomson's time. In addition to the Anglo-Scottish elegies of Drummond and in the Lugubres Cantus, mentioned above, and the Scots elegies of Allan Ramsay, other elegies which Thomson would have known include: Anglo-Scottish pieces by Robert Ayton and others in Watson's Choice Collection (Part III, 1711); elegies in Latin, such as those written for the late Archibald Pitcairn, who died in 1713 (e.g. George Davidson's "Georgius Davidsonus, de morte Archibaldi Pitcairni Scoti," in Scottish Elegiac Verses, ed. Maidment, pp. 200 which was probably fairly representative of Scottish Latinists' tributes to their fellows in the unbroken classical tradition of Scottish vernacular humanism); and any number of unpublished but privately circulated elegies, written particularly to commemorate public figures and the nobility.

103 Watts, Horae Lyricae, pp. 266-82.

104 Best text is MS, p. 16; Schmidt-Wartenberg's notes, 140.


108 Best text for "Morning in the Country" is MS, pp. 21-2; Schmidt-Wartenberg's notes, 142. The printed text in Poetical Works (OSA, 1908; 1971) differs very little from MS.


112 Text for "Of a Country Life" is Edinburgh Miscellany, pp. 193-7; next published in Aldine Poetical Works, 1830 ff.


114 Patricia Meyer Spacks, John Gay, Twayne English Authors Series (New York, 1965), 22-3; and, McKillop, "First Works," 23.

115 Drummond of Hawthornden, Works, II, 30.


Dr. Alexander Pennecuik of Newhall, the Elder, "To my friend inviting him to the Country," quoted in John Veitch, Scottish Border, II, 241-2.


Douglas Grant, p. 25.

Such usage occurs in a sonnet by King James VI & I, "Winter," in The Essays of a Prentise, in The Divine Art of Poesie (Edinburgh, 1584), where the poet describes (l. 5) "whiddering Boreas bólde." Jeffrey in his History of Roxburghshire, I, 17, also describes the "withering" cold winds of that region.

Veitch, Scottish Border, II, 281.

Fairchild, I, 511.


Taylor, p. 128.

ibid., pp. 56-8.


"D. M." [David Mallet], "A Pastoral Inscrib'd to Mr. M______" (Joseph Mitchell), in Edinburgh Miscellany, pp. 223-7.

Best text is MS pp. 5-7, with Schmidt-Wartenberg's notes, 139; Robertson in Poetical Works (OSA, 1908; 1971) essentially the same except adds punctuation, and omits ll. [9-10].


Watts, pp. 14-16.

McKillop, *Background of The Seasons*, p. 11.

Fairchild, I, 510; earliest reference is in Murdoch, ed., *Works* (1762), I, iv.


Watts, pp. 98-102.

Text for "A Pastoral Entertainment" is MS, pp. 31-2 (which is partially damaged) with help of Schmidt-Wartenberg's notes, 146, and also Robertson's hypothetical text completing the missing words from MS, *Poetical Works* (OSA, 1908; 1971), pp. 505-6.

Text is MS, pp. 48-50 (damaged somewhat); Schmidt-Wartenberg prints MS text in full, 149-50.

Professor William Hamilton, "Notebook," Reid Bequest (uncatalogued), Edinburgh University Library.


Best text is Schmidt-Wartenberg, 148-9; MS, pp. 47-8, badly damaged.


Best text is MS, pp. 7-11; Schmidt-Wartenberg's notes, 139.


Taylor, p. 28.


153 "Catalogue" of Thomson's effects, Item No. 184, p. 10.

154 David Murray of Gorthy, A Paraphrase of the CIV Psalme (Edinburgh, 1615; rpt. Edinburgh, 1823).


156 King James VI & I [and Sir William Alexander], The Psalms of King David (London, 1631).

157 See Chapter II, p. 66, above.

158 Duncan, Ruddiman, p. 116.

159 Douglas Grant, pp. 32-3.

160 Fairchild, I, 512.


162 Best text is MS, pp. 17-18; Schmidt-Wartenberg's notes, 140-1.

163 Macaulay, p. 141.

164 Watts, pp. 29-31.

165 Best text is Plain Dealer, I, 394-6.

166 Dr. Nicholas Phillipson, personal interview, May, 1976.

167 [Aaron Hill], Plain Dealer, I, 394.


169 Douglas Grant, p. 34.

170 McKillop, ed., Letters, p. 3 (note).

172 ibid., V, 192-3.


174 Fairchild, I, 513.

175 Text is MS, pp. 14-15; Schmidt-Wartenberg's notes, 140. Robertson in Poetical Works (OSA, 1908; 1971), pp. 488-9, makes minor emendations.

176 Fairchild, I, 511-12.

177 William Dunbar, "Of the Worldis Vanitie," Poems, pp. 150-1.

178 Drummond of Hawthornden, Works, I, 90-1; II, 29.


194 John Hughes wrote nineteen Spectator pieces; he was also the editor of the 1715 edition of Spenser's Works, which Thomson owned. ("Catalogue," Item No. 83, p. 11). Thomson used Hughes' Glossary of Spenserian Words in choosing his archaic diction for *The Castle of Indolence*. Hughes also wrote a "Discourse on Allegorical Poetry" which may have influenced Thomson's Castle. George Fisher Russell Barker, "Hughes, John," *DNB*, 10 (1891-1892) 178-80.

195 Alexander Gordon, "Grove, Henry," *DNB*, 8 (1890), 738-9. Grove was also a poet, and contributed poems to Dryden's *Miscellany*, 1706, 6, and other collections.

196 Florence Volusenus, "Ode," trans. Robert Blair, in *Poets and Poetry of Scotland*, ed. James Grant Wilson, Half-vol. I, 43-4. Volusenus' Neoplatonic essay in Latin, *De Animi Tranquillitate*, in which this and other poems occur, was published by Ruddiman (Edinburgh, 1707). *De Animi* was a favourite work of Principal Wishart and the Moderate Presbyterians; Wishart re-edited it carefully in 1751.


198 ibid., II, 5-8.


201 ibid., p. 241.

202 ibid., p. 7.


204 MacQueen, *Allegory*, pp. 59, 62.
Taylor, p. 36.

Wells, "Thomson and Milton," 60.

Morel, pp. 489-90. The incident of the fairies dancing beside the stream cannot help but recall the story of Thomson's schoolmaster, Mr. Brown, who mysteriously died in Jedwater; see Chapter II, above. Brown must have died around the time this poem was written, though perhaps a year or two later. Also, Thomson may have been influenced by the Spectator, No. 419 (Addison) which stressed the value of the supernatural as an imaginative poetic theme.


William Hamilton of Bangour's poem "Contemplation, or the Triumph of Love," was probably written later than Thomson's "Upon Happiness" (although the two poets probably knew one another as students in Edinburgh). Hamilton was a friend of William Bennet, and also of Lord Binning's family (for whom Thomson served as tutor in London). Hamilton's poem could almost be a parody of Thomson's very serious, "earnest" (Taylor, p. 44) poem; in it, the speaker fails to attain the happy heights of Contemplation, but nevertheless finds bliss by succumbing to earthly love. Hamilton of Bangour, Poems on Several Occasions (Edinburgh, 1760), pp. 4-23.


George Buchanan, De Sphaera, in Poemata quae extant (Amsterdam, 1676)

Those critics mentioning this belief include: Stopford A. Brooke, Naturalism in English Poetry (London, 1920), p. 40; David Nichol Smith, "Thomson and Burns," p. 182; and Maurice Lindsay, History of Scottish Literature, p. 230. The legend possibly originated as early as the biography by Robert Shiels, in Cibber's Lives, V, 195. Shiels apparently believed that "Winter" was completed before Thomson arrived in London.

Wittig, Scottish Tradition, p. 198.

Pat Rogers, The Perfect Year, transcript of BBC Radio Talk, broadcast Thursday, 30 October, 1975, p. 5; transcript gives permission to quote extracts.

J. A. Burrow, A Reading of Sir Gawain and the Green Knight (New York, 1966), p. 35. Also see Sir Gawain and the Green Knight, eds. J. R. R. Tolkien and E. V. Gordon, 2nd edition revised by Norman Davis (Oxford, 1967). Professor John MacQueen kindly pointed out to me this strain of vivid "winter" description in English alliterative verse, particularly Gawain, which established certain descriptive conventions inherited by Scottish poets such as Henryson; see MacQueen, Henryson, p. 16.

Wittig, p. 109. Also see MacQueen, Henryson, p. 57.


Robert Henryson, The Testament of Cresseid, in Poems and Fables, ed. H. Harvey Wood, pp. 103-26; Henryson, "The Preiching of the Swallow," Poems and Fables, pp. 57-68. Thomson might possibly have known both these works. The Testament was published in several seventeenth-eighteenth-century editions, including one, probably by A. Anderson (Glasgow, 1663). "Preiching" was available in various seventeenth-eighteenth century editions of the Fables, including one by Andro Hart (Edinburgh, 1621). Also, Thomson might have had access to the Bannatyne MS, which Allan Ramsay used for his EverGreen (1724).

MacQueen, Henryson, pp. 50-1, 60 (reference to untimely frost, ll. 136-40); and p. 73 (portrait of icy Saturn).

Wittig, p. 40.

ibid., p. 37.

13 MacQueen, Henryson, pp. 160-1.

14 Wittig, pp. 39-40.

15 ibid., p. 40.


22 Speirs, p. 74.

23 Wittig, p. 79.

24 Speirs, pp. 185-6.

25 ibid., p. 71.


30 King James VI & I, Essays of a Prentise, op. cit.

31 James Beattie, Scotticisms, p. 41, says that "harvest" is the Scotticism for Autumn. Henryson, too, used it in "Preiching."

32 See Veitch, Feeling for Nature; Stopford Brooke, Naturalism and English Literature (London, 1876); Christopher North [John Wilson], "Winter Rhapsody," Blackwood's, 877; and others, chiefly of the so-called "developmental" critical tradition, examined by Cohen in Art.


34 Wittig, pp. 5-6.


36 Wittig, p. 192.

37 ibid., pp. 148-9, 198.


40 Speirs, p. 171.

41 Wittig, p. 149.


46 McKillop, ed., Letters, p. 18 (note).


49 Somerville, Life and Times, p. 129. The Rev. John Richmond of Southdean also recorded this tradition, c. 1812; see McKillop, ed., Letters, p. 18 (note). The "periodical" could possibly have been the now-lost Scots Miscellany (c. 1719) published by the Athenian Society in Edinburgh.

50 Macaulay, p. 4.

51 Scott, Fasti, II, 119.

52 Taylor, p. 72: "Now Mallet was a writer of a peculiarly morbid and sensational kind; he delighted in horrors, phantoms, and charnel-houses; he continually keys up his reader to some new pitch of strained excitement."


54 ibid., p. 16.

55 Otto Zippel, ed., Thomson's 'Seasons': Critical Edition (Berlin, 1908), pp. xxxii-xl, lists these "influences" of Riccaltoun's poem on Thomson: "Autumn," Text A (1730), Thomson's ll. 919-20 was influenced by Riccaltoun's ll. 29-30; "Winter," Text C (1730), Thomson's ll. 45-50 influenced by Riccaltoun's ll. 5-8.

