Reactions in Literature of the Relations between Scotland and England in the 17th and 18th centuries; an attempt at tracing England's literary discovery of Scotland.

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Degree of Ph.D. conferred 25th Oct. 1930
Prefatory Note.

In the pages that follow, three features may seem to have an undue prominence: the quotation of popular literature, the historical and social backgrounds, and the time sequence. All three have been intentionally stressed.

It was felt that relations between the two countries, a peculiarly difficult matter to estimate, were to be justly gauged by the feelings of the masses as by those of men of letters, and these feelings were looked for in broadsides and popular pamphlets. These have been quoted freely, both to make their own comment, and to form an anthology in rough of matter not easily accessible.

An outlining of historical and social backgrounds was an obvious necessity—however unqualified a literary student may have felt to supply it—since historical affairs shaped potently the relations between the two countries in the 17th century, and social and political affairs those of the 18th, and in both centuries the interlocking of these with literature was close. Further, since English recognition of Scotland’s literary value came not only direct, but through such side-channels as the appreciation of Scots song, of Highland landscapes, of Scots antiquities and the like, intentional digressions have been made to trace these.

Throughout, chronology has been emphasized. In gathering the material it was watched in the hope of tracing logical developments. But international relations and the course of literature have little to do with such tidinesses. Where a cult has had to be traced, however, or a succession of correlated works, the time sequence has been left accentuated.

The compiling of a complete list of books consulted has not been attempted, because of length. Every author of note during the two centuries had to be at least glanced through, and where his work had any bearing on Scotland, the standard literary histories, the biographies, his own letters, and the most recent work on him in the British Museum or National Library were consulted.

The history of each period was studied through the standard books, English through the volumes of the Political History of England, and the Cambridge History, and Scottish through Mathieson, Burton, Hume Brown, Craik, Terry, Reit, Omond, the volumes of the Scottish Historical Society, etc. But for all important periods, such as the beginning of the 17th century, the Civil War, Commonwealth and Protectorate, Darien and the Union, the ’15 and ’45 Rebellions, the Bute period, the contemporary historians and the memoirs, letters, tracts, broadsides, the two or three chief newspapers, (later the three chief magazines and the three Reviews) of the time were ransacked.

Similarly, the drama, novel, miscellany, ballad, ‘character’, essay, song etc: were searched out, both in their contemporary form or collection, and in the work of the literary historians on them, in the hope of making the mention of Scottish matter as complete as possible.
Special topics, the ballads and Scots song, the masque, the Scots in the early Royal Society, the English landscape-painters—to name at random—the Scots scientists and doctors of the late 17th and early 18th centuries, the English Press's reporting of northern events, the English critics' knowledge of Scots work, the first Scots booksellers in London, the English travellers in the north, the Derien, Union, Jacobite and Bute satires, the antiquarians, the Gaelic poets, the English caricatures and satiric prints,—these and other topics have necessitated special reading, as the notes here and there indicate.

It would be absurd to claim that the results of that reading have been complete. The scope of it has only been sketched to extenuate the absence of a bibliography.
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CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION.

Relations between England and Scotland—17th century.
1. "Caledonia"-1706.

The news-sheet, Mercurius Politicus, has a tale of Scots, in retreat before English troops, posting on the market-cross of Dalkeith: "Our ancient old enemy, the Kingdom of England"—that historic little flour of defiance that recalls at once the 'inroads' and sacking and ruthless warfare between England and Scotland in an angry past. But the Mercury is dated November 1653. The taunt is being rethrown in mid-seventeenth century.

At the opening of the eighteenth, a phrase in Defoe's preface to "Caledonia, a Poem in Honour of Scotland and the Scots Nation" gives an equal shock: "I have the Honour to be the first Man that ever attempted to rescue Scotland out of the Jaws of Slander, that Grave of her Reputation Character, and the Gulf in which all the great actions of her Nobility and Gentry are too much buried".

Yet incident and phrase belong to the two centuries which saw the countries brought intimately together, the in the seventeenth century through the Union of the Crowns of England and Scotland, in the eighteenth through that of the Parliaments.

Neither incident nor phrase is suggested as typical, or as proving that Scots hate, English contempt and slander were perennial. Both, however, are significant of one fact, the continuing disjunction in international relations in spite of all decrees of union. In the reaction on literature of those relations, that is the feature which affects most, determines and shapes most.

It is the rarest thing to find in English literature of the 17th century any praise of Scotland. Abuse there is in plenty, that from the writers of repute, Milton, Cleveland, Dryden, Clarendon scarcely is distinguishable from that of the broadside scribblers: "the false North", "the treacherous Scot", "the canting Scot", "that land of infamy". If Professor Madariaga's theory hold good, that national character is usually summed up by the voice of universal opinion as a compound, a quality and a defect, -clearness-licentiousness, for the French, for instance, vulgarity-vitality for the American, then the seventeenth century Englishman would have fitted the Scot with mercenary-hypocrisy, or sordidness-venality, or poverty-sedition, and neglected as absurd the search for virtue.

The roots of that half-hidden, half-open antagonism lie in the elementary facts about Scot and Englishman in that age. Before the Union of the Crowns brought south a 'shoaling' of Scots, the two nations held themselves in general apart. Admittedly there had been mutual traverses, pacts, court intercourse, seaport and border trade contacts, even efforts towards Union. But at the end of Elizabeth's reign, the number of Scots in London was reckoned-
1. Traill's "Social England"
   Robertson's "History of England"
   Omond's "History of the Union"

2. Osborne's "Yrational Memoyres" 1652.

3. Proclamation of May 1641.
differ-to have been only 38-58-not more than 100-this out of a pop-
ulation of 250,000 where even Netherlanders numbered 3000. Funda-
mentally, therefore, there was mutual ignorance as the new century
opened.

The hundred years that followed altered that relationship forcibly
and violently.

The Union of the Crowns, that one accepts to-day as a piece of form-
ality meant actually a raw, sharp contact between the two peoples,
psychological as well as mental. The Englishman hitherto had tran-
quilly measured his realm "from the Mount in Cornwall to Berwick
Stairs", and disregarded those uncouth 'foreign' peoples, Scots, Welsh,
and Irish, that dwelt, 'pigwiggin myrmidons' beyond.
The Union and the
events that succeeded forced on his acceptance a Scottish race on
the throne of England, courts "a denne of Scottes", in London Scottish
divines and doctors, merchants and tradesmen ('interlopers' he said
bitterly),Scottish adventurers "ydill rascillis and poore miserable
bodyis", and within forty years a Scottish army on his soil.

Further, the pressure of civil and religious politics threw the two
countries into an amazing variety of relationships, from nominal
friends by crown union, to armed religious supporters; then within
ten years to armed religious antagonists, with Scotland a 'foreign
invader'. At mid-century Scotland was a subdued nation, wasted by
an English army, and narrowly escaping annexation as a conquered pro-
vince; from that politically incorporated as part of the Commonwealth;
at the Restoration cut apart again as commercial rivals and stran-
gers, and lastly politically and commercially united through the un-
on of the Parliaments.

Intercourse driven on at this pace obviously led to a mutual know-
ledge, and even a forced intimacy. But un互利ily the very pace, the
fact of forcing, the clash of national character, the dispute of
the Scot through the events of the Civil War, the international 'bris-
tling' over religion and commerce—all these barred the way to a war-
ner amity in that increased intercourse.

What was badly lacking throughout, was any diplomatic leverage be-
tween the two peoples. James, with that itch of his for a phrase of
panache, had talked of the Union as a marriage. It was a perfectly
just simile, but a mariage de convenance, with the added 'risk' of
the northern bride being unprepared, penniless and with a horde of
relatives, needy or officious or quarrelsome. But, personal as a mar-
rage, the Union demanded intelligent thinking, a will to have it suc-
ceed, and unlimited self-effacing co-operation. It had remarkably lit-
tle of any of these. Just after the Crown Union, James and Sir Francis
Bacon did some cogent thinking and speaking on the subject; before
the Union of the Parliaments a handful of writers try dispassionate
analysis of the actual and possible in Anglo-Scottish relations. But
in between was a record of "to-tal chassis", as the Laycock would say.
There were periods of emity—too often like that of a boxer's hand-
shake) cross-wise liaisons between north and south, and, most hopeful
1. John Taylor's 'Penmállés Pilgrimage' printed 1623.
J. Howell or Sir Anthony Weldon's 'Perfect Description of the People and Country of Scotland'.
circulating 1617 on-printed 1649.

2. Period.
sign, a gradually increasing mutual respect among educated men— but all deplorably affected by war and war-hatreds, impolitic interference, friction, recrimination, and the constant distortion of national motives.

The Englishman's revulsion from the Scot, no new-thing but deep-rooted, was fed by event after event in the age—unless he were a fervent Presbyterian—and above all the all-contagious prejudice. England's policy during the century was dominated by religion and commerce. On each of these, Scotland fell foul of her. In religion Scotland's struggles, rebellions and interference in England were imputed to the worst motives. The cries went up of 'cantz Scot', 'hypocritical Scot', 'Presby-tyrants' and the like. In commerce Scotland was interloper, a menace at home and abroad, her swarm of despicable pedlars held more fraudulent than Jews, and both currents of dislike met in the supreme discredit of the Scots, the accusation of selling the king.

But these events and sources were tributary to the main antagonism that came, I think, from the Englishman's acute sense of national caste. In this century England was still stabilising herself economically and politically. That called for a firm belief in national importance, the more so when it was at the mercy of wars and a broken tradition of royal race and government. The 'true-born Englishman' was jealously pedestalled in consequence, and from his eminence—not yet laughed at by Defoe—surveyed these harassing hinterlands of the is land, Scotland and Wales.

So far as Scotland was concerned, he had very strong ground for his contempt of her. He knew of the north as a land that, judged by all the obvious criteria of a nation's progress, was distinctly inferior. It was markedly poorer, its extent was smaller; half of it was unreclaimed highland wilderness. Its agriculture was backward, its crops scanty, its inland trade almost nonexistent. The towns were contemptible in size, the capital, Edinburgh, insanitary and stinking. Industries were few; merchants dealt on a petty scale—and the tramping pedlar was typical. The people, he heard, were uncouth, ignorant of the finer decencies, untrustworthy. The majority were still settled on the land, in 'huts' the English compared to hog- sties. In the Highlands were wild semi-savage tribes, report said, a land of butcheries called feuds, of tyrannous lairds ruling by the gallow and broadsword. The traveller to Scotland ran the risk of every peril, from lawless men, bad roads, wretched inns, to starvation and the itch.

It was impossible to sift truth from libel in all that. The traveller was scarcely to be depended on. Taylor's delighted account of the land appeared in the same year as a scabrous libel on it by another co-journer there. The sight of the Scots 'corner' in London, or the dusty pedlar on English roads, the Highland troops, primitively armed and half-naked that marched into England in 164, the witch-burnings spoken of and later seen by the English troops, the plundering of the
Scots armies in England and their dunning for money—these corroborated in English opinion the worst told of the nation. And that worst believed, condoned ignorance and bred a deeper contempt.

But what of the knowledge that unquestionably did accrue during the century?

Two-thirds of its effect was to reveal the fundamental differences not similarities in national entity and national character. The whole course of the religious warfare showed Scotland and England oriented differently. England was a nation with monarchy, state church and Parliament at its centre, but with monarchy supreme. In Scotland, the kirk ruled opinion, the king but "God's silly vassal". England had a talent for government, for colonisation, was securely established, was well-developed commercially and socially. Scotland was a nation not yet in control of herself, her Highlands and lowlands inimical, her Highlands feudal, her Borders lawless, her Lowlands democratic. England's state-church had the infinite prestige of a fine past, a tradition of great statesmen, of liberal culture, of learning, and the importance of great ownership and wealth. Scotland's kirk sprang from the people, its leaders men of character but rarely of culture, poor and with its prestige self-made. (England's Episcopalian contempt for the kirk and its grip over even the nobles is illuminating.) England was prosperous on the whole, and civilised, her arts, literature and the theatre, architecture, music flourishing. Scotland was poor, the population in excess of the opportunities for the men, and was far behind England in the arts.

More visible to the average Englishman at the time, probably, were the stark differences of national character. The fact that Scotland held and warm correspondence with Holland and France, (although there were the obvious bonds of religion and universities in one case, of ancient federacy and Stuart support in the other) suggests that the Scots national character was more akin to the Dutch, more complementary to the French than either akin or complementary to the English.

The Englishman's idea of the Scot was distorted by ignorance, fear and jealousy. Since the values and motives of the people were dark to the southerner, they were held incalculable. The Scot was consequently 'false', 'treacherous', 'hypocritical'. With the divided pull of kirk and Stuart king—often a contrary pull—Scots loyalty could never be assured, so that he was 'disaffected', and if the church sway of 'seditious'. Further, the influx south and the early favouritism of the king in grants, monopolies, honours, posts spelt him 'sycophanting'. In commerce at home and abroad he was the dreaded interloper, whose worming himself into trade and profit was jealously resented. The Scots pedlar with his undercutting of the English shop-keeper, brought the stigma of a race more rapacious than the Jew and equally ignorant of any moral principle in business. And the Covenanting armies, with their religious leaders protesting in that unpalatable kirk
Jargon the purity of their motives and the certainty of their fight
ness, while its professional soldiers extorted taxes and terrorized,
added another conception of the Scot-a Dugald Dalgetty with the hy-
pocrisy of a sham Ha bakkuk Mucklewrath-a cating mercenary.

Underneath all was the same half-conscious fear that evokes today
the Californian and Australian hate of the immigrant oriental, or
the South African's of the immigrant Indian-the menace of a more
populous people with a meeker and an undermining standard of living
there was not a doubt that the Englishman was socially more develop-
ded, his towns larger and more progressive, his standards higher and
his way of life more varied, richer, and with more comforts. The Scot's
life was essentially narrower, his interests fewer, the towns at their
worst more squalid and the poor at their worst more repulsive becau-
se of their dirt and disease.

The land was cursed, too, by dualities that brought English attack
from now one quarter, now another. The Whig hated the Highland bar-
barian, Popish, disaffected, except for the Clan Campbell and a few
others, a constant menace. The Episcopalian hated the officious aird
and its 'mass-Andrews'. The land was decried because of its squal-
or, indigency of habit, poverty-the coarsest of actualities. It was
equally decried in some quarters because of its claim of marvels,
floating islands and barbacle geese-false as 'Scotch news', a by-
word of falsity.

It is not argued that every Englishman laathed the Scot—(for brief-
ness sake England in the pages that follow has often to stand for
the dominant party in England, or the more vocal section of public
opinion)—nor that, decrying him, he did so on reasoned grounds, just
or unjust. Many of the charges were, from all evidence, perfectly
true. Where the worst injustice was done, the condemnation of Scot-
land's part from the outbreak of the 'Scotch troubles' to the re-
storation, it was Scotland's own moves, made or forced, that laid her
policy open to malicious interpretation.

Scotland suffered, admittedly, from not being able effectively to
clear her reputation, or even to repudiate the charges. A century le
later, the satire of a Wilkes has its counter-attacks. Cleveland in
this age, went Scot-free. Clarendon's venomous misrepresentation of
the nation's role in the Civil War drew no vindication of note. The
charge of selling the King, that did incalculable mischief to the
land's standing, was never soundly controverted till Wellwood's Mem-
orials of 1700, and Holles' 'Memoirs' of 1699-fifty years after the
period.

But Scotland's debit account goes, as one knows, very much further;
her sufferings through the Civil War and Commonwealth subjugation,
the price paid for her religious risings in the reigns of Charles I
and James II, the two Unions felt as fatal disruptions of national life, the policy of relegating Scotland to be "private business" between Scottish Secretary of State and King—all crippled the nation immeasurably at the time. In literature, her vernacular was neglected, English styles and models most often accepted, and English superiority so emphasized that Scots, piqued, were inclined to take refuge either in an offended self-alienation or in wasting energy on sterile abuse. Her rehabilitation, through the work of her scientific scholars, her historians and antiquaries, and the "Golden Age" of Scottish jurisprudence, had to contend with the rooted discredit left by the middle years. The appreciation of what was distinctively racial was damned back by that.

The foregoing, however, has stressed disproportionately the adverse side of the relations between the two countries, largely because the credit side is too obvious to require such stressing. Scotland gained beyond measure by alliance with a country of superior civilisation, greater opportunities, richer life, higher standards. England, apart from her neighbour's aid in civil and religious settlement, had the advantages of tapping a virile and industrious population, and had touch with a nation that healthily challenged her own status and standards. Scotland was an excellent mental stimulus, part "stirabout," part irritant. Culturally the two peoples were absurdly matched—it was bantam-weight to heavy-weight—but in strength of national character, there was equality, and in that equality, constant challenge. Scottish nationalism, like Falstaff's camomile, "the more it is trodden on, the faster it grows," and England was never allowed to forget those 114 kings, (as England never allowed Scotland to forget the forty murdered). The 'true-born Englishman' was made to realise in time that there was a true-born Scot.

This challenge was felt, if it affected literature little. There was no admiration of the wild, the distinctively racial—is that not expecting an 18th and 19th product from the 17th century?—The cultured Englishman still winced at what was so rawly alien, the uncultured decreed. But laggingly, "by creek and inlet making" the consciousness of the north as a land worth exploration, mental if not physical, a land with a contribution to offer of distinctive race, character and culture began to seep into English minds, and to emerge in English literature.
CHAPTER II. The First Impact.

I. England's view of Scotland.
II. The accession. Entente cordiale.
III. The reverse aide.

First Sections in Literature.

IV. The geniuses regard Scotland.
V. Scotland on the Elizabethan stage.
VI. Scotland in drama.
VII. Scotland in verse.
VIII. The first travellers.
IX. The Scot in broadside.
X. Scotland in prose.
XI. English knowledge of Scots literature.
XII. The new era's effect on Scots poetry.
1. Melville's Diary.

2. Boord in Scotland. 1536

3. Brantome's "Dames illustres françaises et étrangères". 1560


5. Holinshed's Chronicles of Eng'd, Scot'd, Ire'd. 1578.
With the accession of James VI to the English throne, came the first real impact between the two countries. A Scottish-bred king and princes came south, court met court, the cultured circles in each nation were brought into touch. In England a national curiosity as to the north stirred and awoke, a curiosity fairly detached as England was as yet aware of no price to pay for this accession. In mutual good-will, though with Scottish regrets, the crowns of Scotland and England were joined.

But undeniably it was a union effected by a sport of heredity, and not by national desires. "Auld enemies" still, each nation retained the inimical Statute-Book decrees and trade laws that kept the other at a distance as foreign. Besides, Scottish memories had not forgotten that, barely a hundred years before, Henry VIII had put all Scotland to the sword; that thirty years before, the English army had "wreaked all the borders vast and east and west and slow"; that sixteen years before, England had executed a Scottish queen. Englishmen, for their part, looked askance at a nation which within the last twenty years had seen the incredible lawlessness of the Athven raid, the wild exploits of the Earl of Bothwell, the slaughter of the Earl of Moray, the Maxwell and Johnson fight, the insurrection of the Highland earls and the mystery of the Gowrie conspiracy.

For mutual knowledge, hitherto, had been largely a matter of "scare-line" news. Prior to the Union, and indeed long subsequent to it, the barriers of separation between the two nations were formidable. Communication of any sort between north and south was difficult, travel itself so. Three roads led from London to Edinburgh, but each had its notorious perils from flood, waste land, outlaws and doubtful inns. Conveyance was of the roughest; stage coaches unknown till Civil War days; horse-back journey normally an infliction of ten days. Pleasure-travelling was consequently at a minimum, and unknown as a fashion. No horse-post ran regularly between London and Edinburgh until the reforms of 1635; till then an inefficient service sufficed. For news, only letters and later corantos were available, the newspaper proper non-existent.

There was naturally no widespread passing to and fro. North to James's Holyrood court went English agents and intelligencers, Jesuit intriguers occasionally soldiers of fortune, but not the average Englishman. For the latter, what inducement to a nation hardly known except from heresy, pedlars' tales, and the reports of itinerant actors or travellers? More information was certain to be gained from Holinshed or Buchanan, and the latter would titillate him with marvels in every county of Scotland, white bulls lion-mined, and fourteen feet long skeletons, floating isles and great lumps of amber. But books were rarely accessible, nor more so travellers' printed accounts. Even if the latter were to hand, Boord's "Trust not the Skott, for they will yowse flattering wordses and all ye fals chode"—it ye of a devellyshe dyspoesicion of a Scottishman not to love nor favour an Englishman—corroborated twenty years later by Bretonne, and again as the 16th century closed by Fynes Moryson, who noted the Englishman "lesse agreeable to the liking of strangers—in France and Scotland for the old hatred of both Nations"—suggested no welcome to the Englishmen in Scotland. The Scottish past was to be read in Holinshed,
1.1599.

2. Constable in Edinburgh 1589 and 1599.

4. Protest of Nov: 1596
5. 1594.


7. Proclamation of 1603

Wilson's History of Gt: Britain.
(as Shakespeare and Milton read it)—where Bellenden, translating Boethius, presented it as medley of heroic fights, poisonings, murders and constant strife. The Scottish present was probably thought little different, to judge from Nash's talk in his "Lenten Stuffe" of "the six hundred Scottish witches executed in Scotland at Barthelmewtide was twelve-month". The same Englishman cheerfully acquiesced in further unenlightenment.

Links of course there were, through trade, but chiefly through the Courts. A scholar like Buchanan had Daniel Rogers and Ascham, Cecil and Randolph as friends; Montgomery and Constable were "companions deir", as were the Master of Gray and Sidney. James had touch with English ambassadors of note, and with poets like Churchyard, Constable and Locke. Elizabethan critics, ignorant of Scottish literature as a whole, rarely omitted mention of Buchanan and James. On the Scottish side a lively interest was taken in the literature of the south, the writers there were known, the cannet form practised, the new anthologies cited, and in one or two cases contemporary work like the "Arcadia" reprinted in Edinburgh. One small proof of the alert scanning of new work were the protests that went south from time to time against anti-Scottish reflections, the depicting of Mary, Queen of Scots in the "Faery Queene" for example, or the remarks on King and nation in Barnaby Riche's "Farewell to the Military Profession", and in one of the plays.

The rapport of a Court however, can only be reckoned minute compared with the large and stable ignorance and incomprehension that separated the two peoples at large. That ignorance and a copious indifference in the south were the dominant features when the century opened and Elizabeth lay dying.

II.

The accession of James meant marked change. An out-and-out Scot, speaking "The full dialect of his country" came to the English throne. "With that wonderful still and calm this wheel is turned round", Bacon wrote. "Things are here in good quiet". And in this surprising peace, and in the face of personal disadvantages of appearance and speech and alien birth James became king.

It was a personal triumph. The "concourse of idle and unnecessary post-ters into Scotland" had to be restrained: the English poets lavished panegyrics—Drayton, Jonson, Churchyard, Gheffte, Dekker, the two Fletchers, Daniel, Harrington etcetera; the ballad-makers offered broadsides: a dour Scot said of London's welcome, "they'll spoil a gude king".

His accession established, relations outwardly stood well. James brought south many of the great Scots nobles, of whom Lennox, Sir Hume, Kinloss, Munbar and Secretary Elphinstone were immediately added to the Privy Council. Scots friends were advanced to positions about his person at Court, as were Scots divines and doctors.

Within a year there was talk of closer union of the two countries, and the spectacle seen of Bacon and "Tom o' the Coogate" (Sir Thomas Hamilton) in collaboration over it. Bacon issued two capable tracts on the matter, the Bishop of Bristol a book, "The Joyful and Blessed Reuniting"; Sir Henry Seville undertook a treatise "at the command of the King", and Jon struck off an early epigram—

Then was there contract better driven by Fate, or celebrated with more truth of state?
1. July. 1608

2 Chamberlain's Letters. - Birch's "Court and Times of James I"

3 Eastward Ho. 1606.

4 Calendar of State Papers Domestic.

5 Chamberlain.
The world the temple was, the priest a king,  
The spoused pair, two realms, the sea the ring.

Parliament repealed the hostile Border laws, and passed the Post-Nati
Act, allowing the Scots the benefit of a wider citizenship. Bacon, ex-
cellent pointer on the track of preferment, jotted in his private note-
book the diplomatic reminder—"To fynd means to wynne a conc: not op'n
but private of being Affect: and ass: to the Sco." (a conceit not open
but private of being affect'd as and as sured to the Scots)
Within five years of the accession, Scots favourites and nobles had
established themselves side by side with English lords, and the en-
nvied rise of Ker, later Earl of Somerset, and of Lord Hay, (Sardenapalus
Hay) and Lord Haddington had begun. In 1607 £44000 went into the pockets
of three favourites, two of them Scots: in 1611 £64,000 to six favour-
ites, four of them Scots. Parliament and Court became familiar with
the grants of monopolies to them, from Hamilton's of white cloth to
Arche Armstrong's (the court fool) of tobacco pipes. In 1610 the Privy
Council was reconstructed on an equal basis of Scottish and English
members.

Important Anglo-Scottish marriages were frequent, as witness those of
the Earls of Angus and Holderness, Lords Hay and Haddington, the Marquis
of Hamilton's sons and others. There was international literary patronage
between Somerset and Donne, Lord Hay and Donne, Eume Stuart and Jonson,
Jonson and Litigow-to name at random—and literary friendships, as those
of Drayton and Drummond, Ayton and Jonson, Hobbes and Ayton, Dekker and
Lodovick Carliell. Typical Londoners like Jonson and Taylor found many
friends when they went north. James's own visit in 1617 introduced
English lords to Scotland, and two years later, "on a promise then given"
Buckingham and Arundel proposed to accompany Lennox and Hamilton north
again.

There seems to have been a flourishing Scottish cult at Court, too, to
judge from Harrington's epigram that begins—
"Don Pedro loves not me: I grow too Scottish."

A cult reflected in the fashionable wearing of "the Scots fall", "the
Scotts Farthingale", "the Scots hose".

In the ecclesiastical world, rapprochement was slighter, very much
slighter. The Hampton Court Conference had certainly brought English
and Scottish clergy together. But there had been unfortunate incidents,
James's remark on Scots Presbytery, Melville's scandalous squib on the
Episcopal Church and his imprisonment for it. Presbyterians on
either side of the border were on terms of good-will, but mutual ig-
norance. To the average Englishman, who was not of that denomination,
the Scots Church and its ministers were a standing jest.

In the city, the northern newcomers established themselves with amazing
rapidity. By 1605 jokes were flying as to their room being preferred
to their company. "I would a thousand of them were there," (in Virginia)
says a bold blade in "Eastward Ho", "or—'we are all one countrymen
now, ye know,' and we should find ten times more comfort of them there
than we do here." Scots doctors were in high repute: merchants found
standing: Scots youngsters came south with presents of "salmon and
sauvage", to be apprenticed: Scots tailors and pedlars multiplied. A
Scots quarter was recognized—"they keep close about Charing Cross"—
1. 1657.


March.

4. August 1607.
6. August 1607.

7. James' Speech to Parliament March 31, 1607

   reservation - no Scotsman to be a bishop or head of college.
   grant of all preferments, not more than one tenth to go to Scots.
   caution - so Scot to be capable of 2 dignities.
and at least two taverns were known as favourite "howffs", "The Brown Bowl" and "The Scotch Arms". Howel in his "Londanopolis" claimed more, that "The Union with Scotland did not a little conduce to make this a union twixt London and Westminster; for the Scots multiplying here mightily, nested themselves about the Court, so that the Strand from and Walls and thatched Houses came to that perfection of Buildings as we now see". Obviously the well-used phrase, "the shoaling of Scots", was precise.

III

Thus far the entente cordiale. But what of Parliament and the reverse side there and elsewhere of these outwardly friendly relations? Admittedly the accession was peaceful. But of the three plots that followed, one at least had some anti-Scot bias, and Fawkes "told some of the Scots that his intent was to have blown them back to Scotland" - "To blow the Scottish beggars back to their native mountains" went another report. In the House of Commons, an anti-Scot party rapidly came into prominence over the topics of Union, the waste of money on Scots favourites and the granting of monopolies "to reward a nobleman for his Scottish accent". The party had strength, for after a three years' tussle over the measure for closer union, and in spite of steady pressure from the King, that measure was defeated.

The very mention of Union made vocal the underlying feelings of both countries. The Scottish State Papers Domestic quote "That Union so gretilie hated by them (the English) and so little affected by us." Sir Thomas Craig wrote frankly on the matter in his Union pamphlet-

"When I was in London as one of the Commissioners at the recent Conference, I had a great deal of conversation with Englishmen on the association or incorporation of the two peoples in one single state. They frequently expressed themselves in a manner depreciatory of Scotland, and were frankly indignant that our countrymen should have equality of honours and employment, their own reputation and resources being so much the greater."

Letters of the Scottish Privy Council show Scottish touchily averse to pressing for Union. "As for our affectionis in this matter of the Union, as we freelie confise we haif no greate nor earnest desire nor thirst of it for our particularis" and there was grumbling over "so easie obliterating of begane wrongis".

In vain James aspired to a kingdom "joyyned in wealth, in religion, in hearts and affections": in vain attacked the English fears "that England will then be overwhelmed by the swarming of the Scots", and of "my profuse liberality to the Scottishmen." "My intention", he said in the Star Chamber, "was always to effect union by uniting Scotland to England, and not England to Scotland." (He was already boasting of ruling Scotland from London. "I write and it is done.")

Equally in vain was Bacon's conscientious and cautious support, and his plea that the Scots were "in their capacities and undertake ndings a people ingenious, in labour industrious, in courage valiant". The Bishop of Bristol's book in favour of union was complained of by the Commons, and the author forced to make submission. All negotiations were stonus to the English ear making legal quibbles, the Church and Universities "a reservation, a grant and a caution" hent the filling of posts. (There was the most jealous apprehension of Scots preferment)
1. Speeches in the House of Commons. Sir F. Osborne's Traditional Memorials on the Reign of King James. 1688

3. Somers Tracts. — by Sir S. D'Ewes?

4. 1611-1612, 1612.

5. Osborne's Traditional Memorials.


7. Letter to Lord Cranbourne. 1608


9. Letter to Duke of Buckingham. 1618
The merchants made frank and open outcry. "Can any think it prudent--to share the fruits of England with the sons of the locusts and the daughters of the horse-leech?" "What have the Scots--but eggs and bar¬
nacles and drugs." "Among our own merchants already no success, no fru¬
ts these three years." A metaphor struck by Fuller in the House,of
lean cattle rushing in to bat ten on fertile pastures was applauded.
Significantly the matter ended with the most scurrilous of anti-Scottish
speeches by Sir Christopher Pigott, "a bitter and scandalous invective
against the nation of the Scots and Scottishmen," said the warrant of
arrest. The Scots were stigmatized as "rebels, beggars, traitors," and
union with them "as reasonable as uniting a prisoner with a judge."
Pigott was punished leniently. There was no doubt as to English sympa-
thies.

At court there was little sign of national identities being merged.
Blaise at the news-letters of Chamberlain the agent. A phrase here,a
chance sentence there reveal the Anglo-Scottish rivalry and embitter-
ment over every vacant post. "Some Scot or other hath begged the rever-
sion of the land." Scots are flung at the favourites--"the strong wind
from the north that blew a bishop into Lambeth" (Dunbar); jibes at some
instance of Scots "causing"; constant awareness of nationality--"a proper
young fellow but a Scot"; glee at some quarrel ending favourably for
the English--"The Scottishmen pluck in their horns and are false to ab-
sent themselves from plays."

"Private quarrels," corroboratesthe author of "The Five Years of King
James" "houldished, especially between Scotch and English." Of these,
seven outstanding affairs were between prominent English and Scots
nobles, the duels of Sackville and Bruce, of Chandos and Hay, of Rutland
and Montgomery for instance. Even more dangerous were those ugly in¬
cidents that roused the whole city, Ramsay's attack on Montgomery at
Croydon Races, (which threatened to be a national disaster as Ramsay
was turned on by the English lords to a man) Lord Sanguhar's hiring of
bravos to kill Turner the fencing-master; the stabbing in Ludgates of
a London sergeant by Murry and two claesmen; Maxwell, the king's usher
attacking Hawley, a lawyer, and defying the Inns of Court. The popular
steg ran--

"They beg our lands, our goods, our lives,
They switch our nobles and lye with their wives.
They pinch our gentry and send for our benchers,
They stab our sergeants and pistoll our fencers."

At Court and in the City there was exasperation at the influx of Scots
"proging for suits." Four successive proclamations failed to restrain
the "swarming." James might declare by open letter--"I was ever rooted in
that firm resolution never to have placed Scotsmen--till first time
had begun to wear away that opinion of different nations." The fact re¬
mained that Scottish favouritism was rampant and was resented.
As for commerce, Scots merchants found themselves free to trade, but ad¬
versely rated as strangers and so "wonderfullie abusit be the scorchour
customers and others thair" that an agent had to be appointed for them
into 1612. They had constantly to cope with English commercial jealousy,
and were suspected of being the cause of the scarcity of gold. Bacon
was one of the few to acquit them of this. "Scotland is not the leech
1 "Tom Tell-Troth". 1622.

2 c 1614.

3 Jonson, Marston, Chapman.

4 1607

5 Masque of the Gipsies Metamorphosed. 1621

6 "Byron"-1608-cf letter of French Ambassador, April 1608

7 1618

8 Donne. Elegy XI 42. 1633

9 English merchants' objections to Union. in T. Keith's Commercial Relations between Scotl'd and Eng'd. 17th Cen'y.
as some discoursers say,—that sucks the realm of treasure." Tom Tell-Troth has no doubt of their guilt, and retails a story of James comfort-
ing impoverished Scots with the remark:—"Content yourselves. I will shortly make England the English as beggarly as you."

broadsheet and tract jibed at Scots mountebanks, pedlars, tailors. A prac-
tised satirist, n. c. in "The Times' Whistle" castigated "Scotus" and his rise
"Scotus, thou hast deceived the world enough
Which takes thee cloth'd in thy embroidered stuffe,
To be some lord at least. Poore silly groome,
Which 'tother day wouldst faine have had the roome
Of some base trencher-scraper, so to put
Scraps twice run over, in thy half-filled starved gut."
The King himself made the natural though dangerous target for much of the anti-Scot sniping.

"—with sumpter-horse that Scot
Hath rid, who at his coming-up had not
A sumpter-dog."

ran one satire, formerly thought Donne's. On the public stage, he was
openly mimicked:—"I ken the men well; he's one of my 250 knights" says
an unnamed "gentleman" in Eastward Ho. The same play has the ironic
praise of the Scots already quoted:—"There are no greater friends to
Englishmen and England when they are out on't, in the world, than they
are," and the speaker fervidly wishes a hundred thousand of them trans-
planted to Virginia. That the authors of that Play were clapped into jail was little deterrent. Jonson, one of the trio, returns to the
same in Volpone, where his ridicule of the quack's Oglio del Scoto was
a hit at either the King's "touching" or at the Scots doctors. And fur-
ther sallies of his in "The Masque of the Gipsies" and of Chapman in
his first version of "Byron" are at the expense of the King's accent,
his new knights, his coal-mine and his "bairns".
A pathetic climax, one half-crazed writer, Thomas Ross, went so far as to
show in "ten abominable articles" the propriety of expelling all Scots
from England, except "the King, his son and one verrie few otheris."

The above may seem a pointless sweeping together of detail, debit and
credit, but only from it can a balance be struck as to the relationship
that was to remain basic for a century yet.

England and Scotland were united, were reconciled. The hostile laws on
the Statute Books were repealed. The Post-Nati Acts naturalized Scots.
There was cooperation and the sharing of office. In a few classes the
terrors of separation were broken down. There was much posting south,
and a "peaceful penetration" by Scots that made the nation's types fam-
iliar.

but on the other hand, the English were jealous and resentful of that
influx. No traveller of note went north until after the King's own visit
that sense of superiority which condoned—which almost dictated—igno-
rance was tenaciously kept. Scotland was the upstart and the intruder:—
"Scotland that knew no state, proud in one day—"
Its people were foreigners still, negligible culturally, beneath contempt
commericially. "Their trade" ran the protest against Union of the English
merchants, "is after a mean'd sort and condition,—as we cannot do be-
cause of the honour of our Country." The taunts of beggarliness and in-
feriority were constantly thrown.
1. James' Farewell Speech in St Giles. April 1603.

2 Letter of Drummond. Dec: 1618
   to Drayton. Dec: 1618
The Scots had to endure these taunts in bitter but resentful silence, for they could not give the lie to them. The only retaliation about poverty was that made by James—"as the one country has wealth and the other has multitude of men, so we may part the gifts." (But "gifts" was hardly the light in which the Londoners saw the inpouring Scots) As to inferiority, no adequate rejoinder could be made there either. The Anglo-Scott at Court and at home acquiesced. As Drummond wrote Drayton Scotland was "barren of excellency in itself;" and the Scottish poets, once settled at the English court, turned literary renegades and created to rid their work of all Scottish flavour. James ceased to write the vernacular. The Earl of Stirling tirelessly revised his "Monarchic Tragedies," weeding out Scotticisms. Yet this repudiation of native art only left the Scottish writers in the second rank of English poets—inferior still.

So the infuriating English attitude continued, firmly bolstered by obvious fact, and the Scottish resentment was as perpetual a complement. In brief, the two countries were nation-conscious, if one may coin the word, touchy, inclined to bristle at contact, and under the surface, strangers.
I. 1618-1619.
2 Drummond's Conversation's.

   Herford and Simpson.

4. 1603.
5. 1604 March

6. thought c.1639-1642

8. "News from the New World".

10. Patrick and John Young
11. "Lenten Stuffe. 1599
In literature, this first impact of the two countries had unique results; one in especial, that the interest of the greatest writers turned momentarily to Scotland. It was not a disinterested attention, one has to admit. The hub of literature was the Court, and there the King and northern courtiers welcomed any courteous reference to their native land.

Shakespeare read its history in Holinshed and created Macbeth. So vivid is its northern "feel" that it has been cited as proof that Shakespeare travelled north as actor. He certainly snap-shot adroitly one of its types in Captain Jamy of "Henry V". Ben Jonson tramped on foot to Edinburgh, enjoying the hospitality of Scots nobles and of at least one poet, Drummond, deliberated various literary projects about the country. "He heth intention to writ a ficher or pastoral play and sett the stage of it in the Lowmund Lake".-"He is to writ his foot Pilgrimage hither and to call it a Discoverie." noted Drummond is his "Conversations". The King "is pleased to hear of the Purpose of my Book" wrote Jonson himself, apropos of a third scheme, a historical or antiquarian book on Scotland, for which Drummond gathered him matter.

Bacon, from his first audience with the King, who "hasteneth to a mixture of both nations" turned to the topic of Scotland. "A Brief Discourse touching the Happy Union of the Kingdoms of England and Scotland." and "Certain Articles and Considerations touching the Union of the Kingdoms of England and Scotland" resulted. Even after the Union negotiations failed, he pondered "furder coloniz: the wild of Scot:" and his private note-books show assiduous study and court of Scottish nobles.

Milton, too, though his work belongs to the next reign, noted down five "Scotch Stories or rather British of the North Parts" as possible themes for his great epic, while his lesser poems show his imagination caught, as in: Dreyton's, by Scotland's far isles.

And this interest, whether it sprang diplomatically or spontaneously, and in the case of Bacon, Jonson and even Shakespeare, the influence of the King is apparent-recall the little grace-notes of compliments slipped into Macbeth—found vent in work of greater variety and greater freshness than the rest of the century was to show. "Macbeth", that high-water mark, Jonson's schemes and Milton's, drama and masque, Taylor's prose-poetic travels, topographical work by Camden, Speed and Stow, popular ballad, skit-in short, "God's plenty". Some of the freshness came from personal contact. Jonson was "worthily entertained, with such respective love" in the north, and so little remissive jokes about the "groaning wives of Edinburgh" and the like crop up in his plays. Taylor the 'Water-Poet's' account of his tour there, if doubtful as literature, is divertingly first-hand. Bacon had his Scottish friends, Milton his, and Nash can rap down a tale on broad Scots, as he had it, from some of the deitest lads of Edenborough town.

Scotland was sufficiently novel, too, and sufficiently distant to be
I. Epitaphium Damonis.
2. Eikonoklastes.
3. Tetrachordon.
treated poetically. Interest sagged at mid-century to a bleak jibing at Scotland as a land of itch and religious fanaticism. But to Shakespeare the land of Macbeth was one of wild atmosphere and the blight of barbaric deed and name, to the youthful Milton one of visionary Hebrides and Orcades. Yet perhaps even as early as their work can be seen that dual conception of Scotland-Scotland the outlandish and barbaric, the land of witchcraft and of savage deed, and that other drab land that spawned the uncouth "corner" of the London streets. Shakespeare drew a Macbeth and a Captain Jemy.

And in Milton's work is seen another duality that religious politics made, when the romantic Scotland of the "Scotch Stories" and the visionary of "the stormy Hebrides" and of "et extremis me discant Orcades undis" is dropped in disillusionment, and only the contemptuous "this hireling army" the ludicrous "Colkitto or Macdonnel or Galasp" and their "Scotch or bad English" are mentioned.