56 See Appendix III, "Winter" by John Armstrong.


58 For example: Ralph Cohen, Art, p. 19; Douglas Grant, p. 163; Otto Zippel, ed., Seasons: Critical, p. xxxviii (note)--Zippel says that the 2nd edition of Thomson's "Winter" (June, 1726) was influenced by Armstrong's MS poem, but makes no reference to the 1st edition of "Winter" (March, 1726).
Macaulay, p. 152.

Taylor, pp. 84-6, cites Thomson's ll. 112-13 as having been influenced by Macbeth I.vii, and Thomson's ll. 150-4 as having been influenced by Measure for Measure III.i.124.

Zippel, ed., Seasons: Critical, pp. xxxii-xl, points out these influences of Armstrong on Thomson in the 2nd edition of "Winter" and ff:

"Summer" (Text A-1727):
Thomson's ll. 877-8? = Armstrong's "Winter," ll. 156-82;
" 995-1006 = "  118-22;

"Summer" (Text C-1744):
Thomson's ll. 961-9 = Armstrong's "Winter," ll. 87-94;

"Winter" (Text B-June, 1726):
"  273-8 = "  8-10;

"Winter" (Text C-1730):
Thomson's ll. 154-5 = Armstrong's "Winter," ll. 180-84;
"  270 = "  98;
"  515-18 = "  105-26;
"  582-88 = "  12-18;
"  630-35 = "  75-9;
"  666-7 = "  28-9;

"Winter" (Text E-1744):
Thomson's ll. 175 = Armstrong's "Winter," ll. 182-3.

For example, Cohen, Art, pp. 18-19; Douglas Grant, pp. 46-7, 163; Zippel, ed., Seasons: Critical, pp. xxxii-xl.

McKillop, ed., Letters, p. 18 (note).


McKillop, Background of Thomson's Seasons, pp. 68-70. Zippel lists parallels with Mallet in his Seasons: Critical edition, p. xxxv ("Summer") and pp. xxxix, x1 ("Winter").


(cont'd)
My Idea of your Poem is a Description of the grand Works of Nature, raised, and animated by moral, and sublime, Reflections. Therefore, before you quit this Earth [in The Excursion], you ought to leave no great Scene unvisited: Eruptions, Earthquakes, the Sea wrought into a horrible Tempest, the Alps amidst whose amazing Prospects, how pleasing must be that of a deep Valley, covered with all the tender Profusion of the Spring. Here if you could insert a Sketch of the Deluge, what more affecting, and noble? Sublimity must be the Characteristic of your Piece...

Thomson's followers in this regard also included James Ralph, (Night, 1728) and Richard Savage (The Wanderer, 1729); McKillop, Background of the Seasons, pp. 70, 129. In all, there are three letters from Thomson to Mallet on the subject of "sublimity": (i) [2 August, 1726], Letters, pp. 40-1; (ii) 11 August, 1726, Letters, pp. 44-6; (iii) [21-27 August, 1726], Letters, pp. 48-50. Two more letters on the topic were lost; McKillop, ed., Letters, pp. 41-2 (note).

Thomson influenced Mallet's Excursion in passages such as:

a) Plague and contagion, as "sick Nature pants," Excursion, Book I, p. 16;

b) Thunderstorm, and murderer's guilt and fear:

The Murderer,

Roaming and restless in the deepest Shade,

Hears and flies wild, Pursu'd by all his Pears:

And sees the bleeding Shadow of the Slain

Rise hideous, glaring at Him thro' the Gloom!

Excursion, pp. 17-19; cf. Thomson's thunderstorm in "Summer";

c) The coming of the storm (Excursion, pp. 34 ff), calm before the storm and so on, influenced by Thomson's coming of the "Winter" storm ("Winter," ll. 118 ff);

d) The Polar Ice and Northern Winter:

Now beneath the North,

Alone with Winter in his Frost-bound Realm!

Where, a white Waste of Ice, the Polar Sea

Casts cold a cheerless Light: where Hills of Snow,

Pil'd up from eldest Ages, Hill on Hill,

In blue, bleak Precipices rise to Heaven...


e) Mallet's line, "And Earth dissolv'd, in second Chaos lost," Book I, p. 46, echoes Thomson's "Winter," l. 911, "As if old Chaos was again returned."

f) Mallet's description of the lava-flow in the volcano passage (Book I, pp. 42 ff) echoes the language and style of Thomson's "flood" descriptions, "Autumn" and (cont'd)
especially "Winter," ll. 94-105.

On the other hand, Mallet's Excursion seems to have influenced Thomson in some passages, such as the desert sandstorm, Excursion, Book I, pp. 29-30:

A blinding Tempest, and around his Head
Whirl a whole Plain - o'erwhelmed he dies unknown,
Unpity'd, far from Aid and Eye of Man...

Thomson's sandstorm was added to "Summer" later, in 1744 (ll. 959-1051). There is also a sandstorm in Armstrong's "Winter," which may likewise have influenced Mallet, or have been influenced by him.


Marjorie Hope Nicolson, Newton, p. 109.

Francis Hutcheson, An inquiry into the original of our ideas of beauty and virtue; in two treatises. In which the principles of the late Earl of Shaftesbury are explain'd and defended, against the author of the Fable of the Bees: and the ideas of moral good and evil are establish'd, according to the sentiments of the antient moralists. With an attempt to introduce a mathematical calculation in subjects of morality (London, 1725). Text consulted here is Hutcheson, An Inquiry Concerning Beauty, Order, Harmony, Design (Treatise I), ed. Peter Kivy, International Archives of the History of Ideas Series, (The Hague, 1973), pp. 6-7, 11-12, 20-21 (Editor's Introduction), and pp. 40 ff. (text).

James Thomson, "To William Cranstoun," [c. 1 October, 1725], Letters, p. 16.

Thomson probably did not read Hebrew, at least with any great facility. This disparaging reference to a "mangling translation" suggests the influence of either Robert Riccaitoun or Duncan Forbes, both of whom were Hebrew scholars and "Hutchinsonian" devotees, who stressed the superior Truth and Beauty of Revelation as found in the original Hebrew Scriptures. The many symbols from nature which the Scriptures employed, could best be seen in the Hebrew originals. See Chapter II above.

McKillop, ed., Castle and Other Poems, p. 5; Thomson paraphrases this Virgilian passage in "Autumn" (1730), ll. 1367-71.
77 Nichol Smith, "Thomson and Burns," p. 182.


79 James Thomson, "To William Cranstoun," [c. 1 October, 1725], Letters, p. 16.


81 Robertson, ed., Seasons and Castle (1891), p. 355 (note) says that this is an allusion to Job IX.9.

82 Cohen, Unfolding, p. 93; also, Cohen, personal letter to M. J. Scott, 28 September, 1976.

83 Douglas Grant, p. 46.

84 Cohen, Unfolding, p. 93.

85 ibid., pp. 38-9, 155-6, etc.

86 ibid., pp. 94-5 ff.

87 Taylor, p. 5.


89 Such as the so-called "Thomson's Cave," a favourite place of the young poet's on the Ale Water, near Ancrum. Douglas Grant, p. 15; Macaulay, p. 14.


92 Robertson, ed., Seasons and Castle (1891), p. 359 (note); also, Franklyn Bliss Snyder, "Notes on Burns and Thomson," Journal of English and Germanic Philology, 19 (1920), 309, who points out the similarity of Thomson's passage to Burns's "Brigs of Ayr" description.

93 James Thomson, "To William Cranstoun," [c. 1 October, 1725], Letters, p. 16.

95 Martin Martin, *A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland* Circa 1695 (Glasgow, 1884), p. 89. (First published 1703; revised 1716.)

96 Taylor, pp. 82-3.

97 Jeffrey, Roxburghshire, I, 16-17.

98 Taylor, p. 93.

99 McKillop, *Background to Thomson's Seasons*, p. 43: "According to Defoe [Review, VI (July 26, 1709), No. 49] the northern farmers did not give their cattle and sheep enough food in cold weather; with adequate food, he explains, the sheep could endure exposure. Similarly, Smollett says that during winter the sheep of Clydesdale, Nithsdale, and Tweeddale, 'run wild night and day, and thousands are lost under huge wreaths of snow.' He adds, 'Tis a pity the farmers cannot contrive some means to shelter this useful animal from the inclemencies of a rigorous climate, especially from the perpetual rains, which are more prejudicial than the greatest extremity of cold weather."


101 The last wolf of Scotland was said to have been killed by MacQueen of Pall-achrocain, in 1743; MacQueen was stalker to the Laird of MacKintosh. This wolf was said to have killed two children. Bishop Leslie of Ross, toward the end of the sixteenth century, wrote:

(evin as our nychbour Inglande has nocht ane wolfe, with quhilikes afore that war mekle molestes and invadet) bot we now nocht few, ze contrare, verie monie and mast cruel, cheiflie in our North cantrey, quhair nocht only invade they scheip, oxne, ze and horse, bot evin men, specialie women with barne, outragiouslie and fercelie thay ouirthrow.


[Bishop Leslie's History was first published (Rome, 1578); rpt. (London, 1675), which Thomson might have known.]

Scottish wolves were also said to be grave-diggers. The Orkneyinga Saga records: "There I saw the grey wolf gaping / O'er wounded corse of many a man." A verse by Mrs. D. Ogilvie goes, "And he [the wolf] digs the dead from out the sod, / And gnaws them under the (cont'd)
stars." Professor Ritchie, in his "The Influence of Man on Animal Life in Scotland," corroborates this belief.

According to tradition, "wolves were so numerous in the sixteenth-century Highlands that a man was taking his life into his hands to travel through the wilds of Lochaber or Rannoch....Our wolves must surely have been a very special breed...." It is likely that many such "killer" wolves were rabid, as well. The above information was taken from David Stephen, "Cry Wolf," The Saturday Scotsman, 17 April, 1976, p. 1.

Pope, in his Pastorals, "informus us in a note, that he judiciously omitted the following verse, 'And list'ning wolves grow milder as they hear' on account of the absurdity, which Spenser overlooked, of introducing wolves into England," de Haas, Nature in English Poetry, p. 32. Such an introduction would not, however, have been "absurd" in a Scottish poem of the early eighteenth century, such as Thomson's Seasons.

The "wolf" has long been a symbol for the devil or for evil men; the OED cites several examples from the Bible itself. David Lindsay in The Dreame, I, 31, a poem which may have been an influence on The Seasons' prospect-view of Scotland in "Autumn," uses wolves figuratively, to characterise Scotland's oppressors, whom the negligent leaders have allowed to ravage the "flock." It is interesting to note that "Calvin's Common Prayer-Book, as approved by the Church of Scotland," in The Phenix; or, a Revival ofScarce and Valuable Pieces (London, 1708), II, makes several metaphorical references to wolves, for example: pp. 221-2, and especially p. 229, "...O Lord, it will please thee to thrust out faithful workmen in this thy Harvest within this realm of Scotland ...and purge this Realm from all false Teachers, from dumb Dogs, dissembled Hypocrites, cruel Wolves, and all such as shew themselves Enemies to thy true Religion." The "wolf" was, then, an important metaphor for Scottish Calvinists; Thomas Boston, for example, wrote, "Cast your eye upon these terrible convulsions the world is thrown into, by the lusts of men. Lions make not a prey of lions, nor wolves of wolves: But men are turned to wolves to one another, biting and devouring one another," Fourfold State, p. 34.


Thomson himself used the metaphor of the "wolf" for evil men, in Liberty III.370, in describing the decline of Rome.


103 McKillop, Background of Thomson's Seasons, p. 137; for example, "Hill / On Hill" of ice and snow which appear in the distance like clouds (Excursion, Book I, pp. 27-8); and the hardships of the northern explorers (11. 904-10).


106 Alexander Pope, Poems, ed. Butt, p. 136: "Tis done, and Nature's various Charms decay; / See gloomy Clouds obscure the cheerful day!" "Winter" Pastoral, 11. 29-30, and so on, as Pope describes the faded flowers, the silent birds, the disordered flocks.


108 Cohen, Unfolding, p. 93.


111 McKillop, Background of Thomson's Seasons, pp. 73-4.

112 Spacks, The Varied God, pp. 76-7.

113 Nicolson, Newton, p. 51.

114 ibid., p. 114; for Thomson's poem, see Poetical Works, ed. Robertson (OSA, 1908; 1971), pp. 436-42.


"Pomona" was also the Orkney people's ancient name for the Orkney mainland, according to Martin Martin, Description of the Western Islands, p. 351.

McKillop, Background of Thomson's Seasons, pp. 150-1. Thomson's account here was also possibly influenced by descriptions of the tropics sent him by his friend William Paterson, who was the poet's deputy or joint-patentee in the office of Surveyor-General of the Leeward Islands. Paterson lived in Bridgetown, Barbadoes and evidently sent Thomson, who was an avid gardener, various exotic seeds to try to grow in Richmond. Thomson's letter to Paterson, [c. middle of April, 1748], makes reference to idyllic "Groves of Lime or Orange Trees" and "Pine-Apples," "cedars, and Palmettoes," and so on, which he imagines as Paterson's environment. Thomson, "To William Paterson," [c. mid-April, 1748], Letters, pp. 194-8; McKillop, ed., Letters, pp. 198-9 (note).

Moderate Scottish Calvinist clergymen later spoke out against slavery, also. Hugh Blair was among the Moderates who sought to abolish slavery; in the 1770's, he lists abolition as one of the "prime Christian objectives." Hugh Blair, Sermons (1777-1801), I, 155, quoted by Ian D. Clark, "From Protest to Reaction," in Scotland in the Age of Improvement, eds. Phillipson and Mitchison, p. 208.

These descriptions are not necessarily entirely removed from Scottish experience, however. Here, the element of "folk-memory" (such as in the "Winter" description of the wolves) may play a part. Fierce beasts did once exist in Scotland; sea-storms were (and are) a constant danger to Scots sailors and fishermen; plague had many times stricken Scotland, in the not-so-distant past (see T. C. Smout, A History of the Scottish People 1560-1830 [Bungay, Suffolk, 1972], pp. 150-3). Even sandstorms were a part of the Scottish folk-memory. [Rev. W. Leslie], Manual of the Antiquities, Distinguished Buildings, and Natural Curiosities of Moray (Elgin, 1823), pp. 69-75, describes the huge sandstorms and floods which struck Scotland, c. 1100. In Moray, there was a large discharge of sand from the North Sea. Man was defeated by Nature, and villages were buried as the event was described by Boethius. Fordun's Scotichronicon (Chapter 50, Book 7) "ascribes these convulsions of the elements to the influence of a comet." A more recent such occurrence was in 1697 (just three years prior to Thomson's birth), when a massive sandstorm wiped out over 1200 acres of very fertile farmland in Morayshire; the drifting of the sand continued until 1704. Much of the Moray coast was left desolate by these Sands of Culbin.

Thomas Henderson, The Findhorn (Edinburgh, 1932), pp. 153, 159-61, also records these events. He asserts that the late-seventeenth century sandstorm on the Moray coast was seen by many as God's punishment. The storm is still "ever present in the memory of the country-people," who heard of its destruction, burying cottages, farms and whole villages. The Culbin Sands stretch west from Findhorn to near Nairn, "a miniature Sahara" which marks a "crushing defeat of Man by Nature."
122 McKillop, Background of Thomson's Seasons, pp. 168-9.
123 Martin Martin, Description of the Western Islands, p. 345.
124 Alexander Montgomerie, Cherry and the Slae, in Watson's Choice Collection (Part I, 1706), ll. 309-18, p. 82.
126 ibid., p. 224 (note).
128 "Song CV," in The Tea-Table Miscellany, ed. Ramsay, rpt. 14th edition (Glasgow, 1871), II, 102-3; in 1st collected edition (London, 1740), pp. 311-12. Thomson revised his tale in 1744; volume IV of the Tea-Table was published in 1737.
129 "Catalogue" of Thomson's effects, Items Nos. 1 and 15, p. 18.
130 Cohen, Art, pp. 291-7; also see McKillop, ed., Castle and Other Poems, p. 44; McKillop says of the Castle, "There are no descriptions of damsels bathing and sleeping, as in Spenser's palaces and gardens, and readers who remember the Damon and Musidora episode in Summer will be thankful for this."
133 Blair, Grave, II. 12-84, pp. 4-7.
134 McKillop, Background of Thomson's Seasons, p. 67.
135 John M. Gray, ed., Memoirs of the Life of Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, Baronet of the Exchequer, Extracted by Himself from His Own Journals 1676-1755, Publications of the Scottish History Society, [1st Ser.] 13 (Edinburgh, 1892), p. 164 (note); this comet was witnessed and recorded by Colin McLaurin and by Sir John Clerk of Penicuik in Scotland; notice of it was printed in the Scots Magazine, IV (1742), 94. McKillop, Background of Thomson's Seasons, cites W. T. Lynn, Notes and Queries Ser. 8, IX (1896), 443-4 as source for the 1744 comet as influence on Thomson's 1744 revision, but the 1742 comet was at least as likely to have been the poet's inspiration for revision, in fact more likely, as the 1744 comet occurred rather late for Thomson to have incorporated its influence into his revision.
Clerk gives both knowledgeable scientific descriptions of the comet, and superstitious interpretations of the same, such as his entry for February 1744 (p. 168): "If comets presage great alterations and Troubles in states, this comet may be thought a forerunner, and tho' it be a little superstitious to think so, yet I am tempted to think that as the moon in some cases influences our bodies, I know not how far the vapours which arise from a Comet may not have some influence on Men's minds. It is certain that before great Calamities hapning to a nation, Comets have been seen, hovering in the Aire, and other odd phenomena. All Histories are full of such accounts, and Josephus takes notice of a very remarkable one before the destruction of Jerusalem."

"In February and March this year, 1744, we were alarmed with an Invasion from Dunkirk. A body of French was to be transported from thence, under the Command of the oldest son of the Pretender and the Count de Sax, the natural son of the late Elector of Saxony." Clerk's editor cites the notice of the 1744 comet, given in the Scots Magazine, V (1744), 573.

137 McKillop, Background of Thomson's Seasons, p. 36.

138 Cohen, Unfolding, p. 93.

139 Robertson, ed. Seasons and Castle (1891), p. 247 (note); this was not wholly true, as Thomson did read such works as Bradley's General Treatise of Husbandry and Gardening (1724) and his New Improvements of Planting and Gardening (1717-18), and so on; see McKillop, Background of Thomson's Seasons, pp. 45-6.

140 Nicolson, Newton, p. 31 (note).

141 McKillop, Background of Thomson's Seasons, pp. 58, 96.


143 Boston, Fourfold State, p. 34.

144 David Lindsay, The Monarche, in Works, Scottish Text Society, I, 240-1.

145 McKillop, Background of Thomson's Seasons, pp. 97-8.

146 An Abstract from the Works of John Hutchinson, Esq., Part I, on Vol. I of Hutchinson's Works (1724), Moses's Principia, pp. 18-21: Hutchinson describes the earth's shell all cracked, the "elements in confusion," the waters "pressed up"; after the calm, the earth showed and continues to show the effects of this devastation, representing the beginning of a "new order," a sort of "second Creation" of the world.
147 McKillop, *Background of Thomson's Seasons*, p. 98.


152 J. C. Shairp, *On Poetic Interpretation of Nature*, op. cit., p. 188.


154 Robertson, ed., *Seasons and Castle* (1891), p. 260 (note); also Chapter II, footnote No. 4, above.

155 See original passage, in *Poetical Works*, ed. Robertson (OSA, 1908; 1971), p. 50 (note). McKillop, *Background of Thomson's Seasons*, pp. 132-3, cites Thomson's sources for the "eagle" as Pliny, *Natural History* X.3, and Lucan, *Pharsalia* IX.902-6; Thomson's revised version was of course influenced by Martin Martin's *A Late Voyage to St. Kilda* (1698) and *A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland* (1703; revised 1716).


163 Cohen, Unfolding, p. 93.

164 Murdoch, ed., Works (1762), I, xvii.


167 Sambrook, ed., Seasons and Castle, p. 228 (note). Also, Thomson owned a print of "The Harvest" by Maratti, which may have suggested the scene's composition; "Catalogue" of Thomson's effects, Item No. 82, p. 20. (cf. the description of "Damon and Musidora" as possibly influenced by the poet's prints of classical and Biblical scenes, p. 271 above.)

168 Allan Ramsay, The Gentle Shepherd (Edinburgh, 1725); in Works, eds. Martin and Oliver, Scottish Text Society, II, 205-77.


170 While organised hunting and hunt-clubs are traditionally associated with English country life, they were and are a part of Scottish life as well. The Border ballads "The Battle of Otterbourne" and "Chevy Chase" both open with descriptions of "deere" hunts with hounds in the Border region. John Leslie, Bishop of Ross, in his History of Scotland, Scottish Text Society, I, 21, mentions hunting with hounds in the Borders in the sixteenth century. As for organised hunt-clubs, they usually hunted foxes. Hugo Arnot, in his History of Edinburgh, From the Earliest Accounts to the Year 1780, wrote that, "Hunting and horse-racing have been more or less in vogue [in Edinburgh] ever since the Restoration. A company of gentlemen, instituted for enjoying together the sports of the fields, have subsisted at Edinburgh during great part of this period...." Arnot said that the first established hunt-club, the ancestor of the Caledonian Hunt, began in 1758: Arnot, cited in The Royal Caledonian Hunt (Edinburgh, 1927), p. 4. English fox-hunting expert "Nimrod" [Charles James Apperley] in his Nimrod's Northern Tour (London, 1838) asserted that the Merse and Berwickshire, toward Roxburghshire, "struck me, taking it all in all, as being the best country for hounds I saw in (cont'd)
Scotland." He also said that, "It appears Berwickshire has been hunted beyond the memory of man." He knew of specific men who had been hunters there in the first half of the eighteenth century. The metaphor of "hunting" has long been a favourite in Scottish poetry. One example is William Drummond of Hawthornden's "["The World a Game"], in Works, ed. Kastner, II, 28; another is John Davidson's "A Runnale Stag," in The Poems of John Davidson, ed. Andrew Turnbull (Edinburgh and London, 1973), I, 159-61.

171 Robertson, ed., Seasons and Castle (1891), p. 326 (note): cf. Shakespeare, As You Like It II.1:

...and big round tears
Goured one another down his innocent nose
In piteous chase.


172 Such a "drunken" vision as the poet's point of view here looks forward to Hugh MacDiarmid's A Drunk Man Looks at the Thistle (1926).