But that is only another side of the variety of that early literature, that introduced to English notice, Scots of the past and the present, kings and heroes and witches, shepherds and projectors and adventurers and beggars-all in rough, vigorous profusion.
1. 1567. Lansdowns MS.
2. Greene c1590-91
3. Henslowe—"the Scottes Tragedie"
4. Henslowe's Diary. April 1602

5. 1582
6. 1593
7. 1592
8. 1592

B Edward III
On the Elizabethan stage, Scotland was already a protagonist, though a less familiar one than one might expect. In actual figures, out of the hundred or hundred and fifty chronicle plays enthusiastically created in the surging nationalism that swept England after the Armada, only a traceable seven deal with the northern country. A scanty few have titles of Scottish kings; the early and anonymous "tragedie of the King of Scottes; to ye which belongeth the scenery of Scotland and a gret castle" Greene's "The Scottish History of James IV"—(but not a word of the title true); "Robert II King of Scotts" written by Chettle, Doxter, Jonson and Marston; and "Malcolm, King of Scots," "bought of C. Massey" in 1602, and necessitating outlay "To bye a sort of motley for the Scottchem". A handful of English plays—"Edward III" (acted 1589 or 1590), "George-a-Greene" (c. 1590) "Edward I" (c. 1510) "Edward II" (c. 1582) "Henry I" "Parts 1 and 2" "Edward IV" (c. 1592) and "Henry V" touch Scots' history to.

But Scotland's role in practically all of these was a limited and indistinctive one. She was The Enemy, a tilting-block for English kings, stuff for English conquest. The "treacherous Scots" were defied: there was possibly a skirmish like "the fight of John Balliol" in "Edward I": the Scottish king was brought in defeated to be generously pardoned. That was the standard treatment in "Edward I", "Edward II", most of "Edward III", "Sir Thomas Wyatt", "George-a-Greene" and "James IV". No historical accuracy was aimed at or achieved. "James IV" and "George-a-Greene", indeed, are more balled and romanced. A date 1530 is mentioned for a king who was killed in 1513. A "James" was thought sufficient to determine the king. A single Scottish lord was adequate as entourage. Attempts at making a character "Scottish in nature or talk are meagre, the best being the sketch of David in "Edward III". He pawkily bargains with the Droughs over booty, or sends defiance in Scots terms:—

"And never shall our bonny riders rest,
Nor hang their staves of grayned Scottish ash
Nor—
Dismiss their byting whinyards—"

Sir Bertram and Bohun in "James IV" use Scots words, the latter, a "rid- stell man" talking what was meant to be braid Scots, and fleering at a king "overruled by with parasites, misled by lust—much like our court of Scotland this day". But far more commonly, the Scots characters were entirely undistinguished from the English.

And though while these plays were being written, Scotland was playing cut drama and melodrama of its own in the Ruthven raid, for instance, in the Maxwell-Johnstone fight, the slaughter of the Earl of Murray, Bothwell's attempted abduction of the king, very few realistic or contemporary hints were taken by the dramatists. Border raids and forays were referred to in "Edward III" and "Henry IV", and in "Edward II" graphically described. Otherwise the Scots remained conventionally the treacherous enemy: ("the wily Scot"—"these treacherous Scots"—"the weasel Scot"—"the trecherous northern enemy") the boastful: ("the confident and boystrous boasting Scot"—"the fleering Scot"—"these braving Scots") the cowardly:

"Turning hence—
Upon the bare report and name of Armes—'

and the barbarous: ("rough insulting barbarism")
1 Edward I
2 Henry IV

3 James IV.
4 written c.1563 printed 1591

5 The Tragedy of Gowry. acted 1604
   by Shakespeare's Company. (King's )
   Winwood's Memorials of State. vol: 2

6 by Matthew Gwynne printed 1607
Scope was given, of course, for a necessary defiance like Balliol's "Scotland disdains to carry England's yoke" or Douglas's "There is not such a word Spoke of in Scotland as this term of fear".

But until "Macbeth" no Scottish king or character plays an entirely heroic part or even a main part. David is despicable, James IV lustful and murderous, Balliol a nonentity, and Douglas and Archibald though warmly praised, are rebels and background figures.

Scottish comic characters are scanty: Bohan, more of an "Antick" or bergomase figure, with his rising from a grave and dancing of Scots jigs; Seavon, of Nathaniel Woodes' morality, "The Conflict of Conscience," a curious piece of religious satire, a priest exposing in deplorable brood Scots his own avarice, greed, illiteracy, drunkenness, to the happy approval of Tyranny and Hypocrisy, his friends: and a lighter sketch, Jockey, Jane Shore's faithful servant in "Edward IV," with his weakness for a "siflication" - "Gin ye'll help me till my laund whilk the faise loon, Billy Grime, of Glendale, hauds wrongfully fra me, I se quite your gudeness wi a bonny nag."

Standardized treatment, unheroic parts, little study of Scots humours — to these one last cavil, that all characters are set against a vaguely general "Scotland" or "The Scottish Court" — rarely against anything so localized as "Roxburgh Castle" with its "Barraine, bleake and Fruitlees aire".

III

So Scotland fared in the English chronicle drama. But by the end of the sixteenth century, its popularity was losing hold. When the new century opened, and James came to the throne, a more diplomatic presentation of Scotland was imperative. Consequently new ventures were begun.

On one contemporary Scottish affair, the sensational Cowrie Conspiracy of three years before, a play was built, which drew large audiences for two performances. "But whether the matter or manner be not well handled; or that it be thought unfit that princes should be played on the stage in their lifetime, I hear that some great councillors are much displeased with it, and so 'tis thought it shall be forbidden." wrote Chamberlain to Winwood (16 Dec. 1604). It was. Better fate met the students of St John's College, Oxford, when in the following August they presented before the King a Latin interlude of Muncho, with its more remote history of Sybils and prophecy, "the concept whereof the King did very much applaud".

A unique and culminating venture came Shakespeare's "Macbeth". So uniquely sensitive here is the dramatist's "feeling" or touching of the old Scottish chronicle, that one half expects to trace elsewhere in his plays some especial interest in Scotland. There is no sign of that
He may, as some believe, have had a hand in "The Reign of Edward III", with its effective portrayal of King David and the Countess of Roxburgh, and its flavour of border ballad. His "Henry IV" has its Scottish war theme, praise of Archibald and the Douglases, Hotspur's killing of "some six or seven dozen Scots at a breakfast", and the fine Douglas boast of fear being unknown in his land. His comedies have only the popular fibes of the day."In what part of her body stands Scotland?" asks Antipholus in the "Comedy of Errors"."I found it by the barrenness, hard in the palm of the hand." Mention of the Scottish lord in "The Merchant of Venice" provokes another sally:"He hath a neighbourly charity in him; for he borrowed a box of the ear of the Englishman, and swore he would pay him again when he was able. I think the Frenchman became his surety, and sealed under for another." Into the later copies of "Henry V" was inserted the sketch of Captain Jamy, probably of Shakespeare's penning. The captain is not found in the early 1600 version, and even in the folio he is named once and then margined as "Scott". It is a slight sketch, this "marvellous facile gentleman--of great expedition and knowledge in the ancient wars", though even in its limits of four speeches, crisp. Jamy has the national foibles, a love of dispute, a certain self-complacency about his own knowledge. Pontifically he agrees to hear Fluellen and Macmorris debate, while he will pronounce upon their arguments. "I sail quit you with gud leve as I may pick occasion, that sail I marry." It reads like a little parody of King James's memorable hearing of the St Andrew professors in debate, and his complacent deliverance of "a few observes".

Macbeth is startlingly finer creation. Once and once only Shakespeare handles Scottish chronicle. Holinsheds offered him the savage deeds of Macbeth and Donwald, the witches and their prophecy, the setting of Fores and Dunsinane. But Holinsheds's Castle of Fores might be in Illyria, so general its 'oratorie' and chamberlains and rear cuppers; and his murders, though barbarous, such as all chronicle holds his witches are only "a sort of witches", weird sisters, "or else some nymphs or fairies indulged with knowledge of prophecies"; they meet "in a house in Fores", and later "in the midst of a legend". A lack of race, a conventionality is felt. Only in one remark, a breath of northern air soaks in, when Dunsinane is described as "on a proud height that standing there aloft a man might behold well neere all the countries of Angus, Fife, Stirling and Ernedaile as it were lying underneath him."

Re-examine Shakespeare's fingering of all this. One's first surprise is to find how unquestioningly he has re-incorporated the most of those tasteless non-Scottish details. And he added nothing integral that was distinctively Scottish, not one stroke of close realism. Of course there were the compliments to the King, the prophecies, apparitions and shows of kings, and praise of the royal 'touching'. But no dialect is made use of, no vocabulary, or talk of 'shinyards' or 'bonny riders', no accentuation of realistic local colour. He ignores the description of Dunsinane, and though he gives Macbeth's castle the
1 Winny in Heywood's Witches, printed 1634.
2 "Wisdom of Dr Dodypoll", 1600.
3 Shirley's "Imposture" 1640
4 printed 1641
5 1616
6 "The English Masque"
...chirp of raven, he adds the summer martlet too.) Not even the comic porter has a Scotch jest to crack. The witches have their dark cave instead of the house, but they are not more Scots in their spells or machinations.

Yet Shakespeare's play is undeniably Scottish, and Macbeth's character admired as a study in Celtic temperament. The one and supreme thing he did was to vitalise the whole theme by re-creating it in an imaginative atmosphere, weird and wild and supernal, one that the veriest fool in the pit would feel the "frisson" of, and know it to be that of the far north.

"Lamentings heard i' th' air; strange screams of death,-"

That line of his own was the key in which he pitched the entire play. While the spell of that gripe, one is oblivious of any lack of realism and only conscious that the play is instinct with all the wildness and the stark power of the uncanny, the lawlessness, the grim fortitude and the savage glamour of the north.

"Macbeth" remains the most marvellous response of an English imagination in this age to the "matter" of Scotland.

It is curious that there was no imitation or effect of that other than that Scotland was regarded more firmly as the "land of witches". Heywood jests at "the Scottish wayward sisters", and there is "Welpome, that Scottish witch", and Shirley's witch "in a sieve was bound for Scotland". Jonson's "Sad Shepherd" masque stars Maudlin, the witch of Paplewick, with her son and daughter, and though the setting is Yorkshire, the witch and her family talk a "northern", that is broad Scots: "it duts me"; "tak tent, gang thy gait, limmer lown. My, quh quh suld let me." and the like.

Jonson seems to have delighted in using Scots. (There is a tale that Lucy, the Yorkshire actor, instructed him in it.) He never put Scotland seriously into either play or masque. (Was the idea of the Loch Lomond pastoral ever more than just an impulse to rival the Fletchers' fisher-play of "Sicilides"?) But he revelled in half-impudent allusion about it and the King's broad dialect. His "Eastward Ho!" effort in collaboration with Marston and Chapman has been referred to. But undeterred, his gipsy captain in "The Masque of the Gypsies Metamorphosed", mimics James with his talk of his "bearms", and his book-knowledge, and there is even

"This is no Gowry

Has drawn James hither."

"Volpone", too, has satire of "a Scotch mountebank" trying to sell a pack "Oglio del Scotia"—a shaft aimed at the royal touching—"News from the New World" its jibe at "the greening wives of Edinburgh"; "The Irish Masque", and "Mercury vindicated from the Alchemists", Scottish dancers and dancing.

These last, may be noted in passing, were a familiar part of masque and masquerade—obviously another side of the cult of things Scottish at Court. Carleton described "a play in the queen's presence, with a masquerade of certaine Scotchmen, who came in with a sword dance." At least one Scots courtier, Abercrombie, was famed for his skill, and
1. 1634
2. 1633
3. 1609
4. 1608 Tragedy of Byron
5. 1607
6. 1631
7. 1609
8. 1600
9. 1617
10. 1621
11. 1636
in Auchmootie (Auchtermuchty?) was also mentioned. Masque writers diplomatically included Scottish dances, and the English part of the court probably found them as entertainingly "fantastical" as Shakespeare thought the Scots jig. Ford's "Perkin Warbeck" masque even introduced "four Scotch Antiques, accordingly habited", to dance fittingly (?) with "four wilde Irish in Trousse." To return to Jonson, his half-jocular, half-satiric handling of Scotland was that of the other dramatists of his age. They could all pay a compliment on occasion:—Jonson's reference to Charles's visit to Scotland

"O sister Scotland! what hast thou deserved
Of joyful England, giving us this King!"

Heywood's praise in "Lucrece" of the charms of the Scottishlass:

"And call the valiant Scots out of their kingdom,
To use their greater virtues and their faiths."

But that last play had also ridicule of James and his 'Scotch mine',
that had to be excised, and his "Bussy d'Ambois" and "Caesar" have both jibes:—"brag with the Scot and turn all this to religion", and "some knight of the new edition". Barry in his "Ram Alley" wrote ironically,

"- One thing must rub another,
English love Scots,Welshmen love each other."

and one character, Francis, vows vehemently

"I will rather wed a most perfidious Redshank,
A noted Jew or some mechanick slave."—

Incidentally, the Redshank or Highlander scarcely figures in drama at all yet. Rowley and Middleton introduce a 'Redshank' into their "Fair Quarrel", and Heywood's "Edward IV" with its "Jockey" is reprinted. (Jockey was probably meant as a Lowlander though.) The Highlander was too much of a rara avis in England. The Lowland soldier was sketched in Fletcher's "Thyerry and Theodore" the third soldier has a begging whine, "Thou hast a bonny, bonny countenance and a blith, promising nicle good to a siking Wamb, that has trod a long and a sore ground to meet wi' Friends that will owe much to thy Reverence, when they shall hear of thy Courtesy to their tendering Countrymen."

Occasionally the Scots courtier was glanced at, as, for instance, the Gentleman-Usher in "The King and Queen's Entertainment at Richmond" with his "Gang away and be honged, you Carle!"

All these gallies, however, were flung as an urchin flings stones. This first period sees in the serious drama one excellent play on Scottish chronicle, Macbeth, but in comedy, nothing of value. One attempt at romantic comedy may belong to this time, for it was in 1620 that a translation was published in Germany of an English comedy that dealt with the love of an English King's son, Scrove, for a Scottish princess, Astrea, — "eine, schoene, lustige, Comedia", but
I 1622.
2 Epistle from Mortimer to Isabel
3 Ides.
4 On Poets and Poesy.
5 An Exeoration upon Vulcan
6 1621
In verse, after the accession panegyrics had dropped into the limbo of all state verse, mention of Scotland was rare. Drayton, continuing his "Polyolbion", diplomatically intended "crowning Scotland with no worse flowers than I have done England and Wales", and "if I arrive at the Orkneys--" he wrote, but unluckily he won no farther than Tweed, and his songs there are spent listing the English conquests of Scotland by land and sea. Yet he felt the poetic savour of "The scattered Eubides" and the far north.

"Bruce shall bring on his Redshanks from the seas,
From the isled Orcades and the Eubides."

"Take you wing unto the Orcades,
There let my verse get glory in the north."

Curiously enough he actually planned publication of his verse in Edinburgh, much to the joy of Drummond, his correspondent there; and he was one of the few to acclaim Scott's writers:

"So Scotland sent us hither for our owne
That men whose name I ever would have knowne
To stand by mine, that most ingenious knight,
My Alexander--"

and after praise of the Earl of Stirling's "numbers"--"brave and hie",

"And my dear Drummond, to whom much I owe
For his much love, and proud I was to know
His poesie, for which two worthy men,
I Menstrey still shall love and Hawthornden."

But he never sang the land as a whole.

Similarly Warner, in his post-accession edition of "Albion's England" did little more than work in some Scottish matter like the "Historie of Macbeth", though Jonson irately told Drummond that "Warner since the King's coming to England had marred all his 'Albion's England!"

Jonson himself effected little more. The fire in his library destroyed

"---among
The rest, my Journey into Scotland, sung
With all the Adventures."

This may have been the poem in which, as Drummond tells, "he calleth Edinburgh,

"The Heart of Scotland, Britaines other eye."

His other projects, the pastoral play, the full account of his town, (if this were in addition to the poem) the prose book approved by the King, he still had on the tapis years after his journey, to judge from a scrap of talk in his "News from the New World" -- a printer jeers at his being a costive writer since his return from Edinburgh. "Like enough he has not all in," retaliates the First Herald. "Then he has all in, he will set out, I warrant you." But there is no trace of half-finished work, or even of those "papers of this Country, seenw as they were" that Drummond speaks of.

His tally remained at the few adulatory epigrams to the King, on his accession, on rumour of his death, on treason and plague, on union, the lost poem and the references in his plays. It is a sorry score from a poet who had unusual links with and knowledge of Scotland, the skill to create verse of value, and one especial tide of interest on which to launch it.
1. Author either Sir Anthony Weldon or James Howell.

2. 1617

3. 1623
For it is clear that James's "salmon-like" instinct to return to Scotland gave a renewed fillip to interest in that country. The court's preparations for that "hard journey" in 1617 occupied many months, the journey itself and the after-talk many more. English lords went northwards, saw land and people, read the panegyric welcomes of Scots poets, made mental as well as physical contacts. One courtier secretly penned a malicious "Perfect Description of the People and Country of Scotland". In London Beale the printer issued Fynes Morison's "Itinerary" that included his travel through Scotland nineteen years before.

And whether roused by this interest, or with ideas of gathering copy, or by the King's request "my reports not unacceptable to his Majesty" or at friendship's claim (for five years he had been in Esme Stuart's attendance) or with some thought of his own link by birth, since his grandfather came from Annandale, Jonson defied London's laughter, and went north on foot. He appears to have had the happiest of visits. He could want to drummond his close friendships with Scots nobles in London:- "Sir Robert Aiton loved him dearly". In Edinburgh he was "Amongst Noblemen and Gentlemen that knowe his true worth" wrote Taylor. A first Famous through his folio "Works" printed two years before, he was offered the freedom of the city and was lionized in a civic banquet. He returned to London primed with matter, first-hand and second-hand. And from it all, practically nothing emerged.

It was left for the "stunt-merchant", the journalizing Water-Poet, John Taylor, to produce an entertaining account of a similar journey, for barely a month after Jonson's departure, Taylor announced a "Penniless Pilgrimage" of his own thither, "to make trial of my friends, both in England and Scotland", and "because I would be an eyewitness of divers things which I had heard of that country".

He crossed the borders of "this long look'd for land", with great surprise at not finding a widely different country before him. He was all admiration at Edinburgh's "fairest and goodliest streets that ever mine eyes beheld", its castle, "magnificke for lodging and receite", and his entertainment, "beyond my expectation". Finding "especiall good friends" he travelled through Fife where he exhausted superlatives over the coal-mines, to Stirling and Perth. Then came the unique experience, a journey into the Highlands to share in the autumn Highland hunting. With exemplary pluck he traversed "strange wayes", and "hill-paths fearfull and horrid", a land "which made me doubt that I should never have seen a house again", to join a party of Scots nobles, don like them the Highland garb, take part in and describe with zest the sport of the "longhairs" and "thickhairs". Thence, after a round of visits in Badenoch, Athven, Moray, Elgin, Bog of Geith, he returned for eight days to Edinburgh, "to recover mysefle of falls and bruises" he says ruefully.

Five years later came out his diverting account of it in prose and verse. It proved indefatigably "weel-pleisit" if diplomatically so, since it was dedicated to two Scottish lords. He retails his adventures, gives vehement denial to the usual aspersions on Scotland of no fir-trees, no food. He ends with a great crescendo on the latter point:

"Yet armed with truth, I publish with my pen
That there th' Almighty doth his blessings heape,
In such abundaint food for Beasts and Men,
That I never saw more plenty or more cheape."
He celebrates the Highland hunting in two enthusiastic sonnets. Poor
is these are as verse, and not to be taken as entirely veracious in
their opinions, they can claim to be the first English appreciation
of Highland sport and scenery.

"If Sport like this can on the Mountains be,
Where Phoebeus' flames ben never melt the Snow;
Then let who list delight in Vales below,
Skie-kissing Mountains pleasure are for me."

begins his second sonnet. And after a drop to

-"heather, moss, mongst frogs and bogs and fogs,
Mongst craggy cliffs and thunder-battered hills,"

he ends triumphantly,

"Lowland, your Sports are low as is your Seate,
The Highland Games and Minds are high and great."

No similar appreciation, assumed or not, is met with again, until Rich-
and Franck 'perambulates' forty years later. Probably more to the rel-
ish of the English court was the "Perfect Description of the People
and Country of Scotland", secretly circulated at this time. In this piece
of rancorous abuse, (the first of a succession of similar attacks through-
out the 17th and 18th centuries) the author—whether James Weene or
Hewell or Sir Anthony Weldon— turned a fire of witticisms on the un-
ucky land he had visited in James's retinue. Some of the shot was well-
placed. "The bringing of heralds, they say, was a needless charge, they
will know their pedigrees well enough." "Their Sabbath's exercise is a
preaching in the forenoon, and a persecution in the afternoon." "They
christen without the cross, marry without the ring, receive the sacra-
ment without repentance, and bury without divine service." "The thistle
is not given them of nought, for it is the fairest flower in their garden!
Some are made about the lords temporal being "temporizing gentlemen",
of there being no lack of 'fools' as foul women, etcetera, or of 'deer',
with dear lodging. He sums it up as a land "too good for those that
possess it, and too bad for others to be at the charge to conquer it",
and ends wondering "that so brave a prince as King James should be born
in so stinking a town as Edenburg, in lousy Scotland."

VI.
The better verse satire has already been mentioned, the cutting portray-
al of 'Scots' by A.C., for example. Popular feeling found its easiest vent
in the ballads, however, and these were legion. (Incidentally they were
fairly reliable guides to the eddies of popular likes and dislikes.)
Some celebrated the royal family, as "Ye Kingses Petrygree" and the "Roy-
all Entertainment"; some dealt boldly with the Anglo-Scottish quarrels
at Court, as "The Leaping of the Lords" which held an amazing amount of
plain speaking to King and Scots; Lord Derby twitting the King with
"You leapt a greater leap over Scotland gates,
To wear our English crown."

Other notorious quarrels called forth "A Lamentable Balled of the Com-
bat between Sir James Stewart and Sir George Wharton", and "Of the Lord
Sconiere, called Bloodshed Revengeed".
Ballad after ballad curled like a whip-lash round the upstart begging Scot—

"Our Scottishmen are beggars yet,
Although their beggings are not small."

begins one.
The best-known, "The Bonny Scot", has the refrain

"Bonny Scot, we all witness can,
That England hath made thee a gentleman."

and satirizes verse by verse the metamorphosis of Jockey, "that went but a begging the other day."

"Thy shoes on thy feet when thou cam'st from plough,
Were made of the hide of an old Scots cow,
But now they are turn'd to a rare Spanish leather,
And deckt with roses altogether."

"Poor Sisely and her Twelve Suitors" points the ironic moral that the "poor Scot that can do nought but beg" makes the best parti, since

"Say, sure, I'll have him for all people say,
That men by begging grow rich nowaday.
And that oftentimes is gotten with a word
At great men's hands that never was won by sword.
Then welcome, Scotchman, we will wedded be,
And one day thou shalt beg for me and thee."

The most brazen in its attack was one beginning "Let barefooted beggars still walk in the street": first its verses went the length of

"But now in these days from Scotland we see for one English beggar, of Scottes there come three;
In fayers and markets they scorne to abide,
the courte is their Coverte, to maintaine their pride,
by begging, by begging."

There bonny blewe bonnets are nowe caste away
and beaver and feather for Jockey is gay;
With brave golden hatte-bandes to maintaine their pride,
with guilte sworde and dagger now Jockey must ride a'begging, a'begging.

Too many Scottish beggars in England doe dwell,
by Hobbit and Jokie and Jenny and Nell;
A page at the first, of a page grewe a knight,
A Lord and a vicounte, an Earle, by this light,
by begging, by begging.

You lusty young gallants, looke well to your handes,
lest stabbing or striking you forfeit your landes;
At one place or other their palfreys abide,
your living once forfeite, then Jockey will ride on begging, on begging.

I thinke if the devill of hell could be gotte,
that Jockey would beg him or some other Scotte.
Our noble King James, Lord ever defend,
and all Scottish beggars soone home again send a-galloppe, a-galloppe.
1. Four betters Confuted 1593
2. Have with you to Saffron Walden 1596
3. Jack of Newberie 1596-7
4. Thomas of Reading C1598-1600
5. Nash's Lenten Stufe
6. 1621
7. 1616
When the ballads gave tongue so openly, it is surprising to find the pamphleteers and tale-scribblers refraining from reference to Scotland. Yet they did. Prudence probably bridled the pen of Nash, for instance, who, before the accession had broken jests about "overflowing Barbarism, withdrawn to her Scottish northern channel", and "the ancient custom of Scottish witte, unawares proclaimed open warres a-fresh"; and that of Deloney, who had discarded ballads of Flodden and of "a false Scots knight"

"Scots were never true, nor never will be,
To word nor lady nor faire England."

and a tale of "a notable theefe named Wallis"-(a title actually of Bruce not Wallace)

Of course their matter was of and for Londoners, and Scots were no provocative theme of interest. Only quips in passing touch "the Scottish Jockies or Redshanks", even Burton in his "Anatomy of Melancholy" ringing down a simile of "as the redshanks do on the heather".

VII.

In serious prose literature concerning the north, Bacon's two pamphlets on Union are of major importance. Bacon, least of all writers of the age, reflects biased feeling about Scotland. He assessed it coolly, this "land breeding a soldier of puissance and courage not much different from the English". For politic purposes, and to give him his due, with statesmanlike insight, he advocated union with England, but he studied it dispassionately-"in Nature, in Policy and in History", and insisted that perfect union "must be in the nature of an impossibility". As for present schemes, he wished them "not in the nature of an impossibility". His continued attention to Scotland, even after the collapse of Union negotiations, has been noted, and his exoneration of the land from the blame for the shortage of coin. He was coldly certain of Scotland's subordinate place, yet insisted on strict justice being done it. The Scots will find, he wrote, in his "Advice to Villiers" "that although to our King they were his first-born subjects, yet unto England belongs the birthright; but this should not be any cause to offer any the least injury to them nor to suffer any from them". Bacon's is the first statesmanly interest in the northern kingdom.

By one group of prose writers a more detailed attention had necessarily to be paid to it. The cosmographers had now to extend their scope, and did it fairly creditably. Turn from Harrison's 'Description of Scotland', where three of the fifteen books are primed entirely with freakish marvels, and where a list of Scots writers can dismiss Buchan as "many times maliciously affected. I will forebear to say what I could"

-turn from this to Camden's Britannia, in its 1607-1610 edition, and one reaches a competent credible summary. Camden admits in his preface that he is "but little conversant with the country", but after some tactful harping on "the people themselves
so courteous and well-meaning, and the happiness of these days so rare and admirable," he essays the listing of Scottish counties and towns, mention of antiquities and historical characters, descriptions of government and of noble families. To his credit, too, he offers rational explanation of the marvels like the floating isles and clack geese. Buchanan is quoted and Bishop Leslie, the 'Scoto-Chronicon' and "David Chambres, the Scottishman". John Johnson's epigrams on the towns are inserted. He ends with an apology for his brief treatment, "verily more briefly than the worth of so great a kingdom requireth".

It was creditable work, and of more value than the later rehashing of Scottish chronicle by Speed and Stow. Yet it had one unfortunate sequel, which indicated how quickly offence could be taken by either nation. Camden's unwary assertions about Scotland's most distant past provoked an angry bristling of her scholars. David Hume, Drummond of Hawthordon, Eume of Melgund, Gordon of Straloch sprang to defence, and pamphlets like "A Pair of Spectacles for Mr Camden", "Nuntius Scoto-Britannus", "Cambdenca" rattled south, in the first Anglo-Scottish controversy of the century.

VIII.

That sudden mobilisation in the north, must have opened English eyes to the presence of writers and scholars there.

Hitherto, what report could the educated Englishman have given of Scots literature?

Harrison had made a roll-call of names in his "Description of Scotland", but only Buchanan and James VI were generally known. The former's reputation as a Latin scholar was high and impregnable, two centuries of scholars, Milton, Cowley, Dryden, Temple, Warton, Dr Johnson were to praise him. That fame, his work on Scotland, the famous eulogy of the Scot in the "Epithalamion":

the bold breast and hardy frame,
That fear nor want nor toil can tame,
Who count all gone, if honour's gone--

(co it has been Englished) make fair the claim that "what Scott did for his country in the 19th century, Buchanan as effectively did in the 17th and 16th centuries". But that was only among scholars. To the average man, he was damned as Buchanan, the King-killer, of "De Jure Regiapid Scotot".

James was, of course, recognised by the Elizabethan critics, and praised by Sidney, Harvey, More, Vaughan, Barnefield. Ten of his poems were inserted in Allott's "England's Parnassus"; he was given pride of place in Bodenham's "Belvedere"; his work was gathered and handsomely printed.

But the fine Scots poetry of Montgomerie and Alexander Hume, and the work of the writers gathered at James's Holyrood Court, Sir James Cane, Sir Patrick Ramsay, Sir James Melville, Thomas and Robert Hudson, Mr Fowler, Stewart of Balgynos, Sir John Maitland, Sir David Murray—far more the whole entire ignorance and disregard in England. A meagre handful of poems by Fowler, Hudson and Locke are all that enter English anthologies.
What happened to this native school of poetry, now that England and Scotland were linked in new relationship?

For the twenty years before James came south, his court was centre for an intimate little group of poets and writers. Native Doric verse still burgeoned, as witness Montgomerie's "Cherry and the Blue", Sir Patrick Hume's "Promine" and his "Flyting", Alexander Hume's "Of the Day Estival". Italian poets were studied and translated, Fowler working at Setrach, Stewart at Paroletto. Even more eagerly read were the French, (the libraries of the King and Drummond show more French writers than English). The visit of Da Bartas was eagerly welcomed in 1687, and his work was translated by James and by Thomas Hudson. At the same time, the Hudsons and Lockie, all three English, the visits of Churchyard and Constable, the Edinburgh reprint of Sidney, and doubtless the books tucked into the saddle-bags of envoys going north, roused as alert an interest in English verse. The new English sonnet was painstakingly practised, Fowler writing over eighty, Stewart thirty-three, John and Sir David Murray, New Barclay, and the two Hudsons spreading the vogue.

But as the enthusiasm for English verse strengthened, the practice of the Doric waned. The younger poets saw the vernacular as a barrier, blocking their advance to the wider appreciation they desired. Fowler studied the "Gorgeous Gallery of Gallant Inventions", and "The Terence of Dainty Devices". James wrote only in English after the Bassian Doric of 1599. By the time he and his circle are transplanted to London, one can refer no longer to any school of Scots poetry.

Instead there are the "Scoto-Britanes" of the English Court: Sir Robert Layton, Sir William Alexander, the Earl of Ancrum, Sir David Murray, William Fowler and Patrick Hume in prominence. Their bent is typified by Alexander, who publishing his "Dorius" in 1606, announced that "the language of this poem is mixt of the English and Scottish dialects", and begs the English readers to bear with him "if I retain some badge of mine own country", and the Scots "if for the most part I use the English phrase as worthier to be preferred before our own for the elegance and perfection thereof". Yet a year later he begins purging it of Scots words, and still later revisions attempt to make his work entirely English. His fellow-poets do likewise, although not one wins quite clear of Scots idiom and word.

With this process went an equally drastic taboo of Scots topic. The scenery of Scotland, for instance, in the thirty years between Hume's "Day Estival" and Drummond's "Forth Feasting", is barely touched. "The Cheviott hills doe with my state agree", writes James—but they were mere poetic prop used by Fowler and Layton as well. Fowler has two sonnets from Ormond, but no distinctive colour is in them. Stewart's complaint of the Firth of Forth:

Nor yet the Muses with their Mychtic spreit
Upon this Forth has no deelyt to fleit.

might have been echoed about the land in general by her poets.
1. 1617-21
2. 1604
3. 1618
4. Forth Feasting 1617
With no distinguishing mark, then, in subject, these Scottish poets were assessed with English, and given place chiefly, among the minor poets, of English verse. Court standing, of course, and the patronage they dispensed, gave them importance. Ayton, close friend of Jonson and, Hobbes, and the Earl of Ancrum, "the Muse's Sanctuary," were on intimate terms with the wits of their day. Others, like Sir David Murray, Alexander Craig, and Sir William Mure of Rowallan contentedly issued their verse prefaced by effusions from brother-Scots only.

But literary renegades and minor versifiers is no fair summary of Scotland's poets.

Sir William Alexander rose to high contemporary fame through his "Monarchic Tragedies"—(Drummond brackets him casually with Shakespeare). John Barclay wrote Latin verses of distinction, carrying on the fine Scottish record of excellent Latin verse, a tradition crowned by the "Delitiae Musae Roticarum" anthology of 1627. With his Latin romance, "Argenis" he was established as one of the most celebrated writers of the day. Simion Graham and William Lithgow, made perfervid patriots by exile, ring down glowing verses on Scotland; Graham's "From Italy to Scotland his Soyle"; Lithgow, "Pilgrim's Farewell to his Native Country of Scotland." The latter sings of Scottish towns and "deere Clyde," and its "Hills and Hills," and of native poets, Alexander, Drummond, Murray, and Ayton:

"And, Scotland, I attest, my Witnesse reignes above, In all my world-wide wondering ways, I kept to those my love. Yea, I will stampe thy Badge, and seal it with my Blood, And if I die in thy Defence, I think mine Ende is good."

Since Lithgow was known to Jonson, and aided by him in his travels, his poetry had some chance of being known in England. But he was a solitary Scot being Scottish, among a group desperately intent on being English.

Lithgow's real place is with those men of letters who remained in Scotland and endured the mental isolation there, with little recognition from the south. Drummond of Hawthornden was chief of these. He wrote in bitter depression: "Do what then can we obscure men attein? What can we perform in this remote part of the earth?" He made unique adjustment of his own, however. He turned from this heretical actuality, and in a charming, delicately-tinted English, pictured Scotland that was decorative and romantic:

--heere Hillles aspire
To crowne their Heads with the aetheriall fire;
Hillls, Bullwalks of our Freedom, giant Wallls,
Which never Fremdles-Bright nor Sword made Thralls,
Bulls haunt our Shades, like Leas's Lover white--
High-palmed Herts amidst our Forrests rumble
And long-winged Wulks doe pearch amidst our Clouds"--
Pomona's Fruits,
Thy Thistle's Amber, with the Ocean Pearies.
With the same tapestry-richness he pictured its rivers:—
What'er beneath Albion's Hills doth runne,
Which see the rising and the setting Sunne
Which drinke storne Grampius Mists or Ochells Snows:
Stone-rowling Taye, Tine Tortoise-like that flows.
The peelelie Don, the Dees, the fertile Spay,
Wild Reverne, which doth see our longest Day,
Messe sneaking—Sulphure, Leave with Mountains crown'd,
Strange Roundond for his flioting Isles renowned.—

There were the Lowland rivers too:—
Forth, thy Nurse, meandering with her streams,
Clyd downe her steepie Jockes,
And Tweed through her greene Mountaines cled with Flockes.

Dearthest of all were the rivers and hills he know, the Ochils, "the nur
muring Hake", and the Ora, and he seems to take a delight in naming th
these intimately, his own Ora in especial—that 'crouse' delight that
continues in Lauder and Lithgow, in Ross and Burns, and that one comes
to feel a typically Scottish thing.

But typically Scottish in any way, Drummond was not, and even his pra
ise of his native land has always something artificial in it, not
insincere, but simply not autochthonous.

How far his work was acclaimed in England, outside that circle of
friends such as Drayton and Jonson—(who wished to please the King
that piece of 'Forth Feasting' had been his own)—is a moot point.

Were his verses among the "many Scottish poems" of the Royal visit
named by Sir Dudley Carleton as "but ordinary stuff"? Or does the
edition of his works in 1655 prove some previous English admiration?
He deserved appreciation, for no Scots poet showed more clearly by
his practice that the future lay now with English.
CHAPTER III: Indifference-Amicability- Antagonism.
   -the vicissitudes of Charles' reign.

I. England and Scotland—comparative amity.
II. The Bishops' Wars. England's attitude.
III. Civil War. Veering relations—1641-1646.
IV. Satiric flagellation of Scotland.

V. Disruption between the nations.
VII. Further Satire of Scotland—In ballad.
VIII. -- -- o-- in pamphlet.
IX. -- -- -- in drama.
X. Milton on Scotland.
1. "History of the Rebellion".
2. 2nd Feb: 1633. Whitelocke's account, "Memorial 1630.
3 I630.
Ia 1633
Clarendon, recalling the relations between Scotland and England in this period, wrote acridly: "The truth is, there was so little curiosity either in the Court or the country to know anything of Scotland or what was done there, that when the whole nation was solicitous to know what passed weekly in Germany and Poland and all other parts of Europe, no man ever inquired what was doing in Scotland, nor had that kingdom a place or mention in one page of any gazette, so little the world heard or thought of that people."

Clarendon was, of course, the most biased of onlookers. The very literature of the age disproves his sweeping assertion. What is true is that by Charles's reign, Scotland had come to be more or less accepted, and so relegated to indifference. The sharp discrimination between the two peoples was blurring. Charles was more Englishman than Scot, though brought up largely by Scots nobles. Many of the latter, intermarried with English families, had grown, as it were, into the body of English life. Favouritism of the Scot was not nearly so pronounced, Buckingham incurring a far greater odium. London still lured the Scots nobility, as Lithgow bitterly complained in his "Scotland's Welcome", but there were fewer signs of jarring.

Scotland's reputation was still blown upon, however, by two things. Northern projectors and monopolists continued to be offensively in the public eye. Feeling about this menace found vent in an Inns of Court masque presented before Charles in 1633, in which, by the way, the young Clarendon had a hand. Part of it was an antimasque, which was introduced by "Musicians on Horseback, playing upon Bagpipes, Hornpipes and a such kind of Northern Musick, speaking the following Antimasque of Projectors to be of the Scotch and Northern Quarters." There followed a comic procession of projectors carrying absurd examples of the patients. Whitelock recorded that the spectators were mightily pleased, since thereby "an Information was covertly given to the King of the unfitness and ridiculousness of these Projects against the Law". The other discredit of Scotland came from the plots and rumours of plots in 1630, 1631, and 1632, which implicated the Marquis of Hamilton and his retinue and certain Scots in Germany. Hamilton was suspected of ambitions of making himself "head of a party against the King", and even king of Scotland. "Some doubts were, of secret designs among them to set up another King" said Whitelocke in his "Memorials".

These two sources of active ill-feeling apart, Scotland was, in the main disregarded during the first half of Charles's reign. England was disturbed by religious disagreements and foreign difficulties. Events in the unknown north, such as the Highland Rebellion of 1625 and the notorious Burning of Berneaud were transient 'sensations'.

Even the ceremony of a Scottish coronation was allowed year after year to slip unarranged until eight years had gone. Not till 1632 did Court begin to busy itself with a new northern journey. But with that journey a new flame of interest in Scotland leapt up. Significantly, from that year on, plays and ballads touch on things Scottish
I.C. Lowther "Our Journal into Scotland. 1629.

Apropos of this northern tour, it is worth mention that Charles's reign had already seen the enquiring English traveller go north. Fynes Morison in Elizabeth's day, had gone on "occasion of business" and a further "earnest desire to see the King of Scots' Court". Taylor had gone barely as a 'stunt'. But now such a traveller as Lowther went north, as curious and alien Englishman, kept "Our Journall into Scotland", a record of three weeks travel from the Borders to Edinburgh and Perth. It is a revelation of the English viewpoint to see with what alien eyes Lowther and his companions looked around them. He made a long helpful list of Scottish words, much as Baedeker adds a foreign vocabulary to his guide-books. He was surprised at "very safe travelling" beyond Edinburgh, "safer than in England, and much civiller be they, and plainer English, yea, better than in Edinburgh." He noted the estates neglected by absentee nobles at the English court, showed a hint of aesthetic appreciation of Edinburgh Castle "mounted on stately rocks"—but swallowed holus-bolus the marvels of Loch Lomond and Loch Merton, the Dean Stone and the Clinks Geese.

Three years after Lowther's trip, the Court began its preparations for going north. London must have felt amicable for there circulated that rarity, a pro-Scott ballad, "Blew Cap for Me", a delightful thing with real verve, from its opening

"There lives a blithe lass in 'aulkland towne"

and her saucy rejection of all suitors, even an English one.

And still she replied: "Sir,
I pray let me be,
Gif ever I love a man,
Blew-cap for me.

At last came a Scottish man (with a Blew-cap)
and he was the party for whom she had tarried,
To get this blithe bonny Lasse 'twas his gude hap—
they gang'd to the Kirk and were presently marry'd.

I ken not weele whether
it were Lord or Laird,
They caud him some sake
a like name as I heard.
To chuse him from eu
she did gladly agree—
and still she cride "Blew-cap
th'art welcome to mee.

On to the stage, Brome brought with great acclaim a 'northern lass' as heroine.

Sentimental figure enough, his Constance, but a breath of fresher air than the stage had known for some time. Here is the rustic innocence and heart-broken pathos of the girl of all Lowland Scotch song, of "loy, lally, and of 'Ye Banks and Braes". Her artless talk is "so pretty northernly"; she sings snatches of Scots song—"Peace, wayward barn", and "Bonny bonny bird I had".

On a small and artificial scale, she is like some country lass of
1632.