174 McKillop, Background of Thomson's Seasons, p. 77, quotes C. V. Deane, Aspects of Eighteenth-Century Nature Poetry (Oxford, 1935), pp. 97-9; the scene also recalls the description of the area by Thomas Somerville, in the 1791 Statistical Account ("Jedburgh," I, 4), who mentions the ridge of hills "contiguous to the English Border," and with many rivers and streams. Ruberslaw (the mountain described in Robert Ricaltoun's lost "Winter" verse) has a "dark serrated top"; near Jedburgh, Dunian Hill is described as "conical" and very tall: Jeffrey, Roxburghshire, I, 21-2.

175 Robertson, ed., Seasons and Castle (1891), p. 333 (note), says: "It is not uncommon in the Scottish Highlands and uplands in misty weather." He also refers to the shepherd here as the "Cheviot shepherd." Also see James Hogg, The Confessions of a Justified Sinner (London, 1970; first published 1824), pp. 49-50; Hogg describes the same phenomenon, and sets the sinister scene on Arthur's Seat in Edinburgh. Thomson may have speculated on the Newtonian (Optics) implications of this occurrence, as well.

176 Sambrook, ed., Seasons and Castle, p. 230 (note); the theory is found in Lucretius V.261-72; Milton, Paradise Lost IV.223-30; and, William Derham, Physico-Theology (1713).

177 ibid., p. 230 (note); Edmund Halley knew this theory. Thomson's source was Antoine Pluche's Spectacle de la Nature.
178 Robertson, ed., Seasons and Castle (1891), p. 337 (note). McKillop, ed., Castle and Other Poems, p. 214, points out that Thomson has similar references in "Britannia" (II. 88-9), Liberty III. 227-9, and Castle I.xxx; he cites Milton's Lycidas, the "Hebridies" passage (II. 154-8) as a probable influence. These "Hebridean" references are used concisely to connote remote, isolated and romantic atmosphere, "sublime" setting.

179 McKillop, Background of Thomson's Seasons, pp. 132-3. The "Catalogue" of Thomson's effects lists among his books, Martin Martin's Western Islands, as well as Wallace's Account of Orkney (1700), Items Nos. 24 and 21, p. 9.

180 David Lindsay, The Dreme, in Works, Scottish Text Society, I, 28-31 ("Of the Realme of Scotland"). Lindsay's works were readily available to Thomson; many sixteenth and seventeenth-century editions, as well as early-eighteenth century editions (such as A. Anderson's Edinburgh edition, 1709) were in print. See Chapter VII, footnote No. 153, below.

181 Here, Thomson mentions two of the three northernmost points of Scotland given in Camden's Britannia, Orca or Howburn, and Berubium or Urdehead; the third is Virvedrum, or Duncansbay. Thomson, however, misspells them as "Orca" and "Betubium"; McKillop, Background of Thomson's Seasons, p. 134.

182 Cohen, Unfolding, p. 216.

183 James Thomson, "To William Cranstoun," [c. 1 October, 1725], Letters, p. 16.

184 ibid., p. 16.

185 See Chapter III, pp. 83-4, above. McKillop, Background of Thomson's Seasons, p. 66, cites William Whiston, An Account of a Surprising Meteor Seen in the Air, March the 6th, 1715-1716, p. 28. Thomson probably also knew contemporary scientific accounts of it, especially those by Edmund Halley (see Chapter III, footnote No. 43, above). Another similar sighting appeared over Northern Europe on 19 October, 1726, according to Sambrook, ed., Seasons and Castle, p. 233 (note).

186 McKillop, Background of Thomson's Seasons, pp. 64-5, 65 (note).

187 William Hamilton of Gilbertfield, The Ancient and Renown'd History of the Surprising Life and Adventures and Heroic Actions of Sir William Wallace, General and Governor of Scotland (Falkirk, 1785; first published 1721), Book IV, Chapter I, pp. 79-80:

(cont'd)
...he observed thro' the sky,
A strange prodigious meteor to fly;
The chief beheld it kindling as it flew,
And from the sight a happy omen drew:
'And does consenting heaven yield,' he cries,
'And better hours from better omens rise.
Now, now, the English shall the danger fear,
And trembling fly before the Scottish spear.
And now a growing hope springs in my mind,
And leaves vain jealousy and fears behind.'


189 Thomson did "stray" from Nature and poetry of natural description, in his Liberty (1735-6), which proved a serious mistake.

190 McKillop, Background of Thomson's Seasons, p. 42.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER VI

1 James Thomson, Preface to "Winter" (2nd edition, June 1726), in Poetical Works, ed. Robertson (OSA, 1908; 1971), pp. 239-42

2 John MacQueen, Allegory, op. cit., pp. 49 ff., on Bede's and Aquinas's theories of medieval allegory.

3 Sambrook, ed., Seasons and Castle, p. 240 (note); Cohen, Unfolding, p. 317; McKillop, Background of Thomson's Seasons, p. 42.

4 For example, Haliburton [Robertson], "Poet of the Woods," 467-77, refers to Thomson (as did William Collins) as a "Druid" as well as a "healthy pagan," and links him with Wordsworth's religion of nature. Eric Taylor, "James Thomson," asserts that in the opening of the "Hymn of the Seasons," "now the World itself is God, and Nature's beauty is God's beauty," p. 147; Taylor also says that Thomson went through a clear Pantheistic phase, c. 1728-29, from which he later moved away, back to a more orthodox "Natural Theology," pp. 214-5, 218. Drummond and Bulloch, The Scottish Church, p. 89, hold that Thomson's "sentimental Deism was scarcely distinguishable from Pantheism." Hoxie Neale Fairchild, Religious Trends, I, 522-3, rightly says that Thomson was not a Pantheist, but that the poet had to struggle to "rise from worship of a Spirit in nature to worship of a Spirit above nature...." Horace E. Hamilton, "Nature's Volume Broad-Displayed," Times Literary Supplement, No. 2,430 (28 August, 1949), 487, says that the "Hymn of the Seasons" is "pantheist of a more than Wordsworthian vigour."
5 Wendel, Calvin, pp. 175, 169-70.


7 Fairchild, I, 523.


9 John Calvin, The Institutes of the Christian Religion I, 5.9, quoted by Wendel, Calvin, p. 162.


11 Calvin, Institutes III, 25, 5, quoted by Wendel, Calvin, p. 275.

12 McKillop, Background of Thomson's Seasons, pp. 31, 36.

13 James Thomson, "To William Cranstoun," [20 October, 1735], Letters, p. 100. Also see Thomson, "To Elizabeth Young," 21 January, 1743/4, Letters, p. 170, on the death of Miss Stanley, the sentiments of which are also expressed in the elegiac passage to Stanley, in "Summer," 11. 564 ff.


15 Boston, Fourfold State, pp. 444-5.

16 Ferguson, Scotland 1689 to the Present, op. cit., p. 209.

17 Spacks, Vision, p. 38.
18 Cohen, Unfolding, pp. 3, 6, and so on; Cohen, however, takes this useful interpretation of Thomson's "fragmented vision" to the extreme of "imitative fallacy," i.e. he excuses certain real stylistic faults in The Seasons (poor transitions, lack of integration of added materials, "ironic" or emphatic silences which occasionally mark an absence of smooth transition) by claiming that even these are a "functional" part of Thomson's overall world-view of "inevitable fragmentation of man's knowledge...."

19 For example, P. M. Spacks, Varied God, pp. 34-7, says that Thomson rejects the "paradox" of evil in the world, instead of trying to solve it.

20 Boston, Fourfold State, p. 1.

21 Lindsay was a pre-Reformation Roman Catholic, but a stern critic of the Roman Church who held rigorous, Reformation-type views.


25 Alan Dugald McKillop, The Background of Thomson's 'Liberty,' Rice Institute English Monograph Series, XXXVIII, No. 2 (July, 1951), p. 107 (note). McKillop does, however, recognise that Hutcheson would have been an important influence on Thomson, and cites Dr. Orville F. Linck, "Benevolism in the Works of James Thomson," PhD. Diss. Northwestern University 1941, for further evidence of Hutchesonian influence on the poet.

26 Francis Hutcheson, An inquiry into the original of our ideas of beauty and virtue; in two treatises. In which the principles of the late Earl of Shaftesbury are explain'd and defended, against the author of the Fable of the Bees: and the ideas of moral good and evil are establish'd..., (London, 1725), op. cit.


28 Wendel, Calvin, p. 206.

29 Boston, Fourfold State, p. 97.
Drummond and Bulloch, *Scottish Church*, p. 110.

Wendel, Calvin, p. 277; Boston, *Fourfold State*, pp. 403-4, holds that while works cannot earn salvation, works done by the Elect (Saints) on earth will count for something toward their eternal "glory" at the Last Judgement.

Drummond and Bulloch, *Scottish Church*, p. 47.


Spacks, *Varied God*, p. 51.


Taylor, p. 214, says that The Seasons never became a Christian poem. J. C. Shairp, *Poetic Interpretation of Nature*, p. 191, says that "if there is nothing in The Seasons inconsistent with Christian truth, there is little or nothing that directly affirms it." Douglas Grant, pp. 248-9, says that, "It will have been apparent from both his [Thomson's] poetry and his correspondence that the poet, although a deeply religious man, was not a Christian." William Courthope, *History of English Poetry*, V, 304 (quoted by Cohen, *Art*, p. 431) noted the "'conspicuous absence'" of Christian theology in The Seasons. Fairchild, I, 515, says that Thomson "was not an orthodox Christian"; he holds that Thomson's God is paradoxically immanent and transcendent, and whereas the orthodox solution to this dilemma is embodied in Christ, Thomson somehow "forgot" this solution: "He believes in a mystery to which he has lost the clue," p. 523. Macaulay, p. 82, asserts that, "There is no evidence of an acceptance of revealed Christianity."


Fairchild, I, 515.


MacQueen, *Allegory*, pp. 18 ff, on "Biblical" allegory.
Drummond and Bulloch, Scottish Church, pp. 107, 90.


Fairchild, I, 514.

"Friend" was "Lycidas" (1726); the passage recalls George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh's invocation to friendship, in "Celia's Country-House and Closet," Watson's Choice Collection (Part II, 1709), pp. 71-2, and Edinburgh Miscellany (1720), pp. 4-5.


William Bayne, Thomson, Famous Scots, p. 41.

Murdoch, ed., Works (1762), I, xix.

See Chapter V, footnote No. 120, above.

McKillop, Background of Thomson's Seasons, p. 18.

[Thomson], Preface, Areopagitica.

Spacks, Varied God, pp. 64, 143 ff, 29ff.


James Beattie, Essays on Poetry and Music, p. 34.


Boston, Fourfold State, pp. 23 ff.


68 Haliburton [Robertson], "Poet of the Woods," 476.

69 Cohen, Unfolding, p. 283.

70 David Lindsay, Dreme, in Works, Scottish Text Society, I, 3-38.

71 Sambrook, ed., Seasons and Castle, p. 113 (note).

72 James Thomson, "To Aaron Hill," 20 October, 1726, Letters, p. 54.

73 Martin Martin, Western Islands, pp. 336-42.

74 McElroy, Improvement, p. 5; Daniel Defoe, Caledonia, a poem in honour of Scotland, and the Scots Nation, in 3 parts (Edinburgh, 1700).