2. "Scotland's Welcome to her "ative Sænne and Sover Lord, Aing Charles" 1633.
Scott's, and it has been said that the 17th century found in her some
foresight anticipation of the charm of the heroines of the Waverley Novels
perhaps it was the freshness of the rustic and northern that at-
tracted, (a century later came the parallel of "The Gentle Shepherd"
and its captivating of English readers) perhaps the novelty of a return
to nature of sorts. At any rate, the sophisticated Londoners were de-
lighted and Brome won a striking success. There was "no never fashion
or for wit or words", wrote Ford. In London streets, the ballad of "The
Lovely Northern Lass" was sold. A cult for the northern-Scottish was
begun.

That success emphasizes one point that no character, no tale, no song
that was purely Scottish stood any chance of winning English favour.
But offer a compromise, a dialect Anglo-Scottish, a type that represented
the Scott as the English conceived him, and then as now London audiences
were delighted. Constance was "northern", and though that was synonymous
or practically so, with Scottish, Brome has a jest in his preface about
his heroine being "no way willing, (like some of further breed) to return
back to her native air", which shows a line drawn. But she is the act-
ual stuff of the "Scotch songs", now coming into favour. Pseudo-Scott-
ish these, and so Constance.

One other novel Scott's touch in drama is noteworthy. In the year of the
Coronation visit, a play "Fatum Troes" was acted at Magdalen College,
Oxford. Into this, (the work probably of Jasper Fisher), come laureate
lords with set choruses that are meant to harmonize in style with the
theme of the play, the Britons' resistance to the Romans. One of these
choruses is in a painstaking dialect, obviously meant to be every "early
Scots".

Gang, ye lads and lasses,
Sa wimble and sa wight,
Few mickle feen betide ye,
If ye ligg in this plight,
Be bonny, buxom, jolly,
Trip haydeues belive:
And gif night-gurs the welkin
Tom piper, do you blive.

Hidder eke and shudder,
With spiced sew yarem'd
So that unmeet thilke borrels
May well ne ye ye ne stand:
As leafe as life do weet it
Then timburbins gin sound,
More harvest gil prak't up in lathe
To bout it low round.

These experiments, coinciding with the years of the visit to Scott-
land it fairly certain that international relations were friendly.
Scotland had welcomed Charles most warmly, her Parliament had voted him
noses, her nobles showed the most generous hospitality, her poets excelled
themselves in verses of welcome. Lithgow triumphantly praised for
his English visitors Scotland the never-conquered:-
I. "The Antipodes". acted 1638 printed 1640
"What shall I speake of Wallace, Bruce and Grahame,
The Douglasses and Stewarts of great fame?
With thousands mo--"

Yet urged on Charles her grievances-enlightening to English minds if the entire poem were read.

In his return to England, ballads of welcome were broadcast. There was talk of Scottish experiences, that provoked Brome to refer sarcastically in "The Antipodes" to

---They sound---

Like the reports of those that beggingly
Have put out, on returnes from Edinburg-

Plays about Scotland were put into print. Ford's "Perkin Warbeck", for instance, came out in 1604. Much of it purported to deal with James IV, court, and introduced that king with his Scots earls, ladies, heralds. Not much of it is Scottish, though there is the masque of Scotch antics, talk of the Scotch jigs and the "heaths in Usquebae and bonnie caberle", and Warbeck's hangers-on jibe at Scotland as "but a cold phlegmatic country, not stirring enough for men of spirit, give me the heart of England for my money". (You can hear the pit applaud.) Scotland is spoken of fairly justly, however, in the main plot, its king showing "more then common breaverie".

Sampson's "Vow-breaker" followed two years later. The siege of Leith, its storming and the pacification is the main theme. Argyle, Trumbell a herald, and a roll of Scots nobles take part, with

"Two thousand hardy Scots
Such as will fight and face the fiery French."

As climax, came the play of "The Valiant Scot", launched by a London publisher in 1637 as by J.W. gent.

This was a fervidly patriotic Scots play, with Sir William Wallace as its hero, his daughter Peggy as heroine, and its matter, Wallace's rising, his defiance of England, his struggle and death. It is a competently written play, with vigorous short scenes, quick action, ringing speeches, and from its 'Scots who hae' fervour it is almost certainly by a Scot.

Peggy and a friar speak a broad Scots of genuine flavour. Wallace speaks it only in disguise. The characters are roughly sketched, but Peggy's frank, undaunted spirit is happily conveyed. Wallace's speeches often hold echoes, but thrusts like

"they all spoke English,
Death best becomes that dialect."

"On my grave, when death hath there down laid me,
Be this my Epitaph, mine own betrays me."
1 1636
2. Lithgow 1632
3. Ramsay 1633.
5. 1637
6. Printed 1639
The last offshoot of this royal visit was the stimulus given to others to travel into Scotland. Sir William Brereton went there two years after the King, and once more glimpses are caught of how Scotland impressed the Englishman. Praise went to Edinburgh's High Street and to the strength of the Castle, and to the healthy air; unusual praise to "the greatest part of the Scots" as being "very honest and zealously religious." I observed few given to drink or swearing; and to high leaders seen, "proper, personable, well-complexioned men—the very gentlemen—"

But he is disgusted at the "sluttishness and nastiness of the people", at the swarms of beggars, "the most miserable creatures in the world", and at customs like the washing of clothes with the feet. All the marvels are credited, and he has the appetite to seek for more. The country is obviously a very strange land to him, its coinage having to be noted down, and examples of its curious speech. Surprisingly, though, he ends his note on the last with the claim: "if all the properties of language were concurrent there, as well as significance in pathetic speeches and innumerable proverbs and bywords, they might compare with any people in the world".

Brereton says nothing of Scottish writers, yet these some of the interest focused on Scotland may have risen from a respect for the Scottish work of these years.

For Drummond, after his Coronation verses, was busy on his "History of the Five Jameses", Lithgow issued his "Rare Adventures and Painful Peregrinations", and Andrew Ramsey his "Poemata Sacra". A fresh translation of Barclay's "Argenis" appeared, and a year later, Johnston's fine anthology of Latin verse by Scots, the "Delitiae Poetarum Scotorum". In London, Cariss was successfully writing plays: "The Servant Favourite" of 1629, being followed by "Arviragus and Philicia", remarked by Charles, Prince Palatine as "hugely liked of every one".

This "blink" of amiability in the relations of the two countries either made or coincided with a mutual literary interest, so much is evident. Within six years, there was more literary promise and venture than in the previous sixteen. Had peace and this friendly mutual exploration but continued, what might not the results in literature have been.
1. Calendar of State Papers Domestic, 1637-8-9
2. Laud's Diary. -ij Aushworth's Collections
3. Dr Balgounqual -Sermon.
All this development was suddenly wrecked by the "Scotch troubles". From the outbreak of these in July, 1637, normal relations between the two countries went awry, religious conflict and then civil war cut out parties in both nations, and flung these into violent partisanship, or violent antagonisms. England came to realize, at first pleasantly, and then unpleasantly that Scotland could not be kept at arm's length, and treated merely as novel or negligible neighbour. Scotland was close kin, with power to interfere seriously in English affairs. For the next twenty years Scotland intervened to extraordinary purpose, but at the cost, so far as literature is concerned, but st of being looked attentively through partisan eyes. And since she was more widely hated than liked, more often in conflict with Royalists and Episcopalians, Independents and northern counties, than backed by Presbyterians and London, the literature about her mostly damned her. Excepting the first years of the Bishops' War and the "Brotherly Assistance", this period was the chief age of virulent anti-Scott satire.

That satire eventually trickled thin, and Scotland won back respect through her scholars. But these years stamped almost into permanence a dislike of the Scot. The conception of Scotland rotten to the core with rebellion, the unforgettable stigma of having 'sold' the King, the conviction of sanctimonious hypocrisy that used religion only as a cloak for subtle designs on England and a whole permanent coinage of anti-Scottish verse and jibe remained.

The long tale of Scotland's religious troubles is so familiar now that it is hard to realize how little it was followed or understood in England, and how distortedly it was interpreted. The barriers between the two peoples—be they ignorance or indifference, sheer distance and difficulties of communication—let through only hearsay and guesswork reports. At first, English opinion was even hazy as to whether these "Scotch broils" were of any importance at all, or whether they were matter for dread, and for rapid state action.

Glancing through the State Papers for these first months, a newsletter reporting "the Puritans expect the Scotch will begin to stir new broils. The Court expects the issue with curiosity, many being of opinion that the Scots will not easily submit" is followed by letters reporting with anxiety inflammatory talk of Scots in London, and again by a note of Sir Nicholas Stoddart uttering speeches "which trench upon his Majesty's government, and vilify the Scotch nation." Arrests of Scots, and stoppage of "the Scottish News" are begun. Evidently, feelings were chaotic, and the Government, flustered at finding itself embroiled, acting in some alarm.

When the news of the signing of the National Covenant came through, comment varied widely. Brad was casual: "tumults hath now brought that kingdom in danger": Dr Birkenshaw noted: "that Levant covenant
1 Calendar of State Papers Domestic. 1639

2 Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wooton" edited L.

3 May's "History of England"

4 Bramston's Autobiography.

5 The Ungirding of the Schottish Armour. Dublin 16
and seditious Band": the King "such disorderly, tumultuous and barbarous insolencies", and (privately) "those impertinent and damnable demands".

Pro-Scottish sympathisers began to group. Some even travelled into Scotland to sign the Covenant. In the north, state prosecution of these was set on foot. "We have too many of that garb here," wrote a Newcastle convict. One was found declaring the Scots "brave boys".

"The King would get nobody to fight them for they were our own nation and our own blood." There must have been pro-Scott canvassing for White-loke: "I wanted not solicitations on behalf of the Covenanters, but I persuaded my friends not--to be any means of encouraging a foreign nation, proud and subtle, against our natural prince." White-loke's attitude was fairly typical of his class, for among the English gentlemen was little pro-Scott sympathy. A look at Sir Henry Cotton's letters, for example, reveals interest: "All men's minds at the present with us seem magnetical, looking towards the north."--the enveloping interest--ignorance.--"In the Scottish affairs, it is one mystery that we know not what to believe"--and sharp condemnation: "Only this we can say, that there is nothing to be praised in it on their part", or later "I am sorry to hear of new oaths in Scotland between the Covenanters, who they say will have none but Jesus Christ to reign over them; a sacred cover of the deepest impiety. Never was there such a stamping and blending of rebellion and religion together."

From this point on, event and current comment have to be marshalled almost year by year to follow exactly the swaying of the relations between Scotland and England.

The outbreak of the 1st Bishop's division was watched fairly coolly in England. Sympathies were naturally put in what proportion one cannot determine. Thomas Bayly would have it that "the people of England in general abhorred the wicked war--and loved the Scots." But when the armies had met at Dunbar, and on mutual capitulation arranged the Treaty of Berwick, White-loke reported that pacification was "not relished by many, who thought that with so fine an army, Charles might have constrained them to reason,"--"trampled them to dirt," Sir John Bramston expresses it. Certainly the first anti-Scott pamphlets began in this year, with Corbet's "Unravelling of the Scottish Armour", that Baillie thought "one of the most venomous and bitter pamphlets against us all", and W.S.'s "Complaint of Time against the Tumultuous and Rebellious Scots". The letter in swatches of prose and dull couplet condemns them as rebels, "who under pretence of Religion would overthrow the Hierarchy of the Church", and after reminding them of the fate of past rebels, ends in a rousing "Up, English, then!"

The appeal was more needed in the following spring, when Charles tried to enlist the English Parliament against the Scots and failed. The members of the dissolving Parliament spoke freely of their disinclination to grant money for a Scottish war, and said that the cause of the Scots was in reality their own, ran a newsletter (May 1640) a rabble
I. Baillie's Letters.

2 1640

3 1640.
formed Laud's house.
"Give Laud to the Scots, and hang up Wren,
The echo answered still! Amen".

A proclamation of war, and of the Scots as rebels went forth, however. Hillie reports: "The prentices or some others of our good friends, in some publickly affixed with the proclamations, declared us honest men"

August the 2nd Bishops' War began. How did English opinion stand? The discourses of the Scottish War were very various", wrote Whitelocke. Those who favoured the Popish and Prelatical ways did sufficiently inveigh against the Covenanters; but generally the rest of the people favoured and approved their proceedings, and there was a strange spirit of division in the Opinions and wishes of most men in these affairs, too my not only favouring but joining with and assisting the proceedings of the Scots Covenanters." Parliament and London were in the majority to Scott, and Whitelocke adds "divers Officers of his Army and even the private Soldiers generally—had no mind to fight against the Scots".

A Scots victory at Newcastle turned London jubilant and alarmed the Whigs. Secretary Windebank thought "the danger is greater than any face the Conquest". He and his like were convinced of "their intention to conquer England. The vulgar look on them as redeemers, and dote on them, especially in London." In the field, young Windebank, his son, expressed his feelings in a letter abusing "the scurvy, filthy, dirty, nasty busy, itchy, scabby—Scotts".

Charles was forced to conclude the Treaty of Ripon, which left the Long Parliament complacently in power. The Scots Commissioners in London received a great ovation. "Caressed by both Houses, with all possible expressions of kindness at least, if not of submission, and an order was carefully entered that upon all occasions, the appellation should be used of our Brethren of Scotland, and upon that, wonderful kind compliments assed of a sincere resolution of amity and unity between the two king ones." So wrote Clarendon.

No interesting comments appear in literature, the lesser in one of Scotland's earliest roles in the English novel, to wit in James Howell's political allegory, "Dobona's Grove or the Vocall Forest", where Scotland figures as Cardenia. Here each European country is forest, and Cardenia is "a forest well-set with stout and tough trees, though grovne somewhat knobby and in ancient Forrest this." Howell traces the land's past, her ancient kings, her "many venturous and martiall spirits", the Union an enacting "to receive mutuell benefit from each other, the one sappe, the other strength." Then comes the present rebellion. "Behold an unhandsome plot did rise in the North, in Cardenia, cau'd engendered of the exclamation of divers discontented spirits, specially some of the great ones, who is suscitat the inferior sort of Flaminis. These obstreperous Beneziois make such impressions upon the minds of the vulgar—so that the noble Forrest was in a fearfull combustion".
Swell's account of the first English deliberations is eye-opening, if true; "The sages of Druina (England) consult how to quench these flames.—Some thought Druina should look on a while, yet pinch them in commerce every way, and to be sure to keep them at the staves' end! It is a pity he should have taken refuge in allegory. He had been in Edinburgh on the outbreak of the trouble; it was a he who wrote tersely in the "Epistolae Hoenlinia" "the bishops are all gone to wrack". Here he has to hedge and to end cautiously but lamely, "I trust Cardenia will not be so ingrateful to Druina as to receive Plumes from her so many years and now to throw stones at her. The single Lion will be better advised than set herself against three, considering how often he hath felt their paws."

(Unimpressive as this presentation of Scotland is, it must have been fairly well-known, for when Sydserff, twenty years later, had his Mercurius Caledonius suppressed, he vented various pamphlets of "bourgeois news" of Cardenia, and "the Phanatick Infirmities of the Cardenich Anatticks".)

Sir John Suckling as curious an essay at putting the situation into drama. His play, "The Discontented Colonel", later titled "Brennoralt", presents the Scots as Lithuanians in rebellion against Sigismund, King of Poland. Brennoralt, though scorned by the King, rejects the rebels' invitation to join them, and fights them with incredible valour, finally taking the virgin-tower of a castle. (Edinburgh, the Maiden Castle?) But the special interest lies in the discussion of where loyalty and the right course lie, for Suckling was dealing with his own situation as well as the national one. The rebels and their chief, Aimerin, are drawn with fair justice. As to rebelling,

A Lord—"You Lithuanians had of all least reason, For would the King be unjust to you, he cannot, Where there's so little to be had."

Aimerin—"Where there is least, there's liberty, my lord."

One scene sketches a "Royalist" council. Brennoralt and other lords are hot for war.

Brennoralt—The Lithuanians, sir,
Are of the wilder sort of creatures, must
Be rid with cavilous and with hard curbs
And since the war can only make them trive,
What can be used but swords?

Maesta—Religion
And Liberty, most specious names they urge—

Melidor—Religion now is a young mistress there,
For which each man will fight and die at least.
The king so far agrees, that he will have perfect peace or nothing—certainly no truce— and war goes on, to end, of course, in the defeat of the rebels.

The play in an interesting sidelight on Royalist opinion and tone, not that the moderation and restraint in it was typical, to judge from
a play written in the year following—"The Distracted State", by John Tatham, into this tragic drama of a Sicilian King, a supplanter, an intriguing court, (with its faint parallel to Charles, his disaffected nobles and republican enemies) into its heroic compositions is dragged a "Scotch Mountebank", hired by Cleander to kill archias. A couple of short scenes sketch him crudely, a coarse-mouthed buffoon, a complacent and callous murderer. Sked to poison the King—"By my sau', I can do that bravely. I learned it free Bough-who-nan, Sir." But a King? Has he no qualms? "Ah King, mon? Deil a me sau', bet I am, me countramen ha penyoned three better kings as this." After the murder, Cleander kills him as ruthlessly as one would a rat, and he dies with an "Aw death, thou limmer loon. Aw, Aw."

Why he ever was brought into the play is a question. He jars with both the tragic atmosphere and heroic setting. Was Tatham's hatred of the Scot so virulent, or popular hatred so avid of this type of coarse farcical stage—Scot? Only one explanation solves the problem, namely that though Tatham declares the play written in 1641, the king-killer part of the "Scotchness" of it was inserted after 1649, when the death of Charles was laid at Scotland's door, and feeling against the Scot was venomous.

As contrast, pick up a popular pamphlet of this year, "Vox Borealis, or the Northern Discoverie."

This is a dialogue between two Scots intelligencers, Jamie and Willie, who make great sport of the prelacy and the Royalist army. Jamie has a tale of the Fortune Playhouse players irritating the bishops by acting the "Valiant Scot", "which they played five days with great applause" They exchange ballads ridiculing Sir John Suckling and his defeat, and talk of base ballads against the Scots, especially by Martin Parker, and "Jigges in a jeering Manner at the Covenanters", one of these beginning—"Put up thy dagger, Jamie". In compensation they poke fun at the cowardice of the English soldiery, and praise themselves. "If they cannot bite of a bannock and bibbe of the Brooke, they are not fit Comerages for me", says Jamie. "For I fare hard, lye hard and fight hard"

These complacent boasts might have been acceptable at the time. But the last months of 1640 saw the Scots reach the climax of their popularity, and they were never again to be so popular. With the new year, irritants appeared. The "Brotherly Assistance" was a fine gesture, but the Scots claim of £40,000 was felt excessive, especially when they began dunning for it. £650 a day was already being levied by the army in the north, and the anger and loud complaint of these counties. In London the Commissioners grew unpopular, by their declaration against Episcopacy in England, a measure felt officious, and by their urging that free trade be established, a policy hated by the City. Their personal attitude must have been trying, if Baillie is any criterion. "There is among this people but little courage, less providence and no discipline at all," could write; or "Had not God sent Mr Henderson, Mr Rutherford and Mr Gillespie among them, I see not that ever they could agree on any settled government."
Then the Royalist press seized on a letter from the Earl of Loudoun to France and raised loud outcry of Scots treachery. In Parliament, anti-Scott opinion became vocal, and Baillie wrote of "suspicions which are rife", of "many enemies in the House", and that "plots of our enemies have been kything" (apparent).

Terms improved once the money claims were settled, and Charles' visit to the Scots was ever. The autumn saw a reconciliation, a day of thanks giving appointed, and a number of pamphlets of the type of "Zion or Heaven regained. Appeased, England and Scotland united."

A year passed. Civil War broke out in England. It was Scotland's turn to be divided in course of action. The pull of religion was all towards supporting the English Parliament, which by November and December was sending entreaties to join them "that we may mutually reap the benefit of that amity and alliance so happily made and strongly confirmed betwixt the two nations". Yet national sentiment for a Stuart king was weighed, and Parliament was alarmed at a "dutiful and affectionate" missive sent the King from the Scottish Privy Council.

A smart rhyme summed up the whole situation in England:

"The Parliament cries Arms! the King says No.
The new Lieutenants cry Come on, let's go.
The Citizens and Roundheads cry So! So!
The People all amazed cry Where's the Foe?
The bugbear Scots behind the door cry Boh!"

The uncertainty as to how the Scots would act was a strain on English tempers, and quarrels occurred in Westminster Hall, where on one occasion words were drawn between Scots and English. But "courted with many kind expressions", the Scots agreed to English requests, the Solemn League and Covenant was signed and in January of '44, a Scots army once more crossed the Border. "All things are expected from God and the Scots", wrote Baillie, with some complacency.

The English Parliament ordered public thanksgiving, and tried ineffectively to get a widespread signing of the Covenant. A committee of two kingdoms was appointed, and military forces joined. Unhappily, the much-acclaimed Scots army proved a disappointment in the field. The joint siege of York that spring left Cromwell dissatisfied to Scotland, and after Marston Moor there was open jibing at the Scots for the inglorious part they had played. The capture of Newcastle only partly retrieved their reputation. Baillie wrote of "their longing expectation that God would raise us from lowness near to contempt, and compense (defect) their groundless insolency".

Still, there was the bond of victory. Charles was forced to negotiate, and together, the English and Scots began work on the Treaty of Uxbridge. But over this, squabbles personal and national broke out, and when in the following February, the negotiations proved a fiasco, both sides were embittered, the Scots particularly so.
ready the break between Scots and Cromwell was open, the former bris-
ing at his ideas of toleration, the latter "speaking contumeliously" return. The year ended with increasing anti-Scot feeling. The English re-
tiring of being "guided by the Holy Ghost sent in a cloak-bag from
Scotland", as the joke ran.

The rising power of Cromwell and the Independents widened the break.

At the beginning of 1645, the "New Modelling" made army and Independents rong, and victories, lade Nasby added to that. Baxter visiting Crom-
well's army after Nasby found them "full of railling and jests against
the Scots of Scots, the Presbyterians or Priest-biters, and the Assembly
Divines or Dryvines." Baillie talks of insolence to endure, of the
Scots being "hated and despised daily". Scottish military reputation
was lower than ever over the failure of the siege of Hereford. Ballads
and pamphlets were frank: "A True and Impartial Account of the plunder,
losses, and sufferings of the City of Hereford by the Scottish army,
for the undeceiving of the people who may fancy to themselves some
impossible advantage by stickling for the Scots", was one pamphlet.

Midsummer, angry messages were passing between English Parliament
and Scots leaders. Carlisle, the former said, was to be given back to Eng-
land; Scottish accounts to be audited: "that the mouths of ill-affected
people might be stopped, who were too apt to cry out that the Scots came
to England not as friends but as Free-booters:" their army in the ne-
1
rth was to besiege Newark and cease to levy taxes, plunder houses and
doe or try Englishmen by martial law. It was more than hinted that if
they were to continue to be as useless, they had better return to Scot-
land. Relations became increasingly frigid.

A feeler from Charles about peace divided Scots and Parliament sharply.
Scots anxious to begin treaty, Parliament refusing. Suspicion of what
the Scots might do over Charles made Parliament irritable. When unguard-
ly the Scots put in print their differences over the proposals for pe-
ice, English resentment broke into fury. The papers were ordered to be
burnt by the hangman. Baillie thought the leaders "inclined to chase
home with the sword".

Month later, came the climax. Charles joined the Scots army. Rupture
was complete.
I. Burney Collection

1. Smectymnuus. 1641
   The Rebel Scot. 1643-44
   The Scots Apostasy. as broadside 1646
Newspapers increased even in number and kind. In these months at the end of '43, when rumours flew whether as to whether or not a Scots army was massing, Scottish news-sheets sprang into being. Their avowed aim was to circulate reliable news about military movements in the north—hence their titles:—"The Scotch Mercury, communicating the Affairs of Scotland and the Northern Parts"; "The Scottish Dove"; "The Scotch Intelligencer, relating the Weekly News from Scotland, the Court and other Places". But in actual practice, half the meagre little pages were busy defending the Scots against the snipings of Mercurius Aculius and his like. The 'Scotch Mercury' and 'Scotch Intelligencer', pseudo-Scottish sheets, (for though sprinkled with tags of shoddy Scots—'tis a lee')—our rude nobility are aw for you, etc: they were obviously English in original made feeble retaliation. The "Scottish Dove", English too, kept to steady praise at first:—"the brave Scots"—"in Edinburgh, glorious preparations and a complete brave army"—"Too much cannot be done for the Scots, men so well-deserving". But in its issues from 1643 to 1646, the changing tone of the English about their Scots allies is very clear. Statements about Scotland become cooler, explanation frequent, then apology. The grievances of the Northern counted find mention, though with a far-be-it-from-me-to-accuse air. By 1646, Scots credit stands low.

And one Royalist poet in these years was reducing it still further, for the times had brought out Cleveland, and the entry of the Scots army into England given him the Scot for slaughter. Already he had been having hits at the people, an ironic "God knows they are poor saints".

Or a flying shot

Like a Scotch mark, where the more modest sense,
Checks the loud phrase, and shrinks to thirteen pence."

But now,

"By Scotch invasion, to be made a prey
To such pigwiggin myrmidons as they."

Pleases him to the notorious "rebel Scot", and the events of two years later to "The Scots Apostasy".

Cleveland is Scotland's first great satirist. For pungency and venom, and sheer breathless out and thrust no other satirist in this century compares. Not that his poems excel in delicacy of cut, or even in fibres. Lines are tersely clapped together, all the old Scots ween, brincles, leeches, gallows, the itch, the land's barrenness, its witches, its penniless lairds.

But with tremendous gusto, the old counts are driven home, every word telling.
How! Providence! and yet a Scottish Crew!   
Then Madame Nature wears black Patches too;   
What! shall our nation be in bondage thus   
Unto a land that truckles under us?—
Yet to express a Scot, to play that prize,
Not all these Minstrels can suffice.
Before a Scot can properly be curst,
I must like Hocus, swallow Daggers first.—

No more let Ireland brag her harmless Nation,
Fosters no venom, since that Scot's plantation.
Nor can our feigned Antiquity obtain;
Since they came in, England hath wolves again.—

Nature herself doth Scotchmen Beatt's confess,
Making their Country such a Wilderness;
A Land that brings in question and suspense
God's Omnipresence, but that Charles came thence.—

A Land, where one may pray, with curst intent,
O may they never suffer Banishment!
Had Cain been Scot, God would have chang'd his Doom,
Not forced him wander, but confin'd him home.
Like Jews they spread, and as Infection fly,
Is 'f the Devil had Ubiquity.
Hence 'tis they live at Rovers, and defie
This or that place, Sage of Geography.
They're Citizens o' th' World, they're all in all,
Scotland's a Nation Epidemical.—

Not Gold, nor Acts of Grace, 'tis Steel must tame,
The stubborn Scot—

They wanted Food and Raiment; so they took
Religion for their Seamstress and their Cook,
Unmask them well, their Honours and Estate,
As well as Conscience, are sophisticated.
Shrive but their Title, and their moneys poise,
A Laird and twenty pence pronounced with noise,
When constru'd but for a plain Yeoman go,
And a good sober twopence, and well so.
Hence then, you proud impostors, get you gone,
You Picts in Gentry and Devotion.
You Scandal to the Stock of Verse, a Race,
Able to bring the Gibbet in disgrace.

When the Scots decease
Hell, like their Nation, feeds on Bernacles.
A Scot when from the Gallows-Tree got loose,
Drops into Styx, and Turns a Soland Goose.
I Lives of the Most Famous English Poets 1687.
2. Character of a Diurnal-Maker.
In "The Scot, Apostasy" there is less laughter and more cursing.

London first is reviled, and then the whole nation:
The infamy this Super-Treason brings,
Blows more than murders of your sixty kings.-
Kings only suffered then; in this doth lie
Th'assassination of Monarchy.

He turns into one continuous curse.

"Heaven's angry Lightning 'bout your ears to flee
Till you were shrivell'd to dust; and your count Land,
Parch'd to a drought, beyond the Lybian Sand."

Your State a Chaos be, where not the Law,
But Power, your lives and liberties may aw.

No Subject mongst you keep a quiet Breast,
But each man strive through Blood to be the best;
By your own Sword our just Revenge be wrought,
To sum up all-let your Religion be
As your Allegiance, mask'd Hypocrisy.

"Your scabby land" - "your traitrous war" - "your rude coast" - all incur abuse.

In foreign nations may your loathed name be
A stigmatizing brand of Infamy,
Till forced by general hate, you cease to roam
the world and for a plague go live at home.

"Such a Satyrical Fury", was Winstanley's pronouncement on Cleveland,
"that the whole nation fares the worse for it."

Even in his prose, he lets no chance pass of hitting at the Scot. The
diurnal-mak'er is no sterling historian, "but after the rate of Blew
Cap's reckoning, a historian Scot"; or "Now a Scotchman's Tongue runs
with Fumans; there is a Cheat in his Idiom, for the sense ebbs from
the bold expression like the Citizen's Gallion which Draper interprets
half a pint."

Cleveland was immensely relished. His poems were printed and reprinted
about twenty times (compare Milton's twice), and in 1647 and 1648 alone
some thirteen times. After the Restoration this wholesale satirical damn-
ing of a nation disappears, but he continued to be reprinted (1677, 1687)
and to be quoted. More when that second great anti-Scot ebullition
occurred in the sixties of the next century, Cleveland was immediately
resuscitated and found as virulent as ever.
apart from Cleveland, the great tide of popular satire against the Scots swept in from 1646 to 1649. Recall first the course of events.

Charles's joining of the Scots army meant a curious bouleversement of relations. In London, the Presbyterians were jubilant and a remonstrance was sent to Parliament declaring confidence in the Scots and petitioning for a "strict union" with them. But the greater part of Parliament, with men like Cromwell, Hazeldine, Vane was anti-Scot.

The Commons voted "that this Kingdom hath no further use of the continuing of the Scottish army within the Kingdom of England," and asked the Lords to do likewise. Whitelocke adds that "a Declaration was also ordered to be drawn of the Misdeemours, Plunderings and Cruelties of the Scottish Army." This gave rein to pamphlets and papers violently abusive of Scotland, of the type of "Truth's Discovery; or a Black Cloud in the North shewing some anti-Parliamentary, inhumane and base proceedings of the Scotch Army against the well-affected in the north of England."

For two months, May and June, the split over Scotland threatened civil war between Presbyterians and Independents. Baswich's "Independence not God's Ordinance" reminded the former that they were once "great lovers of the Scots", though now "none that more malign them, calling them Presby-tyrants."

The struggle ended with the Presbyterians in the ascendant, and that autumn saw Parliament and Scottish Commissioners once more in session together, this time over the disposal of the King and the payment of war expenses. But their debates were acrimonious. The Scots army was a constant thorn in the flesh, the more so since the King was now with it. Invectives against the Scots flew round, some like "The Unhappy June of Scotch and English" detecting "their Scotch Mists and their Pogs", and vociferating: "Be it known unto you, ye men of Scotland, that the freemen of England scorn to be your slaves!" The very right of the Scots to be in England at all, or to be disposing of the King was sharply questioned.

In the teeth of growing English dislike, then, a settlement was come to by December. It was that unlucky joint settlement of both King and war-debts that brought inexcusable discredit on the Scots.

Almost immediately, the worst construction was placed on the Scots surrender of the King to the English Commissioners. Their payment synchronised too suspiciously, and the cry of "selling the King" went up. Parliament voted formal thanks as their army left for home, but anti-Scot satire was virulent, and continued so through the whole of this year, 1647.

For Scots intervention was by no means ended. In April, four of their Commissioners were in London, intriguing with the Presbyterian leaders against the Army. Though they were recalled, intrigue continued, to culminate in the coup d'etat of June when the Army seized the King. This the Scots were furious. Angry remonstrance was sent and disregarded. At the end of August, relations were broken off. With talk that a Scots army was on the march into England, and anti-Scot pamphlets poured from the press.
I. Life and Letters - D Townsend.
That autumn, negotiation with Charles began separately. Parliament and Army presented their 'four Bills'. The Scots protested, but in vain. The protest was decried at once as "It is supposed the Scots are waiting to be bribed"."There is £100,000 prepared to stop the Scots' mouths ". Indignant Porter notes an epigram sent him from London:

The Scots must have two hundred thousand pound
To sell the king and quit our English ground.
And Judas-like, I hope 'twill be their lots
To hang themselves, so farewell, lousy Scots.

A letter of intelligence says contemptuously, "The Scots are of no more account than a last year's Almanack".

Secretly, however, the Scots gave the lie to that by concluding with Charles at Carisbrooke the "Engagement". A month later, the Calendar of State Papers has the significant entry, "Proper war with the Scots".

But for three months that hung fire. Could a new treaty be patched up between Parliament and Scots? Would Scotland support the "Engagement"? One term of it was entire union with England. Lauderdale tried to rouse his countrymen by reporting that "the English people were unable to endure five things—the Covenant, Presbytery, monarchical government and the Scots". Would Royalists join the Scots were they to invade England? That party could scarcely be more distrustful.

But in April a Scots army took the field. Carlisle and Berwick were seized. Next month, the second Civil War began.

This last act in the drama was brief. Cromwell defeated that army at Preston, and by the end of August was marching north to subdue Scotland. In his words, that he came "to free the kingdom from a force which it was under of malignant men who had forced the nation to break their friendship with their brethren of England who had been so faithful to them" were belied in practice, and Scotland knew the force of a victorious army.

So for that matter did England. The Army was supreme, established the more firmly after 'Pride's Purge'. Triumphant step after measure was taken in that resistless course that brought Charles at the opening of 1649 to the scaffold.
I.

2 "Historical Account of His Life and Times."
Charles's death meant a ricochetting of hate on to Scotland. English Royalists, perfervid now in devotion to the King's memory, traced back the course of his tragedy, and found the Scots tumults over the Liturgy at the beginning, and the Scots' selling of the King as the supreme betrayal.

The Eikonbasiliké, that issued almost immediately, confirmed the conviction. It presented the Presbyterian Scots as unscrupulous fanatics: "The Presbyterian Scots are not to be hired at the ordinary rate of auxiliaries; nothing will induce them to engage till they have pawned their souls to them by a Solemn League and Covenant". Their coming into England was a piece of officious and canting despotism: "Other errand I could never understand than that who call them in have pawned their souls to them by a Solemn League and Covenant".

With the most effective guile, too, the favours shown to Scotland are harped on, and Charles' tenderness to it, and in the end his infinite forgiveness of all the Scots have done—this making doubly black the treachery of the selling. "Yet may I justify those Scots", Charles is supposed to write, "to all the world in this, that they have not deceived me, for I never trusted to them further than to men. If I am sold by them I am only sorry they should do it, and that my price should be so much above my Saviour's".

How powerfully this affected Royalist opinion, the later histories and memoirs show. The terrible comparison with Judas and his betrayal for silver crops up perennially, in Cleveland, in Heylyn, in Milton. The charge was most firmly believed. Hobbes in "Behemoth" wrote of it: "What a vile Complexion has this Action which seems to be a compound of feigned Religion and real Covetousness, Cowardice, Perjury and Treachery".

The unpardonableness of it, the conviction that every man of honour must scorn such a sect and race became a tenacious—if unspoken—part of the English Royalist creed. As Calamy, writing of Clarendon's virulent hate of the Scot, said: "He seems to have thought it for his honour to hate them".

By the time fifty years had elapsed, and the "Eikonbasiliké"'s countless editions had ceased to pour out, and vindicators of the Scottish part in the Civil Wars had appeared, the charge sank out of notice. But it left roots of unanalysed hatred for the Scot. Recall how Swift and Dr Johnson, outspoken in their dislike for the Scot, never gave, and probably could not have given, reasoned grounds for their feeling. It was part of their mental "make-up", and common to hundreds of similar class and breeding. A large share of that, one claims, is a legacy of 1646 and 1649.
Cleveland had castigated the coming of the Scots and their surrender of the king. Lesser satirists used him as copybook lines for their imitation. There was Martin Parker, "the Prelat's Poet", whose ballads may have been among those twenty or so that ran during the Bishops War and that the Stationer's Register enters: "Tom's Return from Scotland" "Good News from the North" "The North for my Money" "The Warrs Cruelty" etc.

Of more note were Marchont Nedham and Alexander Brome. The latter's verse was of the crudest, but his "Scots Corrente" was popular enough to find place in all the loyalist collections. The Scots gleefully dream of plundering England.

Come away, come away to the English wars,
A fig for our Hills and Valleys.
Twas we did begin and will lengthen their Jars,
We'll gain by their Loss and their Follies.

and of forcing a "Reformation", ousting the king, becoming masters;
And then when among us the kingdom is shared,
And the people are all made Beggars like we,
A Scot will be as good as an English Beard.

O what a Unity that will be!
As we gain it,
We'll retain it,
By the Sword.

And the English shall say "Bonny Blew Cap for me".

Brome's too was "The Independent's Resolve" and "The Clown's Complaint" on the King being in the Scots camp:-
May now they have a good hon made,
What if the Scots should play the jade
And keep away our King?

At crude, but with more verve were the verses and news-sheet reports of Nedham. He slipped these in the Mercuries of the time, in the Mercurius Pragmaticus of '46 and the Mercurius Politicus of '50 particularly. The prose is mostly abusive, the 1650 articles the most scandalous, and his verse not much more than rhymed news-scrapes. But both have an impudent jauntiness that is attractive.

O goodly Kirk that we have got,
of Loudon's information.
What thanks we owe unto the Scot
For our blest Reformation!

The Crown and Sceptre out of date,
The Mitre low doth lie,
While we are govern'd by a State,
And hug Democracy.

The poem, the epitaph on Hamilton at the end of "Digitus Dei", shows him almost at Cleveland's level of mordancy.

He that three kingdoms made one flame,
Blasted their beauty, burnt the frame,
Himself now here in ashes lies
A part of this great sacrifice; --
he begins, though he descends to the old jibes of
A Scotchman enters Hell at's birth,
And scorps it when he goes to earth,
Assur'd th' no worse a hell can come,
Then that which he enjoy'd at home.--

But while here and there songs or news-sheets can be labelled as by
Brome or Dryden, the greater part of anti-Scot satire was shot out
anonymously. Every important event of the period had its ballads
and popular tracts.
The former were mostly poor stuff, the matter and form copied
and rehashed ad nauseam. There were favourite forms like the Litany, with
its "Libera nos, Domine"
or "From the Turk, the Pope and the Scottish Nation."
or "From a friend as false as a Scot."
or "That Scots and lewd factions may go down the wind,
Te rogamus, audi nos."

"Complaints" were almost as common.
Amusingly, the sharp changes of relations often led to a pro-Scot bal-
led having to be hastily reversed, or such a one was parodied as an
excellent quid pro quo. So "God a Mercy, good Scot" that hailed the
victory of 1640 had later an ironic coda added:--

"The miser shall give all away to the poore,
The City shall cozen the country no more;
Oppression shall downe; then justice shall smile.
French and Popery shall be banishte this isle.
Religion shall flourish without any blotte!
When this comes to pass, God a mercy, good Scot!"

The failure of the Siege of Hereford provoked a long ballad jeering
at Scotland as a nation of pedlars. Its refrain ran:--

Then drinke your drinke and fill your veine,
The Scotch shall ne'er come here again.

Another has the same national jibe:-- Sir John Marlow

Banged the pedlers back and side,
Of Scots he killed many.

But it was the events of '47, the surrender of the King, the payment
of £200,000 to the Scots, the complete rupture in relations, the secret
but suspected bargaining between Charles and the Scots, that provoked
most comment. The paying of money to the Scots was a specially sore
point:--

"Four hundred thousand pounds,
A lusty Bag indeed,
Wasn't ever known so vast a Sum
Ere past the River Tweed!
Great pity it is I swear
Whole carts were thither sent,
Where hardly two in fifty knew,
That forty shillings meant.
The "Cryes of Westminster has even plainer language. £200,000 "

*to pay,

The saints that now King Charles betray."*

"The Committee Man's Complaint--" harps on it too, and on the tax-levying.

"They out of Yorkshire carried more, 
Then would have bought two Scotlands. "

The latter poem is one of the most typical and serves as example of fifty. It has verses like:-

*But they into our country came; 
And will you know the reason? 
Twas for our gude, they come, they say 
And that could be no treason. 
No sooner were they come, but they 
Our gudes begun to plunder, 
And left us nothing but our soyle, 
That they could bear or sunder.*

*They left us sicknesses and sins, 
The darlings of that nation, 
The flux, the nastie pestilence, 
Lust, pride dissimulation. 
Besides they have infected us 
With strange religious treasons, 
And maskt them with a Covenant, 
More to abuse our reasons.*

The same charges of venality and of treachery crop up constantly.

*And well may we sweare, They're but brethern deare 
For th'hove cost us many a thousand.*

*And, as in "Have among you, my Masters", 
--the plot, 
To call the Scot, 
They have undone the nation.*

But most of these ballads are scarce worth quoting. One group circulating at the end of the year (1647) and in the following is slightly better. Nodham has an occasional biting verse, as in his "Short Histor of the English Rebellion"-

*Let me be Turk or anything, 
But a Scotch Calvinist, 
First he damned Bishops, next his King, 
Now he cashiered his Christ.*

The rollicking "Upon the rout of the Scots Army" has an attempt at Scots dialect, and a delighted "gloat" as refrain:-

*Sing heome agen, heome agen, O valent Jocky.*
Jocky's a man held a mickle note,
The breech of the Covenant stuck in his Throte.

The Breech of the Covenant stuck in his Throte.

It begins, and describes jokingly his coming into England.

In every strete they did sa flutter,
He child a durt shaw his Bred and Butter.-- and so oh.

The Scotch War probably came from the same pen, for it satirises plundering Jocky and Jenny.

Only at one point was there a non-plussed silence among the Royalist satirists, namely in 1648 when Scot and Royalist found themselves in uneasy partnership. What was to be said of Jockey then? One ballad is blunt:

What strange chimera's this to see,
Rebellion turned to loyalty.
Wasn't ever in thought of any one
A Scot would fear damnation.
We know by nature clouds at night
Dissolve with Sol's approaching light.
But Scottish mists we only thought
The Stygian exhalation brought.
And for to be too black a dye,
For even Charles to rarefy.

VII.

Side by side with these ballads ran the popular prose pamphlet, appearing like the former in sudden spates. 1647 saw the issue of the bitterest.

The Scots Policy to assassinate our English Monarchy, who hide their worldly encroachments under pretence of Religion, and by introducing their own Government in England would thereby become not only equal to us, but of our Mercenaries become our Lords" is typical. The title gives the gist of it. The "cutter of Scottish Presbytery and the rest of that false and beggarly nation" is derided, and the abuse repeated in doggerel

"Alas, deare Jocky, thou hast slipt thy hold,
And thou must rest content with former gold
Thou hadst for helping us.
The time is changed since Charles by thee was sold."

Similar stuff was "The Scotch Presbyterian Weather-cock perched on our English Steeples". In default of more original satire, Weldon's "Perfect Description" was furbished up with a catch-penny title, and reprinted as "Terrible News from Scotland". And the hack who produced "The Scottish Treachery", one of the poems in "The Gossips' Feast, or Scrawl Tales" went to Weldon for some of his hits:
Your land's a Den, like Diomedes stable,  
Or like Avernus Lake leading to Hell,  
It ruins all approach it, what to sell  
Your King for money; O perfidious Act--etc.

Occasionally a pamphlet, most often Scottish in origin, championed the Scots, just as among the ballads a "Scots Constancy" tried to score off Cleveland's "Scots Apostacy". (But "A Justification of our Brethren of Scotland was an ironic skit, in spite of its title.) The Scots-men's Demonstration, or a Vindication of the Scots " appeared to vindicate the actions of my own nation whom malicious tongues have and do deeply brand with scurrilous and infamous calumnies", a well-written pamphlet far above the preceding in its tone and style. An English ally was Bastwick of "Independence not God's Ordinance" fame.


In "Bella Scot-Anglica" the past Anglo-Scott quarrels and wars are dragged into light to prove that Scotland was "always apt and forward to apprehend any occasion to invade or visit her neighbour England" but that even "at the highest pitch of strength", she was "never a match, no not by many degrees for England." It quotes an Italian who, "Understanding of the late Union between the two Kingdoms said that England had got no catch by the addition of Scotland: she had only got a Wolfe by the ears."

The majority of Pamphlets with 'head-line' titles like "Bloody News from the Scottish Army" turn out to be only rough news-sheets, reporting the march of the 'Jockies': as also do the new 'Scottish' papers that sprang up, "Mercurius Scoticus", for instance, "Imparting the Proceedings of the Northern Armies now advancing against the Independent Party at Westminster". These usually start with a snatch of doggerel, often anti-Scott:

"Hye, hye, dispatch at Calchester,  
And to the North make haste,  
Where the Philistin Scots appear,  
To lay your Israel waste.

The popular English papers, Mercurius Britannicus, Mercurius Halensis, Mercurius Scoticus were of course in full cry against the Scots at this time, and almost every number had its doggerel taunts. So virulent were they that Edinburgh took steps against their circulation there.
Ia 1647
1. Epitaphium Damonis.
2 c 1639-42
VIII.

the channel for satire, the stage was still closed, for the theatres remained shut from 1622-31. But the political tragi-comedies, imposing title for the short coarse dialogue-skits on contemporary events, hit at the Scots. One: The Scottish Politick Freebyter, lain by an English Independent: Or the Independent's Victory over the Presbyterian Party: The Vicissitude of the Scotch Government, their Conniving and Bribery, the Sordidness and Debauchery of Elders in Secret." is an exposure of Directory, a Scotch Presbyter, who persecutes Liturgy and Episcopacy, seduces the Independent's wife, and is finally caught and stabb'd by Anarchy. In Directory and the two elders, Sargus and Lux- tric, who abet him, the Presbyterian Scot is, of course, satirized, and there are shrewd hits, like Directory's amazed "that Madness doth possess him that he'll not buy his peace?" But the whole is a rough cud-dling, with the usual doggerel songs:

Our dearest Brother Jockey now Is his Destruction woeing and a closing Dumb Shew—th' rabbling of the elders by the soldiery, and Anarchy's "And now, Sir, you must go, but not to Scotland, that's but Fugatory, yet where you'll find many Blue Bonnets more, I mean to hell".

IX.

So the years of disrupted relations pass, with at every turn of the national vagaries, pamphlets, tracts, newsletters, ballads; all of them controversial, the best-Cleveland's— with a real satiric thrust; the worst—but the depths are unplumbable. What value they had lay in the sharpening of satire, and the impetus given to the developing craft of journalism. But where were the Caroline writers of note? Sir John Suckling had his one drama—"The Discontented Colonial". From the rest, nothing on Scotland. The Caroline lyric was in the field and silent, or shaping his verse as amatory lyrics or verse de societé. Literature of any greatness was scarce. The times were out of joint. As for the attitude of the men of letters, Milton's can be taken as the illustration of what was happening.

The youthful Milton, student and poet, knew the poetic 'bouquet' of reference to those far idealised isles of the north:—"the forthest Heb-side", "the wave-worn shores of utmost Orcades". His imagination had responded to the possibilities of Scotland's romantic chronicle, for his private note-book has the jottings of five "Scotch Stories"—three slain by Natholocca, Buff and Donald, Kei the Flourman, Ker-beth, "the privily poisoned King of Lucii and was slain by Fencir", and Ker-beth— all tales of Heroic deed or savage heroism. His little correction—"Scotch stories, or rather British of the North art", and an undated entry in his Common-place Book:—"Our league of union with the Scots, a thing most profitable and natural, ever to the Pope ought to be hindered," show him at first entirelyensible
towards the nation. (He had bonds in his Scots tutor and his Scots friend, the two Youngs.) In the same period, the first years of the 'Scotts' and Civil Wars, he was at work on his early pamphlets, and was fervently Presbyterian and naturally pro-Scott. The true son of Church Government by sketches in his "Re-sons of Church Government" is not unlike the Scottish system, for which he shows distinct respect. He was enthusiastic, also, at the prospect of reform in Church and State, and felt Scotland a vital and excellent partner in Anti-England and Scotland, dearest brothers in nature and in Christ" with glowing eloquence he wrote:

"For must the patience and fortitude, the firm obedience of the nobles and people of Scotland, striving against manifold provocations; nor must their sincere and moderate proceedings hitherto be unremembered, be the shameful conviction of all their detractors.

So on both sides in hand, of nations, never to be disputed; be the praise and the heroic song of all prosperity—but to settle the pure worship of God in his Church and justice in the State—Join your invincible might to do worthy and godlike deeds; and then he that seeks to break your union, a cleaving curse be his inheritance to all generations."  
(Reform in England, 1640)

But the religious critics of the '40's brought a disillusionment that turned him against country and people. That first friendly reception gave way to contemptuous gibes about her religious leaders, and him to bitter attack. Even his sonnets show the change. In "Tetralogy" he jeers at the uncouth Scots names:-

Jordon,
Colkitt or Macdonell or Galasp.
Those rugged names to our like mouths grow sleek.—
(Interesting sign that he has been following Montrose's sally into Scotland)

In "On the New Forces of Conscience", he extends the sneer to "Loch Lomond"—and "Scotish that dye call"—these Sir John Stuart of Famous Samuel Rutherford, and probably Baillie, who had been attacking his pamphlets.

The Scots invasion of the 2nd Civil War he characterises as
—-the first North displais

Her brok'n league, to imple their serpents rings,
And his later sonnet on Cromwell praises his Scottish slaughter:-

"Darwin stream with blood of Scots inured,
And Worcester field—

He prose shows the same dislike. In "Eikonoklastes" he writes of the honour of "a hireling army of Scots in England, paid for their service here, but in Scotch coin but in English silver; say, who from the first beginning of their troubles, what with 'brotherly assistance' and with 'monthly pay have defended their own liberty and conscience a charge'. His "Second Defence of the People of England" called Scots "Murcians in the pay of England", and praises Cromwell's despoiling them, the selling of the king's spoils price so much that such the covetousness of Scots was contented with—it is said in India, that honor cast upon them as felicitates, to vindicate but that war... It is probably fortunate that the subject of England did reach contemporary times to give this man in tone.
CHAPTER IV. "The Lash of the Sword"

Commonwealth and Protectorate Times.

I. Cromwell deals with Scotland.
II. Scotland's downfall.
III. Stuart 'revelation' and satire.
IV. English drama. The 'knot of knaves'.
V. Realisation of basic differences in nationality.
VI. The first historical commentators.
VII. Clarendon.
VIII. Scotland's attitude and the reactions in literature.
between the execution of Charles I and the Restoration of Charles II by another period of Sturm und Drang in Anglo-Scottish relations.

It began with a wild confusion of feeling in Scotland over Charles's death, feeling reported even more wildly in England. Whitelocke's letters from thence told him of a Parliament and Kirk at loggerheads: "that they bring all to the stool of repentance that were in the last invasion of England, yet they are now as much as ever enemies to the proceedings of the Parliament and army in England. That they talk big of raising an army in revenge of the King's blood, and all will join unanimously against the sectaries of England and ground themselves upon breach of the Covenant." The news was not entirely garbled. Argyle was proscribing Hamilton and Montrose. Yet resentment at Charles's death was hot. By the time the victorious sectaries in England had established a republic, Scotland was proclaiming a third Stuart king. Once more the two nations were at sharp variance.

But the cleavage was not, and was never again to be sharply national. The white heat of anger and horror at Charles's execution welded together English and Scottish Royalists; and on the other there were nominal bonds still between the Covenanters and the English Presbyterians. Principle at least cut the division crosswise.

Admittedly, of course, these alliances were uneasy and strained. Sir William Bellenden had spoken frankly for the Royalists in Holland, in writing of "such a jealousy of the Scots that no relief can be so unwelcome as their assistance." And the spectacle of the Scottish leaders, even in cautious bargaining with the absent Charles and his nobles, was no pleasant sight for English Presbyterians.

Events and the pressure of national feeling hewed still other divisions. Charles had been proclaimed King only upon condition of accepting the Covenant for all three kingdoms, and at this Charles balked for some time. But the failure of Montrose's last rising in Scotland, an attempt pitched sympathetically by English and Scots Royalists alike, forced him to come to terms with the Kirk. The Treaty of Breda concluded, Charles arrived in Scotland and by June of 1650, a Covenanting Army was preparing to invade England in his cause. Once more the larger part of England anathemised Scotland and made counter-preparation.

Cromwell made his second entry into Scotland, crushed the army at Dunbar, to the sectet rising of Charles's hopes—received Edinburgh's surrender, and set about the subjugation of the Lowlands. A month later, the English were playing their last hand, crowning Charles at Scone, and planning an English rising. Cromwell marched into the Highlands. These too he subdued. Charles meanwhile was making south through England with his recruited Scotch forces. Caught at Worcester, the Scots army tasted defeat once more. Charles fled to France, and while an English army laid waste the Highlands, the English peasantry of Worcestershire were hunting down mercilessly the broken Scots invaders.

As the end of 1651 saw Scotland ignominiously beaten, Highland and Lowland
I Cromwell in Scotland - Scottish Historical Society

2 1659
underjection to English garrisons, and the remnants of her army being ped as slaves to the plantations. Her fate hung doubtful. There talk in Parliament of complete annexation. That gave way, however iser projects in April, 1652, when an Act was passed incorporating land and England, and handsomely allowing Scotland free trade, and full rights of English subjects. When the Little Parliament met the following year, five Scottish members took their places with the English.

terms these, yet bitterly hated in Scotland. In English newsletter, uting the proclamation of them to "a very great concourse of peo-
, said with some bewilderment, "scarcely a man of them show'd any signs rejoicing."

Kirk in especial resented the Union. As Clarendon summarised it fataly: "Scotland, reduc'd and governed by a rod of iron, vanquished subdued by those to whom they had taught the science of rebellion pride and insolence of that nation suppressed and contemned, their red idol, Presbytery, trod under foot, lau'ch'd at--".

proclamation of Cromwell as Lord Protector, made little difference feeling: not yet the increasing of Scotland's representation in Par- ment from five to thirty. (50 out of 400: compare Yorkshire's 22-a sig- jicent grading of Scotland.) By then the Scots chiefs were already gering round Glencarn. It was useless to point out to them, as a let-
"to the Gentlemen of Badenoch" did: "Never any people under the lash the sword more freely entreated and civilly used!" A Royalist force out" in the Highlands by February of '54.

eral Monk dealt with the situation drastically. He first proclaimed Linburgh the Protectorate, and an Act of Grace for the offenders be- e '52. Then, announcing the abolition of the feudal jurisdictions of chiefs, he marched north, wested and routed Middleton and wasted and ried the Highlands. It was done mercilessly, and not till July of the following year was he satisfied that the Highland rebellion was stamped out. Even then, fortresses were erected and garrisoned.

Lowlands were similarly garrisoned, and the Kirk silenced. The Genera mably was forbidden. English justices were given place side by side a 'Scottish, and the laws strictly administered.

measures for policing, the zealous justice dealt out by English judges representation in Parliament were all to England's credit, and in Eng- l were regarded as excellent. "It will make them sensible from what rage they are delivered," said one newsletter, and Dryden's lines Cromwell echo that.

"And th'Insensur'd Scotland to no interest true, Yet bless'd that fate which did hid arms dispose, Her land to civilise and to subdue."

that England was all benevolence. The English Royalists had little Scots too much to join them before Worcester. "It mattered little", as the author of "The Royal Miracle," "whether they became obnoxious the pride of the insulting Scot". The hunting down of the Scots
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refugees has been referred to. In Scotland, the English army hated the Highland campaign and the Highlanders. "These base and beggarly wild beasts", their news correspondents called them, and their land was "these western Highlands where is little notable but what is either notorious and abominable".

A year or two later, abuse as vehement was heard in the English Parliament over the matter of Scots representation. From Scotland's point of view, the return of carefully-prescribed pro-Commonwealth men was a farce, but even that was challenged by English members. "It is not for the honour of the English nation to have foreigners come and have a power over the legislature. They are not provinces at least."

In the session of '59, after a fortnight's hot and angry debating, the question of the actual rights of Scots to sit in Parliament had to be dropped, and their attendance was then allowed "on a question of prudence".

With this evasion, Scotland was dismissed. Her members were not to sit in Westminster Hall till nearly fifty years later.

II.

Scotland, during these years, was a defected country, in spite of the obvious gains of peace and justice, of free trade and an English soldiery pay-roll circulating wealth. (£250,000 yearly, says Burnet) her land was devastated, her great families ruined, her Kirk repressed. More, her morale was broken. No further attempts at throwing off English domination were made. But under this suppression ran a bitter dislike of England. Lilburne remarked on it to Cromwell: "The generality of people here have a deadly antipathy against us".

Securus Politicus has constant reports during '52 and '53 of cases of murder of English soldiers. "Another notorious villain, who thirsted as much after English blood, is taken". "Murthers are very frequent". A typical report is "of the late perfidious dealings of the Highlanders", or "As for the Lowlanders, they are as malignant as ever, and as perfect Scots". One curious entry of Jan.'54 was "At the last going out of the Highland Scots before this, the enclosed was posted upon the market-cross our ancient old enemy, the Kingdom of England. So that you see by this, it is a national quarrell and not for the Stuarts."

Inevitably, of course, there was intermarriage between the English troops and Scots women—it had to be forbidden. And there were public disputations between English and Scottish ministers, joint entertainments at it were. But from all evidence, Lilburne was right in the main. The Kirk kept the fires of dislike leaping. There was a deeply-felt hatred not only of "that greeting devil", Cromwell, the seem to have acted on a friend's interpretation of the Scots—"that coarse and crafty people, whose bate must be freedome and profit", but of England as a whole.

And with less cause, that hatred was cordially reciprocated, to judge from the literature of the time.
For satire of the Scots becomes if anything more virulent in this period. The first is by one R.F. and is headed:—"The Scot Irraigned, and at the bar of Justice, Reason and Religion Convicted, Condemned and Executed for a most horrid and odious Conspiracy and Rebellion against the Absolute Liberty and Birthright of the Church and Free State of England." His shrill abuse of "these juggling Jockeys", "a gang of snaky-headed Fellars", "these unchristian Machiavells", "a malign envious pack of indigent contemptuous wretches", "that wretched criminal the Kingdom of Scotland, a faction situate in the rubbish of Christendom", culminates in "Give me leave to judge you guilty of the highest and most capital treason that may be conceived against the State and Free People of England.—We look upon you as Murderers and Traitors."

The second, "A new and True Declaration of the False Treachery of the Scots against England" traces "the manifold and bloody invasions of the Scots into England", with "the cruelty, falsehood and unjust warres of the Scots against England". It appends "Some Observations upon the Country and People of Scotland, merry, witty, and true", which are boldly plagiarised, with some childish "Flyting" added, on the level of "For the people—most of them are poor, rude, savage, ragged, shagged and shaggy-wealth, wit, honesty or good manners are hard to be found. They are given to flattery and lying, hence their Proverbs—the treacherous Scot, the beggarly Scot, the false Lorne." A third, "The False Brother, or a new Map of Scotland, drawn by an English Pencil", purports to reveal "many secret Designs and Dangerous Schemes and Influences of that Nation on England—with the Juggling of their Commissioners." The author traces Scotland's "ill neighbour-hood or deceitful friendship" from the Union of the Crowns on, though he admits that in the 1639 period "we then thought them all Saints".

"The Scot laid in a stock of credit which hath lasted them ever since". The machinations of the people are listed, even to "we may lay the King's death also very honestly to their on the Scots." The moral is emphatic. "Let us keep our own distance. The disproportion between our Nation and Scotland in enjoyment and privileges is so great that we cannot but lose.—We can get nothing worth our labour and cost in Scotland."

At least one newspaper reviled the race as wholeheartedly. Mercurius Politicus printed week after week during the summer of 1650 the most thrilling tirades. These, believed to be Netham's work, were telling sometimes, occasionally amusing, always full-bodied in their hate. Charles in "Young Terricin", or "the Baby" or "The Thing of Scotland", whose arrival in Scotland with a world of Majesty and Vermin is announced. His stay at "the old King-Kennel, Hallyruachouse" his coronation, "his butt rubbing up an old Kettle or Warming-pan", and his new face of "a serious Covenanter" are jeered at. So also are "his beloved heath, the Adveneks and the Highlanders", the Kirk "the Monster of a Scotch Stomack", the language "canting English, otherwise called Scotch", and the people in general.

Reports from Cromwell's invading army are padded out with jibes, most
of the north, and a different sort of English sheets, a fresh one labelled "Scotch" appeared, leading a masquer as the pseudo-Scottish ones of '45, or the Mercurius Politicus of 1648. This, the "Scotch Occurrences" came out in '54, to record the movements of both armies, and largely to complain of the Highlanders' playing fast and loose with the English for many days. For the first time English people were supplied with ample news mention the north, scurrilous as it often was.

11.

Tire of the Scots was reinforced from another direction. The downfall of the Stuarts released a torrent of libellous "court-histories", "revelations", "memoirs" and the rest, and these, of course, execrated the nation-

ty of the hated family. Anti-Stuart attacks were rushed into print as soon as the legends were established.

Mr. Anthony "Olden's "Court and Character of King James", and "Court and Character of King Charles" were the first and most notorious, though they were not the same violence as anti-Scot abuse as was in the "Perfect De-

cription---"which now crept from an illicit circulation into open print.
Sir Edward Peyton, another renegade from the king's court, produced his "Divine Catastrophe of the Kingly Family of the House of Stewart", a tissue of libels of the Stuart kings, with frequent distribures against the needy Scots who like horse-leeches sucked the exchequer dry; so that honour and offices were set to sale to fill the Scots' purses, and empty the King's treasure. This caused a byword, that the Exchequer reached from London to Edinburgh. This was not sufficient to gorg their insatiable requests, but many monopolies likewise were erected.

But Weldon and Peyton are almost mild in comparison with a third memoirist, Sir Francis Osbourne, whose "Traditional Memoyres on the Reign of King James the First" excoriates the Scots. "The beggerly rabble attending his Majesty, not only at his first coming out of Scotland, but through his whole Reign (like a fluent spring) found still crossing the river of Tweed" was at the root of every evil. "The nation grew feeble and over-opprest with impositions, monopolies, aydes, privy seals—which were spent upon the Scots: by whom nothing was unasked and to whom nothing was denied." "This nation was rooted up by these Caledonian bores" (sic). Even the Catholics merited pity, since they were daily "thrown into a denne of Scotchmen, which the Court did already so naturally resemble". "The wily Scot" drove on Union "with the furiousness of Jezeb"; they hung like horse-leeches on the King in the Star Chamber, "I do not remember to have seen any Scots appear as criminals, many as judges." Osbourne even rakes in all the tags that had run the streets, of the type of

"In Scotland he was borne and bred
And though a begger, must be fed."

Scotland he would place with Spain as "a nation no less distant from the English in nature and affection". Osbourne's prejudice is fully Clarendonian, and in fact brings Clarendon—who in these years was at work on his History—into a more normal perspective. Frank antipathy to the Scot was obviously not a rare thing among cultured men, and was to be found in a Commonwealth supporter as much as in an exiled Royalist.

Sir Thomas Urquhart, printing his "Jewel" in London at this time, ('52) to frontall a Vindication of the Honour of Scotland", says "there being nothing in the mouths almost of all this country more common than the words of 'the perfidious Scot, the treacherous Scot, the false brother, the covetous Scot, and knot of knaves, and other such like insignities fixed upon the whole nation, for the baseness of some'. "Scotland was never loaded with so much disreputation for covetousness and hypocrisy as it is at this present".

Dislike burgeoned, of course, in the ballads and broadsides as well. One of the first to touch on the league between Charles and the Scots was "Old Sayings and Predictions Fulfilled", the woodcut to which was of Charles with his nose held to a grindstone by Jockey. Underneath were some biting lines beginning:

"Turne, Jockey, turne, (for gold will turne thy heart,
And make thee to renounce in Christ thy part."
To ballads were permitted on Dunbar or Worcester — only hymns! — but one poem survived, Hookes' "The Rout of the disloyal Partie of Scots at Dunbar" most of its hits were purloined from Cleveland: — No great matter, let them stay on shore, Drop into Styx, like Soland geese swim o'er —

The doings of the King were stock matter for jest, his defeat and escape inspiring "The Last News from France", and "The Royal Patient Traveller" and others.

But when Scotland was invaded and put to the sword, ballads jubilantly acclaimed that. "Jockie's Lamentation" exposes with gusto the plots of "the bonny, blith and cunning Scot", from the first days of plunder, "A geud faith a gat a god Beaver then!"; when their confessed aim was "silver and meat", Which made us come with aw our broods, Venter our Bloods for aw your goods To pilfer and to cheat.

But now the Covenant's gone to wrack. They say it looks like an old Almanack. For Jockey is grown out of date, And Jenny is thrown out of late——

"A Medley of the Nations" and "A Medley" go to the same tune: —

I am the bonny Scot, Sir, My name is Mickle John. 'Tis I was in the Plot, Sir, When first the Wars began. I left the Court one thousand Six hundred forty one, But since the flight At Worster fight, We are aw undone.

As some relief from these, two ballads reflect that amiable side of the quartering of English troops in the north that Mercurius Politicus had detected over: ("Our English Lads and Scotch Lasses begin to mingle very orderly, so that there is hardly scarce a day but the Bagpipes are heard at a Wedding") "The Constant Lovers in Scotland", and "A Scottish Girl's Complaint for an Englishmen's going away".

But the single broadsheet had now its rival in popularity, the collection like "Wit's Recreations", "Wit and Jollity", "Sportive Wit", "The Amorous Merriment", "Musarum Deliciac", "Wit Restored", and these have little room for Scots mention. Only in "Wit Restored" are there some anti-Scott epistles between Smith and Mennis (Menzies?) the two editors, and a reprint of "The Scots Arrears" and "The Rebel Scot". Interestingly, too, this volume has a couple of genuine Scots ballads, one of them "Johnny Armstrong". A University collection, "Parnassus Biceps" has only incidental quips over the Scots.
1. 1650.
2. 1659.
3. 1653.
4. 1652.
in poetry proper little springs direct from "Scotland, and her only
place is of ignominious dragging at Cromwell's chariot-wheel, as wit¬
ness Milton's sonnet, Dryden's lines and Marvell's "Horatian Ode" lines.
While Darwen streams with blood of Scotts imbru'd,
And Dunbar fiel'd resounds thy praises loud,
And Worster's laurest wreath"—

—Milton.

And Marvell:
The Pict no shelter now shall find,
Within his party-coloured mind,
But from this valour sad,
Shrink underneath the plaid.

Happy if in the tufted brake
The English hunter him mistake.
Not lay his hounds in neere,
The Caledonian deer.

And Waller:
A race unconquer'd, by this Clime made bold,
The Caledonians, armed with want and cold—
Here Foreign Gold no more shall make them come,
Our English Iron holds them fast at home.

IV.
It was the drama that showed a deeper imprint of popular feeling.
The theatres continued shut, but plays appeared in print, as Tatham's,
or in reprint as Brome's, into whose "Court Beggar" topical jokes about
Scotland and her "thrifty Covenanters" were slipped:—
"You shall have all content the country yields, sir."
"What! I shall have oat-bread, ale and Bagpipes, shall I?"

Tatham, sound Scot-hater, has his Scotch Mountebank sketch in "The Dis¬
tracted State" published in 1651, and a year after, "The Scots Figgaries
or a Knot of Knaves" was issued.
Here the major plot, the knavery of four Scots, Jocky and Billy, beggars,
Folly a court-fool, and Scarefool a soldier, is meant as a rough alleg¬
ory of their country's evil ways. Jocky, a successful beggar, meets
Billy, a poor fellow-countryman, and teaches him the whole art of pros¬
pering by begging. Folly turns patron to them and suggests that for
further success they become doctors. Jocky, town doctor, sells his
boluses to Smallfaith, a magistrate and his wife, who at once turn dis¬
loyal and rail against Government, to anything, a parson, who attacks
the Church, and to Soongull, a citizen, who inveighs against the Court.
Folly is equally successful with a "pell of scold" among the rustics.
Scarefool, a tattered and braggart Scots soldier, is mean while
commanding himself to the citizen's wife.
An English soldier, resolution, and a magistrate, decide to lay all four
by the heels. Scarefool, challenged, shows himself coward, and after an
ignominious kicking, is sent to prison. The other three are caught, ar¬
ranged, and Jocky and Billy deported to "some foreign parts".
1. 1660

2 1654 printed
The satire and exposure is uncouth and bludgeonly, meant only for popular taste, and the dialect is atrocious:—"Weel, Scotland, weel, tow gaff at me a mouth, Angland mon find me met", says Jocky, or "I set be me contremon by's scratchin an scrubbin... looks like Scotland itself, bar an naked!"
The characters are cut to the usual Scots pattern, hypocrites, beggars, liars, sedition-mongers. "Ye mon carry sem show o holliness wy ye, an profess aw for thyr goods", instructs Polly. "Isa downright Scot, aw verity an honesty" is Jocky's boast. "I can carry twa feaces under yer hood. I can be a sent an I can be a deal, giff ye ha wark for me, doctor." is Scarefool's.
There are several outbursts against the English belief in the Scotch "doctor". "Who can cure the citizen of his headache, but the Scotch doctors? Who their wives of the toothache but the Scotch doctors? The Scots doctor is all in all. The Kirk will take no physic but of the Scotch doctor; the country will be cheated by none but by the Scotch doctor; the Court and gentry will be beggered, by none but the beggarly Scotch doctor".
Curehold pronounces the final English verdict on the four knaves:
"What do you find them now to be but rascals?
Here mountebanks that have, instead of cure
Bred strange diseases and distempers amongst you.
Jugglers that look'd you in the face and told
You a fine tale to keep your senses busy,
While they did pick your pockets."

and on the people as a whole as
A nation, proud and arrogant as the beggar,
That when h's got a bonnet 'bove the wearing
Will scarce bow to the giver; All the service
They ever did this nation was to help
The people eat their victuals, and share their fortunes."
The play has no dramatic value, but it is amusing topical patter, and being printed while the English forces were still in the Highlands, was probably relished. A critic of some standing, Winstanley, even thought the play "displays them (i.e., the Scots) to the life".

Another farcical portrait of a Scot is drawn in "The Ramp or the "Mirror of the Late Times", a later play of Tatham's. Here Johnston of Warriston is lampooned as Lord Stoneware, a corrupt turncoat and venal time-server.
"To what kind of Government stand you affected?"
"'Ein toot what ye plase, Sir.
He is to be bought. "Scots, we know, generally are greedy of gain, and since we have made him President and sensible of our secrets, 'Tis requisite we do something to stop his mouth". But Stoneware brazenly presents his own "stiffification" for £300. (Half such a sum will buy all Scotland! says an English voice) and an annual pension is given him. "Gum, Sir, ye ha won my Heart", says milord.
As coarse-tongued, has his "blithe tale of a Scottish maiden till ye aw tell laugh" and his lying boasts of his own kin. The end of the play sees him reduced to hawking ballads and Scotch spurs in the London streets.

Another reprint, an anonymous older play, has a Border beggar railing against the Scots, sign that anti-Scot animus was to the popular taste.
If the accession of King James and the arrival in London of Scots courtiers, merchants, adventurers, corners had meant a felt impact between England and Scotland, the events of these twenty years from the signing of the National Covenant to the Restoration made a much more violent and more telling one.

The earlier period had been one of more or less surface contacts. The English were aware of the Scots chiefly in their "swarming" and "showing", in their interloping at Court, in the professions, in the City, cognizant of most of their rough dialect, their lack of polish, and their meaner standard of living. But even from these surface impressions sprang a dislike and contempt that justified the superior nation in making no effort towards more intimate knowledge. To suggest a parallel, it was a case of having a colleague pitchforked into office beside one by questionable influence, a fellow of repellent traits, overconscientious, pushing, a man of no "background", of no personal attraction. His presence had to be accepted, though mercifully one need take no steps towards a better acquaintance. That in rough, excluding for the moment the favourable advances from 1685, had been the first relationship between Englishman and Scot.

But these later years of stress, smashed this surface equipoise. Realities crashed through, as a stone crashes through stagnant scum. In those crazy gyrations of alliance, co-operation, war, incorporation, the countries were forced into knowing each other. And it was a knowledge gained at first hand, through actualities.

Here were Scotland's troops, especially those barbarous creatures her Highlanders, actually in England. "Lord, the nakedest fellows that ever I saw!" a foreign enough spectacle to produce an excited pamphlet, "On His Majesty's Passing through the Scots Armie". And the northern and western counties had ample chance of knowing them, having to endure for months their forced levies and their petty plundering.

Here again were Scottish Commissioners, and the finest of her preachers, residing in London. Even Clarendon remarked sourly on the town's interest: "So great a conflux and resort by the citizens out of humour and faction, by others of all quality out of curiosity, and by some that they might better justify the contempt they had of them".

Through these, and the demands they made, the stands they took, the Scottish Kirk became an actuality. An unpalatable revelation that. The Englishman was not only staggered by the power of the Church over the people—"an ignorant and insolent clergy", wrote Clarendon hotly—but was shocked at its overweening claims in the state, and especially at its attitude to the monarchy. Fundamentally the Englishman did not understand Scottish religion, either in the individual or in the state. That a minister could remind a King that he was only "God's silly vassal" was sheer "sturdiness", brokenness. Our persistence over Covenants, a hatred in blood and bone of episcopacy were as incomprehensible. (The English of course, had never known the long terrors of persecution.)
In the outlines of the Kirk grew starkly clear, there came the further realisation of a Scots nation, different and distinctive.

In English army of occupation—over 15000 in '53—was sent into Scotland, to see it for the first time at first-hand, as they marched through the Lowlands, or lay in quarters at Leith, or miserably patrolled the Highlands. With it went newswriters and publicists. Their surprised comments show new light breaking in. William Clarke's letters to the Speaker of the House of Commons are full of "discoveries". "This is a mountainous and an odde country," he writes from Turbett: "The people very simple and ignorant in the things of God, and some of them live even as brutish as heathens"; or after attending the trial and torture of six alleged witches, "It is probable there will be more of this kind of Amboyna usage, but here is enough for reasonable men to comment upon." (For a striking contract with Scots opinion, mark Baillie's letter to Spence: "There is much witcherie up and down our land; though the English be but too sparing to try it--")

Through just such matters as these witch-burnings came the unanalysed realisation of a different national psychology.

The English too had their witch-trials, but not the torture, burnings, or stranglings at the stake. The brutality in that they felt was close to barbarism.

In the Highlands, again, they saw the gibbets of the "leirds of the munros," as one newsletter spelt it. Here was a land feudal and lawless still.

Even the Lowland civilisation was alien. That bugaboo of Democracy, suspect as Bolshevism to-day—and one of Nedham's bogies:—

A Scot and Jesuit hand in hand,
First taught the world to say,
That subjects ought to have command,
And princes to obey.

Then both agreed to have no king,
The Scotchman he cries further,
'Tis a goodly thing,
States to reform by murder!

This was in clear evidence there, in English eyes. Scotland was equalitarian. That difference too the English felt, and recoiled from.

Facet by facet, an actual Scotland came into English ken in these years. The process disproved once more the old platitude of increased knowledge meaning increased understanding. Scot and Englishman know each other far better, and disliked each other far more.

Surprisingly, it was sheer unlucky circumstance that was to blame the King and the Scots in the field, for instance, and the rancid ill-feeling over money-payments. Had the latter been avoided, the stigma of selling the King would have been avoided, and relations been far better.
Donne was one of the very few who essayed to sketch the Scot in 'character'. In "Paradoxes and Problems", (1652) is a "Character of a Scot at the First Sight", a brief satiric analysis with the stress laid inevitably on the Scot's upstart ways and beggarliness.
Partly, however, it was an inevitable clash, as the positive individuality of the one nation was at last really felt by the other.

And recent history was as ruthless as Alice's Duchess in pointing the moral—that for better or worse, the two countries were inextricably linked. Scotland had proved that in the simplest way by that a large section of England regarded as foreign invasion—deliberate interference. It was no case now of regarding the other race distantly as colleague. The brutal truth was reached, that they were brothers.

The residuum, then, a gain in knowledge, offset by an accrued dislike. The Scots church and the stain of hypocrisy and cant on her; the Scots nation of venality and treachery. Old jibes about Buchanan the King-diller, or the jest of "They care not much for Kings; most of theirs have died by poison or traitorously" were revived with avid acceptance. A better knowledge of motives in Scottish policy would have wiped away part of this discredit. But an unbiased news-service was still to seek. More serious absence was that of any unprejudiced chronicler. Histories, so-called, appeared very slowly, and then were frankly pro-scot, (a meagre class) or anti-Scot—a numerous.

I.

James May, "that 'most servile wit and mercenary pen", according to Mar-ill, had a "Breviary of the History of the Parliament of England" in print by 1650, and since it was practically commissioned by the Common-wealth it was cautiously tactful. Aenyl Rolles' "Memoirs" are pro-against the Scots.

Yet, by virtue of their author's acid hate of the Independents: Bast-wick has something of the same motive.

The "Collections" of Rushworth, and the "Memoires" of Whitelocke prose more dispassionate writing, but they range themselves from the out-side against the Scots. Rushworth's apotostilling of events is on the lines of "The rude Covenanters scatter infamous Libels, justifying their own wicked and rebellious Courses".

Whitelocke is unexpectedly fair as an anti-Scott commentator. He is unique in describing the Scotch troubles without angry abuse, and more unique in prefacing the account with a two-page sketch of the course of Religion in Scotland since the Reformation. Yet even in his "Memoires", and far more in the memoirs and chronicles by others, there is no understanding of why the Covenanters first acted as they did, or how inexplicable the forcing of the liturgy was. "We never question what the Scots were in the wrong, and that early phrase of his, "a foreign nation, proud and subtle" is his instinctive feeling. He writes more, though even if he accentuates the dictatorial ways of the commissioners, or their constant haggling, or mimics Loudoun's br-voient. Until the events of '47 and '48 no ramour or deliberation, distortion of facts appears. But from these years on, party antagonism led him to write abusively. By 1650 he is denning a Kirk whose religio-formality, and whose government is tyranny, a generation of very hy-rates and vipers, whom no oaths or covenants can bind, no courteous
I before 1682
2 1691.
This later Whetelocke has his literary peers in dislike. There is Sir John Bremston, the famous lawyer and Clarendon’s friend, in whose "autobiography" Scottish motives are always of the worst. "The Scots rebelled, being hired thereto by the factional Puritan party! The invasion was "now sedition was ripe, and they made religion their pretence." In the same fashion, Sir Philip Warwick in his "Memoirs of the Reign of Charles I" explains the Scotch troubles as "due either to the British unnatural descent of the waters of popery, or the artifice of the great nobility", a question "too hard for any man of another nation to determine". He traces very scrapingly "the designs of the pretended godly but really rebellious Covenanters", relying often on contemptuous short cuts, like: "We will leave these Scots for a time, lurking in their den for a new prey". The Scots were to him canting, double-dealing, self-interested rebels, led by treacherous Hamilton and Loudoun. Only once has he praise of them, when they fought at Worcester "like a stout and warlike people". Montrose of course he admired, "that most brave loyal Scot", who "to admiration did defeat so many of the Scots rebels", but he is not sufficient to redeem his adversary Argyle, far less the rest of the nation.

And this English Royalist is outdone by the Scots Earl of Middleton, in whose "Account of the State of Affairs in Scotland", the Scots outbreak was due to "some seditious and discontented persons of all ranks being weary of that Peace and Happiness which to the Envy of the World they had long enjoyed"—found it necessary to gain the concurrence of the people by pretended abuses in religion and religious worship. This type of sentiment appears even more strongly in Sir Roger Menley’s "History of the Rebellions". Menley says with blunt conviction "The Scots are the cause of all our Evils". The Scots tumults were due partly to dissatisfied nobles, who were unwilling to disgorged Church lands, and partly to the faction of Presbyterians. Over the selling of the King, Menley grows declamatory: "After some formal discussions to heighten the Price of their Treachery, they at last resolved to deliver him up, and he was delivered to the English Rebels by his native unnatural Subjects of Scotland, with all the circumstances of Irreligion, of Impiety, of Perjury, of Treason and of detestable Avarice".

This is almost on Clarendon’s level, and it is to Clarendon one really turns as commentator on this whole period. It is at this time, (between 1647–46) that his original narrative of events, the "History" was penned, later to be dovetailed with his "Life" and shaped into the "History of the Rebellion".
Clarendon's earlier "History" has two claims to importance here; the first that, struck off in the years of action, it keeps a sword-sharp impress of the Jacobit feeling of the day; the second that it in his work in general are the clearest illustration of that reaction in literature one is trying to prove, the bias and distortion of the first historical work.

For one might discount half of the satiric ballad and pamphlet matter that has been quoted as froth, scum, neither literature nor coming from any lettered class—ephemeral stuff, titillating the country for a day and no more. At the other end of the scale, one might discount Bruce, James and textbooks as Tory diehards, their Memoirs possibly not much more read than equivalent volumes today.

Clarendon cannot be thus belittled. His claim is of authoritative history. He had been at the very centre of affairs, and in the innermost councils. His tracing of events, his interpretation and comments were received on their publication fifty years later, with no outcry or questioning, they were accepted and admired. His "History of the Rebellion" was given immediate rank as the classic authority.

And in it, where Scotland was concerned, his thesis was exactly Manley's: The Scots are the cause of all our Evils."

Here was his presentation of Scotland and the Scots—this their role in the first great history of the century.

The country was "but the wilderness of that garden" which was England, a land "which few travellers took" on their way. Abroad, "they were with a name and considered by nobody". At home (his words have already been quoted) "There was so little curiosity either in the Court or the country to know anything of Scotland or what was done there, that the whole nation was solicitous to know what passed weekly in Germany or Poland, no man ever inquired what was doing; in Scotland, nor had that kingdom a place or mention in one page of any gazette. So little the world thought or heard of that people."

The race are "a nation which excelled in craft and dissembling"—"a wasteful and crafty people"—"the principal of whom unrestrained by conscience, and only intended their particular advantage and ambition"—"that insolent people"—masters of dissimulation and had equally malice and wickedness in their intentions. Most frequently they are "these vermin."

Their army was cowardly and worthless, "always beaten by great inequality of numbers"; their leaders "of all men least to be trusted". The chief nobles are one by one libelled:—Lauderdale had "no impediment of honour to restrain him". Loudoun was "obnoxious for his loose and vicious life which was notorious"; Hamilton's "masterpiece was dissimulation". "as guilty, more suspect than any man."