76 Duncan Forbes of Culloden, Some Considerations on the Present State of Scotland in a Letter to the Commissioners and Trustees for Improving FISHERIES and MANUFACTURES (Edinburgh, 1744), 1-2 ff.
McKillop, Background of Thomson's Seasons, p. 136 (note), lists a number of books and pamphlets, dated 1727 and after, such as Thomson probably studied, regarding the Scottish "improvement" campaign. See also Sambrook, ed., Seasons and Castle, pp. 230-1 (note). Among Thomson's effects in the "Catalogue" was listed a work entitled "The Interest of Scotland considered", Item No. 167, p. 14; this was a pamphlet by Patrick Lindsay, Lord Provost of Edinburgh (Edinburgh, 1733), about the improvement of Scottish trade and employment.


Duncan, Ruddiman, pp. 150-1.

Robertson, ed., Seasons and Castle (1891), p. 295 (note); "declining" here means "stooping."

McKillop, Background of Thomson's 'Liberty,' p. 9.

Ten of the Greek heroes, and five of the Romans given by Thomson, occur in the Parallel Lives; Robertson, ed., Seasons and Castle (1891), pp. 369-70 (note).


David Mallet's "A Fragment" (date unknown) contains a similar "high converse" with the dead, listing Sages and Poets; it has not been determined which Scottish poet influenced the other here; Robertson, ed., Seasons and Castle (1891), p. 359 (note).


For one example, the term "villa" for country-house (l. 1454); this Roman name was beginning to be used in Scotland in Thomson's day, in connection with the Palladian revival in architecture. Sir John Clerk of Penicuik's "villa" at Mavisbank (c. 1724) was perhaps the first use of the term "villa" in Britain: James Simpson, "A Judge of Architectory," lecture delivered to symposium "A Treasure of Learning and Good Taste- Sir John Clerk of Penicuik Tercentenary," University of Edinburgh, 15-16 May, 1976. Also see Douglas Grant, p. 156; "villas" began to spring up around Richmond, where the poet settled, in the eighteenth century.

McKillop, Background of Thomson's 'Liberty,' p. 5.
89 McKillop, Background of Thomson's Seasons, p. 18.


91 Chalker, "Problem of Primitivism," 44-5.


93 ibid., pp. 221, 234 (notes); the original of Virgil's "Happy Man" was Horace's Epode II.

94 Sambrook, ed., Seasons and Castle, pp. 221-3 (notes) gives these sources for "Summer" descriptions:
   a) Serpent (ll. 898-907), Georgics II.153-4, and Lucan, Pharsalia X.607-10;
   b) Sandstorm (ll. 959-77), Lucan, Pharsalia IX.455-92;
   c) Herd, flies (ll. 498-505), Georgics III.146-51;
   d) Coming storm (ll. 1116-25), Georgics I.356-9, 374-6;
   e) Thunder, lightning (ll. 788-802), Lucretius IV.246-322;
   f) Pestilence (ll. 1026-35), Lucretius VI.1098-1102.

Other probable Virgilian suggestions for Thomson's descriptive details here include:
   g) "Philosophy" (l. 1746), Georgics II;
   h) Contagion (ll. 1026 ff.), Georgics III;
   i) Comet (ll. 1700 ff.), Georgics I.

For a more complete study of Thomson's classical sources, see the annotated editions of The Seasons: Zippel (1908), Robertson (1908, and especially the useful 1891); Sambrook (1972).

95 Chalker, "Problem of Primitivism," 44.


97 See Chapter V, footnote No. 160, above; also see Sambrook, ed., Seasons and Castle, p. 218 (note)


99 ibid., pp. 216-18 (notes) lists these sources for "Spring": (cont'd)
a) Pastoral scene (ll. 242-74), Ovid, Metamorphoses I.89-112, 127-50;
b) Slaughter of domestic animals (ll. 336-78), Ovid, Metamorphoses XV.75-142;
c) Snare of love (ll. 996-1003), Lucretius IV.1133-6;
d) (ll. 938-1112), Lucretius IV.1008-1208.


Sambrook, ed., Seasons and Castle, pp. 228, 230 (notes) lists these sources:

a) Thomson's (ll. 554-5), Juvenal, Satire V (trans. Dryden, 1693), ll. 422-3;
b) Thomson's (ll. 836-48), Pliny, Natural History X.xxxiv.70-1;
c) Thomson's (ll. 736-835), "percolation" theory, Lucretius V.261-72.

Butt, Augustan Age, p. 93, quoting Shaftesbury's "Advice to an Author" (1710), II.i.


ibid., 135.

ibid., 150; this is Richard Hurd's interpretation, in "On the Idea of Universal Poetry," Works (London, 1811), 2. F. R. Leavis points out that this Whig taste for "freedom" also included the taste for freer, more natural landscape gardening in that period; Leavis, Revaluation, p. 90.

[Thomson], Preface, Areopagitica, pp. iii-viii.

Butt, Augustan Age, p. 93.


Butt, Augustan Age, pp. 94-5.

Spacks, Vision, p. 32.

ibid., p. 39.
ibid., p. 39.

Cohen, Art, p. 11, etc.; Unfolding, p. 7, etc.

Macaulay, pp. 170-1.


A. M. Oliver, "Scottish Augustans," p. 122; Oliver describes this in general terms, as a fault of most of the Scottish Augustans.


The word "cogenial" occurs in John Callender's poem "The Elevation," Edinburgh Miscellany (1720), p. 271; it also occurs in "Lucifer's Speech" by an anonymous "R." in the Edinburgh Miscellany, p. 72. OED does not note its use until the later eighteenth century. It occurred in Thomson's "Winter" from 1730 on.


Butt, Augusan Age, pp. 93-4.


G. Gregory Smith, Scottish Literature: Character and Influence, pp. 94-6.

Douglas Grant, p. 114.

128 Maurice Lindsay, *Scottish Literature*, p. 233.


130 *ibid.*, 183-4.

131 Spacks, *Varied God*, p. 23.


136 Tillotson, p. 61.


140 Tillotson, pp. 71-3, on eighteenth-century neoclassicism in general.


146 Morel, Thomson, pp. 649-50 (Appendix IV, "The Pronunciation of Thomson"); Morel, however, feels that Scotticisms are "absent" from *The Seasons*.

148 G. Gregory Smith, Scottish Literature, p. 9.

149 Taylor, pp. 316-17.


151 Spacks, Vision, p. 33.

152 Macaulay, pp. 159-60.


156 Snyder, "Burns and Thomson," 309, compares this with Burns's "Brigs of Ayr" description.


158 ibid., p. vi.

159 Spacks, Varied God, p. 42.

160 G. Gregory Smith, Scottish Literature, p. 55.


162 Robertson, ed., Seasons and Castle (1891); also, Poetical Works (OSA, 1908; 1971).


165 ibid., p. 364 (note).

166 ibid., p. 364 (note).

167 ibid., pp. 384-5 (note). Prof. Skeat defines "bicker" as "to keep pecking at." Also see Morel, pp. 424-5.

168 ibid., p. 365 (note); Beattie, Scoticiems, p. 35.
169 Beattie, Scoticisms, p. 49.


172 Beattie, Scoticisms, p. 76.


NOTES FOR CHAPTER VII

1 Margaret Forbes (daughter of Duncan Forbes of Culloden), Letter to the 11th Earl of Buchan, 14 June [1791], MS Laing II.330, fol. 1, Edinburgh University Library.

2 "Biographical Memoir...Duncan Forbes," 654.

3 Douglas Grant, p. 42.

4 Margaret Forbes, Letter to Earl of Buchan, fol. 1.


6 Douglas Grant, p. 44.

7 Lord Binning (Charles Hamilton, 1698-1732) fought at Sheriffmuir in 1715; appointed in 1718 Knight Marischal of Scotland. Died at Naples, 27 December, 1732. Married c. 1720, Rachel Baillie. His sons were: Thomas (b. 1721) who became 7th Earl of Haddington, succeeding to the title in 1735, educated at Oxford; George, of Jerviswood, who upon the death of Grisell Baillie in 1759, succeeded to title and estates of grandfather, George Baillie of Jerviswood, M.P. for St. Germains, Cornwall (1722).


10 ibid., Part II, p. 78.

11 Douglas Grant, p. 41.

12 ibid., pp. 48, 64.

13 ibid., p. 56.


15 Douglas Grant, pp. 57-8. It is not known whether the Watts' were Scotsmen, but their name suggests that they may have been, as does their interest in Newtonian science.

16 ibid., p. 71.

17 Murdoch, ed., Works (1762), I, ix.

18 Douglas Grant, p. 72. Also see Peter John Anderson, ed., Records of the Marischal College and University of Aberdeen (Aberdeen, 1889), I, 440-2; II, 16-17, 97.

19 Douglas Grant, p. 95.

20 ibid., p. 95.


23 ibid., p. 77.

24 ibid., p. 78.

25 ibid., p. 78; also, A. D. McKillop, Background of Thomson's 'Liberty,' p. 22.

26 Douglas Grant, p. 123.


33 Douglas Grant, p. 139.

34 Murdoch, ed., Works (1762), I, xi.


36 "T. P." [Thomas Parke], "Gleanings of Biography," Interview with Dr. William Robertson of Richmond, The Bee, or Literary Weekly Intelligencer, VI (1791), 283.


38 A. M. Oliver, "Scottish Augustans," p. 120.

39 Janet Adam Smith, p. 108.

40 ibid., p. 110.

41 See Chapter III, p. 107, footnote No. 139, above.


Janet Adam Smith, p. 115.

Lady Murray of Stanhope, Part II, p. 97.

Forbes held that instead of stiff laws against the wearing of tartans and carrying arms in the Highlands, social and economic improvements would do more to prevent lawlessness; Menary, Forbes, p. 296.

"G. H. I.," "Letter, enclosing Interview with Mr. William Taylor, James Thomson's Barber, Given September, 1791" [interviewer may have been the Earl of Buchan, or perhaps Thomas Parke; not known], in The Table-Book, ed. William Hone (London, 1827; rpt. 2 vols. in 1, Detroit, 1966), [II], 590.


Andrew Mitchell was born in Edinburgh in 1708, of an Aberdeen family; he was son of the Minister of St. Giles, William Mitchell. In 1747, became Whig M.P. for Aberdeen; in 1755-61, served as M.P. for Elgin Burghs, and also appointed (1755) envoy to Frederick the Great at Berlin. Mitchell died there in 1771. He was known as an excellent statesman. "Carlyle writes of him: 'an Aberdeen Scotchman creditable to his country; hard-headed, sagacious, sceptical of shows, but capable of recognising substances vital and of standing loyal to them, stubbornly if needful...whose Letters are among the perenially valuable Documents on Friedrich's History." "F. E." [Francis Espinasse], "Mitchell, Sir Andrew," DNB, XIII (1894), 510-11.