The Scots Commissioners were "men of vile artifice"; the Scots clergy, "insolent and ignorant"—"their senseless and wretched clergy whose infectious breath corrupted and governed the people" and on the people of their leaders in toto, Clarendon exhausts his abuse. They were treacherous and dissimulating, self-seeking, hypocritical, venal, cowardly, self-complacent, ignorant of private or national honour. "Whoever believed
that these people could be contained by any obligations, divine or human!"

Clarendon had never been in Scotland, but he sketches fluently a land poverty-stricken and uncultivated, with its barbarous people, its indigent and proud nobility, its utter lack of any religion other than an entire detestation of Popery. "In Scotland, no form of religion in practice, no liturgy, nor the least appearance of any beauty of holiness: the clergy for the most part corrupted in their principles. Its Presbyterians were anathema to him, "a very dangerous and sedulous people who would under pretence of religious conscience, which kept them from submitting to the spiritual jurisdiction, take the first opportunity they could find or make to disturb and withdraw themselves from their temporal subjection." He describes their methods. "The Presbyterians (by whom I mean the Scots) formed all their counsels by the inclinations and affections of the people, and first considered how they might corrupt and seduce and dispose them to second their purposes. Similarly, the dealings of their Commissioners were all "villainy and wickedness," the vile artifices of the Commissioners to draw the King into their hands, and their low and base compliance and gross folly in delivering him up, and lastly their absurd and merchantly trafficking with him for the price of returning to their allegiance." Typical language.

Some individual Scots win his admiration, the Earl of Glencairn, for instance, and on the whole Montrose. He despises the latter's character, but applauds his military genius and his bravery. A strain of praise is flung to the Highlanders: "Notorious enough that the Highlanders in Scotland had very good affection for the King," but their desertion of Montrose annulled that. It is characteristic of Clarendon that he rarely praises any Scot without following it by some acrid depreciation, and his reluctance in praising even a Royalist Scot like General King, "who, notwithstanding the irreparable prejudice of being a Scotchman, ordered his foot with great wisdom" is amusing.

His own "irreparable prejudice" went to all lengths. That it made him impute to the Scots, those subtle plotters of the deepest malignancy, the majority of his nation's disasters needs no further stressing. But it wrecked his vision and accuracy as a historian. He was driven by a Scotophobia to say the machinations of them everywhere. He found his own dislike buttressed by others, he ever quoting "Stradford's known displeasure and disdain of the Scots": the Archbishop of Canterbury "who could not be thought to understand" the wretched laws of Scotland; the King talking of "the miserable poverty of the people and their course of life, and how impossible it was for him to live there with security or with health—if sickness did not destroy him, he should be betrayed". Constantly he speaks of "the prejudice and general aversion over the whole kingdom to the Scots." In the same way he writes of them having no credit abroad, "when facts prove a sufficiency of both moral and financial credit."

Reliable where Scotland was concerned, his whole interpretation of its policy as mercenary and malignant, and his holus-bolus condemnation of the Scots religion and the Scot as indefensible.

Admittedly there is truth in some of his accusations, and ample ground for part of his hatred. His analysis of traits of Scots character,
national vanity, humourless self-complacency, the guid conceit! (that speaks from every second letter of Buillie), the Highland itch for plunder is perfectly accurate; and his dislike for the religious jargon excusably, to judge from his ironical report of the Commissioners in '40. "They very devoutly extolled the Covenant, magnified the Scottish nation with all imaginable attributes of esteem and reverence, a nation that had engaged itself to God in a higher way, in a more extraordinary way than any nation this day upon the face of the earth had done, a nation that had reformed their lives for so small a time more than ever any people that they knew of in the world had done, a nation that God had honoured by giving as glorious success unto as ever he did unto any and very earnestly desired the loan of £100,000."

In his verdicts on Scots leaders, too, time had made his balanced audit of good and bad in Montrose accepted; his distrust of Hamilton and Argyll is borne out by others; and his strictures on Lauderdale much less harsh than Burnet's.

Even with those concessions, though, there remains a violence of prejudice in Clarendon that calls for analysis. Was he exceptionally biased? Did he deliberately falsify his statements about the Scot? Was he writing too close to events to have sane perspective? How far is his violence unique, how far common to others?

Some of these questions he answers himself, if not too credibly, as then he avers "I know myself to be very free from any of those passions which naturally transport men with prejudice." Facts answer others. The "Life" written in retirement twenty years after the first history shows more and not less condemnation of the Scots. And the more one reads of contemporary memoirists, the more widespread the Scottish virus is seen to be. Some questions can be scored off, then.

Clarendon, evidently, is not exceptional other than in his articulateness. He is not deliberately malicious. The same seepage of aversion is seen in Milton—a mind finer. It was aversion reasoned and unreasoned, but comfortably shared by others.

It sprang from ignorance and contempt, whole-hearted as Secretary Coke's, "the understood nothing of what had been done in Scotland, and thought that nothing that was or could be done there worth such a journey as the king had put himself to." None of these men had set foot in Scotland. Milton had "Scots friends like Patrick Young, but Clarendon not even these. He chose as friends only those "in their quality in their fortune, in their faculties and endowments of mind very much his superior." In this handsome snobbery, what chance of contact?

Personal factors intensified that dislike. Fundamentally there was an "imperfect sympathy" more rooted than Lamb's. His early career placed his eyes to the menace of Scots thrusters. In his twenties he was in clash with Hamilton, whose conduct over the Eleanor Villiers-Jermyn marriage branded him in Clarendon's eyes as a shifty "double-crosser!" Early in his Parliamentary career he fell foul of Cromwell. In '41 he
in one of the foremost in opposing the demands of the Scots for assimilating the English church system to the Scottish. By that year, he reports with gusto that he was known as one of the greatest enemies that England had. During that summer he met Charles, and was won over to his side, and in June of the next year finally broke with Parliament and the hated pro-Scotts, and threw in his lot with the Royalists.

Clarendon was an ambitious man, and his prospects in '42 must have been unbounded. Before his death, he had certain high place and distinction, had linked himself with the royal family. But midway in his career, the Scots were the reef on which his ambition was shattered temporarily. Charles's execution and his own exile were severe blows. To his innate and early dislike of the Scots, then, one has to add the relentless hatred that ambitious man feels for those who frustrate his ambition.

As he grew older, his antipathy is franker in its expression. The Life sides one of the most virulent passages, the "gloat" for instance, over the country's sufferings under the Commonwealth. When he wrote that autobiography, of course, he was in security, and was probably conscious that his opinions were shared by others. Undoubtedly, he spoke for a large part of his "milieu" and his class.

That surprises is, that his History provoked no counterattack of any importance, no 'vindication of the Scottish people.' Burnet, whom one expects to find protesting, is warm in praise. Swift annotates his copy with zest, but entirely to the greater abuse still of the race. That very fact is evidence of both the effect of Clarendon's work, and the contagiousness of the anti-Scott virus and its effect in literature.
1. General History of Scotland. 1648
2. Hist: of Scotland in the Reign of the 5 Jameses 1655
3. Historia rerum Britannicarum 1655
4. 1655, 1671, 1673.
5. 1644
6. see later notes
7-9 1638, 1655, 1678 respectively
10. 1645
11. 1st English version 1648
12. subseq: to 1647
13. 1652.
of these were the reactions in English literature, what of the reactions in Scottish. Was there a corresponding resentment at work, and an...}

The misty mount, the smoking lake,
The rock's resounding echo,
1. 1641
2. 1650
3. Heraldry
4. 1654
The whistling winds, the woods that shake
Shall all with me sing heigh-ho.
The tossing seas, the tumbling boats,
Tears dripping from each ear——

struck that Scott noted only once.
As contemporary, Sir William Mure of Rowallan, brought out verse, dealing closely with national themes. "Caledon's Complaint against Infamous Libels" protests hotly against branding the Scots as rebels; "The Cry of Blood and of a Broken Covenant" calls on the Scots to rise against the slayers of Charles I. But it is doubtful if Mure's verse is much known in England. Zachary Boyd's, taken as a joke, was more likely to find readers.

The power-house of Scottish effort in these years was Scotstarvet and its owner Sir John Scott.

He was a bountiful patron to men of learning, and they came to him from all quarters, so that his house was a kind of college, wrote Defoe. A publisher of the time calls him "the greatest Maecenas of Wit and Learning that the Nation affords."

Praise is not wildly excessive. He had planned and financed the "Delitiae Poetarum Scotorum" in 1637. He urged on the geographical survey of Scotland, arranged for Gordon of Straloch's continuation of Scott's first map-making, and had then planned and financed the publication of the "Theatrum Scotiae" by the famed Johannes Bleau in Amsterdam. This was the first printed atlas of Scotland, and held forty maps (the majority Font's) a Scotch Topographica of Kelville, a survey of Scots history cut from Buchanan, and an "ancient history" by Robert Gordon. As in the case of the anthology of Latin poetry, the "Delitiae," it was work that drew Scotland admirably into line with more advanced countries.

A year later, Scott has a large part in another project, the publication of Drummond's works. For the volume of verse, he sent £55 to Phillips, Hilton's nephew, who undertook the editing. In 1550 appeared that rarest of genres, a Scots poet's verse, edited and warmly eulogised by an English critic. "To say that these poems are the effect of a genius the purest and most exalted that ever the Scottish nation produced, although a commendation not to be rejected, it is well-known that that is not the sort that may be given him; nor should I affirm that neither Tacito, Petrarque nor even the choicest of our English poets can challenge themselves any advantage above him, it could not be judged any attribute superior to what he deserves." (Could Milton, who probably suggested the Italian comparison, have framed the English one too?)

Scott saw too to the publication of Drummond's "History," which appeared in a prefaced by a Mr. Hall of Gray's Inn. In the same year, Scott is himself writing, and his "Staggering State of Scots Statesmen" denounced the inactivity of the Scots during the last century.

Concentrates in himself much that is typical of the Scottish spirit of the time. He was aware of English developments, and had his big contacts, having visited London over twenty times. But there was an intensity in his feelings towards that which spurred him to centre stoutly on the home of the Scots, and the encouragement of Scots writers. So too felt..."
CHAPTER V. Prosecution and rising. The later Stuart era.

I. The course of relationship.
II. Historical events.
III. Covenanting troubles as England saw them.
IV. English attack and defence.
V. "Sawney the Scot".
VI. Further satire of Scots events.
VII. The Scotnotorious.
VIII. The amity of the '80's.
IX. Flying abuse. Dryden and Settle.
X. Argyle's Rising.
XI. "Poems of Affairs of State".
XII. The Revolution. Dundee's Rising and Glencoe.
It is difficult to shape connectedly the course of relations between the two countries as these years run out to the close of the century. They were years of special importance, because of the new developments they held; but these sprang erratically, now from the Scottish side, now from the English.

Literature shows unexpected reactions. In an age of satire, for instance, Scotland comes off lightly, and Teague and Jenkin take Jockey's place as butt of the comic stage. At a time of bitter commercial rivalry, intellectual co-operation is markedly close. There is political separation and acute Scottish resentment, yet fervid Scots nationalists both cultivate their own intellectual terrain and take seisin of English ground.

The progress of Scotland and England can no longer be traced as one, for the interdependence forced by events has gone. "Scotland ceases to play a chief part on the stage of English politics. With the Restoration, Union was dissolved, and the northern kingdom left to 'drear its sein' in wild'.

Intermittently, mutual concerns continued to throw them into contact, but it is sheer delusion to regard the Parliamentary Union as climax to a steadily increasing rapprochement during these years. So far as politics were concerned, Scotland only arrested English notice when some rebellion or plot or party threatened English peace, or commercial 'thrusting' touched English purses.

Concurrently, however, Scotland made such rapid leeway in matters intellectual that she began to draw English attention through the work of her scholars and writers, and to force a place for herself in English literature.

Thus the same decades that saw wide breaches between the two peoples, national separation, trade conflict, an English army suppressing a Covenanting rebellion, saw also a closer linking of parties, of scientific and antiquarian scholars, and the entry of Scots into the intellectual and literary and newspaper worlds of England.

II.

Relations at the outset, the Restoration, were of the least promising. The Union dissolved, England and Scotland separated with feelings most bitterly bitter. Clarendon remarked that such a Union was "too daring to continue under any government less tyrannical than that of Cromwell". Scotland regained her Parliament, the English forts were destroyed, the garrisons withdrawn. But Episcopacy was left in the ascendant, and the long struggle for Presbyterian toleration was to come. Commercially she was cut adrift, placed precisely on the footing of a foreign nation, and left with a darkening prospect of declining trade, poverty and increasing beggary. Her political affairs dropped to being "private busi-
Letter to Carstares.

2 1669.

3 1669

4 Clarendon.

5 Quoted by Theodora Keith in "Commercial Relations between England and Scotland in 17th Century."
The centre of English political action shifted away from Scotland to foreign wars, cabinet cabal, vexed Church and succession questions, and it was only in so far as Scotland's difficulties might increase England's that any heed was paid to them.

There was one revival of the question of Parliamentary union, in 1669. But national antipathies were as strong as in 1604-7. "You cannot imagine what aversion is generally felt in this kingdom to the union. The endeavour to have made us slaves by garrisons, and the ruin of our trade by severe laws in England, frights all ranks of men from having to do with England," wrote Lauderdale to Moray.

The English were equally averse, scenting possible Scots gain, and they stone-walled every claim, every reference to traditional privilege.

"What privileges? We know no privileges?"

After a fruitless three months debating between the two groups of Commissioners, the project was dropped, "in Mutual Jealousies and a general Dissatisfaction".

One English tract had heralded the affair: "A Discourse upon the Union of England and Scotland", which urged an incorporating union, since "now for above sixty years, fellow-subjects, -- and all diversity of manners being almost quite extinguished by the Mutual Commerce and Conversation which hath passed in this time." It centred complacently on "Will this be a thing grateful to England or not? -- will the trade of England be increased or diminished?", and answered as tactlessly that there would be "for some time a discomposure" in English commerce.

As typical of Scotland's line of thinking was an Edinburgh pamphlet, "The Grievances of Scotland in relation to their trade with England". (It is interesting, though, to find Bacon's Union tracts being reprinted now in Edinburgh.)

Yet the move towards Union had come from the Scotch side, urged by the miserable state of the nation's trade. However much the north detested England, it never ceased to eye enviously those trading and manufacturing privileges at home and abroad that Union would have opened up. The "monstrous concessions" of the Treaty of Carlisle was such a sharing. Now, even at the height of her aversion to England, she was willing to meet Union.

The Commonwealth had left her industry at a low ebb. As Cromwell had said in '58, "I do think truly they are a very ruined nation". The Restoration brought no improvement, for the tightening tariffs of England and France hit her hard. The Navigation Act of 1660 had been entirely in English interests and Scotland's retaliatory Navigation and Customs Acts of her own had failed. Severest blow of all was the English War with Holland, which crippled Scotland's trade with that nation. She continued it illicitly, as she did her trade to America. English were suspicious and angry. Little wonder then that the proposal for any commercial union was eyed askance.

Scots indignation grew. "We in this Kingdom are willing and proud an accommoditious even to beggary, so consequently a ticklish people to deal with", wrote Rothes. The straitened years continued. England felt no concern.
1 Cal State Papers.

2 Observator. 1683
III.

That did concern her was the menace of the Covenanting troubles, vaguely understood but dreaded.

To modern thinking, few chapters in Scots history are more pungently Scottish than that which holds Killiecrankie and Drumclog, the hillside conventicles and the persecutions of the West, Dalziel and Turner and "bloody MacKenzie", Cameron and "that blessed saint" Kenrick. It has race. It reveals the very roots of Lowland Scots life and character. — How far did England catch that revelation? It is integrally Scottish. In its day, it was a matter of bitterly-held doctrine, and force, and crime and dark suffering. How it has been "composed" with a reverent admiration into a picture of tragically splendid struggle. — How far did England see it as such?

Scan the contemporary diarists, Evelyn, Pepys, Sir William Temple, Luttrell, the historians and pamphleteers, Manley, Oldmixon, White Kennett, Richd, Boyer, L'Estrange, Defoe, and, best of all, this in the Calendar of State Papers, speak of the Covenanters as "fanatics", "these rebels", "cowardly fellows", "a rude indecent rabble"; and the London press (eg. the London Gazette and Observer) condemns with horror "these rebels", "these rioters", "that black villain, Cameron", "the execrable murderers of Sharp".

Only the Nonconformists in England were naturally linked in sympathy. A general gagging of the Nonconformists as to the issue of the disturbances in Scotland" went one report to the state. L'Estrange recalled jeeringly: — "You remember what a fellow-feeling there was here. In this very City: what Prayers and Supplications were offered up for our Poor Distressed Brethren in Scotland".

Official reports in the Calendar of State Papers speak of the Covenanters as "fanatics", "these rebels", "cowardly fellows", "a rude indecent rabble"; and the London press (eg. the London Gazette and observer) condemns with horror "these rebels", "these rioters", "that black villain, Cameron", "the execrable murderers of Sharp".

Here is the reporting of the Pentland Rising in the London Gazette, those pages, by the way, have rarely an entry from Scotland at all. At the end of November, there is negligent mention of a riot, "the occasion not known". Then in a tail-column entry from Carlisle, Turner's seizure is announced, for "the severity (they pretended) in exacting fines upon Nonconformists". From Dumfries next, a note of "mutineers" — "in a tumbling about, amongst them several thieves — but few arms. We may suddenly expect the news of the suppression of the rioters and the restoration of peace to those disquieted Countryse". The fourth mention gives a half-column to military movements; and in December 2-6 "The Most Exact Account of the Defeat given to the Rebels in Scotland" — "out of the express sent from Pentland (sic) November" — two-column dispatch by an eye-witness. After this, come only two references, dwindling to eight lines: — "defeat has "put an end to their designs and our disturbances", prisoners are being tried, and the boot used. Then all mention stops, and with it, Scotland ceases once more to be "news".
1 Letters.
2 1667
3 Suckling
4 Jan-March 1678
5 Memoirs of North Britain 1715
   Memoirs of the Church of Scotland 1719
6 Jan 1678
7 May 1679
8 June 1679
The course of Pepys' diary entries are similar, from a vague "all the trouble is about some trouble in Scotland, but nobody can tell the truth of it", to an alarmed "four thousand in arms, which is very ill news, and deliver us from the ill consequences". Then he is reassured by the "duke of York saying that the lieutenant-general there hath driven them into a pound somewhere towards the mountains". Finally, "So to bed with more cheerfulness than I have done a good while to hear that the Scots rebels are all routed".

People's diary shows equal relief and elation that "there could be no room left for no reflection upon this accident, since all was brought to pass by the Scots government and forces". Even Marvell, later poet, hopes "this night's news is certain of their total rout".

That London felt about the rising can be guessed from the acceptable staging of two anti-Scot plays: "Sawney the Scot", put on four months after the suppression and again two months later; and "Brennonely", revived and staged in August and October, 1667 and 1668.

The systematic persecution that followed, and the terrifying quartering of the Highland host, aroused little comment, less sympathy. Defoe explained it as "They grew more outrageous than ever--so bold and numerous that the Privy Council was forced to bring down the High Leaders upon them, and to quarter them in the West". Not till the narratives of Oldmixon and Defoe is there condemnation.

Headline cases attracted far more notice. The hanging of Mitchell inspired Marvell's "Scenula Scoito-Britannus", and Dr Hickes "Ravillo Acer vivus"; and the murder of Sharp was a sensational atrocity, specially worked up by the London press. "A horrid murder yesterday committed", "a wicked and abominable action".

With Drumslog, Bothwell Bridge and the Cameron rising, an entry from Edinburgh heads the Gazette's columns. "Certain scandalous and prattling papers, the rebels' declaration" are printed, a nauseating "sixteen miles through the mountains"--(all Scots events are reported against the vaguest of backgrounds even until the '15); a military dispatch describes the battle of Bothwell Bridge, and, without comment, the imprisonment of the rebels in an "enclosure with high Walls round it, at the door of Grey Friars Church". The Cameron rising had less attention. "He had the good news of the rebels being better"--and "that arch-villain Cameron, the king-leader of the Field-Conventicle-Preachers".

The Observer ran to wild reports, however, of the rebels being Jesuits in disguise, and printed "A Short Account of the Jesuits Insurrection in Scotland in the Shape of Presbyterian, their Obedience and Ingratitude." In October it quoted "The True-Blue Protestant Mercury" which began: "We are informed from Scotland of an unparalleled Severity exercised upon the Nonconformists of that Kingdom", and continued: "One of Obstinate Implacable Rebels--declaring their resolution to destroy the King and the Church from off the face of the earth--but it be called a Persecution now, by all necessary steps of Law and Notice to crush the most Diabolical and malevolent Band of Conspirators that ever took the name of Christ into their mouths?"
1 1691.
2 Complete History of England 3 1706
3 History of England 2 3 1716
4 1715
d'Estrange was typical probably of only a Daily Mail clientele. Well, in a letter of June '78, writes quietly, "The patience of the Scots under their oppression is not to be paralleled in any history."

In November of that year, Shaftesbury caused a sensation in the use of Lords by an amazing speech on the recent treatment of Scots: "lives, liberties, estates sequestered, the richest and wealthiest utilities plundered and harassed--the barbarous Highlanders brought in to devour them, and this almost without a tolerable pretence to it! But what lay behind this seemingly-generous concern, was "I assure there can be no safety here if those doors are not shut up and made safe". Until that "this Scotch weed is like death in the earth, being destitute, afflicted, tormented", he gives an untiring account of the Scotch Presbyterians and their suffering, which also forced the Highlanders to come down upon the Scots Protestants to massacre them and rob and spoil at pleasure, which also forced them to take arms for their defence; but they were immediately treated as rebels and butchers thousands at Bothwell Bridge."

10 years later (1717) Defoe supplies for the first time the epic which, then in the third book of his "Memoirs of the Church of Scotland" he gave England a most moving account of the persecution, and a solemn appeal for effacing the stigma of "rebels". Taking as motif he wandered about in sheepskins and goatskins, in dens and caves of the earth, being destitute, afflicted; tormented", he blends impassioned declamation, dramatic narrative, actual documents and first-hand accounts, "repeated as near as possible in the very words", he states, sketches of men like Claver, Dalziel, Cameron, Hackston, tales of the martyrs, with a result that has been claimed as comparable to the most picturesque passages in the first "Tales of my Landlord". But these Memoirs were never reprinted, a sign of a very lethargic reception in the south.
1. 1679
2. 1679
3. 1662
4. undated
5. 1663 and 1664
The usual pamphleteering was of course pro and con — chiefly con, though occasional broadside like the "Declaration of the Rebels in Scotland", insisted on the justice of arming against oppression.

More typical however are titles like "The True Relation of the Inhuman Cruelties lately acted by the Rebels in Scotland, with the Manner of their Taking of Glasgow, Rifling the Lord Archbishop's House, Digging the Bishop of Argyll's Children out of their Graves and many other Barbarities; and "The Late Testimony of William Gould, one of three Desperate and incorrigible Traitors — adhiring to these Bloody and Murdering Principles contained in that Execrable Declaration at Sanquhar"

In all pamphlet and newspaper reporting, one thing is evident, that the distance of Scotland and the popular ignorance of it, had serious ill-effects. Not only did Scots news come through tardily and hazily; the most garbled accounts and the most wildly exaggerated came through, and were unchecked by any expert knowledge. Hence Scots news was constantly doubted. As Trim of the Observer said, speaking for all Londoners, "These Scotch Risings have made a great deal of noise, but I could never hear yet that there was much in 'em by any formal relation" then broadsides like "A True Relation of the Horrid and Bloody Massacre in Scotland, by the Irish Papists, who landed 60 miles from Edinburgh, cutting all to Fire and Sword" could be circulated, the later disbelief in Glencoe is understandable.

IV.

The Covenanting Troubles figured in English satire and ballad, naturally a fair amount of the cudgelling of the English Presbyterians fell on Scots shoulders. John Wilson, the Jacobite, for example, satirising the former through the character of Scruple in "The "Chests", works in a parody of "that zealous son of thunder, Mr. Andrew", with his Covenant-jargon, and opinions of "our brethren of the Kirk" on oath-taking and on bag-pipes. That Scots felt the sting, a verse of "The Sessions of the Poets" records:

John Wilson stood up and wildly did stare,
When on a sudden stept in a bold Scot,
And offer'd Apollo he freely would swear,
The said Haister Wilson might pass for a sot."

Atler's "Hudibras lets the Scots off more lightly than one would expect.

- The Scots your constant cronies,
Th' espousers of cause and monies,
Who had so often in your aid,
So many ways been soundly paid--

- as his fun over the Covenant-making:

Come cried the Covenant instead
Of puddings pies and gingerbread-
And even the Goblin espouses it with his cloven paws.

And once is there a touch of rancour, namely, in his lines on the
1. Hind and the Panther 1687

2. Scoevola Bocco-Britannus 1678

3. 1667
Octs commissioners:—
--Henderson and th'other masses
Were sent to cap texts and put cases,
To pass for deep and learned scholars,
Altho' but paltry Obs and Solters."

(A dozen times in his "Characters" he has flying hits at the Scots:—
like a Scotchman, though he is born a Subject of his own Nation, he
carries a French faction within him"—he says of the fantastic men;—
the ribald "he talks nothing but Aretine's pictures, as plain as the
Scotch Dialect, which is esteemed to be the most copious and elegant
of the kind"—but these are evidently current coin.)

Dryden, too, has a general quip at
"A slimy-born and sun-begotten tribe,"
Who——
In fields their sullen conventicles found".

For the rest, he attacks individuals.
It is Marvell who comments most on Scottish affairs, and for the most
part favourably. He had the temerity to praise Mitchell, the attempted
murderer of Sharp, in telling lines that begin:
"While treacherous Sharp his savage fury hates"
And come to a climax of defiance:
If Scaevola the Tuscan tyrant aw'd,
Our Scot a nobler pattern may afford.
Sharp, though you scorn your God, respect your kind,
This one three hundred equal leaves behind."

He had the greater temerity to attempt a counterblast to Cleveland's
"Rebel Scot", in his "Loyal Scot", that eulogy of the Captain Douglas
burnt on his ship at Chatham:
When Aetna and Alcides are forgot
Our English youth shall sing the valiant Scot."

That poem rose to a sincere and fervent appeal for the sinking of all
national differences and prejudices:

Nor more discourse of Scotch and English race——
Will you the Tweed that sullen Bounder call
Of Soyl, of Wit, of Manners and of all?—
What Ethic River is this wondrous Tweed,
Whose one bank Virtue, t'other Vice does breed.—

He admits it is the churches that make the barriers,
Though Kingdoms join, yet Church will Kirk oppose.
He admits prejudice is ubiquitous:—

Say but a Scot and straight we fall to sides,
That syllable like a Pict's Wall divides.

But he ends with the asseveration:—
One King, one Faith, one Language and one Isle,
English and Scotch, 'tis all but Cross and Pile."
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The Covenanting ballads are few, three on Bothwell Brig, one or two on Archbishop Sharp. One, a long fifteen verse affair, "Jockey’s Downfall" celebrates Monmouth’s victory—with a scoffing

How now, Jockie, what aye?  
Does the Covenant ride thee still?  
Or is Calvin reconcil’d  
To the Jesuit and the Deel?

describes the gathering of the rebels, and ends with

How to alter Hopkin’s Prayer,  
For the Turks we do not find  
Half the mischief do intend us.  
But for Simeon and for Levi,  
Viz the Pope and Prester Scot,  
Heaven confound all their devices,  
And preserve us from the Plot.

Other songs have the same pious prayers.  
And great Presbytery may stay  
And all the canting Breed,  
For ever and also for aye,  
On t’other side the Tweed.

Some of the ballads shve a novel linking of Scots and English.  
The restoration had been marked by "A Pair ofProdigals returned, or  
England and Scotland agreed". Scots troops fighting beside the Eng-  
lish at Tangier evoked the refrain in a 'Grenadeer’s Rant' of  
"Hey! the brave Scottish boys!2  
and similar comradeship against the Dutch,  
"For the brave English, Irish, Sczotch"—

The later 80’s produced a small group praising the loyalty of Tory  
Jockey at the expense of the English Whig. "Jockey’s Journey into  
England", for instance, "tul aipir gen theit flitting will neir have  
an end", describes a disgruntled return, "sin loyalty is grown out of  
date". Praise of Dundee’s Rising led to the same way to the eulogy  
Thus Jockey the Laird, and Sandy the Man,  
They valiantly fought as Highlanders can.  
An adverb that takes one’s breath away by its novelty.

In drama, there were no such eulogistic flights.  
In the year Dryden was writing his "Loyal Scot", and Sir John Denham  
was demanding the reverse side of the picture, in his "Directions to  
Painter":—  

—Draw Highland, Lowland,  
Mountains and Flats; draw Scotland first, then Holland.  
See, canst thou ken the Scots frowns? Then draw those  
That something had to get, but nought to lose."
Lacy put on the London stage, "Sawney the Scot". This was only a version of "The Taming of the Shrew", with Petruchio's servant Grumio replaced by Sawney, a fictitious Scots footman. The latter's part adds nothing to the action of the play: he supplies only a coarse and constant back-chat; and the change and the play's popularity been a little unaccountable.

The original "Taming of the Shrew" had a servant Sander, and Lacy, who specialized in dialect parts (particularly northern ones, since he is a Yorkshireman and a pupil of the Scot Ogilby) may have worked up Sawney only as a companion portrait to his Irish footman in "The Committee", or country fellow in "Love in a Maze". Or the run of "The Scots Piggeries" may have suggested a similar success.

On the other hand, there seems a certain pointedness in producing the play in exactly those months when the Pentland Rising had made the Scots oppressive, and the first influx of disaffected vagrant Scots was being complained of. Sawney's part resurrects all the old jibes: "He can a bonny Scot,Sir,—aye scratchen and scrubben"—he has an itch for "siller", and greedily cadges drink and "his mutton and porridge"—at others' expense. (There is an unconsciously modern touch in Maria's "Oot, Berdeen!")

He has all the national vanity, boasts of knowing "a Heeland lady wi' twenty thousand pound", but is a cowardly braggart, taking refuge in a constant "Jin I had yea in Scotland". Above all, he is voluble and coarse-tongued.

But though the part shows no advance on even the "Scots Piggeries" in the sketching of national character, the dialogue shows a much greater knowledge of Scots affairs, and a grip of actual Scots idiom. Side by side with jibes familiar to English ears: "Put her to the Stool of Repentance, Sir", "Put her doon intill a Scots coal-pit", "Send her to the highlands o' Scotland; there's hunger and cold enough", "Harry her after the Scotch Directory; then gin ye like her not, ye maw put her awa"—there phrases genuinely Scottish—"Johnny Johnston's curse gang wi' her!"—"Wild as a Galloway colt", "Low as a piper", "his suneel", and a grace that ends

"Pro the dinger o the swatch to the gallow tree,
Keep us a', we beseech thee.
(Could a London audience follow these, or Sawney's "Shall Saundy get her a bridecake and brake oor her head, sir?")"

That gain in idiom was more likely a doubtful benefit, for Pepys, who saw the play twice thought "it hath not half its life, by reason of the words, I suppose, not being understood, at least by me!"
The play was put on three times that year, however, and Lacy made the part a well-known one. So much so, that when the Scots artist, Wright, painted a triple portrait of him, one was in his Scottish costume as Sawney.

It is curious, though, that Restoration drama scarcely touched Scotland, when its satire trounced Teague and Jenkin so heartily. Was Sawney an exhausted interest, overdone in Civil War satire, or were the dramatists-courtiers weary of Charles's perpetual topic, "my stay in Scotland"?
restoration comedy played off town against country, sophistication against naiveté: tragedy dealt with the bombast of Eastern or classical or mythical princes. Scotland had no place in either, except that Ayrmer's "Edgar, or the English Monarch" introduces Kenneth, King of Scotland, without however any mark of distinct race. The Restoration dramatists were exclusive in their interests. As a theme for heroic or serious drama, Scotland was beyond the pale.

VI.

The later Scottish troubles, Sharp's murder, Drumolog, the Cameron Rising brought nothing fresh to the stage. Mrs Aphra Behn brazenly parodied the lampoon of Lord Wariston from Tatham's "Rump", and reset it in her own play "The Roundheads", with the dialect a little more begibberished. D'urfey, then still a violent opponent of "higgism, spaced his plays with topical allusions, such as making one of the four plotters in "The Royalist", "Sawney Scrubham, a red-haired Scotchman."

But the most successful satire of the day was non-dramatic, a "Modern Account of Scotland", written by Thomas Kirke, the antiquary and traveller. His friend, Thoresby, calls it "his wagish description", to distinguish it from a serious account issued by him later. But "wagish" is an extraordinarily mild adjective for Kirke's fulminations against "Captain Lucifer's own country", "whose wrangled surface derives its origin from chaos", whose people are Proud, Arrogant, Vain, glib, and Inhuman Butchers. Cozenage and Theft in Perfection among them, and they are perfect English-Haters. The Egyptian plagues were still among them; hail and snow are naturalised; the plague of darkness, "applicable to their gross and blockish Understandings". The thistle was a fit emblem: it showed the land's fertility, and characterised the race-the bulk and substance of it, sharp and poisonous pricks. Scottish religion was a blasphemy. "They use no Service Book nor Decency nor Order in their Divine or rather Contumelious Service"; the students' chief studies were for "pulpit preferment".

Kirke's indictment covers all Scotland- (he had travelled as far north as Orkney)- the Highland gentry and "the strange Butcheries" of their feuds, and the Highlanders, "those ravenous Wolves with two legs"; and the Lowlanders; and the past-"forty kings barbarously hurth'd" as well as the present.

He is unsparingly voluble and fertile in abuse. The pity is that with such a wealth of observation to make, much of it first-hand and voluble, he should merely waste it in a shrill and coarse tirade that becomes monotonous. The good things are swamped, his touch-references of Scots houses and cattle, for instance, his account of recent Highland feud, his jests at the national weaknesses like their "tongue of grace "even if you crack a nut", his mimicry of a Berwick Jehu, and of an Edinburgh street-crier.

Yet his models were obviously Novellor Weldon and Cleveland. The
1. A Collection of Poems on Affairs of State. 1689
Poems on A--- of S--- from Cromwell to Abd: of Janc.
State Poems continued---
Poems on Affairs of S--- Second Part (all three):

3 Harley.
In spite of the stage sniping and this prose satire, it is clear that national attack on Scotland had been replaced by party attack, just as such foregoing praise as has been quoted shows itself in origin party praise. There are only brief recurrences of united national animus, and the first of these does not come until the close of the century.

Between the failure of the Union negotiations and that time, it was rather individual Scots than Scotland that provoked English wrath. These constant irritants in Anglo-Scottish relations, the Scot in high favour at the English court, and the notorious Scot were again in evidence.

If the former the previous half-century had seen Somerset, and Hay, the King's Juggler, and the Duke of Hamilton, declared by Clarendon "more hateful to the English than any other person". Now there was Lauderdale, secure in his ascendancy for ten years yet, and most cordially hated and lampooned. "The English would sooner bear a Mahometan for their Secretary than a Scot." No Scot figures more prominently among the satiric "Poems on Affairs of State". He is "atheist Lauderdale", "the Scotch-scula of our Court". He is Marvell's This haughty Monster, with his ugly Claws
First tempered Poison to destroy our Laws—
This Saracen his Country's Freedom broke,
To bring upon our necks the heavier Yoke.
Of all the Miscreants e'er went to Hell,
This villain Rampant bears away the Bell.

He is Settle's Herod — whose hoarse croak could sing
The saints, the cause, no bishop and no king;
When greatness cleared his throat and scoured his maw,
Roared out succession and the penal law—
To Absalom's side does his old Covenant bring
With state raved out, and interlined with King.

Of when this Scot, "in Gall and Guile a second unto none", was dismissed in '79, another was in the limelight of obloquy, Burnet. "Hardly any other member of the Whig party excited such universal hostility", is Dryden's verdict. He was "the State Proteus", "that mad Bishop of Durham, who has been contemned by all parties all times for his intemperate fury as well as his immoralities". Dryden satirised him as Balak and the tale goes that Swift chalked a faball quatrain on his tombstone.
1 Cal: State Papers
2 Kitchin's Roger L'Estrange
3 Ferguson's Ferguson the Plotter
4 1683.
The Scot notoriety was equal, prominent in these years. The periodic influx of persecuted Scots into England has been already mentioned. These began after Aulton Green in '67, during the systematic persecutions of '74-'79, and the quartering of the Highland Host, but most of all when Claverhouse went into the West after the Carnmoney rising.

Those who fled south across the Border were landless men, embittered and disaffected, and in many cases, armed and desperate. Where the could they go to peddling, to the jealous resentment of English shopkeepers, who naturally suffered from their undercutting. A fair number, it was suspected, combined with trade running of sedulous literature from illicit London presses like Fergusson's. "They came rather for spic than profit", was a report sent up from Cornwell as early as '66. In the Clavers period, "Great numbers of Scottish pedlars flock to us" is a York report.

This added edge to the satire of the Scots, and jeers at Scots pedlars are numberless—in the writings of Defoe and Swift and Butler, of Tom Brown and Ned Ward.

It was their political menace that was more disturbing. Fergusson the Flatter had settled in London in the '50s, as had James Forbes. These two, with Nesbit and Menzies ran their plots and their sinister correspondences southwards and westwards. In the popular mind, Fergusson was treason incarnate. No plot of any scope was without him; and always there were implicated with him fellow-Scots, not pedlars, or disaffected schoolmasters, but Scots' lords and gentlemen of standing.

In the Whig Plot were Fletcher of Saltoun and Baillie of Jerviswood, the latter reimplicated in the Aye House, along with Carstairs, Mure of Colliston and others. The Monmouth Rising had its Scots supporters, young Steir, Loudon, Sir James Dalkyble and others, and as Monmouth's chief confidant, Fletcher of Saltoun. Into the Montgomery Plot, Sir James Lord's Annandale and Rose. The Scots Plot of '703 implicated Lovat and Athol and even the Duke of Queensberry.

It was a record that underlined still more darkly the epithet 'treachery Scot!' The tersest English comment was the reprint of "The Scot Crimes of Sir John Presbyter", in which Scotland was quartered as "The field of rebellion, charged with a Stool of Repentance".

Add to these London notabilities, the Scots equally prominent on the Scottish scene. The case of Mitchell had been cause célèbre: still more the murder of Sharp, whose assailants had been well execrated in the London press. As it was only a matter of six and ten years later that this and others led their respective risings, individual Scots were obviously the means of keeping English dislike or at least attentionBalancing.
but events from 1679 on focussed attention on the country as well.

James's death and the temper of the Covenanters created some consterna-
tion. The Duke of Monmouth went north to take command. His move-
ments, and the course of the Cameron Rising and its suppression were
written up in the news-sheets of the day. Some of the London Gazette's
articles have already been quoted. Its printing in detail of Backeton
of asthillet's examination, with summaries of his speeches, is something
unusual.

Heightening the interest was the arrival of the Duke of York in Edin-
burgh in November. Within the next three years, that visit was twice re-
tested. So against a background of warfare and brutalities in the West
with English and Scots dragoons riding down the Covenanters, defeating
them at Kilsyth and killing Cameron, against this was set an inter-
lude of Anglo-Scots unity.

It was during '81 and '82. James opened the Scots Parliament, "the
Scots valuing themselves exceedingly to have been the first Parlia-
ment called by his Majesty," as Evelyn wrote a little condescendingly.
James brought north with him a Court and a Handful of interesting peo-
ple, among them Pepys, and in his wake even English actors pushed north
there were contacts between Scots and English lords, and an invaluable
spill given to struggling Scots culture. It is no mere chance that
the years '81, '82, '83 see a group of important works on Scotland issued
by its men of letters, and various cultural projects started.

It was an eminently cultivated on the English side with distinct purpose,
however. The Exclusion Bill of '79, and the fear that Scotland might
break away from the desired settlement had shown the diplomacy of cour-
ing Scots complaisance. The pestilent 'undaunted ness' of the Covenant-
ners drove home the conviction that Scotland had to be reckoned with,
and that she might even have a determining part in the stormy future
before James. Scots politics were essentially matter for study, Scottish
opinion had to be assiduously cultivated. James set himself to the
task. He was astute enough to realise the asset of Highland support,
perhaps the first Stuart to do so, and diplomatically made much of both
Highland chief and Lowland laird.

Suitable ballads circulated, "The Banishment of Poverty by his Royal High-
ness, James, Duke of Albany," and the like. "The Convert Scot and the
Apostate English," after railing against the English "caterpillars" turns
--to Men,

Whose Honour in Antiquity
Deserves to be reviv'd again.

Brave Scots, go on--

He adjures them:

Down with your Kirk-roost. Curb them so
They cannot hurt. Take Sword in hand,
Defend your King from inbred Poe,
And York conduct you in Command.

"Letter from a Person of Quality" purported to be by a Protestant,
1. Absalom and Achitophel— and also in "The Hind and the Panther

2 Prologue to the University of Oxford.

3. Absalom Senior or Achitophel Transposed— 1682.

4 1684
notes, again, since he is Scot, is
Here Pha'leg, the lay-Hebronite, is come,
'Cause like the rest he could not stay at home;
Who from his own possessions could not drain,
in omer even of Hebronitish grain.--
Chastised, he ought to have retreated home,
But he read politics to Absalom.
For never Hebronite, though kicked and scorned,
to his own country willingly returned.
The same jibe recurs in his portrait of Burnet, the Balak who
Or forced by fear or by his profit led,
or both conjoined, his native clime he fled.--

Disappointingly, Dryden adds nothing fresh to Scots satire. He has one
burst of laughter over the possible fate of the English actors visiting Scotland:

We have been troubled with Scotch rebels too.
Our brethren are from Thames to Tweed departed,
And of our sisters, all the kinder-hearted
To Edinburgh gone, or coached or carted.
With bonny blue-cap there they set all night
For Scotch half-crowns, in England three-pence night.
Out trusty door-keepers of former time,
There strut and swagger in heroic rhyme.
Laced linen there would be a dangerous thing,
It might perhaps a new rebellion bring,
The Scot who wore it would be chosen king--

Nottle is more virulent. His version of the flattering reception of
James by the Scots was:

Cold Hebron, warmed by his approaching sight;
Flushed with his gold and gloved with new delight--
Till sacred, all-converting interest,
To loyalty, their almost unknown guest,
Open a broad gate, from whence forth-issuing come,
Decrees, tests, oaths for well-soothed Absalom.

In view of the outspokenness of that, it seems disproportionate that
John Banks, whose passion for mild biographic drama made him the Drink-
tater de ses jours, should have had his "Albions Queens, or the Death
of Mary Queen of Scotland," suppressed. Admittedly the play, in dealing
with Mary and Elizabeth, tended to make heroine and martyr of the for-
ter, a thing already done in French prose romances.
Mary is "that Northern Star",
"that sad and most illustrious Pattern
Of all Misfortunes.--

Being her unmerited fate heroically:
1. Lives of the Poets.

2. 1685

3 Feb: 1686
But as Gibber put it, the Master of Revels "saw Political Spectres in it", and Banks had difficulty in even getting it into print.

A revert to the current of affairs between the two lands, James's rich reign continued to keep Scotland in prominence. The riding of Parliament on his accession was reported at length in 7\(^2\) columns of the London Gazette.

Three months later, the fugitive Argyle had landed and was gathering adherents. London was startled. The Gazette hastened to supply all the news available, Argyle's declaration in full, and weekly half-column reports of his movements, though the latter are described very much in vacuo, and only an occasional "Camptown" hazarded. At the same time it assured its readers of the "readiness and cheerfulness" with which all Scotland was rallying to the King's flamboyant stroke of imagination. "And soon we hope to have a good account of the rebels".

The rising was over and Argyle executed within the following month. The Gazette, which had given it three times as much notice as the previous risings, ended with a half-column account of his death. Evelyn, who had paid scant attention to the "fanatics" of the noted his capture and death. The historians' comments range in tone with party bias—Makley's "perverse son of a wicked father", balancing Kenneth's "unfortunate Argyle"; Richard blaming "the Scotch malecontents", yet moved at "the piteous spectacle" of Argyle's end. Calamy regarding it as "a rising ill-conceived and soon over.

The crop of ballads about him showed Tory opinion as usual more articulate and more copious, and were thus mainly against him. "The Rebel Captive"—"The King and Parliament, or the Destruction of Argyle"—"The rebels Downfall"—"rebels Fled"—sorry stuff all. Broadsides purport to give "A True and Perfect Account of the Earl of Argyle's Landing in the North of Scotland" and "An Account of the Taking the late Earl of Argyle and the Running Away of the Rebels in Scotland".

Libelous "Last Will and Testament" was printed. "I, Archibald, Marquis of Argyll, the Devil's Viceroy in the Highlands, having recollected all unperpetrated rebellions, Treasons, Murders, Rapines, Plunderings, Witchcraft, Perjury, Covetousness and Sacrilege,-- Appened was his Character", "A most dextrous Artist in that prime Quality of a Scot, Dissimulation", and so forth. The rest was stuffed out with the common anti-scots silliness, particularly against "the Impudence of the King".

A similar vein was "A New Packe of Cards, representing—the two late rebellions of Monmouth and Argyle". Not till four years after, to counterbalancing "Instructions to his Son" published, to gain sympathy for Argyle.
I. 1686

2 see previous notes
synchronous with Argyle's was Monmouth's rising, that incriminated the Scots, most notoriously Fletcher of Saltoun, "the person in whom the Duke of Monmouth chiefly confided," said Sir John Dalrymple. For asson, too, had his share. The suppression of this rising too was cheerfully acclaimed in ballads and pamphlets, and then passed from public notice.

That seems scarcely to have come into notice at all was the "Killing time", Scotland was enduring. It was to last for three dark years, from '68-'69, the nation too divided to resist it. But it was not English news.

Attention preferably went to affairs like the change of religion among the Scots courtiers that James's supremacy was provoking. Such apostasy was not Scottish only, as Dryden's case proves, but the Earls of Perth and Melford and Sir Robert Sibbald were outstanding. Thus when the "Poems of Affairs of State" dealt with "The Converts", "that chang'd their Faith to please their King", it is as a scandal of Blue-bonnet Lords, a numerous score,
Whose best example is they're poor,
Merely drawn in, in hopes of Gains,
And reap the Scandal for their pains.
Half-starved at Court with expectation,
Forced to return to their Scotch Station,
Despised and scorned by every Nation.

Incidentally, the hotch-potch of satire in these volumes of "Poems of Affairs of State" holds surprisingly little direct attack on the Scots. Certainly, one favourite topic is "the false St.-rt race, the Mack-nin-bies, from "grandfather Jenny" to "these cubs of Scotland". Another is the plague of Scots and Irish:

Scotch Vermine, Irish Frogs, French Locusts, all
That swarm both at St James's and Whitehall.

As one angry poet says:
The Scots and Irish homeward shall resort,
And swarm no more about the English court.
The one industrious, 't other rich shall prove,
Both shall grow honest, both shall English love,
But I gave o'er to lash the fulsome slaves.

Depressed patriotism laments England as
Unhappy Island--
-- now thyself become a colony,
The Scots and Irish are reprized in thee.

But only the third group, the lampoons on individual Scots, is of any talk. The satiric lash falls on Lauderdale, (the most amusing touch is in the "Sale Advertisement" that includes "several riding coats of the right True-Blue Scottish fidelity, laced with the Covenant and lined with Popery, made by the Lord Lauderdale's own Taylor; may be worn either side outmost, as occasion shall serve") and on Burnet, or Frazier, or our northern Hero," who:

Whatever he undertook, proved fortunate,
He often stole, but never yet was caught. and Melford.
I. Secret Services--1733

2-"O last and best of cots--"

3 "writ by Mr Brown at the request of Dr Griffith
and Mr Burgess" Mem. of Visct Dundee.

4 anon: 1714
With James's downfall and the Revolution, Scotland had unexpectedly little to do. Scots exiles abroad played important roles, but Scots at home scarcely any.

William's accession and reign promised admirably to further Anglo-Scottish relations. It had, in the first place, a tonic effect on the national morale of Scotland. The re-establishment of Presbyterianism and the re-opening of an Assembly was both an infusion and a liberation of vital life. Aead lay the possibility of peaceful years to develop her commerce, to slowly improving, and her arts. The Scots nobles, assembling in London felt themselves again of some weight, and possibly nearer equality with the English in a Court where Carstairs was in power, "called at court, Cardinal Carstairs," wrote Hackett, Burnet very much in evidence and favour, and Secretary Johnston something of a factotum. For once, Scots credit stood high there.

In the second place, the Whig and Presbyterian ascendancy knit together these parties, regardless of north or south, as it did the English Scotch Jacobites and Episcopalians. And in this stiffening of parties, the division of nationality seemed at first three parts erased.

Thus events in Scotland during the early part of William's reign attracted less attention as Scottish events than as affairs of party. Late, too, the Jacobite press was necessarily subdued, Dundee's rising much less notice paid it than Argyle's.

The Gazette had occasional small paragraphs: "The Viscount Dundee makes up and down in the Highlands where his party is so inconsiderable that he will hardly avoid falling into the hands of the troops in pursuit." But only for a report of Stileicranlie does Edinburgh be the column; and Dundee's death is worth only a postscript. The Gazette was no guide so as to real feeling about Dundee, however. The ballads that ran round the town and that survived tenaciously as other ballads did, prove that very soon he was regarded as a hero.

The sixteen line poem begins with a beatific

O dearest hero, Heaven and Earth's delight,
O clearest flame of virtues rising bright.--

There were two elegies in Latin. Pitcairne's Latin epitaph quickly came to English ken, to be translated almost as finely by Dryden. The Viscount asked, he says, for an elegy, produced "Dundee's Speech to his Soldiers." Oldmixon, some years later, reduced the rising in drastic summary to "Parcel of beggarly, bigotted, criminal malcontents, not one tenth of the Scots nation." But the author of Dundee's "Memoirs" has protest against such a number of eulogies, that "we should have things but draughts and landscapes of Stileicranlies and Glencoes in noblemen's and gentlemen's parlours."
1. May 1690
2. Nov 1690
3. 1692
4. 1692
5. Nov 1692
6. 1692
7. in "A Collection of tracts--" 1692
9. Annals 1703
but the Episcopalian press was by no means silent or silenced. There was high outcry over the establishment of Presbyterianism in Scotland, and the rabbling of the Episcopal clergy. The years '90 '91, '92 were years of pamphlet uproar. "The Case of the Present Afflicted Clergy in Scotland"-"The Danger of the Church of England from a General Assembly of Covenanters in Scotland"-"In Account of the Persecution of the Church of Scotland"-"Presbyterian Inquisition as it was lately practised"- were countered by "A Vindication of the Presbyterians in Scotland", "The Scots Inquisition, containing a brief description of the Persecution of the Presbyterians in Scotland", "History of Scots Presbyterian Eloquence" and the like.

The Scots satirists sharpened their pens. It took a fellow-Scot to get home the most mordant truths, as the author of the "Highland Reform" had proved in his flying against the Highlanders.

Dr. Archibald Pitcairne and Dr. Alexander Pennicuik employed their wit now on satire of the Assembly, the former in a short comedy, "The Assembly", the latter in a poem, "Babell, or The Assembly".

Here and a prose tract, "The Scots Presbyterian Eloquence" were the most telling satirical of the time.

Lastly, since Jacobitism was showing itself perfectly on the alert, it is curious to see how the Massacre of Glencoe, exactly the type of dangerous incident to imperil William's whole handling of the Highlands, was almost allowed to slip past English notice. L.ention in London papers was particularly tardy, and then was a copy from the Paris Gazette two months after the event! Later still came a letter from Edinburgh:- "The Account you desired of that strange and surprising Massacre of Glencoe take as follows: Mac Jan Macdonald (sic) Laird of Glencoe, a Branch of the Macdonalds, one of the greatest Clans or Tribes"-(the need for constant explanation is illuminating)

The writer gives briefly "That brutal Tragedy" - "that monstrous and most inhuman Massacre". "You desire some Proofs for you say there are many in England who cannot believe such a thing could be done"- and these are given.

Once known, there was certainly much talk and much working up as party propaganda. But the customary discredit of Scottish news, in this case news from so alien a region, threw doubt on the whole affair. Dr. Hickey writing in '95 declared thousands of well-educated men in England had never heard of the Massacre, or regarded it as mere fable. Certainly the usual never referred to it, and Narcissus Lutterell's Diary five weeks after the event mentions Scotland as perfectly tranquil:

"The anti-William cabal, "The Bellicke Hero Unmasked" avers "As for Scotland, the subversion of Episcopacy and murder of the Glencow-Men (not to mention the perpetuating of the Conventions) will, I believe, look frightful in future Story". Dr. Hickey thought historians would pass it over. It was wrong, but the historians of the period handled the incident very vaguely. The setting was never more accurate than "Glencoe-ry found in the north of Scotland", Boyer adding that the Highlands were "the usual sanctuary of Scotch rebels", and Gladstone calling the Macdonalds "The first Thieves and Cat-throuts in all the Highlands-the most mischievous of all the Highland Popish Banditti". That type of remark, one
ight odd, was normal. The Highlands were taken unquestioningly as a
breeding-ground for barbarous rebels, partly redeemed in Jacobite eyes
of the clans' adherence to the Stuarts, but entirely discredited among
Presbyterians and Whigs, who remembered the Highland Host of '78 and
men of the buying of the chiefs in 1690.

Largely had the Commission on the massacre finished, and the affair
allowed to sink, then the "Act for a Company trading to Africa and the
Indies" once more set England and Scotland at loggerheads. (Oct. 95)
From December of that year, when the House of Lords petitioned William
against the whole project, and the Commons impeached all Directors,
through the successive Darien expeditions and failures, relations be-
tween the two peoples were strained, and on the Scots side, of the bit-
test.
A record of twelve years of "bad blood" (from 1695 to 1707) intervenes
are, ending one century, and tempestuously inaugurating the next.
CHAPTER VI. The Renaissance of Scots Scholarship.

I. The Scottish lines of advance.
II. The Restoration court-literary contacts.
III. The retardment of Scottish letters.
IV. The eighties, and their intellectual stir.
V. Scots topographers.
VI. The Royal Society and Sir Robert Moray.
VII. Scots' eminence in mathematics, botany, medicine.
VIII. The first historian of note—Burnet.
IX. Alliances in scholarship—
X. The Scot in London's literary circles.
Since with the Darien and Union projects, a new chapter in the relations between the two countries opens, it is a pause for retrospect can usefully be made at this point.

Thirty-five years have passed since the Restoration. So far only the attention given to Scottish affairs by the London press and by the men of letters has been sketched. That reflects barely a tithe of what has been happening.

Religious turbulence, armed risings, plots and stress of party—behind the hurly-burly of these went on the unnoticed activities of the intellectual world. Yet it is there that advance was being made, and new-cut ashlars taking the light.

In rough summary, three things were occurring.

Scotland, in the teeth of handicaps, was sweating to make up intellectual leeway. Partly, embittered by English treatment and dourly nationalistic, she aimed at cultivating her own resources, her scholars concentrating on Scots history, topography, antiquity, law, publishing native authors, making literary ventures in her own capital.

In broader outlook, though, her scholars were entering the main intellectual highways, and with this startling success, than in an age when mathematics, physics and medicine were the pre-eminent studies, a handful of Scottish scholars were in the forefront.

There was a taking to highways in another sense. Men of culture were going south to take English deaneries and professorships in English universities, to join the Royal Society and the London College of Physicians, to endow foundations for Scots students, to join literary groups, and the circles of London publishers, pamphleteers, and hack-writers. Hence the second and most valuable development. England became aware of Scotland's intellectual value. That drew a respect which rehabilitated the national reputation. It led to further liaisons, to co-operative work and controversies. It stimulated an interest in the country itself, in its antiquities, for instance, and its scientific curiosities. No question yet of Scots equality, but in English opinion, she was now "worth knowing" intellectually.

That admittance barely extended to her literature, however. Here Scotland was slow in making headway. Certainly, literary aspirants began to range themselves beside English, now that the English versus Scotch cross-section was replaced by Episcopalian versus Presbyterian, Tory versus Whig. But for the rank and file, language was still a barrier to original work, as in Scotland the temper of the times was to imaginative work. While some few Scots followed sedulously the English lead, and imitated English poems, fashionably translated a Spanish play, or spun an allegoric romance, the small group of native prose-writers continued the bent already stamped as national, the writing of histories of Scotland or of the Scottish Church.

II.

At first, the Restoration encouraged large literary hopes, since it brought wealth south to the fountain-head of letters, Scots of eminence and of possibility. Undoubtedly a stimulus was given. Look at the work of two of these, Sir George Mackenzie and Thomas Sydenham.
1. 1661.
2 1666-57
3. as also his namesake.
4 Essay on Satire. 1692.
5 1673
6 Pleadings of Cases--
7. 1668

8 The New Clare Club.
9 son of Bishop Sydserff
after

Mackenzie, a year before the Restoration, was publishing in London his "Arretina; or the Serious Romance, an effort in the genre that Boyle and Crowne and others were decorating. From that he turns to the English essay, and publishes "A Moral Essay: preferring Solitude to Public Employment", which draws an elegant counter-essay from Evelyn, and links the two writers. Within a year of that reply, "Mackenzie is submitting his first poem to Evelyn, "—your approbation, a sanctuary," he assures him. Two years later he is contributing papers to the Royal Society in London, and is proud to call Dryden "my friend whom I esteem a great critic as well as poet". Dryden reciprocates later with a reference to "a conversation which I had with that noble wit of Scotland, Sir George Mackenzie"—a literary discussion it need hardly be said. Mackenzie continues practising the essay and a little verse; but with his settling in Scotland of the 70's, the influence of the age begins to tell. Imaginative work ceases. Nationalism is in strong evidence—he collects his "Laws and Customs of Scotland". It is now that he writes the famous defence of the Scottish pronunciation, "firy, abrupt, sprightly and bold", and of the Scottish idiom and language generally. By the 80's, Mackenzie, nationalist and Jacobite, is skirling into controversy with Lloyd over the latter's denial of Scotland's one hundred and ten authentic kings, for by that time Scottish prose is once more the weapon of argument and little else.

Sydserff was a pioneer of another class and type. He had neither Mackenzie's renown career, and appears to have lived on his wits and pen. He had the courage to start in December of 1660 a Scots newspaper, "Mercurius Caledonius, comprising the Affairs now in Agitation in Scotland, with a Survey of Foreign Intelligence". It ran for twelve numbers, in strong Royalist and national vein and then failed. Sydserff undaunted set out for England, and turned to the fashionable practice of refurbishing a foreign for an English audience. He translated a comedy of Moreto's as "Trugo's Miles". The Earl of Dorset stood patron, and added some friendly verse. Notice of Scotland is such a rarity from that rigid little clique of Restoration dramatists, that even these conventionalities from Dorset are noteworthy:

"For who is such a Cockey in his heart,
Proud of the plenty of the Southern part,
To learn that Union by which we may
Boast 'twas his countryman that writh this Play?
Phoebus himself, indulgent to my Muse,
Has to the Country sent this kind excuse:
Fair Northern Lass, it is not through neglect,
I court thee at a distance, but respect.
On thee I will bestow my longest days,
And crown thy Sons with everlasting joys—
Let warmer climes my feeing favours boast,
Poets and stars shine brightest in the frost."

Again, there was failure. Sydserff reverted to journalism, and launched another paper. A chance Edinburgh pamphlet reveals that that too ended in disaster. "Caledonius is come home again, and left off
writing; "the business has not turned to account", this though "he was not wanting neither in affectionate diligence to set off the glory of our Country Adventurers, in the late War against the Holl-landers." Perhaps his dramatrick divertiments occupy him? The report runs that he is now dressing a little Comedy of our own Country Humour; and that the Scene lyes in Edinburgh, where it is to be acted." Talk between the speakers wenders off interestingly to the vexed question of the failure of drama in Scotland.

What this play was is unknown, but state documents mention a theatre riot and the trial of an ascendant of the playwright. Was this an early parallel of Byng's "Playboy of the Western World" and the Abbey Theatre audience?

After some skirmishing with satiric and burlesque tracts, Sydserff drops from notice, but-if the paradox will pass with two failures, a Scots newspaper and a Scots comedy, very much to his credit.

The incentive of English example explains another solitary dramatic attempt, the tragi-comedy of William Clark, "Marciano", which actually reached a performance at Holyrood House in 1663. But the cult of drama was a forlorn hope in Scotland for another century yet. The Scots playwright knew that he must make for London and that his success there depended on his producing plays indistinguishable from English work-as Lodowick Carliell had done thirty years before-as David Crawford was to do thirty years later. In Scotland, there was a lack of fit audiences, little money, no native school of actors, and the active enmity of the Kirk rampant against him.

The Kirk was to blame for more. Mackenzie's practice of the essay stands out as exceptional, still more so his prose romance. One has to look back to the Earl of Stirling, Drummond of Hawthorn, and Urquhart—all writers in the English tradition, to find similar prose, prose created solely for beauty and delight intellectual delight. But in this present period, no sooner have the religious struggles recommenced than lighter prose is crushed under controversial tracts and pamphlets on religious history. John Brown, Robert Young, Sir James Stewart, and later Robert McIvor, Alexander Shiel, Gilbert Kule, Alexander Monro furiously expose the sufferings of the Church of Scotland or of the Covenanters, debate the legality or illegality of every Church measure, every man of them "tearing great pieces of the atmosphere and throwing them behind him", as James Stephens would put it.

Admittedly the Church was not the only cause of the retarding of prose. The vernacular was still the spoken tongue, written English a matter of laboured cultivation, and the ubiquitous jergon of pulpit eloquence a bad model. What chance was there of developing a style, far less attaining graces? And had such prose struggled into existence, what chance of printing and sale? The northern public, the reading public, was eager, but religious matter inclined to swamp that market there was. Times and pockets were straitened, and book-buying consequently scanty. John Cockburn prefaced his "Bibliotheca Universalis", the first literary review, with candid statement, our stationers' trade not
1. 1688
2 History of the Art of Printing. 1713.
3a 1678
3 1677
4 1676
5 1679
6 1680
not going very far as yet, and it being too much for a private stock to bring home all sorts of books."

But the real evil lay in the state of the press. Since the Commonwealth's suppression of diurnals, the printing of books, tracts and newspapers suffered from the most paralyzing 'regulation'. Restoration policy and prohibitions of 1661 insisted that every book or paper must be licensed directly by the King's Council or some delegate. Add to the evil of this restriction, the "dead Stroke" as Watson called it, of the monopoly granted to Anderson the printer by Charles in '71. While that monopoly continued in the Anderson family, "nothing came from the royal press but the most illegible and uncorrect Bibles that ever were printed in any one place in the world."-a fact corroborated by the works in question.

Add lastly, the technical backwardness. There was no home paper-making till '675; the presses were obsolete, the type badly cleaned, staffs scanty, overworked and underpaid,-all facts avouched by Watson. In short, Scottish printing was at one of its lowest ebbs.

The 70's, then, seem to have shown every possible inclemency to the literary Scot. Yet from even the thick of the ecclesiastical frases some writers emerge, and their books come into English notice. Calderwood's "History of the Kirk of Scotland was on a scale that drew respect in England and abroad. To Dutch divines he was "Eminentissimus Calderwood".

Henry Scougal was persuaded by Burnet, his admirer, to issue his "Life of God in the Soul of Man", a devotional book in wide esteem for the next century. Burnet himself, after his noteworthy "Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton" leapt to fame with his first volume of the "History of the Reformation" A "historian Scot" was encouraged by royal patronage and royal warrant, offered a pension, sent funds to continue the work, enjoyed in fact a striking literary success. Burnet's place, however, is with the Anglo-Scots, not with the native writers in Scotland.

IV.

After the experiments and belied promises of the 60's and the clouding over by religious storms of the 70's, the 80's saw a real advance in Scots literature slowly begin.

James's visits, with their temporary establishment of a court in Edinburgh were a fresh and vital stimulus. Scotland sunned itself in a brief importance of royal patronage and English attention. The capital felt itself again a centre of intellectual stir. Once more a Scots newspaper was started-The Edinburgh Gazette-though it ran to only two numbers. (The Privy Council tightened their regulations still further in 1680, forbidding even the coffee-house reading of M.S. newspapers un inspected by the Council.) James, petitioned by Edinburgh printers, cut the strict monopoly of Mrs. Anderson's press. In the next year

and W. J. Couper - Scottish Periodical Press
C. H. Timperley's Dictionary etc.

2 1681
3 Edinburgh's Place in Scientific Progress - British Association
   Sir W. Turner's Rise of Scientific Study in Scoti
4 4 1682
5 1684
6 1688
7 1681, 85, 87.
8 1682
9 1681
10. 1684
11 1684
12 1684
13 Diary
two London newspapers, "Heraclitus Ridens" and "The Weekly Discovery" were reprinted there, and two Dutch printers were at work on improved printing presses. From these came Reid's "Scots Gardner", Sibbald's "Prodromus", Colison's "Lacompent" Editions appeared too, Dryden's "Meal", and the Prologue to "Venice Preserved". Scottish publications of value had once more begun.

The main driving power came from that small group of scholars, strong Jacobites, more fervid nationalists, Sir Robert Sibbald, Sir Archibald Pitcairne, the two Sir George Mackenzies, Sir Andrew Balfour, and others. They touched civic and intellectual life at an astonishing variety of points, and were indefatigable in their projects. A great library, botanical gardens, a museum, a College of Physicians, a Medical School, the Merchant Company—all came into being within ten years. Sibbald and Balfour founded, for instance, the gardens, Balfour the Museum, and Sir George Mackenzie the Advocates Library. The Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh was established by royal patent in 1681, and four years later the Medical School started with its three professors, Pitcairne, Sibbald, and Halkett. The year before—a detail but significant—the Philosophical Society of Oxford wrote seeking correspondences with Scots Universities.

Scottish needs began to be looked to. Sibbald issued his Proposals for a Scottish Atlas which was to be not only an affair of maps, Latin and English, of ancient and modern Scotland, but a compendium of all information and previous work on the country's climate, people, government, her past and her present.

And unexpectedly, though in perfect tune with national feeling, were two plans for "glory and handsome things" (the Scots characteristic an English traveller discovered!), to wit, Jacob de Wet's commission to paint for Holyrood the entire line of Scotland's sovereigns, and the enthusiastic subscription of £500 to bring the famous painter Baptist de Medina to Scotland. (In one of his pupils, Aikman, the 18th century had a Scots portrait painter of high repute.)

Meanwhile, James Paterson the mathematician published a "Geographical Description of Scotland with the Fairs--Tides--etc" for the Use of Such Travellers, Mariners and others", which ran rapidly to a third edition, obviously supplying another need, and suggesting increasing travel in the north.

In London, an unusual number of informative books about the country appeared—Alexander Nodie's "Scottiae Judiculum", a reprint of Drummond of Hawthornden's History of Scotland, the "Medulla Historiae Scotiae" of Alexander, a comprehensive "History of the Kingdoms of Scotland and Ireland" by Burton, issuing within a few years of each other.

At climax of a sort, the rekindling of an old quarrel brought a mister of Scots scholars into irate controversy with English. The disputed point of Scotland's unbroken line of monarchs—more important now that it was an essential Jacobite tenet—was challenged again by Bishop Lloyd in his Historical Account of Church Government", "out of emulation curtails our Scottish history as fabulous", grumbled Laud of Fountainshall.
1. 1685.
2. The Antiquity of the R--- further cleared and defend 1686.
3. c 1660
4. 1692
Sir George Mackenzie replied to Lloyd in a "Defence of the Antiquity of the Royal Line of Scotland". Dr Stillingfleet went to the Vindication ofJoyd, Sir Robert Sibbald to that of Mackenzie. Dr Smith of Durham joined in. James Cunningham added the quota of a Latin poem that "slew the Bishop of St Asaph in verse", said Nicolson. A retreating rumble of pamphlets followed the storm.

The same nationalist zeal shows itself in a cult of Scots topography, too. Since Scot of Scotstarvet's admirable commissioning of Bleau's work, there had been little progress. Gordon of Rothienay had added a Survey of Aberdeen to his Survey of Edinburgh. A John Overton had published an Atlas of Scotland of scant value, and John Adair is believed to have issued a small Atlas of Scotland in Paris in 1688.

Only John Sleser's ambitious scheme, begun about '78, of making a volume of engravings of the finest of Scotland's castles, palaces, towns, colleges, abbeys, etc., promised to be of importance. But "many complained", wrote Sibbald, "that there was so little done as to the Description of our Country". So his Proposals for an Atlas went out, and during '82, '83, '84 the help of scholars was enlisted; older writings looked out, and original work begun. That Atlas was never completed. A Scotia Illustrata was printed in '84, but that was rather a Natural History of Scotland. Of the main scheme, only the advertisements, chapter headings, a plan, and an M. S. folio remain.

Interest had been kindled, however, and research begun. Already scouting on the most distant parts of Scotland had started, as witness Math: Mackaile's "Short Relation of the Most Considerable Things in Orkney", Sir Robert Moray's Description of Hirta, Sir George Mackenzie's of Hirta and Rona, the Rev. John Morison's of the Lewis, James Wallace's "Essay concerning Hule of the Ancients". The last was fitly dedicated to Sibbald who was chief dynamic in the whole movement. When Sleser's engravings were ready for the press, Sibbald wrote the preface descriptions.

That volume, printed in London was one of the most illuminating about Scotland. For the first time the Englishman could see if he chose what Scotland was like in town and country. Naturally the scope of the volume was limited. Sleser went no farther north than Elgin and Inverness; his attention was drawn mostly to buildings; he was apt to conventionalise. Yet as offset to these defects, many of the views, for all their crudities were charming, that of Perth, for instance, memorably so. The backgrounds were usually hills, but in a few, like the Prospect of Dunkeld, a real mountain landscape appeared. Here and there he slipped in figures in Highland dress, or women washing clothes, in the Scotch fashion, or children dancing to pipes, or some such tiny glimpse of national life. Sibbald's inscriptions, with their scraps of history or quotation of distichs upon the towns, increased the value.

Was it pure coincidence that the book came out in the year that the Glencoe investigation was drawing attention to Scotland, and that it was reprinted while the '15 Rebellion was still reverberating?
Encouragement in this type of work came from two sources. The Scottish Privy Council approved Slezer's designs and intermittently financed him, as later they rewarded some telling pamphleteer, and encouraged Anderson in his "Collections".

What possibly counted more was the stimulus given and pace set by the English antiquarians; and the fact that Kirk, Thoresby, Nicolson and later Lhuyd were touring and studying Scotland, and were interested in the investigation of it.

to the Scottish work continued. Martin Martin, John Adair, the two Wallaces undertook the thorough investigation of the northern and western isles. In '97, Martin, a Hebridean factor, visited St Kilda. From his copious notes, he contributed a paper to the Royal Society, and in the following year, printed his "Voyage to St Kilda". The paper coincided with a distinct interest in the topic in scholarly circles. Hence, four years later Martin was in London, talking of publishing a "Naturall and Morall History of the Western Isles of Scotland". The famous "Description of the Western Isles of Scotland" was the outcome.

The next explorer of the isles was Adair, who had previously collaborated with Sibbald in making maps for the latter's projected atlas. Adair's "Journal of the Voyage made to the Northern and Western Isles of Scotland in 1696" was published, and followed in the same year as Martin's "Western Isles" by a "Description of the Sea-coasts and Islands of Scotland". The Wallaces, the younger of whom was an F. A. S. concentrated on Orkney, and the latter published in 1700 "An Account of the Island of Orkney", partly his father's work, partly his own, which he dedicated to the Earl of Dorset. This patronage and mutual interest among English and Scots scholars was most marked in antiquarian and topographical study.
1 Alex: Robertson's Life of Sir A Moray.
Transactions of the Royal Society
History of --------- -------- Birch etc.

VI.

The side of the Scottish advance could not escape English notice, since it was made mainly in London. That was the new colleagueship of the Scot in the sciences.

Back from exile to the Restoration court had come one valued friend of Charles's, Sir Robert Moray. A taste for scientific study, that had grown during exile, increased when he found himself again in London and in touch with fellow-scholars. Meetings with these led to the foundation of the Royal Society, and Sir Robert Moray became one of its first presidents.

His position and his work in it was of incalculable value where Scotland was concerned. The Society effected an entente cordiale between English and Scottish scholars as nothing else did, and that in the opening years was largely Moray's doing. He was an excellent liaison-officer of science, not a scholar of depth but of wide interests, not a provincial Scot, but one travelled, esteemed by Richelieu and Mazarin, and a correspondent of Huygens. Medicine, chemistry, horticulture, mineralogy, heraldry, mathematics, language—all these interested him.

In spite of being "Presbyterianly affected" he had the intimate favour of the King and the warm liking of the Society which several times re-elected him as President. He brought inexhaustible enthusiasm to it—"while he lived he was the life and soul of that body", wrote Burnet from personal knowledge, words practically repeated by Huygens.

From the first, he determinedly brought in fellow-Scots, either in person or as correspondents, contributed papers on Scots topics, brought scientific work in the north before English notice, donated curiosities sent from Scotland, saw to it that Scotland took her share in the expansion of the Society by helping to buy Chelsea House.

Hearly records of the Society are studded with his name. He consulted with Cromarty and his close friend the Earl of Kincardine on the policy of the Society. He brought in members like Burnet as early as '63, and the two royal physicians David Bruce and Alexander Fraser. The Earls of Argyll, Algin, Crawford and Lindsay, Tweeddale had joined by '64. Later came the two Sir George Mackenzies, Sir Robert Gordon, James Cunningham, James and David Gregory, (he had read letters of Jacob Gregory to the Society previously). He tapped Scots he knew at home and abroad for information—applied to Dr Adison, that famous botanist, to Lady Asey, to the Earl of Kincardine, to Lord Argyll, recommended that Lt-Col. Drummond, "long resident in Muscovy, be asked for accounts of granaries there"; reads a paper sent by "a Scot in Virginia".

His own contributions during the first few years alone were three reports Scottish—an account of "the bora cles", amusingly the first thing asked from him, a description of the island of Hirta, an echo in Scotland, of persons killed by the dips in coal-pits in Scotland, of the method of brewing ale and beer there, an account of the dissection of the body of Lord Belcarres, the shining cliffs in a little isle in Scotland, description of a coal-pit near Callross etc. etc.

Even his gifts were "a peculiar beehive from Scotland", "some stag's tears", "an amethyst sent him from Scotland", where, he mentioned, there
...whole rocks of the same(1),"some curiosities which he had brought with him out of Scotland". Few of the early meetings lack the entry: "Sir Robert Moray related that in Scotland---"

Before his death Moray must have seen his fellow-countrymen definitely win high place in the commonwealth of science. In mathematics, where Kepler a half-century before had won international fame, and Sir Thomas Urquhart in Civil War days had perpetrated a crotchety treatise, "Trissotetras", there was now the phenomenal appearance of the Gregorys. James, one of the most eminent mathematicians of his time, was admittedly a genius, publishing his "Optica Promota" while still in his twenties, by thirty inventing his telescope, issuing his "Geometriae Pars Universalis", elected to the Royal Society, corresponding and arguing with Newton, Oldenburg, and Huygens.

Even more brilliant was the younger David Gregory, a Professor of Mathematics at twenty one, and of Astronomy at Oxford at thirty, having been recommended to the latter post by Newton as "one of the most able and judicious mathematicians of his age now living". He was a pioneer of Newton's system, introducing it to Scotland years before it was taught at Cambridge. At Oxford he gave new life to mathematical studies, published original work, edited Euclid, corresponded with the leading English scholars.

He had as contemporaries, George Sinclair, the leading mathematical Professor in Scotland, known as a writer on Mathematics, Astronomy, Navigation, but to English readers most as the author of "Saturn's Invisible World Displayed"; the famous Dr Pitcairne, who catching enthusiasm in this science from his friend David Gregory, applied mathematical theories to medicine and was recognised as one of the founders of the Iatro-mathematical school of thought; and the eccentric John Craig of Cambridge, an F.A.S. like the others, and a friend of Newton's.

And this amazing list continues even beyond this period. At the end of the century, John Keill was lecturing at Oxford on the new natural philosophy, doing much to propagate Newton's ideas than even Gregory did, and constituting himself leading defender of Newton's claims against Leibnitz. He became astronomy professor at Oxford in 1712.

James Keill meanwhile, an able mathematician, was making a greater name rather as lecturer on anatomy at Oxford and Cambridge, He, too, like his brother, was publishing in the 90's.

And Arbuthnot's first published work in London was a mathematical essay. One thinks of him as man of letters, wit and doctor, but Berkeley reckoned him—whether from hearsay or no—"the first mathematician of his age".

More notable still was a slightly later group that included Colin Campbell, remarkable in mathematics and astronomy, the men of whom Newton said, "Were he among us, he would make children of us all"; James Stirling, "the Venetian", who arrived in London with a continental reputation already established; Robert Simon of Glasgow, disciple of Halley, and specialist in Greek Mathematics; and above all, Colin MacCullum, whose visit to London in 1716, brought him the immediate friendship of Newton, Hoadly, Dr Clarke and others. It was Newton's high estimate of him that established him as Professor at Edinburgh in 1725.
1. Edin: 1684
2. 1686 1687 1690.
Again, in this "Golden Age of Botany", as it has been termed, one of its six great scholars was the Aberdonian, Dr. Robert Morison. He shares with John Ray the distinction of being the reviver of systematic botany. He was King's Botanist, as well as his senior physician, and from 1669 Professor of Botany at Oxford. A monumental work of his "Plantarum Historiae Universalis Oxoniensis" was published at Oxford in 1672, 1674, 1677, and 1679, and clinched his fame. He kept in touch with, and probably inspired the small group of northern botanists, Sir Robert Gibbald, whose "Scotia Illustrata" was the first attempt to tabulate Scottish fauna; Sir Andrew Balfour, pioneer in founding the Botanic Gardens in Edinburgh (for which Morison supplied the seeds); and in planning a museum; James Cunningham, the first to botanise in China, a scholar whose papers to the Royal Society were numerous and important; and James Sutherland, the first to relate systematic botany from living plants to Materia Medica. Lastly, his successors as professors, the notable Charles and George Preston. Though the work of these men was carried on in Scotland, the majority of them were well-known to English scholars, and visited by them.

Medicine, Scots had already adopted as a field peculiarly theirs, and the Stewart kings had been served by a line of eminent Scots doctors. At this period, however, only a few were in prominence. Dr. Thomas Burnett, one of the circle who were responsible for founding the College of Physicians, was known all over Europe for his great medical compendium, the "Thesaurus Medicinae". Dr. Archibald Pitcairne, Sir Robert Gibbald, and Dr. Stevenson were centred in Edinburgh, Pitcairne known as much for his Latin verse and satiric poems, or that famous library of his, one of the finest private libraries in the world, as for his medical controversy with Lizat or his brilliant practice. Gibbald and Stevenson one connects medically most with the establishment of the Medical School and the Edinburgh College of Physicians, from which, five to ten years later, that outstanding group of Scots doctors, Arbuthnot, James and John Douglas, Sir William Cockburn, Sir David Hamilton, George Cheyne went south to fame and London.

And it is interesting to find in this period in Dr. David Herbercromby, the author of "The Discourse of Wit", and "The Academy of Science" and "A Moral Discourse of the Power of Interest", an early adventurer in metaphysics, that study so beloved of the Scot, and later excelled in by him.
1 Clarke and Foxcroft.
His own writings
Contemporary memoir-writers, and pamphleteers

History of the Reformation 1679. 1681 abridged 1681
History of My Own Times 1724-34
naturally the Scot seemed to divagate to theology and history, as has already been said. But not till Gilbert Burnet's work was the ability of any Scots historian since Buchanan widely recognized. Burnet's career as ecclesiastic and man of letters is in itself the most lucid reflection of the relations between the two countries and their reaction in intellectual circles.

For note the eminence a Scot could now attain. Burnet's "Travels", as Leslie scoffingly called them, took him from a small Scots parish to the Professorship of Divinity at Glasgow University, thence to an English bishopric, an amazing ascent since it included travel, study, the assiduous cultivation of the great, writing, politics, and attendance at Court. Scots divines in charge of London Churches were not a novelty. But a Scots bishop in an English diocese was less common, though Dr. Beliscaul in the Deanship of Durham, and Robert Crighton, Bishop of Bath and Wells, ("the great Scotchman" to Pepys) spring to mind. A Scots bishop with less a finger than a fist in English Church and State politics was distinctly rare.

Burnet made himself the most noteworthy Scot in the England of the last quarter of the 17th century, the most vocal, the most conspicuous. For forty years he was before the public eye, preaching, writing, and his enemies would add medaling. He concerned himself with politics practically all his life, though indiscretions were constantly forcing him into temporary retirements. He was in the forefront of Church matters, in Scotland and England, Church settlement, doctrine, history. He was accepted, with occasional rebuffs, at the courts of Charles and James, and stood high as royal chaplain in that of William and Mary. He travelled abroad, met Louis XIV and Peter the Great, and hobnobbed with great scholars like Leibnitz and Van Limborch. He published an enormous mass of work, political, historical, theological, biographical: not a year from 1678 to 1715 was without some publications, and in some years as many as a dozen pamphlets. (13, for example in 1687) He was an early member of the Royal Society; built a laboratory and dabbled in the occult. He even figured as poet, the House of Commons thanking him in 1680 for his poems, (very bad poems.)

In all these activities he thrust himself into the foreground, sometimes creditably as when Leighton and he and their colleagues effected "The Blink" in Presbyterian persecution; sometimes amusingly as when he lectured Charles on his defects, argued with James, "Talked for ever, and as much before the King as in his own room"—with Louis XIV, ("the King bore all," and went through many things" with Peter the Great: "I convinced him that—I insisted much to show him that—"; and sometimes notably as in his share in bringing over the Prince of Orange.

To be censured had its penalties. No one was more often lampooned, abused from every quarter. "The truth was the Tories never liked me, and the Whigs hated me because I went not into their notions and passions," he wrote in '93. Whatever his standpoint—and it varied whether contentious, Trimmer, pro-Whig, pro-Tory—he was the focus of hostility, particularly to the Jacobites. His successful career ended with his coffin being insulted on its way to the grave, and his posthumous fame began with a storm of execration over the "History of My Own Time"
1. 1679 1681
2. 1681 1682
But his eminence was secure in the world of letters, too. He aligned himself as the foremost historian and theologian of his day. His work, the most important Scottish contribution to English prose literature since the Union, was a victorious entry of the Scot into a field of writing jealously regarded as English.