James Thomson, The Seasons (London: J. Millan and A. Millar, 1730), the first collected Seasons edition, lists such notable Scottish subscribers as: The Duke of Argyll; King's College Library, Aberdeen; artist William Aikman; Earl of Bute; Earl of Buchan; Lord Binning; Sir William Bennet of Grubbat, Bart.; The Hon. Sir John Clark [Clerk] (3 books); Archibald Campbell; Dr. William Cranstoun; The Hon. Hugh Dalrymple, Esq. ("one of the Senators of the College of Justice"); George Drummond (former Lord Provost); Robert Dundas of Arniston and Robert Dundas, Jun.; Lord Chief Justice Eyre; the Countess of Eglinton; University Library, Edinburgh; several of the Border Elliotts; The Rt. Hon. Duncan Forbes (5 books); Lord Jedburgh; John Ker (Professor of Greek in the King's College, Aberdeen); Simon, Lord Lovat; The Rt. Hon. Patrick Lindsay (Lord Provost of Edinburgh-10 books); Duke of Montrose; Earl of Marchmont; Lord Minto; Lady Murray; Andrew Mitchell; Joseph Mitchell; Mr. [David] Mallet; Mr. Patrick Murdoch; Lord Napier; Mr. [William] Paterson; Duke of Roxburghe; Allan Ramsay; George Ross; Robert Symmer; Alexander Strahan; Mr. John Thomson (the poet's brother- 4 books); Earl of Wemyss; Hugh Warrender; The Rev. Mr. Wisheart; and many, many others. Also among the subscribers were Thomas and William Watts, and John Gray, who were possibly Scotsmen.
James Thomson, *Poetical Works*, ed. Murdoch (1762) likewise listed many notable Scots among its subscribers, including: Dr. John Armstrong; Earl of Bute; James Boswell, Jun.; Mr. James Craig (Thomson's nephew, architect of Edinburgh New Town); Earl of Dunmore; Rt. Hon. Robert Dundas (Lord President of Session); Sir David Dalrymple; Robert Dinwiddie; several of the Forbes' including Capt. John Forbes ("Jock") and John Forbes of Gulloden; Mr. James Ferguson (Dean of the Faculty of Advocates); Sir Alexander Grant and Sir Archibald Grant, Bart.; Dr. [Henry] Grieve; Dr. [William] Gusthart; Earl of Hopetoun; Messrs. Hamilton and Balfour (4 sets); The Kelso Library; Messrs. Kincaid and Bell (Booksellers, Edinburgh - 6 sets); Mr. Donaldson (Bookseller, Edinburgh); Rt. Hon. J. S. Mackenzie (2 sets); Rt. Hon. Thomas Miller (His Majesty's Advocate for Scotland); Andrew Mitchell (His "Brittanick Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary to the King of Prussia" - 2 sets); Mr. Robert MacQueen, Advocate; Dr. Pringle; George Ross; Mr. William Robertson of Richmond (Elizabeth Young's brother-in-law); George Lewis Scott; William Watts; and again, many more.


56 Douglas Grant, p. 273.


58 Douglas Grant, p. 158.

59 "A Friend to Thomson and to Justice," Letter to The Bee, *or Literary Weekly Intelligencer*, VII (1792), 236; also see Chapter II, footnote No. 4, above. Thomson, "To William Paterson," [mid-April, 1748], *Letters*, p. 196: "With Regard to the Brother-Gardiners; you ought to know, that, as they are half Vegetables, the Animal Part of them will never have Spirit enough to consent to the Transplanting of the Vegetable into distant dangerous Climates. They, happily for themselves, have no other Idea, but to dig on here, eat, drink, sleep, and mow their wives."


James Thomson, The Castle of Indolence, in Poetical Works, ed. Robertson (OSA, 1908; 1971), pp. 273-4. References to the Castle hereafter will be to this edition, unless otherwise noted.


Menary, Forbes, p. 85. "His father spared neither expense nor effort to secure for the youth a liberal education, and watched with a keen paternal eye the progress made, not only in his studies but, strangely enough, in his prowess as a golfer!" On John's return from the Grand Tour, "his father allowed him a considerable freedom to go out of town, come in, or dispose of himself for some months as should be most agreeable to him." The high-spirited John, during this time, made a "surreptitious visit to Paris" (1736) bearing a letter to the proscribed Seaforth from Culloden's cousin Will Forbes—a most unwise action; Menary, Forbes, p. 334. John became a Lieutenant in the Blues, or Royal Regiment of Horse Guards, of which the Duke of Argyll was Captain; he was never promoted, however, as his father refused to "pull strings" to advance him. His father worried a great deal about John's chronic spending and heavy debts; Menary, Forbes, pp. 337-41.

John Forbes borrowed heavily, for instance, from bookseller and publisher Andrew Millar. A Bond for £1,000 Sterling from John Forbes of Culloden and Capt. Hugh Forbes, 15 November, 1753 is located in Edinburgh University Library, MS Laing Add. 2, fol. 120. Andrew Millar, Letter to John Forbes, 24 April, 1760, Culloden Papers, MS 2958, fol. 136, National Library of Scotland, refers to Forbes' large debt, and laments his overspending. Andrew Millar, Letter to John Forbes, 16 June, 1761, MS Laing Add. 3, Edinburgh University Library, includes discharge of £120 interest owed on £3,000 debt (remaining debt of total borrowed, £4,000, from Millar).


James Thomson, Castle, p. 276; also see McKillop, ed., Castle and Other Poems, p. 196 (note).
70 Douglas Grant, p. 163.

71 See Chapter III, footnote No. 29, above.


73 Murdoch, ed., Works (1762), I, xv.

74 McKillop, ed., Letters, p. 203 (note). Warrender matriculated in William Scott's Greek class in 1720, and in Charles Mackie's History class, 1721; Matriculation Rolls, Edinburgh University Library.


76 William Paterson matriculated in Laurence Dundas's class in 1716; Matriculation Rolls, Edinburgh University Library.

77 [Parke], "Gleanings of Biography," Bee, VI (1791), 286.

78 Murdoch, ed., Works (1762), I, xiii.


80 Douglas Grant, p. 191.


82 Macaulay, p. 60.

83 James Thomson, "To William Paterson," [mid-April, 1748], Letters, p. 197: "You have an Apartment in it [Castle] as the Night-Pensioner...."

84 Thomson, Castle, p. 272; also see McKillop, ed., Castle and Other Poems, pp. 192-3 (note).

85 Thomson, Castle, p. 273.

86 See Chapter V, above; also see Appendix III.

87 Douglas Grant, p. 163. Armstrong's other works were: Benevolence, an Epistle (1751); Taste, an Epistle to a Young Critic (1753); The Forced Marriage (tragedy, 1754; published 1770); Sketches, or Essays on Various Subjects (under pseudonym Lancelot Temple, 1758); (cont'd)


90 James Thomson, Castle, pp. 277-8; also see McKillop, ed., Castle and Other Poems, pp. 193-4 (note).


94 William Robertson of Richmond, interviewed by [Thomas Parke], "Gleanings," Bee, VI (1791), 285.


96 See Chapter III, pp. 126-7, above.

97 William Robertson, interviewed by [Thomas Parke], "Gleanings," Bee, VI (1791), 284.

98 Mallet's major works include: The Excursion (descriptive poem, 1728); Eurydice (tragedy, 1731); Alfred (with Thomson, 1740); Mustapha (1739); Amyntor and Theodora (tragic poem, 1747); and Elvira (1763).

James Boswell, Andrew Erskine and George Dempster tried to hiss Elvira off the stage; they felt that Mallet had "abandoned" his Scottish nationality. They also wrote Critical Strictures on the New Tragedy of Elvira (1763); see Tobin, Plays by Scots, pp. 147-50.


100 The phrase "structures of feeling" comes from Raymond Williams, The Long Revolution (London, 1965), pp. 64-5, but it is not used here in the special sense Williams gives it. He also uses the phrase in Culture and Society (London, 1961), pp. 85-6, 100; and, Marxism and Literature (London, 1977), pp. 128-35.
101 See Chapter V, footnote No. 69, above.


104 Macaulay, pp. 80-1.

105 Douglas Grant, p. 65.

106 Joseph Mitchell, "To Mr. Thomson, the Author of Winter," in *Poems on Several Occasions* (London, 1729), II, 283.

107 *ibid.*, I, 55-6.


111 Douglas Grant, p. 203; see Thomson, "To Elizabeth Young," *Letters*, pp. 146-8; 150-61; 164-71; 175-8; 182-4.


114 William Robertson, interviewed by [Thomas Parke], "Gleanings," *Bee*, VI (1791), 282.

115 Douglas Grant, p. 243.

116 William Robertson, interviewed by [Parke], *Bee*, VI (1791), 285.

118 ibid., p. 191.


120 McKillop, ed., Letters, p. 204 (note).

121 Douglas Grant, pp. 276-7.

122 James Thomson, Liberty, in Poetical Works, ed. Robertson (OSA, 1908; 1971), pp. 309-421. Further references to Liberty will be to this edition, unless otherwise noted.


126 McKillop, Background of Thomson's 'Liberty,' pp. 4, 100.

127 Murdoch, ed., Works (1762), I, x.


129 ibid., p. 259.

130 McKillop, Background of Thomson's 'Liberty,' p. 104.

131 ibid., p. 9; also, Taylor, p. 161.

132 ibid., p. 9.

133 ibid., pp. 59-60.

134 Douglas Grant, p. 146.

McKillop, Background of Thomson's 'Liberty,' p. 9.

Douglas Grant, p. 137.


Daiches, Union, p. 191.

McKillop, Background of Thomson's 'Liberty,' p. 74.

McKillop, "Local Attachment and Cosmopolitanism - the Eighteenth-Century Pattern," op. cit., pp. 191-218. McKillop discusses the "Swiss sickness" which Thomson portrays in Liberty, "Heimweh" or homesickness, but he feels that Thomson himself did not dramatise his own "Heimweh" or nostalgia for Scotland, explicitly in his works; the present writer disagrees, and feels that Thomson's own homesickness for Scotland had an important influence on The Seasons and indeed on all of his works. His own sentiments would also have disposed him to sympathise with the "Swiss sickness" he mentions in Liberty. Thomson was the first British poet to make use of such a concept, says McKillop. Later, such feelings of the "Swiss sickness" were frequently transferred to Scottish literature, and particularly Highland literature (referring to nostalgia for a similar mountainous landscape). References to such homesickness occur in, for example, (1) Mrs. Anne Grant, Poems on Various Subjects (Edinburgh, 1803), p. 112; (2) Walter Scott, Legend of Montrose (1819), Introduction; (3) Byron, Don Juan XVI.xlvii; (4) Scott, Quentin Durward, Chapter 18; and (5) "Canadian Boat-Song," Blackwood's (September, 1829); these examples were cited by McKillop, "Local Attachment," p. 206.

McKillop, Background of Thomson's 'Liberty,' p. 82.


ibid., p. 417.


Daiches, Paradox of Scottish Culture, pp. 69-71.

Fairchild, I, 528.

See Chapter V, above, where this concept occurs in The Seasons.
McKillop, Background of Thomson's Seasons, p. 36, notes that Herbert Drennon has pointed out that the phrase "moral gravitation" occurs in Norris of Bemerton, in a Neoplatonic context.

ibid., p. 39.

Wittig, Scottish Tradition, pp. 93-9; David Lindsay, The Dreme, Works, Scottish Text Society, I, 3-38.

David Lindsay, Ane Dialogue betuix Experience and Ane Courteor [The Monarche], in Works, Scottish Text Society, I, 197-383. There were many editions available to Thomson, including the first edition (Edinburgh: Andro Hart, 1614), several in the seventeenth century, and several in the early eighteenth century such as (Edinburgh: A. Anderson, 1709); (Edinburgh, 1720); (Glasgow: R. Sanders, 1712); and (Belfast: J. Blow, 1714). "Allan Ramsay prepared a transcription of David Lindsay's works for publication, but it was not published," Tobin, Plays by Scots, p. 5 (note).