From that audacious letter of remonstrance to the English Scottish bishops, written when he was nineteen, and by way of those dialogues to the Presbyte man, laughed at by Colville, Burnet forged ahead to draft in his thirties a new credo for the historian, which he makes preface to his Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton.

That book has been rated as the first political biography of the modern type, for Burnet's insistence on "the Truth of Things", "original Papers", etc led him to the novelty of combining the record of Hamilton's career with selections from letters. Sir Robert Moray "did not think there was a truer history wrote since the apostle days". The Attorney General, Sir William Jones "pressed me to undertake the History of England".

Encouraged in this fashion, he began work on the History of the Reformation, again aiming at tapping authentic sources and again scoring a marked success. Thanks came from both Houses of Parliament. Difficulties had been put in the way of his work on the first volume: there were none for the second. The King himself granted royal warrants for access to papers, contributions of money and the interest of party leaders were at his aid.

Of its appearance, Burnet's most recent biographers say: "Few books have ever enjoyed a more complete success d'occasion in spite of the pamphlets from Wharton and Lowth claiming mistakes, the History was admired as a great contribution to English history, and that from a Scot still in his thirties.

The later biographies of Rochester and Hale, his travel letters, his Pastoral Care and his Sermons only strengthened his place in English literature as witness the editions into which his work ran during the century that followed. The History of the Reformation ran to twelve editions, as did the Rochester; the Pastoral Care into thirteen; of the travel letters five editions were published in one month in Holland; 50,000 copies of the Thanksgiving Sermon were published abroad.

But his crowning work was, of course, the History of My Own Times, the publication of which began nine years after his death. When the entire work appeared, "Nothing is now harder read but Burnet's Romance or libel called by him 'the History of his own Times. Tis read by men, women and children", entered Hearne in his diary. "No one speaks well of it" says another. It aroused furious attacks, the Jacobite virulence that had pursued Burnet all through his life emerging again. "A strange rhapsody of hit-chat and lies, ill-backed together", wrote Dr. Stratford; "No more to be credited than the Seven Champions of Christendom", said Potinger. If read with many precautions, "even Burnet's History may be of some use", Bolingbroke wrote scathingly. Harvey links "these ecclesiastical heroes of their own romances, de Actz and Burnet! "He wrote like a lying wench", said Aylesbury. What relates to me is all as false as hell", Swift comments at "the little Scotch priest" and Swift later worries his copy as a dog a rat. "False as hell", he jots in the margin, "a damned lie"."False and scandalous"."Partial dog"."A lie of a Scot"."Coffee house chat"."Sad trash" and ironically "Eloquence"."True sublime".
The very number and violence of these attacks show the force of the book's impact, as well as, of course, the heats of party passion. Interest in it was unparalleled then. Now when party heats are dead, the book still provokes admiration and notice. Granted it is rashly written in parts, and some of its estimates discredited, and his style beneath Clarendon's, his exemplar, yet it remains one of the great works of the seventeenth century, history readable, vigorous and fresh, built on the authentic truth, the fact personally known, and planned on a new scale Anglo-Scottish.

That last point suggests the question: Had Burnet and his work any large reaction on Scotland's reputation? Did he further its advance? Or is too much attention being wasted on a "Scoto-British", identifying himself with English life alone?

There is a case for the latter view. Burnet found as early as his thirties that England was his "intellectual home". In his thirties he left Scotland permanently, and though he kept Scottish friends, Lowry, Lauderdale was then against him) Charteris, Nairn, the men of influence in his life were English-Tillotson and Lloyd, of whom he wrote "I have really learned the best part of what I know, and of the services I may have done, to them. And if I have arrived at any faculty of writing clearly and correctly, I owe that entirely to them"; Sir Robert Boyle, who contributed to the Expense of the "History of the Reformation"; Stillingfleet and Baxter; and of the English nobility, Sir H. Grimstone, Lord Russell, the Earls of Halifax, Rochester, and Essex.

Some of his dicta as historian are surprisingly "English" to modern readers. His attitude about "the Scotch troubles" was the familiar English one: "The Covenant was sworn, not without great appearance of devotion among all sorts of people, and they pretended it was nothing but the preservation and purity of religion they aimed at". One can very easily forget that Burnet was a Scot—yet it is to his credit as historian as one can never forget that Clarendon was English.

And Burnet was not allowed to forget it—ironical touch. That "newest English diction" of his that Airston jeered at was still too northern. He lampoons, he is always the Scot. "Have good memories", mimics Leslie. Dryden, who detected him for his principles and on a point of literary jealousy, emphasized his Hebridean race. The discredit of Scot pursued him as historian. Cotton's refusal of access to MSS: for his history of the Reformation was applauded by Portmouth. "I believe nobody will wonder at his being cautious, how he trusted a Scotch divine in searching for English records". Dugdale said bluntly to Cotton that Burnet, a Scotchman could not be credited with any special knowledge of English affairs.

But it is entirely wrong to dispose of Burnet as "sedulous ape" to England. He never declared any aim of pro-Scot propaganda, and never, like Hume spoke of the English Parnassus as his goal. But the "Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton", which he subtitled "The History of the Church and State of Scotland—End Part" (that is, to Spottiswoode's "History of the Church and State of Scotland") and his "History of My Own Times", in which about one third to one half of Book I, and half of Book II are given over to Scottish affairs, did, directly or indirectly, very much intentionally or unintentionally
1 Analecta. 1724

2 1687 on.
very much for Scottish history. Wodrow wrote at the time "His history will open the eyes of England more than ever as to our Scots affairs". It certainly afforded them a novel first-hand information about Scotland, Scots statesmen, military leaders, divines, Warriston, Lauderdale, Crawford, Middleton and Glencairn, Leighton and others.-religious parties, the Covenanters of Charles I's time, the Protesters of the southwest, among whom he had preached for three months, the Episcopal clergy-all these were sketched. Some of his 'dissections' were admirable too; the ejected Presbyterian ministers of '62, for instance, were "men of purity and faithfulness—but little men that had narrow souls and low notions—a sour and supercilious sort of people". There is not a nationalist twinge in this 'history without partiality and passion'. The prominence he gave to Scottish history in his "My Own Times" was given deliberately. "I turn now to the affairs of Scotland which are but little known" ("nor worth knowing", annotated Swift, who resenting the attention given, satirized it by adding (Scotland) in the title).

His writings began the rectifying of the balance between English and Scottish. That English and Scottish history had to be studied concurrently, that Scottish history had to be regarded impartially, dispassionately, that the historian was above nationality, that the world of letters was a commonwealth in which there was no race-these were the claims that, consciously or unconsciously, the career and writings of Gilbert Burnet made.

IX.

Burnet's career admittedly was exceptional. It typified rather the future possibilities of the Scottish man of culture in England. Of the other prominent Scots there, Fletcher of Salton, Secretary Johnston, "Cardinal" Cartares, not one rivalled his position. And restricting the field to the period of Charles II and James II, only Sir Robert Moray has an equal standing.

But an entente cordiale in matters cultural had even then begun, which made the recognition of the Scot easier. It appeared in co-operative work between English and Scottish scholars, in controversies between them, in correspondence, joint association in societies, friendships. Among the first of these were, for example, the Scottish contributors like Sir James Balfour to Dugdale's "Monasticon", the editorial work by Phillips and Gray on the two volumes of Drummond of Hawthornden, the Bishop of St Asaph's engaging Burnet on the History of the Reformation, and the financial aid in that of Sir Robert Boyle. The Boyles, father and son, should have honourable mention for encouraging other Scottish projects, John Durie's work on "Liberty of Conscience", Kirkwood's plan for distributing Bibles and Catechisms, and founding "Bibliotheca" in the barbarian Highlands, Abercromby's "Power of Interest".

Anglo-Scott literary friendships have already been noted: Sir Thomas Urquhart and Roger Williams, Evelyn and Sir George Mackenzie, Bishop Sage.
1. 1689
2. 1684
3. 1694
4. 1702
5. 1701-04
6. 1704-5
and Dr Dodwell, Burnet and Tillotson and Lloyd, Lauderdale and Pepys, Sir Robert Boyle and Sibbald and Sir Robert Gordon, Dr Hickey and Lauderdale, Dr Wallis and Pitcairne, Pitcairne and "his old comrade, Prior", Sibbald and Dr Charleton, Charleton and David Gregory. -- the list could be stretched very much further. Add to that the patronage links, becoming more frequent again, Dorset of Syderoff and the younger Wallace, Argyll of D'Urfe, and Killigrew and so on.

In the Universities, too, the Scots are coming into more prominence. Creighton, the famous Greek scholar, and Morison the botanist are forerunners of other professors supplied by the north, David Gregory and the Keill lecturers. A new link is forged when John Snell founds the Snell Exhibitions ('79), that brought 31 senior students to Balliol; (recall South going south sixty years later as one of these exhibitioners). The touch between Oxford and Scottish writers is also worth noting: - Oxford University thanking Mackenzie for his "Vindication" - the latter's eventual settling in Oxford - the Philosophical Society of Oxford desiring correspondence with the Scottish Universities, and noting the issue of work like Sibbald's "Scotia Illustrata".

Co-operative work later broadened in scope. The revision and publication of Malebranche's "Search after Truth" was undertaken by six great scholars, one of them David Gregory. For the publication of Flamsteed, a committee of three English and two Scots co-operated, these last Gregory and Arbuthnot. Between these two undertakings came Archdeacon Nicolson's collecting of the Scottish Historical Library, a task he was invited to and helped in by Scots scholars.

And as the dictionaries come to be launched, Jeremy Collier's "Great Historical and Geographical Dictionary", for example has Sir Aeneas Macpherson contributing a history of his clan and other information about the Highlands.

The controversies of the day, which - apart from the St Asaph one and that between Attwood and Anderson - were not national disputes - brought scholars together too. Newton was championed most hotly by his Scottish disciples and correspondents, and his interest in these, the Gregories, Craig and Keill was always close.

There is a very natural linking where any point of interest is shared. Take the contacts of even a nationalist group like the Scots antiquaries. It is English scholars who originate, mostly, and these consequently they watch. Nicolson of Carlisle has compiled the English Historical Library? Let him be asked to do a similar service for Scotland. Nicolson was no stranger in the north. In '97 he had been in Scotland and "met with a most ravishing native monument; two years later he was in Edinburgh visiting Sibbald and Sutherland. Over the "Scottish Library", collaboration was particularly friendly, Nicolson acknowledging that the northern group had helped him "with an unspeakable generosity".

Again, Sibbald sends a "paper of queries" to his friend Dr Charleton, who holds a "dinner of Gothick antiquaries" to answer them. Or Sibbald
2. Historical inquiries re Roman Monuments in Scotland 1707 etc.
3. Wodrow's Analects
4. 1702-3
5. "Thou hast awaked the Celtic from the tomb" - 1707
6. 1665
7. 1685
8. Webster's Witchcraft, Deceivers and Impostors 1677
   Kirk - 1691-2
"Directions for his honour'd friend, Mr Lhuyd, how to trace the Roman Wall—between Forth and Clyde." (Roman remains were already attracting to Scotland men like Thoresby, Nicolson, Lhuyd the Keeper of the Ashmolean and others.)

Typical of the amalgamation of interest is a matter like Lhuyd's reporting to Sutherland (who forwards it to Wodrow) that Martin is publishing a book on the Western Isles; or a better instance Lhuyd's forwarding of a questionnaire about Highland customs and antiquities to Wodrow, Sibbald and Sutherland, who in their turn write to Gaelic scholars, this to glean information for Lhuyd's English work, the "Archaeologia Britannica" (a book prefaced bycomplimentary verses from Gaelic scholars); or again, the joint compiling by Lhuyd and Kirk of a Gaelic vocabulary to be appended to Nicolson's "Scottish Library".

Curious little flecks of interest swung together readers on both sides of the Border. As random example, take the matter of second sight and psychic phenomena.

At the end of the century, several works on that were in high demand: Scott's Discourse of Witches had been reprinted; Sinclair of Glasgow had brought out his "Satan's invisible World Discovered," Robert Kirk of Aberfoyle his "Secret Commonwealth." The topic linked itself peculiarly with Scotland, Kirk's book subtitled itself "the chief curiosities as they are in use among divers of the people of Scotland to this day" singularities for the most part peculiar to that Nation.

Pepys had bought a copy of Scot, and had either the manuscript or a copy of Kirk, and had been discussing marvels like elf-arrows with Dr Hickes, who since his chaplaincy with Lauderdale in Scotland in '78 had been primed with tales of the second sight and psychic subjects. Pepys, greatly interested, wrote to Lord Berkeley for information, and from him received a copy of a letter by Lord Tarbat to Dr Boyle, Boyle adds some illustrations of his own, and Pepys "is brought near to a conviction" of the reality of second sight. Then Dr Smith supplies a tale and a disquisition, and Clarendon, appealed to, quotes an instance from his own experience. These letters pass during '79, '80, '81. A year later, Lhuyd's questionnaire is circulating among Scots scholars, investigating "what account of second sight?"—"what is known of elf-arrows—of remarkable animals—" to the topic brings in a widening circle of friends, and incidentally swings attention to Scotland.
1. H.A Plomer's vols on Printers and Books at work--1668-1725 1725 on

2. J.H Muddiman--"Henry Muddiman, the King's...

3. Joh Dunton 's Life and Errors

2a. Dryden
The other side of the Scottish advance is worth notice. In London, Scots were staking out a claim in the publishing and newspaper world, and in the embryo Grub Street.

That was the natural corollary of conditions in the north, and had begun in single instances before this. Syderreeff, failing in Edinburgh, had gone south. His case as repeated now by John Cockburn, who, given permission by the Privy Council to start a literary review, "Bibliotheca Universalis", issued one number, had his permission recalled, and was forced to make for London and the "writing of pamphlets" there.

The Scots printer in London was no novelty either. In Commonwealth days, John Ogilby had been supreme in his bringing out of fine volumes of the classics. His best work belongs to the 60's, his Homer, Aesop, Maro, and further editions of Maro and Homer. Unlike later Scots printers, however, he touched little or no Scottish work, and identified himself with the London he settled in, and the Court, where he held the title of King's Cosmographer and Geographic Printer.

Similarly Scots had been in the London publishing trade before now, just as Englishmen, like Nottin, Vautrollier, Tyler, Waldegrave, had been engaged earlier in book-selling in Scotland. Cleveland has a jeer at historian diurnal-makers who "would hardly pass muster with a Scotch stationer in a sievefull of ballads and almanacks." (Cleveland would naturally suggest that none were more than ballad-pedlars.)

Lists of the printers of periodicals between 1641 and 1666 include such names as Mark Wallace, George Lindsey, Donald Maxwell. The first editor one can verify as Scottish, though, is Giles Dury, probably brought down from Scotland in Protectorate days by Glarsses.

The Parliamentary Intelligencer of April 16-1660 authorized Giles Dury and H.Kuddiman--to write and publish the said Intelligencer, the one upon the Thursday and the other upon the Monday, which they do intend to set out under the titles of the Parliamentary Intelligencer and Mercator's Publicus." December numbers for the preceding year have Scottish names like Finsburgh for Finsbury, which suggest that Dury's work probably began then. Three years after the Restoration, these papers were discontinued, but their editors would seem to have carried on some work till 1668, as a letter of that year announces that "J.D. and H.K. will be much to seek for their employments and intelligences."

Rancking as next Scots editor to claim London notice, is the notorious Ferguson the Plotter, who ran with the co-operation of James Forbes that illicit press that turned out seditious pamphlets. His first religious tract came out in '68, and from that date on, issues political and religious ones '73, '75, '80 etc. He kept in touch with Scotland, visited it in '80 and possibly at other times, and was never allowed by his aggressors to forget his nationality:-

"Shall that false Hebronite escape our curse,
    Judas, that keeps the rebels' pension purse--
    What have the men of Hebron here to do?
    What part in Israel's promised land have you?"

He was called, more mercifully, "Scotch Tacitus", because of his copious
2 1695
3 1695
4 1695
classical allusions, and L'Estrange talks of his "Scotch force".

But these isolated examples are replaced in the eighties by something of a drifting south of pamphleteers, lured of course by the possibilities in the sharpening party warfare. The settled establishment of publishing firms, the first famous publishing Scottish firms, dates from this time too.


In London there are the Foresters, Andrew Forster publishing an occasional Scots pamphlet, and Susanna Forster "the recognized agency for the publication of Scottish literature". With them were James Moxon and Robert Bowyer, Edinburgh printers who established London branches in '68 and '87 respectively. Whether Robert Scott, the noted book-seller, whom Roger North called "the greatest librarian in Europe", and James Fraser, the "Catalogue Fraser who was licensor of the press from '68 to '92 were of Scots race is doubtful.

In the nineties appear Scots publishers of note, for Andrew Bell in '94 sets up business in Cornhill, and George Strachan follows suit five years later.

It is no digression to watch the progress of these and later firms, in themselves they are important, since they point to Scottish and English interests merging. But their policy and their publications are more important. Gone are the days when Chamberlain could write "Our printers have no correspondence thence, and care not to have". Hence for instance, at the chance mentions of Andrew Bell, and see how the natural "clannishness" of the Scot prevails. He becomes proprietor of the "Flying Post", installs a fellow-countryman, George Ridpath, as editor. Dunton notes "the Flying Post is best for the Scotch news".

Or note his early publications-Sir George Mackenzie's "Institutes of the Laws of Scotland", Martin's "Description of the Western Isles", speeches by Seton of Pitmeddon and Arbuthnot, Union pamphlets by Scots, and the Articles of the Treaty of Union. His employees numbered Scots, like the Hugh Montgomery who eventually set up for himself.

Indubitably the Scots bookseller cut a distinct channel for Scottish literature and writers to join the main stream of English literature.

At a slightly lower level the Scots pamphleteer comes into the light. George Ridpath was an active controversialist by the nineties, answering "The Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence", holding a pamphlet duel with Dr Monroe; and in addition translating work of Sir Thomas Craig, and running with success "The Flying Post", "the honestest of all newspapers" wrote Tutchin. "Scots Fanaticus's" paper had even a good circulation in Scotland.

Prominent Tory opponent of his, Charles Leslie, was of Scots parentage, and he was well-known in the journalist field by 1691. His was the violent attack on William and the Glencoe Massacre, in "Gallieus REDIVIVUS" and he was the first to supply London with the atrocities of that affair.
In one other type of work, the Scot was showing a characteristic aptitude. An excellently annotated edition of Milton is known as the work of a Scot, Patrick Hume, but luckily little else is known of him, other than that he was in Terson’s employ. One wonders if the London edition of Buchanan in ’96 utilised fellow-countrymen.

John Dunton names some in his employ—Dr Miller, skilled in physics and mathematics, Mr Andrews, a learned and ingenious Scot”.

From editor to literary hack, then, the Scot had his representatives.
in summary, then, the relations between Scotland and England in these thirty-five years have encouraged a rapprochement between the scholars and men of letters, on both sides of the border; have stimulated Scottish progress particularly in the sciences, so that Scottish achievements there have made England more aware of and ready to accept a new evaluation of her neighbour.

Two caveats have to be made though.

Granted that Scotland's intellectual showing is extraordinary, considering her handicap past and present; granted too that a long list of notable Scots of the nineties could be made, and that in that list would figure men with pioneer and first-class work to their credit,—Burnet oho, in augur a tor of a new historical method, Gregory with his invention of the telescope called after him, Morison and Sutherland pioneers in the application of living-plant study to medicine, Moray and Sibbald and Sinclair with minor claims of the discovery of new species or the investigation of new subjects.

Yet Scotland is far from being in the front rank intellectually. She is following still, not leading. Even scholars like the Gregories are brilliant disciples, rather than intellectual innovators. Lines of progress—as in antiquarian and topographical study—are laid in England. English societies are established well in advance of Scottish, the Society of Antiquaries, the London College of Physicians, the Society for the Reformation of Manners and the like acting as models for Scottish.

That touch of discipleship is most marked in literature, as one would expect. The "English Historical Library" is followed by the Scottish, the English "Hudibras" by the Scottish, the "English Rogue" by the "Scottish Rogue", the "English Gardener" by the "Scotts Gardener", and so on.

Individual scholars are eminent, but there is no renaissance of the Universities. Her education makes little advance before the enforcement of the parish-school system in 1696. The fact is recognized in the north: Cockburn in his "Bibliotheca Universalis" calls Learning "not totally a stranger" but wishes it were more universally spread. "If it yet not as much footing here as it has done elsewhere", that he imputes to "the want of General and Public Encouragement". "In former times this Kingdom produced Scholars were second to none". "Tis not to be doubted but that our Country could yet show that they have a share of that Reason and Good Sense which this Generation pretends to, if there were occasion for Proving and Exercising it."

Past reputation, some present lights and distinct promise—Scotland's total stands at that. "Reputation and recruits are the only two things which Scotland can give"—wrote Secretary Johnston once. That was as apt a summary in the affairs of culture as in those of economics.
1. 1665
2. 1665
3. in 1662
4. 1663
The second caveat is that while England is being made aware of such Scottish scholars as publish or live or lecture in Scotland, the recognition of Scottish work in Scotland is tardy. Educated men were not in touch with each other, more cognizant of each other's land. But were the two peoples in general?

On time to time, informative 'gobs' were held up for English mouths. Whether these were either swallowed or digested is very doubtful. Far back as Commonwealth days, the excise officer Tucker had compiled a "Report upon the Settlement of the Revenues of Excise and Customs in Scotland", which gave a coldly accurate account of Scotland's commercial position. It is a first attempt at Scottish statistics, and not valuable, though it must have added any incipient respect the country may have had for Scotland. For it reveals a poverty-stricken country, a population not three times that of London, an assessment wealth only a very small fraction of England's, and practically no trade "in the inland parts". Tucker disparages the people, "generally treated with sloth and a lazy vagrancy". The Highlands were "destitute of all trade, its men living by feeding cattle, but "formerly by plainsight robbing and stealing." The main features were "the barrenness of the country and poverty of the people".

Sylvia's "Geographica" of ten years later, endorses Tucker: "a country barren and unfruitful, a people patient of want and hunger," more of "greedy of revenge", "subtle and politic". The only fresh information he has to offer is a list of Scots authors, Napier of Merchiston, the two Barcleys, John Skene, and Dr. Donald Maxwell--a very meagre list invite English book-adventurers.

In the thirty-five years just dealt with, another small handful of travelers' accounts slips into print, in every case many years after the journey. The botanist had made a 'simpling voyage' into Scotland, and kept bees. In his opinion the people "seem to be very lazy, at least the men" and women "none of the handiwork and not very cleanly". The country bounded with beggars and poorpeople, but "the Scots cannot endure to hear their country or countrymen spoken against". Few towns he visited--Edinburgh, Glasgow, Stirling he did not greatly admire--"an indifferent handsome town" is a typical phrase, but he did admire the national church-going. He noticed the heads of Argyll and Sutherlin still, and the burning of witches taking place--one feels a shock at both announcements, precisely what the English felt-. He ends with what he very obviously found a necessity to know--a table of Scots coins in natural phrase, and the English equivalents.

In addition to transcribing Scots terms, Kay probably picked up then a copy of David Ferguson's Proverbs. A popular craze for proverb books was raging at the time, and the half-dozen English ones he mentions using a "Collection of Scots Proverbs" by Papworth Harrop. 1802 had been published in London. (This was a tiny book, holding fifty-eight pages of accurately-copied old Scots proverbs, their "suhens" and "suihers" being reprint of a much earlier collection.) Kay's "Collection of English Proverbs", published at Cambridge in 1836 appended Ferguson's to a small venture to take note of, but it afforded the enquiring reader a sketch of the Doric at its pithiest--if only to laugh over.
1. 1691
2. 1679; and 1699
3. 1694
4. 1689
5. 1700
Apropos of the Horie as an oddity, it is worth noticing that twenty
years later, the Anglo-Saxon scholar, Edmund Gibbon, amused himself
with a continuously annotated edition of Drummond's "Polemohidiniae",
and James's "Christ's Kirk on the Green", the project a sort of mock-
epic of scholarship.

To return to the exploring of Scotland by scientifically-bent travel-
ers; two followers of Ray are known, Thomas Kirk or Kirkc and Ralph
Thoresby. Ray's notes were not published till about 1740. Kirk, as has
been noted, printed a skit on Scotland, but a pamphlet of "more solid
observations" was left unpublished till 1830. It probably circulated
till in manuscript, however, for his tour was an ambitious one.

He skirted the Highlands, pushed into Caithnessshire and sailed thence
to Orkney. On his return journey, he met some of Scotland's notabilities.
The famous Dr Forbes, "esteemed the learnedest man in Scotland",
and Burnett and the Duke of Hamilton. Kirk's account of the Highlands
will be reverted to in a subsequent chapter. Apart from that dis-
trict, the impression he conveys of Scotland was of a "barbarous
country" as he calls it, of bad weather, unspeakable roads, and "abundance
of nasty women", of Universities poor and mean, of some historic
scenes, (the site of the Battle of Dunbar, or the scene of the Mon-
trese defeat, for instance), of second sight, and of very hearty drink-
ing of ale, claret and usquebex.

His friend Thoresby went north four years later, but did only the
little tour" from Edinburgh Berwick to Edinburgh, by Stirling to Glas-
gow, and so south again. He had an admiring glance for the prettiness
of Leith and Glasgow, (it emphasizes the smallness of their industrial
area), and a fearful one at the Highlands, "which shows to be a most for
midable country, full of mountainous crags and terrible high hills".
He noted and visited historic scenes. (It is obvious that the day of
sight-seeing tours is dawning). Yet the chief idea he must have left
in the minds of English friends reading the M.S. was of a land of peril-
ous travel. "Our danger here was most dreadful", he writes. "We were
upon the side of a most terrible high hill. We had above us a hill so
desperately steep that our achings hearts durst not attempt the scaling
of it, it being much steeper than the roofs of many houses; but the hill
below was still more ghastly, as steep for a long way as the walls of a
house-- to add to our torments there was a river ran all along, which
we expected every moment to be plunged into and into eternity.--in this
extremity, (which now after many years--makes my hairs stand upon end
on my head--)" and so on. This was Lowland Scotland, not perilous
Tibet.

As a timely piece of semi-official survey, there came out in London
at William's accession, "[.. Breviata of the State of Scotland in its
Government", a short informative booklet about Scotland's courts, off-
ices and officers of state etcetera. How much this type of pamphlet
was needed as counter balance is realised when five years later two
more books about Scotland are brought out, Richard Franc's "Northern
Memoirs" and "An Historical Account of Mr Brome's Three Years' Tra-
vels over England, Scotland, Wales."
Franck is something of a Sitwell. On the bare peak of the Scotland he actually travelled and fished in, he draped fantasies of his own, elaborate embroideries of Arcadian, savannahs, Tritons and sea-nymphs sporting themselves on the slippery waves of Lough Neus. At first one suspects him of having his tongue in his cheek, but no sense of humour leaps out elsewhere. Possibly the English reader called it to his aid on reading with an incredulous gape that "the whole tract of Scotland is but one single series of admirable delights, notwithstanding the prejudiced reports of some men that represent it otherwise. She is not Europe's umbra, as fictitiously imagined by some extravagant wit; no, it's rather a legible fair draught of the beautiful creation, dressed up with polished rocks, pleasant scenes, and flourishing dales, deep and torpid lakes with shady firwoods immersed with rivers and gliding rivulets; while every fountain overflows a valley and every ford superabounds with fish. Where also the swelling mountains are covered with sheep, and the marish grounds are strewed with cattle, whilst every field is filled with corn and every swamp swarms with fowl. —Scotland, a kingdom of prodigies and products too, to allure foreigners and entertain travellers."

This sudden Apocalypse of Scotland is staggering, but Franck qualifies it where the Highlands are concerned. "These Highlands, to my thinking but represent a part of the creation left undrest. As some great and magnificent fabric is erected, you know abundance of rubbish is left to remove; so I fancy those Highlands appear to me, because wanting ornament and destitute of cultivation."

With such extremes of praise and abuse ready, Franck's two travellers "tumble the Highlands; ay, and the Lowlands too." At Knocheny, "here we assume a poetick liberty to call Scotland Arcadia", and he subscribes a eulogistic sonnet. There are descents to "dirty Dumb Line", or "dull Salkeith", but on the whole he is liberal in admiration.

Whether that admiration is genuine, or he is flown with his own poetic verse, he is the first to appreciate "the glory of the Western Highlands, enriched with grain and the plenty of herbage", and "the impregnable lustre and beauty of this fair fortress", Edinburgh Castle.

As for the marvels, he quotes the floating islands of Lough Neus", the earth of moss that drives away rats, the barnclees; "I have held a barnacle in my own hand". Occasionally a fresh wind of common sense blows in. Incidens, one of the two speakers, for the book is cast as a dialogue against a moving background, as it were, explains rationally the floating islands. He argues too, against the Scottish charge of "selling the King", one of the first acquittals the Scots were given.

There are even realistic little sketches of Scots character—though that is perhaps too pretentious a description. But one recalls the Border gilde's cheerful shouts of "I've pree it and prieve it", "Haud a pleck", "Come ben." Sometimes the usual English idiom crops up, "Cookery or rather Scotch Sluttery", or the Highlanders who "live like Lairds and die like Loons, hating to work, and no credit to borrow, they make deprivations and rob their neighbours"—comic anecdote or two: "the old brewster wife and Billy Pringle's son, Buzzy", is laboriously spun. He can name familiarly the favourite Scots dishes. But the eccentric and the odd predominate, and Franck is excited most by the marvellous. "Scotland", he says again, "is a king-
is curious that Branch's Memoirs were written in 1658, though one of his characters says, "You write your book in '58, but spread it out to '68." Similarly, Brome's travels belong to 1669, for he saw the state procession of Lauderdale and heard the people still talk of their sufferings in the Civil War.

One thing in common with Franck, a love of inserting purple patch-colours of the marvellous. "Natural rarities of this kingdom" he apostilles, plunders Harrison for the white oxen, clayk geese, and locks that or freeze or smoke with brimstone. His account is overstuffed with borrowed material, particularly when the Highlands are dealt with, these he knew only from second hand. But he writes of the Lowlands in his own experience, and takes from books only the frequent mention of historical incidents and characters. He describes Edinburgh and Glasgow in some detail, giving little sketches of the merchants meeting in the High Street or the delightful gardens and orchards of Glasgow. Travelling in the Lowlands was hard, "the territory of Famine, the territory of hardship, overpotently over that cold and pinching region." Has unusual praise for the Scots nobility he saw riding in the State procession: "nor is there grandeur disproportionate to their demeanour, such is high and stately, but courteous and obliging, having all the additional helps of Education and Travel to render it accomplished, for during their minority, there is generally great care taken to refine their nature, and improve their knowledge;" and he continues admiringly to tell how the "betake themselves to foreign nations to make a further progress." How far is this to be discounted as mere diplomatic phrase? It disagrees with contemporary pictures of the rough Launder with his broad accent and brusque ways, though he was certainly exceptional. But Pepys' frank letter to Hewer, on his visit some thirteen years later, shows how unimpressed he was with "the finest show they can make", even "among those of the first quality".

Kirke, Thoresby, Franck, Brome—each contribute a picture of a different Scotland. In only one thing they are alike, their consciousness of dwelling in a very 'fremd' land, a terra incognita still, with interesting antiques or the prettiness of such a town as Glasgow only rewardingly the perils and discomforts to be endured there.
CHAPTER VII. The Crisis in Relations- Darien and Union.

I. The commercial 'menace' of the Scot.
II. The Darien Scheme.
IV. English satire.
V. Proposals of Union.
VI. England's attitude.
VII. Attack and defence in English journalism.
VIII. Scotland in the Picaresque.
IX. Travel sips and informative handbooks.
X. Reactions of the crisis in Scots literature.
It is no absurdity to list an important in its literary reactions a commercial undertaking like the Darien scheme. The more one realizes that crippling of literary progress, caused by the Englishman's neglect, infringement and resentment of Scotland, the more one is convinced that the roots of these feelings were as much economic as cultural. The Englishman feared the incoming of the Scot, and the "keep him out," "hold in off" policy of commercial circles permeated the wider circles of national interest and literature.

The Darien affair is the gathering to a head of what had been insidiously discussing the relations between the two countries for the whole century-economic fear and jealousy. That English jealousy was as frank as its first sight ludicrous. That competition could be dreaded from a country so desperately poor and undeveloped, whose industries were a mere domestic trade almost nonexistent, shipping and overseas settlement negligible? Its population was 1½ millions to England's 5½; its revenue £1,600,000 to England's £5,691,000; the coin in circulation £500,000 to England's £16,000,000.

Scotland cut no figure in international trade. A financial power behind the throne like George Heriot was rare as a Sir Basil Zaharoff. The famous banking firms of Coutts and Barclay were not establishing themselves till the very end of the century, the elder David Barclay, just a London apprentice in 1698, Patrick Coutts only beginning to found the family fortunes in Leeds in 1694.

There were no large thriving industrial towns. Glasgow was still a pretty place, "the nonsuch of Scotland" wrote the lyrical Franc, "where an English florist may pick up a posy." And Tucker had to correct himself: the towns of Burner, or village rather, for all the towns of Scotland, less the burgh towns, deserve no other appellation." (Report of 1686) Great commercial firms could be cited. Merchants worth £1000 sterling were counted great, said a contemporary. Scottish commerce had as its typical figure a dusty-foot pedlar.

When Scottish agriculture was markedly backward. A General Enclosure Act was not passed till 1695. English travellers exclaimed at the light cornfields, and swore they knew better than to look for hay or trees in all Scotland, or anything in the highlands but barrenness and two-footed wolves!

It logically, while exposing volubly how negligible a rival it was, again as volubly declared its fear of it, indeed over money matters, and was obsessed by the bugey of a leech-like Scotland draining England of its wealth. Recall how often in the century the ranking distaste found expression, in the angry protests of the English merchants for taxes urged a closer union, in the resentment of suit-begging Scots and insatiable favourites, in the hatred of Scots monopolists and at the extreme of the ubiquitous pedlar, in the accusation that Scotland was to blame for the lack of bullion, in the grudging payment of the subsidy -substance, the fury at the tax-levying of the Scots army in the Civil War, the bitter pun of that army's coming "not for our good but our goods", the final outcry at the selling-of-the-King payment.
the Restoration the fact that Scotland was cut adrift and in
of foundering completely silenced English talk for a while.
anger broke out against Scotland's rumoured trading with Holland
during the second Dutch War. Renewed proposals of Union, urged by the
Hollanders, were rejected. Scotland, forced to thrust her way where she could,
and an increasing illicit trade from the 1670's on, ended English merc
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Hollanders, were rejected. Scotland, forced to thrust her way where she could,
Here was legitimate grievance for the Englishmen in the whole process, and ground for fear. At the coinage in Scotland after the Union of 1707, only £850,000 of the £411,000 was Scottish coin - and that is but one example.

And England saw further menace. A born coloniser herself, gradually building up her lands in America, she could look with contempt at first at her northern neighbour's luckless settlements:

- Captain Russell's attempted colony in Newfoundland in 1620-Sir William Alexander's charter for Nova Scotia and the precarious holding of Port Royal for four years - the Cape Breton colony wrecked by the French, the Peter settlement at East New Jersey and the Presbyterians at Stuart's Run in South Carolina - all of some value.

But she had not bargained for Scottish penetration into her own settlements, or for Scots emigrants being found the most valuable. (Sir William Temple wrote thoughtfully, on hearing from Major Banister the view that the Scots are the best planters" - "it has been often in my mind that both from Scotland and Ireland we draw too few into our plantations abroad." A pamphlet, not ten years later, "The Case of Scotsmen residing in England and the English plantations" estimates the Scots as one-third to one-quarter of the colonial population. Nor did England foresee the emerging of Scots governors, J.P.'s, Members of the Council. Advances like these were bitterly resented, especially in this period, when, for example, a Scots Governor of New Jersey was dismissed and only with difficulty reinstated. A Parliamentary ruling was required that the words 'native-born subject of England' did include Scots.

Lastly, there signs that the Scots were not only pressing ahead in England and in American markets, but were doggedly bent on improvement at home. Denis de Raspes' disgusted comment in the seventies had been: "I never saw a nation in general more industrious, lazy and least ingenious in matters of manufacture than they are." By the 1680's attempts were being made to set up factories and introduce new industries. Some woollen factories were already established at Haddington, Bonnington and Ayr-Glasgow started another. A silk-winding factory, breweries, bottle-works, paper mill, and fine cloth factory were set up. An Act was passed encouraging the wider use of linen, and the royal burghs followed this up by helping Richard Zulpin to form a linen manufacturing company. Linen works were established in Edinburgh, where a James Young applied for a patent for a weaving engine that as early as 1696. Capital for these various enterprises was painfully to seek, but the Bank of Scotland was founded in 1695, and, more auspicious than that, the will to advance was there.

Further, Scotland was asserting her national policy of its own. "Scotland is the absolute kingdom," the Scottish Privy Council had once reminded England, in a commercial dispute. Logically it insisted on its right to continue trade with France, even though that country was at war with England.

English policy had been a simple one. The interloping Scot must be penalised and driven off, her own industries protected by Navigation Acts ensuring English trade with English ships to English colonies, and markets, colonies, corporations kept as rigidly English as possible. But she did not realise was that this forthright policy was provoking a dangerous temper in the north.
1. Some Seasonable and Modest Thoughts---1696

2. Parasinesis Pacifica---1702

3. Defence of the Settlement of the Scots in Darien 1699.

4. Fletcher of Saltoun
   "A Letter from Gentleman in the Country to his Friend at Edinburgh 1696"
Scotland from the first had been sensitive about her poverty and commercial inferiority to England. Letters of the Scottish Privy Council early as the Union of the Crowns period had shown a touchiness at an English assumption that only the Scots would benefit from Union, a touchiness that remained. But she was as aware that the only hope of utterment lay in sharing English markets and privileges. Her own settlements had not been too fortunate and they continued small. Attempts found a large trading company had so far failed, as for instance, the Scottish Company formed in 1618 for trading with the West and West Indies, Turkey, Greenland—the project that had excited Chamberlain to demand its "large privileges which do directly infringe former grants and cross the whole course of our traffic." Retaliation measures against gland and protection for her own trade had been negative in theirking. One solution remained—to wrest or bargain or cajole from England and the privileges of free trade.

One of the "monstrous concessions" of the Secret Treaty of Carisbrooke had been the sharing of trading and manufacturing rights. The Union proposals of 1668-70 had that clause again in the forefront. James II on his accession had written the Scottish Parliament: "We have made the opening a free trade with England our particular care," and Parliament, deploring "the trade of this kingdom—at present exceedingly decayed," appointed a Committee. William of Orange was solicited on the matter.

Scottish lords even before his arrival in Britain. In April of '69 the Scottish Parliament nominated Commissioners to reheat discussion with England on the topic. Scotland obviously held the whole question urgent.

England was unmoved and in policy unmovable. Why surrender valuable privileges to the grasp of a rival, who had no adequate return to make? If the Scots had their grievances in having trade with their best customers, England and France ruined by English wars, the English had theirs.

is English stonewalling exasperated northern opinion. Already a mass resentment had gathered. The '69 suggestion of appointing commissioners to confer with Scots conference had been rejected by the English Parliament—to Scots fury. From this point on, the plain-speaking of the Scots became bitter. No one challenged the belief which a later pamphleteer summarized as "the Politicks of England"—"to render this Kingdom noble and Potent and Wealthy, Scotland must be kept weak and poor and contemptible." Another wrote "There is no nation so much hurt in Trade as in Scotland. Because we are under their Head, but not of the their Politick Body—England gives neither Friendship, free Trade, nor privilege to us." The common cry was "It is the Interest of England to keep the Scots low."

As Scotland began to feel more capable of expansion, these barriers came even less endurable. It was felt a crippling of the nation intentionally. "Our not advancing as our Neighbours grow, but lessened the nation more in the Eyes of our Neighbours than our Union with England & Being made thereby in effect little better than a Province of that Kingdom nationalism began to be rampant.
In this juncture the Darien scheme was launched. The act for the Encouragement of Foreign Trade was passed by the Scottish Parliament in June in the same month that the Commissioners at Holyrood were investigating the atrocities of Glencoe, and feeling on that topic was still bad. Harvests, increasing beggary, drove on the plan and with a certain ration Scotland pitted herself commercially against her neighbour.

Sale of the venture resolves itself into one of Scottish move and English countermove. The first act was defeated in England as an infringement of English trade with the Indies. Scotland passed the "Act for a Comdraining to Africa and the Indies: the Houses of Lords and Commons in petitioning the King against it. Lists were opened in London for subscribers: the House of Commons impeached all directors, English and Scottish and imprisoned the Secretary. Scotland decided to continue the English subscribers had withdrawn en bloc. The promoters applied to burgh merchants to support the venture and they agreed to do so to extent of £300,000. The English resident intervened, with orders from London that any treaty with the unauthorized Company agents would be read as an insult to the Crown. William, petitioned on the matter, announced his name need not be used prejudicially, but Kycaut, the ambassador, used to use the threat to block German support.