Chitnis, Enlightenment, p. 59.

McKillop, Background of Thomson's "Liberty," p. 86; also see McKillop, ed., Castle and Other Poems, p. 164.


Havens, Influence of Milton, p. 147.

"Catalogue" of Thomson's effects, pp. 18-19.

Douglas Grant, p. 145.

ibid., p. 146.

References to Thomson's dramas in this thesis will be to the following edition: James Thomson, The Works of James Thomson, 4 vols., in 2 (Edinburgh: J. Robertson, for W. Anderson, 1768), [III-IV]. Short references will be given as: Act, scene; Vol., page.


165 Tobin, Plays by Scots, p. 159.

166 ibid., p. 1.

167 Edwin Muir, Scott and Scotland, op. cit., p. 86; David Lindsay, Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis, in Works, Scottish Text Society, II.

168 Tobin, Plays by Scots, pp. 2-3.


171 Tobin, Plays by Scots, p. 4.


174 James Thomson, "To William Cranstoun," 3 April, 1725, Letters, p. 8, mentions the poet's "five visits" to Drury Lane in the early spring of 1725; McKillop, ed., Letters, p. 9 (note) has been able to identify four of these plays.


176 Tobin, Plays by Scots, p. 132.

177 Muir, Scott and Scotland, pp. 77-8.

178 Tobin, Plays by Scots, p. 132.

179 ibid., p. 134.

180 ibid., p. 207.

Tobin, Plays by Scots, p. 143.

Ibid., pp. 159-60.

Macaulay, p. 219.

James Thomson, Sophonisba, in Works (1768), III, 1-106.

Thomson could have (though it is not very likely) known Scot William Fowler's translation of Petrarch's Trionfi; in Thomson's day, this work was still in MS, having been given to Edinburgh University Library by William Drummond of Hawthornden. Fowler completed the MS translation in 1587. See William Fowler, The Triumphs of Petrarke, in The Works of William Fowler, ed. Henry W. Meikle, Scottish Text Society, N. S. No. 6 (Edinburgh and London, 1914), I, 13-134. Also see reference to the MS in Robert H. Macdonald, The Library of Drummond of Hawthornden (Edinburgh, 1971), p. 226.

Prologue to Thomson's Sophonisba, p. 7.


Prologue to Thomson's Sophonisba, p. 7.


Jack, Italian Influence, p. 113.


James Thomson, Author's Preface, Sophonisba, p. 6.


Taylor, p. 225, points this out; see "Catalogue," Item No. 80, p. 11.

"Catalogue" of Thomson's effects, Item No. 94, p. 11.
198 Macaulay, p. 221; Taylor, p. 225.

199 Macaulay, p. 224. Thomson altered the line to, "Oh, Sophonisba, I am wholly thine" (III.11) after 1738.

200 Jack, Italian Influence, p. 112.

201 ibid., p. 111. It also occurs in Fowler's Triumphs, Works, Scottish Text Society, I, 67.

202 Jack, Italian Influence, p. 111.

203 ibid., p. 111.

204 Tobin, Plays by Scots, p. 134.

205 Loftis, Politics of Drama, p. 64.

206 Tobin, Plays by Scots, pp. 134-5.

207 Douglas Grant, pp. 85-6.

208 ibid., pp. 91-2; "T. B.", A Criticism on the New Sophonisba, A Tragedy (London, 1730), 31 pp. Benjamin Martyn's play Timoleon was produced a few weeks prior to Sophonisba; the pamphlet was probably written by one of Martyn's supporters, "inspired by literary jealousy." Another pamphlet, the anonymous A Defence of the New Sophonisba, redressed the balance, however.

209 Douglas Grant, p. 86.


212 Loftis, Politics of Drama, p. 143.

213 [Thomson], Preface to Areopagitica, pp. vii-viii.


Taylor, p. 231.

Douglas Grant, p. 178.

Taylor, p. 231.

Macaulay, p. 226.

Douglas Grant, pp. 178-9.

ibid., pp. 178-80; also, Macaulay, p. 225.

Taylor, p. 232.

Tobin, Plays by Scots, p. 136.

Douglas Grant, pp. 182-3.

ibid., p. 186.

James Thomson, Edward and Eleanora, in Works (1768), IV, 1-83.

McKillop, "Licensers," 449.


ibid., 452.

Douglas Grant, pp. 188-9, cites Thomson's disclaimer as published in the London Evening News, 12-14 April, 1739; Murdoch, ed., Works (1762), I, xii, makes a "naïve" disclaimer on behalf of his friend Thomson, as well.

Douglas Grant, p. 189.

Loftis, Politics of Drama, pp. 150-1.

Tobin, Plays by Scots, p. 138.

ibid., p. 138.
236 Taylor, p. 234.


238 Taylor, p. 234.

239 Douglas Grant, p. 191.

240 Taylor, p. 236.


242 Taylor, p. 235.


244 McKillop, "Licensers," 452.

245 James Thomson [and David Mallet], Alfred, a Masque, in Works (1768), III, 207-55.

246 McKillop, "Licensers," 452.

247 Elizabeth Bell [descendant of Thomson, probably a daughter of the poet’s nephew, Rev. Mr. James Bell of Coldstream], Letter to Mrs. Stewart, 20 January, 1829, MS Dc. 6,111, fol. 145-7, Edinburgh University Library:

I do think the Song itself ["Rule, Britannia"] completely Thomson’s both in language and turn of thought—particularly in the elevation and nobleness of sentiment...

She had recently heard from a “near relation of Thomson’s”:

I had his answer yesterday, expressing great surprise that there should be a doubt of Thomson’s having written Rule Britannia, as it always had been considered in his family as completely his as The Seasons themselves, and that he never once before had heard the thing even called in question.

248 See McKillop, ed., Castle and Other Poems, p. 178, etc.

249 Tobin, Plays by Scots, pp. 139-40.

Douglas Grant, p. 235, quoting from Boswell, Private Papers, iii, 37.


Ibid., pp. 150-1.

Tobin, Plays by Scots, p. 239.

Prologue to Thomson's Tancred and Sigismunda, III, [91].


Taylor, p. 243.


Taylor, p. 242.

Tobin, Plays by Scots, p. 142.

Ibid., p. 142.

Taylor, p. 244.


Tobin, Plays by Scots, p. 140. Also see: Norma Armstrong, "The Edinburgh Stage, 1715-1820," Diss. Library Association Fellowship 1968, III, 72, Edinburgh (Central) Public Library. Ms. Armstrong lists in her Index to Plays produced in Edinburgh, 1715-1820, only one play by Thomson, Tancred and Sigismunda, but this enjoyed numerous performances. In the New Concert Hall, Canongate, Tancred and Sigismunda was performed: Feb. 5, 1748; March 31, 1749; March 13, 1754; Feb. 10, 1755; Feb. 2, 1756; and May 5, 1762. In the Theatre Royal, Shakespeare Square, the play was performed: Dec. 23, 1769; March 6, 1772; (cont'd)
Feb. 9, 1789; Feb. 8 & 15, 1790; March 14 & April 6, 1795; April 2 & June 3, 1796; Feb. 20, 1797; July 5, 1804; Aug. 17, 1805; April 3, 1806; Nov. 27, 1813; Nov. 28, 1814; and Dec. 26, 1815.

266 James Thomson, Coriolanus, in Works (1768), IV, 203-88.

267 Tobin, Plays by Scots, p. 142; also, see Thomson, "To William Paterson," [mid-April, 1748], Letters, pp. 196-7.

268 Macaulay, p. 231.

269 Douglas Grant, p. 246.

270 Macaulay, p. 231; Macaulay says that Thomson's play is "independent of Shakespeare," but this seems highly unlikely.

271 Douglas Grant, pp. 246-7.

272 ibid., p. 246.

273 Taylor, p. 244.

274 James Thomson, "To David Mallet," 31 March, 1747, Letters, p. 188.

275 Taylor, p. 245.

276 ibid., p. 246.

277 Douglas Grant, pp. 246-7.

278 ibid., p. 246.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER VIII


2 Chitnis, Enlightenment, p. 59.

4 Spacks, Vision, p. 46.

5 McKillop, ed., Castle and Other Poems, p. 3.

6 Murdoch, ed., Works (1762), I, xiv.

7 Short form for Castle references will hereafter be as: Canto.stanza.line, for example here, II.xxvii.2.

8 McKillop, ed., Castle and Other Poems, p. 42.

9 Morel, Thomson, pp. 489-90.

10 Wittig, Scottish Tradition, p. 155.

11 Macaulay, p. 216.


13 McKillop, ed., Castle and Other Poems, pp. 15-16, cites Faerie Queene VI.iii.29-6 and also the Bower of Bliss, Faerie Queene II.xii.


16 McKillop, ed., Castle and Other Poems, p. 33.

17 Wendel, Calvin, pp. 233 ff; Boston, Fourfold State, pp. 173 ff.

18 There was such a Biblical tapestry at George Lyttelton's Hagley Park which may have influenced Thomson's description here; Taylor, p. 274.

19 McKillop, ed., Castle and Other Poems, p. 51.

20 See McKillop, ed., Castle and Other Poems, pp. 189-91; also, "Catalogue" of Thomson's effects, Item No. 251, p. 17. The poet also owned Painting Illustrated (London, 1685), Item No. 222, p. 16; A Book of Drawing, Limning, Etc., Item No. 256, p. 17; Les Vies and Ouvrages des Peintres (1685), Item No. 194, p. 15; Reflexions sur la peinture & poesie (1709), Item No. 113, p. 11; Les Vies des Peintres (1715), Item No. 120, p. 11; and Cours de Peinture (1708), Item No. 121, p. 11, "Catalogue."

22 Spacks, Vision, p. 47.

23 McKillop, ed., Castle and Other Poems, pp. 16-17.

24 For a detailed discussion of the AEolian Harp, see McKillop, ed., Castle and Other Poems, Appendix, pp. 206-9. Thomson was fascinated with this wind-harp, and also wrote an "Ode on Aeolus's Harp," published in Dodsley's Collection of Poems (1748), IV, 129; the poem is also found in Poetical Works, ed. Robertson (OSA, 1908; 1971), pp. 432-3. Tobias Smollett (friend of Thomson and Oswald, and fellow-Scot) wrote of the AEolian Harp in his Ferdinand Count Fathom (2 vols., 1753), Chapter 34, I, 256-8.

25 McKillop, ed., Castle and Other Poems, p. 28.

26 ibid., pp. 35-6.

27 Nichol Smith, "Thomson and Burns," 185.

28 [Eric S. Taylor], "Thomson's Library," 312, points this out. Also see Martin Martin, Description of the Western Islands, pp. 300 ff., and Martin, Voyage to St. Kilda, p. 66.

29 McKillop, ed., Castle and Other Poems, p. 36, does not see significant influence of Martin Martin here, but attributes Thomson's description of the "second-sight" chiefly to his native Border folklore.


31 There are two Rivers Dee in Scotland, one in Kincardineshire and Aberdeenshire, and one in West Kirkcudbrightshire, from Loch Dee to Kirkcudbright Bay. The similar archaic name "Devanha" or "Devana," too, is a Scottish location; Ptolemy's Devana (possibly from the Gaelic for "hilly") was at Normandikes, about eight miles west of Aberdeen; James B. Johnston, Place-Names of Scotland (Edinburgh, 1903), p. 101. There is also a River Devon, in Kinross.

32 McKillop, ed., Castle and Other Poems, p. 203 (note).


34 McKillop, ed., Castle and Other Poems, p. 194 (note).

Graham, Social Life, pp. 404-5; also, R. D. S. Jack, Scottish Prose, p. 25. For abundant illustration of such descriptive imagery, see Thomas Boston, Fourfold State.


McKillop, ed., Castle and Other Poems, p. 189 (note).


Wittig, Scottish Tradition, p. 149; see Chapter V, p. 234, above.

Lt. John Forbes was once stationed there with the Army. J. Logie Robertson, ed., Seasons and Castle (1891), p. 401 (note) points out that the general scene is an allusion to Comus. Sambrook, ed., Seasons and Castle (1972), p. 243 (note), says: "The dirtiness of the low-lying market-town of Brentford was well known, and may have been a stock joke in neighboring, fashionable and far more salubrious Richmond where Thomson and his friends lived. William Diaper's Brent (1727), a mock local poem, described the damp and dirt of Brentford, which he calls 'Nature's gaol for rogues designed.' Gay's Epistle to Lord Burlington (1715) alludes to the 'dirty streets' of 'Brentford's tedious town.'" Also see McKillop, ed., Castle and Other Poems, pp. 204-5 (note).


Dunbar, "Dance of the Sevin Deidly Synnis," ll. 67-8, p. 121.

Chitnis, Enlightenment, p. 59.
Taylor, pp. 218-20; he sees Thomson's "new orthodoxy," as he calls it, as a return to some form of religious orthodoxy; the present writer feels that there was a line of continuity in Thomson's "orthodox" religious belief, throughout his life.

McKillop, ed., Castle and Other Poems, p. 52.

Wendel, Calvin, p. 175.


Wendel, Calvin, p. 277.

Boston, Fourfold State, p. 157.

Wendel, Calvin, p. 277.

Boston, Fourfold State, pp. 403-4.

ibid., p. 354.

ibid., p. 406.


ibid., p. 78.

ibid., p. 166. Also see Fairchild, I, 543.

66 Fairchild, I, 532.


68 ibid., 575.

69 ibid., 574.


71 Robertson, ed., Seasons and Castle (1891), p. 432 (note), quotes Scots Paraphrase, X:

'How long, ye scorers of the truth,
Scornful will ye remain?
...
The time will come when humbled low
In sorrow's evil day,
Your voice by anguish shall be taught,
But taught too late to pray
...
Prayers then extorted shall be vain,
The hour of mercy past.'

72 See Footnote No. 36, above.


74 Wendel, Calvin, pp. 242 ff; Boston, Fourfold State, pp. 173 ff.

75 McKillop, ed., Castle and Other Poems, p. 8.

76 Boston, Fourfold State, pp. 147-8.

77 ibid., pp. 185-6.

78 ibid., pp. 320, 326, 321, 324.

79 McKillop, ed., Castle and Other Poems, p. 2.

80 Fairchild, I, 531.

81 Boston, Fourfold State, pp. 23 ff.

82 Gavin Douglas, Palice, Part III, ll. 1476 ff, pp. 95 ff: this "Mirrour" gives the speaker a view of Biblical and classical history.
83 ibid., Part I, l. 283, p. 27; Part II, l. 898, p. 61; Part II, l. 1225, p. 79.

84 McKillop, Background of Thomson's Seasons, p. 106.

85 MacQueen, Allegory, pp. 62-3.

86 McKillop, ed., Castle and Other Poems, pp. 23-4; also see Thomson, Tancred and Sigismunda, I.iv; IV, 107-8, in Works (1768).

87 Macaulay, p. 140; Morel, p. 490.

88 [Taylor], "Thomson's Library," 312; also see "Catalogue" of Thomson's effects, Item No. 83, p. 11, which cites the 6-volume edition of Spenser (1715).

89 Morel, pp. 489-90.

90 A. M. Oliver, "Scottish Augustans," p. 148, notes: "For evidence that the imitation of Spenser was connected especially with the Scots poets, one may turn to Nathan Drake's account of Johnson's critical papers in The Rambler. He agrees with Johnson that 'the obsolete words of this amiable poet, indeed, it would be pedantry to attempt to revive; but who, that has read the productions of Mickle and Beattie, would wish the structure of the stanza of Spenser, and the occasional use of his more polished diction, laid aside?" Oliver is quoting here from Nathan Drake's Essays, Biographical, Critical and Historical, Illustrative of the Rambler, Adventurer... (1809).1.420.

91 See Wittig, pp. 105-18.

92 McKillop, ed., Castle and Other Poems, p. 15.

93 E. H. King, "James Beattie's 'The Castle of Scepticism' (1767): a Suppressed Satire on Eighteenth-Century Sceptical Philosophy," Scottish Literary Journal, 2, No. 2 (December, 1975), 32-3, shows how, for Beattie and his fellow members of the Philosophical Society, the Castle in Aberdeen had literal significance, as he portrayed it in the allegorical essay. "Consequently they would recognize, for instance, the literal as well as symbolic nature of the landscape in the allegory as it recalled the fact that every time they walked to the Old or New Tows of Aberdeen to attend the monthly meetings of the club, they passed by the Castlegate at Castle Hill. 'In very early days, the Kings of Scotland had a castle on this hill, but it having, at one time, fallen into the hands of the English, who burned the town, the townsmen retook it, razed it to the ground, to prevent its ever again being used against them, and in its place built a chapel to St. Ninian.' In Beattie's satire the sound of a (cont'd)
church-bell attends the destruction of the castle of scepticism, so that the real and the allegorical buildings are associated with the subversion of the Christian ideal of protecting the flock and with the triumph of evil forces. Both must be destroyed to preserve those they were intended to guard. The power of Beattie's allegory is greatly strengthened by this literal association of sceptical philosophy with such a castle in the Scottish countryside."

While there is no indication that Thomson specifically associated Edinburgh Castle with the idea of "indolence," the Castle was certainly a real, physical presence in the life of the young poet, and may have helped to suggest the "castle" motif as a poetic symbol.

94 Taylor, p. 280.


99 ibid., pp. lxi-lxiii.


102 Gavin Douglas, Palice of Honour, in Shorter Poems of Gavin Douglas, ed. Bawcutt, Scottish Text Society, pp. 3-133. Thomson could easily have known Douglas's Palice of Honour, especially the Edinburgh edition of 1579, which was part of William Drummond of Hawthornden's bequest to Edinburgh University Library; see R. H. Macdonald, Library of Drummond of Hawthornden, p. 191. The allegory King Hart, sometimes attributed to Douglas, also has the central "castle" symbol, but this work would only have been available in MS in Thomson's day.

103 Bawcutt, Gavin Douglas: Critical Study, p. 50.

104 ibid., p. 61.

105 ibid., p. 63.
ibid., p. 62.

ibid., pp. 66-7.


Agnes Mure Mackenzie, Scottish Literature to 1714, p. 101.


MacQueen, Allegory, pp. 68, 72.


MacQueen, Allegory, pp. 3-5, on the classical origins of this myth, and Christian interpretations.

Jack, Italian Influence, pp. 185-8.

ibid., p. 187.

ibid., p. 189.

McKillop, ed., Castle and Other Poems, p. 41.

ibid., p. 30; also in Sambrook, ed., Seasons and Castle, p. 241 (note). The original French works of Rabelais were among William Drummond of Hawthornden's library-books, given to Edinburgh University Library; see R. H. Macdonald, Library of Drummond of Hawthornden, p. 213. Urquhart translated the first three Books of the works of Rabelais (1653 & 1693), Motteux the remainder.


[Lady Wardlaw], "Hardyknute," (Edinburgh: James Watson, 1719); also in Ramsay's EverGreen (1724), II, 247-64.

Spacks, Vision, p. 50.


ibid., pp. 12-13; John Hughes was also the author of Spectator essay No. 237 (1 December, 1711) which treats of Christian Neoplatonism, and has many close parallels with Thomson's juvenile poem "Upon Happiness." Thomson owned Hughes's 1715 edition of Spenser, "Catalogue," Item No. 83, p. 11.


McKillop, ed., Castle and Other Poems, p. 185 (note).

ibid., p. 188 (note).

George Watson, Roxburghshire Word-Book, p. 325.

ibid., p. 332.


ibid., p. 436 (note).

ibid., p. 435 (note).

Watson, Roxburghshire Word-Book, p. 204.

McKillop, ed., Castle and Other Poems, p. 198 (note).


143 James Beattie, *Scoticisms*, p. 89.

144 McKillop, ed., *Castle and Other Poems*, p. 187 (note) points this out.


NOTES FOR CHAPTER IX

1 Wittig, *Scottish Tradition*, p. 192.


5 See E. H. King, "James Beattie's 'The Castle of Scepticism,'" 18-35; see also Chapter VIII, footnotes Nos. 90 & 93.


9 ibid., p. 148.

10 McKillop, ed., *Castle and Other Poems*, pp., 64-5; "Scott, using the [Spenserian] stanza in playful mood, acknowledges an af-
filiation [with Thomson] in the Introduction to Harold the Dauntless, when he speaks of trivial books written to dispel ennui:

And not of such the strain my Thomson sung,
Delicious dreams inspiring by his note.
What time to Indolence his harp he strung; —
O, might my lay be ranked that happier list among!"


12 McKillop, ed., Castle and Other Poems, p. 3; McKillop cites [Dorothea Mallet Celesia], Indolence; a poem (London, 1772).

13 McKillop, Background of Thomson's 'Liberty,' p. 102.

14 Butt, Augustan Age, p. 82.


18 Laing, ed., Ossian, pp. 37, 401 (notes).


20 G. Gregory Smith, Scottish Literature, p. 169.


23 Ibid., 305-17; Snyder cites his chief sources as: (1) Otto Ritter, review of Molenaar's Robert Burns' Beziehungen zur Literatur, in Herrig's Archiv, cv, 403; (2) Ritter, Quellenstudien zu Robert Burns 1773-1791 (Berlin, 1901); (3) Molenaar, Robert Burns' Beziehungen zur Literatur (Leipsic, 1889); (4) Ritter, Neue Quellenfunde (cont'd)


J. Logie Robertson, ed., Seasons and Castle (1891) also points out many parallels with Burns, as does McKillop, ed., Castle and Other Poems, pp. 185 ff.


25 David Davidson, Thoughts on the Seasons, etc. Partly in the Scottish Dialect (London, 1789), pp. 155-6; this rare volume is held in the National Library of Scotland and the Mitchell Library, Glasgow. Davidson is quoted by Morel, Thomson, p. 425.

26 David Davidson, Preface, Thoughts on the Seasons, pp. vi-vii.

27 ibid., Preface, pp. vii-viii.

28 Wittig, Scottish Tradition, p. 236.

29 MacQueen, Introduction, Ossian, ed. Laing, I, [2-3].


33 McKillop, ed., Castle and Other Poems, p. 67; McKillop also notes that "B. V." wrote an essay called "Indolence" (in Essays and Phantasies, 1881). One of "B. V."'s friends, Bertram Dobell, imitated his Spenserian imitation, and wrote The Dreamer of the Castle of Indolence and "The Chatelaine of the Castle of Indolence."


37 *ibid.*, p. 3.


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