These checks inflamed the Scots to an extent incredible in England. Since the signing of the National Covenant there been such acute passion, and determination to persist in this project. Not to write in the case of a man like the Earl of Seafield—was to be traitor. An expedition must sail, whatever the opposition. "All our hopes of ever any other then a poor and inconsiderable people are embarked with," wrote Fletcher of Saltoun.

First expedition set sail in July 1696. In April and May, 1699, a second expedition had then started. Proclamations of English governors of all the colonies forbade all intercourse with Scots and all assistance, arms or food. Spain, the next antagonist, challenged the Scottish right title: William could not afford to intervene on the Scottish side, and aloof, while Spain captured and imprisoned Scott traders. Yet a third expedition set out.

Blows were known at home that summer. In September news came of the expedition's collapse. Yet a third expedition set out. Scotland entered a winter of anxiety, and in addition, a terrible famine-and famine talked the country for four years now. In London, the House of Lords and voted "That the Settlement of the Scots Colony at Darien was consistent with the good of the Plantation Trade of the Kingdom." William used his refusal to save the Scots prisoners at Seville at the cost of pacifying Spain, refused even to hear the Scots Envoy, refused an address to Parliament in which to discuss Darien.

The Scottish Parliament was of a temper that alarmed Queensberry threatening its session. News of the final failure reached Scotland. The nation was in a ferment. England was blamed, English policy illusory. The bitterness and revenge of a century found wild expression. It looks very like "all," said an onlooker. Even the English were aware. Scotch look as if they were ready for any mischief." wrote Vernon.
1. 1700
2 History of the Union.
3 1700.
4 1699
5 The Case of Scotsmen residing in the Plantation;
   c. 1700
6 Jan: 1701
among the furious pamphlets that circulated, one, "An Enquiry into the
Cases of the Miscarriage of the Scots Colony at Darien" had been burnt
before order of the House of Commons, for its thesis was that "our disasters
were so severe to be remedied but either by a total separation or a closer
union of the two kingdoms." Such talk was not to be suppressed. England
began to realise that Scotland meant it, and that these alternatives had
to be faced. The King suggested the matter of Union to the House of Lords
and these passed a bill to appoint commissioners, with the endorsement
that it was a bill of great consequence. Unluckily it was thrown out
there, either from pique, from hostility to Scotland, or from a desire to
advance still further the King's standing in Scotland. A year later,
William, in his dying, again urged "a firm and entire union" - a pious hope,
and no more, however, for Defoe recalled the King's saying: "I do not see
a temper in either nation that looks like it."

There certainly seemed little temper for it in the north, though a let-
ter of kenchmont's, dating from the end of 1699 states that a legisla-
tive union "would be very taking here" Scottish pamphlets dwelt rather
on the record of injustices at English hands. "Ever since our King's
accession to the Crown of England, the English have Always used the Scots
as the ape did the Cat's Clutch, to pull the Chestnuts out of the Fire", wrote
the author of "An Essay upon the Present State of Scotland".
"Be sure that it was a maxim in some of the late reigns that it would n
ever be well till all that part of Scotland beyond Forth were re-
turned to the Hunting-field." recalled the writer of "A Defence of the Set-
tlement of the Scots in Darien". "We are very well satisfied there is a
justice in that Nation who bear ours no good will", he goes on, and, brist-
ing still further on the subject of English trade being harmed by Dari-
en, "Being a distinct and independent Nation, we are not obliged to
consult their interests, any further than they consult ours."

But and recent grievances are vehemently restated, such as the English
seizure of Scottish ships and seamen as aliens, while the Scots were be-
ing impressed into the English navy - a manifest injustice. One well-docu-
mented pamphlet sums up the injustices suffered by Scots in the Colon-
ies: "Of late years Scotsmen have been very ill-treated in some of the
Plantations, such of them as were J.P.'s, Members of the Council were
turned out - Scotsmen residing there have been had their goods and ships
seized and confiscated; in many cases they have been proceeded against
as Aliens - and of late in some of these Colonies, no Native of Scotland
though never so great a Tenant-holder, is admitted to be a Juror.

Defoe followed the same tune: "The Causes of Scotland's Miseries, a Poem"
is self-descriptive. Oratory, too, had the same impetus, and a fiery
speech by Lord Belhaven, that nationalist diehard, listed again his coun-
try's injustices. He denounced the jealous minimizing of her part in the
late war, the entire neglect in the Treaty of peace: the "Barbarity and
Shamelessness" of the Darien colonial proclamations, those "unbearable
Injuries and Affronts". The question now, he ended, is what to do "For
the Vindication of the Independence of our Kingdom and Nation!" He
ępends a fable which has the obvious threat of a breaking away from
England.
1. 1696
2. 1698
   Collected edition of writings - Drake - 4 vols 1707
4. Ward's *London Spy 1704-6, Hudibras Redivivus 1708* and minor journalism
5. Feb: 1700
at all expression was of this hot-headedness, however. At least one pamphlet, "Some Reasonable and Modest Thoughts regarding the Scots East Company—by C.K." is a temperate and well-reasoned survey of Anglo-Scottish relations. It exposes the fallacies of English policy, but calmly, and even in its conclusion, "that the countries would be better separate if their interests be made inconsistent with and repugnant to one another," is stated judiciously. Reasonable too is Fletcher of Salton's "First Discourse on the Affairs of Scotland." He stresses the unjust treatment of Scotland in the late war and peace. Very fifth man in the forces, he calculates, was either Scotch or Scots-Irish, yet "not one tattle of advantage was procured to us by the peace." And one lesson from Darien, he notes, was that English ministers abroad were only English. "We trusted to the impartiality of such as we judged to be the ministers of Great Britain, but now we are undeceived." Underneath the temperateness, runs a strong current of the prevailing Scottish bitterness.

The Parian had of course its reverberations in England too, but that land has not a title as vocal over it. It made excellent Exchange and coffee-house talk, as Neill Ward reported, and London and Parliament buzzed with it at the outset. As Burnet said, "There was a great deal of noise made of the Scotch Act in both Houses of Parliament in England, by those whose only design was to heighten our distractions." But popular comment was mainly flippant, sometimes cuttingly so. Ward and Tom Brown have numbers less sellers. Brown, parodying an 'outlandish' gazette, has an entry from Edinburgh: "We build great matters upon our new colony at Darien, and talk of covering all the Churches in Edinbrugh with silver tiles in a short time." Or he reports facetiously, "A politician has been heard to say that Heaven would chastise the Scots for this new project—since Heaven predestined them to be peddlers; but the Scots kick against the doors of fate, and instead of pedlars, a title their ancestors acquainted with two thousand years, set up for merchants forsooth. Although they have cheated King William out of an Act of Parliament, I believe they will find it a hard matter with all their craft and cunning to cheat Heaven." There is mocking advice to "Inquire for the Scotch Walk and we'll buy a good pennyworth in Darien." Ward sketches the habits of that Scotch Walk as "a kind of scavenly Creatures, with reddish hair and freckled faces, being very much given to scratching and shrugging as they held bourness no Shame and the Itch no Scandal; stooping a little in their shoulders as if their backs had been used to a Pedlar's knot."

The broadsides prompted—and the temptation to parody the Darien Song of Caledonia's Triumphs that solemnly issued in Scotland must have been irresistible—the best was "Caledonia, or the Pedlar Turned Merchant," a farce as it was acted by His Majesty's Subjects in the King of Scots Province of Darien. This was a lengthy satirizing of the national ambitions:
1. 1704

2. Phil: Calponius - "A Defence of the Settlement of the Scots in Darien 1699
Herries? - "A Defence of the Scots abdicating Darien" 1704 (violently anti-Scot)
"An Enquiry into the Causes of the Miscarriage --- answer to above
"A Short Vindication od "A Defence of the Scot abdicating D---" etc
"A sorry poor Nation which lies as full north
As a great many lands which are wiser,
Was resolved to set up for a People of Worth,
That the loons that laughed at her might prize her.
As ill luck would have it, it came in her head,
To fling by her Jacks and her linnen,
And since times had always in Scotland been dead,
To chase a new Method to sin in.

Darien was accordingly risked,
For how could she fall who creep'd on the ground
And was level'd with Thistles and Brakes,
Or what Risque could they run who had nought to be found
But their Necks and their Lice for their Stakes.

Peterson is scurvily attacked, and the Bill characterized as "a Trick on the Prince"—"that Robbery projected" the signing of the lists is told with a shrewd humour—the Nobles

In Quality—Capitals owned they were poor
And perfectly Strangers to Coin.

The actual settlement is hurried through in a half dozen verses, that seemer callously to

Two thirds being dead and another made Slaves
By the Spaniard for fear of his Ore,
They left falling Trees and cease'd digging Graves,
And crawled to their Ships from the Shore.

The first time a Scot ever wished himself home,
For want of good Air or of Bread;
And the last (if he's wise) that he for it will come,
On such a Fool's Errand as Trade.

The same hackneyed jests are repeated in the prose skits—in Aesop in Scotland, for instance, where one talks deals with Darien, and in the pamphlets that hurtled between "Anil: Beet:" of "A Defence of the Scots abdicating Darien," and infuriated Scots. It is enlightening, by the way, to see that the English retaliation to Scotland's long list of grievances was "How much Scotland owes to England—the unnatural Massacres, daily feuds and bloody little wars—these Barbarities have been quite turned out of Doors since the Union"—precisely the average Englishman's view of Scotland's past. The above pamphlet, with a vindication of it, and the Caledonia poem just quoted were burnt by the hangmen.
The Darien affair was swept out of London talk by the lottery craze,
the trouble with France and the like. But one valuable residue was visi-
tile. During the eight to ten years it drew English attention, travel
records of Scotland, "short accounts", satiric descriptions came out from
London presses.

Fracil's "Northern Memoirs" were published in '94, and a pitied edition
of Brome: "Mr. A. Rogers Travels." Weldon's "Perfect Description of the
people and Country of Scotland" was reprinted in '94, and "Cawney the Scot"
not only put on again to titillate a London audience, but issued in print
in '96. Next year Kirk's "Modern Account of Scotland" was published in
with Cleveland's "Rebel Scot" added. One edition stamps itself "A
journey to Scotland, giving a Character of that Country, the People and
their Manners", but it is a rechauffé of Kirk. appended is "A Description
of Scotland in a Letter from an Officer in the Army to his Friend in Lon-
en", which after a fictitious preface from the officer, on being "brought
to his prayers that God would call us out of the Kingdom and send us to
my other part of the World", reveals itself as Weldon's account of Scot-
and with the "Rebel Scot" added.

Fresh skit appeared: "Scotland Characterized in a letter written to
young Gentleman to dissuade him from an intended journey thither".
This tries to outdo its predecessors in bludgeoning satire. Its anonymous
author, E.B. swears that no tittle of intellectual gain can be had in
the north. "Before I will believe that any man—can ameliorate his Under-
standing by grazing in the Caledonian Forest, I will subscribe to the call-
ing in of the Jews." The accomplishments of the nobles come only from
other lands, "their own affording only Pedantry, Poverty, Bruttality, and
Scoffery." E.B. describes Edinburgh University as he knew it, and demons-
strates in every respect: "a Pedian Physician, a Salamanca Doctor of Divinity,
and a Scotch Master of Arts are three animals sunk below contempt".
The race as a whole is likewise unspeakable. "They are perfidy itself".
Civility is not so much as known in the neat Idea."
"Debate's the only fuel of that Nation,
And you'll be hot alone in disputiation."

The usual libels against the Scots follow: their dirt, disgusting habits,
venomous, rude stupidity. And lest any counts are not put tellingly
though in prose, E.B. repeats them in fifty lines of verse. [1701]

This he adds as rival Tom Brown, whose poem "The Highlander" must have
been penned about the same time.

"From barren highlands in the freezing north,
The bonny lad with naked feet stops forth;
With lowly plaid his ecaby loins he hides,
And measures out his miles by Spanish strides;
He cocks his bonnet as he proudly stalks
And scrubs his mangy knuckles as he walks.---

His very breath infects the wholesome air,
And as he travels does the itch transfer,
A curse that heaven has alone decreed,
To plague that barbarous Caledonian breed;
Those pride and poverty has made each slave
Grow bold and desperate, which himself calls brave.
That extract is typical of the rest and of the sort of tirade it launches against Sawney's tobacco-chewing and smoking, squalor and mean frugality. Defoe joins this galore with his famous contribution in the "True-Born Englishman" (1701):  

"Scoots from the northern frozen banks of Tay, With packs and plods came whigging all the way, Thick as the locusts which in Egypt swarmed, With pride and hungry hopes completely armed; With native truth, diseases and no money, Plundered our Canaan of the milk and honey. Here they grew quickly lords and gentlemen, And all their race are true-born Englishmen."

Contemporary with these skits are the serious accounts of Drome and Orler. The latter's "Short Account of Scotland" was published in 1702, and was the first really well-informed, dispassionate account of the country, Highland and Lowland, that had yet been published. Fuller mention of it should be prefaced by some tracing of Union events, however, since it owed its inception to these: "being the Union of Scotland and England we is now grown a considerable subject in every bodies mouth."
1 1703.
2 Great Britain's Union—by a person of quality
3 Consolidator 1704
4 Letters Historical MSS.
William's dying appeal for Union was repeated by Anne, and this time both Lords and Commons consented to appoint Commissioners. That was done in the teeth of Tory diehard opposition. The Earl of Nottingham and Sir Edward Seymour distinguished themselves in "indecent reflections on the Scots nation", or as the Parliamentary History records, "the indecent scorn with which Seymour and others treated the Scots". Seymour's remarks were repeated verbatim by Fletcher in his "Account of a Conversation regarding the Right Regulation of Governments." "What a pother is here about an union with Scotland, of which all the advantage shall have will be no more than what a man gets by marrying a beggar, a lease for his portion", a sally that ran round the town. (This the Scots have heard and are very angry about it", noted Vernon.) As for Scotland, "Of late years did not the very scum of our Nation conquer you? - here is a fine cant indeed, independent nation! - that dependence which your nation ought always to have upon us as a much greater and more powerful people".

November of 1702 saw the Union Conference begin at Westminster. Once more the Scottish commissioners put free trade in the forefront: only at the price of that would they accept the Act of Settlement. Very reluctantly the English delegates granted it, with the exception of wool; and after another month's session, even granted trade to the plantations. But the General Election had returned a Tory majority, and Anne's new ministers and the English commissioners were alike apathetic. The Conference was eight times adjourned because there was no quorum. In February it dragged itself inconclusively to an end.

Scotland seethed with indignation. Four months later her Parliament met. Clause by clause there was built up that summer the Act of Security, whereby Scotland swore to choose independently the successor to Anne, unless the nation's honour and sovereignty ("independency" was the original word) legislation, liberty and trade were secured - "a free communication of trade, freedom of navigation and the liberty of the plantations".

A sense of English uneasiness, the "Scots Plot" was discovered, that ostensibly revealed the Marquis of Athole in secret correspondence with the exiled Stuarts. The affair was a mare's nest, but popular talk magnified it. The cry went up of "Perfidious Scotland". The House of Lords referred to it as "The Scottish Conspiracy", and instituted enquiry, and both label and enquiry were hotly resented in the north. At the next meeting of their Parliament, the Act Bill of Security was once more forced on Anne - the Act of Supply till it was passed. Anne signed it in August.

Scotland was at last alarmed. Rumours flew that the Scots were buying arms and drilling in every parish. "Scotland is armed and angry! France is threatening and ready," ran one pamphlet. When Parliament met, the Lords listened to Haverhill's analysis of the Scottish situation, his warning against "the spark that may set all on fire" - and petitioned to have the northern fortresses strengthened. Defoe, recognizing this time as he later named "the fatal period" between Bolingbroke and Bolingbrough, urged on Haverhill the need of "a settled intelligence" in Scotland,
I. Hist MSS Reports. Aug 1705 Letter of "reg. Portland MSS."
apparently the first time such an idea had ever been mooted to English statesmen.

The English Parliament, however, rose to more energetic measures. It too could clap a pistol at her neighbour's head. It did so with the Alien Act, passed at the close of that session, March, 1705. By it, all Scots not resident in England and the colonies, would be held as aliens, all traffic with Scotland would stop, unless within nine months arrangements for union went forward.

Scotland took the ultimatum badly. At this unlucky juncture came the angry outbursts in both countries over the Worcester case:—an English captain and crew, arrested in the Firth of Forth, were accused of plundering a Darion ship, and in spite of the evidence being hastily gathered and unsifted, and in the face of English pleas for mercy, clamorous Edinburgh mobs saw to their execution. Most obviously, Captain the Earl of Roxburgh and his companions were the victims of anti-English fury, and the wrath over Darion still smouldering.

To this fury the threat of the Alien Act was fresh fuel. Greg the spy wrote that "this boiling nation" was incensed against "the dire decree", as they called it, and reported of the Scottish Parliament "a day wholly spent in making angry speeches against the Parliament of England."

An address was sent the Queen, protesting against the Alien Act, but nominating Commissioners. In reply, England repealed the Act, and final negotiations for union were put in motion.

The following year (1706) found the Westminster Conference sitting, while in Scotland talk ran on what type of Union should be arranged. That talk was typical of the state of mind the country was in, rampant, angrily self-important, refusing to see that England was dominant now, and that it was for England alone to call the tune. From the first, England had declared for an incorporating union. The Earl of Sur wrote frankly:—"Your friends here tell us plainly that they will give us no terms—without going into an entire union. They think all the notions about federal unions and confederations, mere fool's notions. No union but an incorporating one relieves Scotland gradually realised the fact. The articles of Union were opened to the Scots Parliament in October, and then published, and for four months debate raged hotly. Popular opinion was loudly against what seemed a surrender of the nation's independence, its ancient and proud inviolability. The Jacobites and the Country Party were against it. "Belhaven is like a madman, roaring against the Union," wrote Roxburgh. The Squadrone Volante were doubtful, the Presbyterians suspicious, the Camerons hostile. Possibly the unassertive middle classes thought of it favourably. But from November on, the addresses that poured in were vehement against an incorporating union with England.

English opinion was torpid in comparison. The fury there over the Worcester case, when an once before 'no Scot dared to show himself in the streets of London,' and the alarm in the same summer over the "unshamed Highland rising in concert with French forces," had been dispelled when Scotland gave in over the Alien Act. The English Parliament met in December. The four months' struggle of the Bill through the Scottish Par-
Debates of Feb. 1707
Parliament was watched, but once ratified there, the English Parliament ran the Bill through their Committee in a week—"without the repeal of a word", noted Clerk of Penicuik. While Scots mobs held angry demonstrations, stoned the Commissioners and had troops called out against them, London had neither a mob nor an anti-Union petition. Naturally the Tory die-hards had been vocal. Belhaven in Scotland poured forth the the Scottish Parliament his lamentable "Vision"

In England the Earl of Haversham Nottingham vowed with feeling that "if this Union did pass, he might justly affirm he had outlived all the laws and the very constitution of England". Haversham was as funereal in tone. "A union of so many mismatched pieces of such jarring incongruities and ingredients would require a standing army to keep it together". Sir John Packington stigmatized it as "carried on by corruption and bribery within doors and by force and violence without", and when offence was taken at that, said tersely that the Scots themselves declared it so, so why need they protest?

But these 'last-ditchers' were powerless to stop Union. Both Houses of Parliament had passed the Bill by February. On March 4 the Queen gave her assent to it, and on the first day of May Union was inaugurated by a great service in St Paul's. The Duke of Queensberry held a triumphal procession through London. "At no time were Scotsmen more acceptable to the English than on that day", wrote Clerk of Penicuik. "I observed a real joy and satisfaction in the Citizens of London, for they were terribly apprehensive of confusions from Scotland in case the Union had not taken place".

(That picture of London's delight over the Union certainly needed the explanation of a 'terrible apprehension' added. For, looking back over these years from 1700 on, with a view to gathering English reactions, one thing is plain, that England had no strong desire for Union, except for its ensuring of safety and security from France.) Scotland
1. 1703

2

3 1703
That picture of London's delight over the Union certainly needed the explanation of a 'terrible apprehension' attached. For looking back at this period from 1700 on with a view to tracing the English reactions, one thing emerges plainly, that England had no strong desire for Union, except for its ensuring of safety and security from France. Scotland frankly reviled England and the English. The latter reciprocated the feeling with vigour. The Union was no climax to a period of increasing brotherly friendship. The years preceding it were thick with brickbats, anti-Scot and anti-English.

But the English attitude to Scotland was markedly different from that of Scotland to England. Darien had roused a sharp attention in merchant circles in the south, and a great deal of popular talk. Events since had kept that interest spasmodically alert from year to year; the Union proposals of 1700 and 1702, the Bill of Security and the Scots Act in 1703, the Act of Security in 1704, the Worcester case and the rumoured Highland Rising of 1705, the Westminster Conference in 1706. Yet in the very middle of that period, when news of the drawing-up of the Bill of Security was reaching London, Harley wrote to Carstairs:—

"I think it very unfit for any one here to meddle with Scotch affairs which are so much out of the way of our comprehending. We have had the same speech printed twice in the Flying Post besides abstracts of Acts of Parliament and clauses; and yet I don't find one person who pretend to understand the proceedings. To say the truth, very few speak at all about them; and those who do, (I do not mean any ministers of State) speak with too little concern; less than they do of the King of the en and the Po. I think this is not right; for though Englishmen may not meddle about their affairs, I cannot but have a zeal for a nation so full of good and learned men, who have in all ages given such proofs of their learning and courage."

Disregarding the last ad, it is a staggering statement from the leading statesman of England. But where is there reason for doubting it? The old contemptuous indifference to Scotland, trenching by a wide ignorance the status quo still, it altered only temporarily when some sensational occurrence in the north filled interest or some political or commercial move fanned England's negative dislike to active.

There is proof in two groups of writing, in the anti-Scot, anti-Union pamphlets, and in Defoe's Review.

Contrast the Union pamphlets of Scots and English writers. The former are fundamentally serious and matter-packed, even in cases where they are angrily airing grievances or are angrily ironical over "The Redding of Scotland by Arms, and Annexing it to England as a Province". Behind them is a realization of the matter as urgent, almost desperate, in demanding grave deliberation. It is not suggested that the English pamphlets were flippant, but, excepting for the moment Defoe's work, any offered thinking that was purely frivolous.

As example, Lakerby-Fairfax's "On the Union of Scotland and England"
1 1707.

2 Farquhar: - The Recruiting Officer
    Love and a Bottle.

3 1706.
the plea, 'Let us no more scruple the calling ourselves English. let, forget your envy, check no longer the growth of her Empire as have hitherto bestracted from her fame'—advice solemnly-offered Scotland rigidly nationalist. Similarly, the author of "Vulpone" cries: 

"I can never think of magna Charta, Originall Contract and claim of Right safe with such edins".

Specious and shallow talk was general. The average English pamphlet showed no awareness of an altering Scotland that demanded a fresh consideration, and a grip of the new information that was circulating. For writing about her, the old cliches and prejudices sufficed. A trop of the popular squibs of Brown and Ward, or the plays of a dramatist like Farquhar, and it is hard not to feel that the Englishman of Scotland and the Scottish entirely in terms of second-rate jokes. gentlemen's estate overrun by the itch and Scots "—"as little to enjoy their leisure hours as a Lord Treasurers in Scotland"—A bogus letter "we have not had these ten years so portable a summer as now, so that we don't doubt that our soups riper, and the Kirk has appointed a General Thanksgiving for it"—fuel jibe of Brown's since it was made in the terrible-famine years. jost of Scotland as hell, and the Scot at home in hell was the honest-Brown's Letters from the Dead described sixteen Scotch cats sunning themselves above Styx, "all wind-bound for want of the by rhino"; and a meeting there with "a puritanical Scripturian, a typical Scotchan", typically in hot debate with a "termagant High-Flyer" later denouncing sourly a village feast. Dr Staggins, the deceased "Philosopher was there—his business is to compose Scotch tunes "Lucifer's bagpiper"; and Hell's porter announced to Lucifer "Here a troop of Scots that swear and stare to get in, and beg they may a walk into some cold corner of hell, which they would not know in their own country above". Scotland served well for burlesque, e.g. it figures in Redcliffe's "Ovid's Travesties"—"There having a million in Scotland—Ulysses went Voluntier"—and the Highlander of course, constant game, from Brown's long, abusive poem to Farquhar's long hits like "Had the landlady but a Highland Piper to join with", she might set up for a Collection of Monsters." and "Algebra? His country in Christendom, unless it be some place in the Highlands Scotland."

The Union was taken as a main topic, it was apt to be treated in the fashion of the broadside, "Years for Flums, or a Conference between a Scot and an Orange Vener". The latter, mid of Judas Scotia, tries all peers badly overripe, but to the taste, he urges, "of all who are honour and Antiquity". The gardiner scoffs; "An antient Gentleman indeed!—her antiquity resembles something the antiquity of my diet, that is threabere." He magnificently offers service in "my country's Family, where thou can't be a servant but a Comrad to our and her Children-only be a good girl."
That good-natured patronising tone was again excepting Defoe—English opinion at its highest. Whatever the Scots might argue or Defoe preach about the benefits Scotland might bestow on England, the latter remained staunchly sceptical. Incidentally, there was justification. Reputation and recruits are the only two things which Scotland can give to a King of England, Secretary Johnston had written in 1693. But England was blind to any reputation, and had already helped herself liberally to recruits for the Army and Navy. The only other benefit was the visionary "lucrative fishing trade" which might be developed, and which remained visionary long after the Union.

Frank appeals the self-interest, 'divine Commodity' thus lost their point. Naturally, then, England felt no urgency about Union, until fear or some national affront jolted her out of her passivity. As one instance of the latter, the Worcester case called out over thirty pamphlets between the two nations, and English abuse was virulent, of the type of "An English Ointment for the Scotch Plague". Brown was outdone by the author of "A Trip lately to Scotland, with a True Character of the Country and People—with remarks on the late Barbarous Execution of Captain Green—and several others."—this a savage and exhaustive defacement of the country, scot and lot. Its five hundred lines of unrelieved abuse are to the effect that

The Land's a Desert and the People dull:
A place that harbours Vice it should expel.
Religion without Charity or Zeal,
Faith without Mores, Christians without Grace,
Truth without Friends, Justice without a Face,
Men without Sense, and Women without Manners—
Allegiance droops; all things are in Confusion.
This is the Country and its Constitution.

Shrieking abuse such as this turns ludicrous, however, as when the Scot is described as

False as the Syrens' loud attracting smile,
And treacherous as the weeping Crocodile.

Of the land as

"—that barren wilderness,
Which 'thin did first in banishment possess.
An open-mouthed asylum that receives
Your broken Debtors and your Fugitives,
A sure Asylum for rebels and for Thieves.
A greedy, dark, degenerate place of Sin,
For th' Universe to shoot her Rubbish in.

More rankling hate shows in an "Elegy on Captain Green:

Of Scotland, still recorded for thy Wrongs,
Bane of all English Hearts and English Tongues,
Henceforth, thou barbarous Nation, be accursed,
Of realms the poorest, and of — on the Worst.
1. 1705-6
2. 1704 on see later notes in Defoe chapter.
3 1706.
A race of Pedlars, that would Merchants turn,  
And with Joint Stocks provoke their Neighbours' Scorn,  
Who still must with their Darien schemes upbraid  
Projectors born to Steal and not to Trade.  
May Feuds intestine Punish this thy Crime,  
And Hunger rage within thy Barren Clime.

And that is only the closing malediction.

Peer born of the Scots Plot, and the talk of the Highlands arming,  
Again-reused English remark, but it was either in terms of maligning  
"Perfidious Scotland" or deploring ineffectively "The distracted  
state of that Kingdom. And from such states of alarm, the country  
would subside into the usual inimical disregard.

That comes out strikingly in Defoe's work. His writing as a whole  
belongs to another chapter. Sufficient to say here, that Defoe, when  
one of Harley's secret agents, urged on him the necessity for a definite  
news-service from Scotland, "a thing strangely neglected there",  
and was sent north in the most difficult pre-Union years. His orders  
were to report on and further Union, and the latter task led him to  
write six essays "Towards Removing National Prejudices against Union"  
and to devote two-thirds of his London paper, "The Review" to the topic.  
Both news-sheet and essays evince most plainly that Defoe was  
writing his pro-Scotland arguments against a sheer wall of English  
prejudice. He had a handful of truths about the land to give, truths  
he confesses he had never known until he visited it, some of them simple as "Those who fancy there is nothing to be had here but wild men  
and ragged mountains, storms, snows, and poverty and barrenness are quite mistaken"—but these he has to keep reiterating. If these were  
obviously unwelcome and disbelieved, much more so his economic teachings, for instance, of the viciousness of the policy that a prosperous  
England demanded an impoverished Scotland.

From time to time he lapsed into half-defiant, half-discourteous apology  
for his repetitions. He knew his audience. "Nothing but Union, Union  
says one now that wants diversion: I am quite tired of it and we hope  
it's as good as over now". Yet he returned doggedly to the attack.

One result of his vehemence was a falling-off in his paper's circulation. "Union, Union, nothing but Union for four months together glutted  
their fancy, and pulled the modishness of the Town's Humour, and so the poor Review lost its faculty of pleasing you", he admitted in the  
Preface to Volume 4 (1707) An undeserved penalty was the counter-attack from north and south. Whimsically enough, the one occasion on  
which these attacks coincidentally concurred was in jeering at the poem he  
launched a bare two months after he had arrived in Scotland, "Caledonia, a Poem in Honour of the Scots and the Scottish Nation".

Title and topic were certainly surprising, the first venture of the sort from an Englishman. In the dedication, Defoe talked of a stranger  
ascending to Scotland, "fitted with those formidable ideas which the the  
notice of the nation have ignorantly and maliciously formed in him."
Portland MSS Histor: MSS Reports.

2 1706

3 1708
and finding "such perfect Surprises that he is apt to enquire whether this be Scotland or no". He claims that this attempt at extolling Scotland is perfectly new, that he has the honour to be "the first man that ever attempted to rescue Scotland out of the Jaws of Slan
der and that Grave of her Character and the gulf in which all the great Actions of her nobility and Gentry are too much buried"—all illuminating remarks, though questionably true.

The Preface repeats this aim, not party purposes but a "Debt of Justice to the Scots Nation".

The Poem in its three parts deals with, first, Scotland's poverty, climate and Highlanders, the last commended as at least superior to —"The savage Madagascar Moors, Campeche Indians, or Circassian Boors";

second, the Scottish race, with their "manly surliness" and "awful frown" "polite in manners as the years revolve";

"And if they can exceed in doing well, Tis in a little, little Too Much Zeal."

third, Scotland's ancient and great families and contemporary culture, the highest eulogies being heaped on Colvil, Haddington, Boyl of Glasgow "Apollo's Nursery thrives"—"Wit blooms"—there are "Epicks thick"—"strong Heroicks"—"Lyrics and Pastorals"—"Panegyrics"— "Strong Sciences in Plessing Order stand, With Borders of Philosophy on either hand."

But Scotland is cursed by Sloth and Poverty, and hence a closing appeal to

"Wake, Scotland, from thy long lethargic dream, See what thou art, and be what thou shalt seem."

The Poem is as appreciative as were Taylor's sonnets on the Highlands a century before, and luckily as suspect, for a private letter of the poet's to Hurley confesses it mere wily propaganda. "I am writing a Poem in praise of Scotland, you will say that is an odd subject to bear a Panegyric, but my end will be answered. I make them believe I am come away from England, and resolve if ye Union goes on to settle in Scotland, and all conduces to persuade them I am a friend of their country. I confess, Sir, doing all this without any instructions or the least hint of your approbations."

In some quarters, its insincerity and its tone of patronage were re
sented, and attacks like the "Equivalent for Defoe" were made. In Eng
land a rd made abusive retaliation through his "Audibas Redivivus", which jeered at

) --"that only Northern Paradise,
which overflows with Scots and Sire,
and not with lushious Milk and Money,
For Food is there as scarce as Money.
Yet 0 how blest is Caledonia,
There Virtue does all Vice repel,
And none but Saints and Sinners dwell,
Those pious Seeds I'll not rehearse
In such memorializing Verse,
Cause it's a sacred Task we know,
Becoming none but D—D—FD.
1. 1705 - an answer to ridpath's reducing Scotland by Arms.

2  1703

3  1705
Virtually rented through the old accusations against the Scots:—the King-killing—

"O cursed Scots! who for the sake
Of dross could make yourselves so black
And stain your Country with an action
That bears so Hellish a complexion
A matchless Villany compounded
Of all the wicked, damned, confounded
Evils e'er done by Rump or Roundhead.
Th' Informals blush for Scotland's sake,
To think that a perfidious Race,
So false, so barbarously base,
Should all the sinful World Exceed
In such an execrable Seed,
So complicated of all Evils,
That it outdid the very Devil's;
For in their Treachery might be seen,
All that was infamous in men,
Feigned Religion, Holy Fraud,
Rebellion, Treason, Guilt of Blood,
Perjury, Flattery, Avarice,
Perfidiousness and Cowardice,
Injustice, Cruelty and Fear,
And all the Ile that could appear—a passage which brought on Ward illness and the pillory.

The lesser English skits against Union are scarcely worth regarding. They were smuggled into print in spite of Anne's "Order against any seditious Discourse or Libel, or lying Waggers or asking Policies of Assurance relating to the said Union". Defoe talked of "All the Sours, Tyrants, Scarcasses, despicable Proverbs and National Witticisms we please ourselves with", but his list of matter written on the English side only goes as far as "The Table of the Foxes and the Monkeys", a manuscript which I suppose nobody durst print, and which if it had, ought to have been called 'The Shortest Way with the Scots! and several other tracts about reducing Scotland by Arms and the like'. Probably among the lost was "The Scotch Patriot Unmasked" by Attwood, who was already in prominence as an anti-Scot controversialist.

The cautious satirist avoided the topic of union, and used the ever-ready ammunition of Scotland's past history or present squalors. Drake's "Historia Anglo-Scotica" chose to libel the former, and did so with such venom that it was ordered to be burnt by the hangman. The "Scotland Characterized" skit proved popular enough to reprint under a different heading—"A Description of Scotland and its Inhabitants", and a third with the signature E.B.
Specially interesting were two small experiments towards bringing Scotland into the English novel. Defoe's was one, his "Consolidator," like part of Mackenzie's "Retina" of forty years previous, an allegorical treatment of Scottish and English parties, the Solunarians and Curselords. Defoe is cautiously complimentary to both sides. The northern men are bold, terrible, numerous and brave to the last degree, but poor, and by the encroachments of their neighbours growing poorer every day.

The other and more novel venture is anonymous, a matter for regret since the author might claim the credit of having written the first novel of Scotland.

It appeared in 1706: "The Scotch Rogue, or the Life and Actions of Donald Macdonald, a Highland Scot," and was garnished with a frontispiece of a youth in Scots costume, that is, bonnet, tartan trews and an arsenal of weapons, targe, broadsword, pistols and daggers. "And why a Scots rogue?" began the preface boldly. "I say, why not a Scots rogue as well as an English rogue, Spanish rogue, Irish rogue? As barren as the soil of that Country is in other respects, 'tis fruitful enough in this commodity." He disclaimed any intention of affronting that "Ancient Kingdom of Scotland," but slyly continued to harp on the theme of "Scotland may as well put in for her share of 'em as any other country." If a rogue be one that lives by his wits and is put to his shifts—many there have little else to live by! To to the tale of this bluff Highland rogue, one that with his song about him has made a considerable figure in his own Country. The sub-title supplies a summary: "Relating his being found in the Highlands and carried home by Capt. Macdonald to his wife, and how he was brought up by them: His Early Waggeries, and Villanies when he came to Riper Years: His Love Intrigues and how many Fortunes he went through, and the Miseries that he endured: His Extraordinary Wit and Courage and how he extricated himself out of divers Difficulties into which his sagacity had brought him: The Whole being very Pleasant and Disturbing."

Never were the last two epithets less appropriate. The "Scotch Rogue" is a hackneyed, coarse and third-rate plagiarist, written in imitation of "The English Rogue" and its fellows, and very probably by a London hack. A national "colour" is roughly slapped on, however. Donald, found at Urquharry, attends a school at Skye, and then the University of Aberdeen. "Here I was put to learning the English Dialect for my better accomplishment," but proved better at games like "Cat and Dog, Riding the Harley-hacket," playing at Yules and Dams and Speng-badle.

His adventures befell him in Brechin, Montrose, Kenfrew, Aberdeen, Edinburgh, his routes of travel between those are intelligible and in the last town he is locked in the Tolbooth and later exercises as a soldier on the Lines of March.

The recounting of his tale "Waggeries and Villanies" is in an English touched up with such phrases as Londoners then as now labelled Scotch: "I ran the lad!" "It gane me grit!" "Aw the de'il!" etcetera.

But with a spice of cleverness, the author made use of two things, one collection of Scots proverbs, he sprinkles these in, one to every third page or so, and an Edinburgh broadside, "The Exercise of the Scotsman Joan," a fanciful parody of a Scots' Captain exercising his men:-
1 1708
2 1712 on
3. 17II.
Your Spenn Maund to your Huckle Thuniard, Mon." "Step your Huckle Thuniard into the loo of Your Long Toon" and so on.

Some Scottish names are thrown in, Douglas Creighton, Donald Macduff and the like, and an occasional reference to something peculiarly Scottish, such as the Keeping of the Cowrie Conspiracy anniversary. But there is no attempt at drawing Highland character, or Highland incident. The "Gang" referred to in the preface never materializes.

Donald's first love is "a young shepherdess". In short, the "Scotchness of the tale is a very cheap and thin veneer over the familiar stuff of all picaraesque—a series of sharp-wit tricks and salacious anecdotes.

Still, it is a first effort at setting a novel in Scotland. For the first time, the Highlander holds the stage and becomes particularized, no longer "Redshanks" or "the Highlander", but Donald Macdonald of Ardags. That advance was imitated, too. The "Scots Observer" invented Alexander Macdonald of Inverlochy. Defoe's "Second-Sighted Highlander was Archibald Macdonald of Inverlochy. Hophurn's "Tutlet" had visits from "my illustrious relative, Sir Donald Macdonald of the Isles"—all these the creations of the next five years.

The "Scotch rogue" must have caught public fancy, or at least have found some Edgar Wallace public, for Swift five years later was remarking:—"it may be disputed perhaps whether the Irish or Scotch rogue has passed the most editions". A second part, not so Scottishized, was printed in 1723, the same year as Defoe's "Highland Rogue". Part I might be attributed to Defoe were it not so hackneyed in incident.

Not precisely in tune with popular opinion was this first presentation of the Scot in the novel as rogue, and particularly of the Highland as rogue. An understood "connotation pejoratif" clung like a taint to many things Scottish, a Scots jig, the Scottish apur, a Covenanter eto and this seemed to determine too, the drawing of Scots character. Look back on the characters in drama. Practically all are knaves, from the Scots priest, Cacones, kings like James (in George-a-Greene) and David (in Edward III.) to the cadging soldier of "Thierry and Theodorot", the mountebank of "The Distracted State", Jocky, Billy, Polly and Scroful of "The Scots Figgories", Lord Wareston in "The Rump", Sawney of "Sawney the Scot"—there is scarcely an exception outside Shakespeare and Brome and the unknown J. W. and John Banks. Even Defoe, who proclaimed himself so determinedly a lover of Scotland, quarried from it as fiction only rogues and second-sighted Highlanders.

Yet the rehabilitation of the Scot begins during this very period, partly as result of the country's growing importance, partly because of the increasing pamphlet information about it. The latter has its value.
the storminess in the north had had one excellent effect, that it stimulated from 1700 on the issue of lively travel sketches and concise accounts of the country. Among the former were Brome's Travels, printed in 1706, and with additions in 1708; and "Scotland Characterized" in 1701 and 1705.

Another "Journal" survives, which though not printed at the time is headed "North of England and Scotland in 1704" and allows a glimpse of Scotland through English eyes. It was none too gay a sight, with despised towns and those squalid poverty-stricken villages that horrified the southerner so much. But this traveller found Leith and Glasgow flourishing, and as for Edinburgh: "Now help me, art, to describe this mighty city!" — an unheard invocation, seemingly, since it proceeds a bald account of a city aswarm with beggars.

One thing was early forced on his notice, "I found the people comonly blown up with a strange prejudice to the English in general." He wascivilly used, however, and imputed that to the subjection of the people to the nobility, an evil he thought prevalent. "Though the people of this country are poor they are proud and seem to have a spirit for glory and handsome things — not the meanest sort so kept under by the great men!"

He traversed only the Lowlands, and even these in dread, believing them "the Scotch Highlands." "The wildest country I ever yet travelled into, I did not know how I might be beset," he wrote, and ruefully recorded all his perils and miseries. No one could resist an unsympathetic chuckle, though, at a crowning misadventure, when, lost in a storm, he tried to waken the people in a small town by smashing their windows, only to find that not a single house possessed a pane of glass!

He ends like Pepys: "So to my joy on English ground, and hope I shall never go into such a country again. I had heard much talk of it, and had a mind to see it for variety, and indeed it was so to me, for — thank my God I never saw such another!" — and he appends two lines of Cleveland's grace:

A more diverting traveller and alert eyewitness was Joseph Taylor of the Inns of Court, Inner Temple, who went north in the following year. His account is so unstudied and candid, so much in the key of table-talk that it gives the living 'feel' of the times. "We had a great deal of cause to leave our Countrey with regret, upon account of the discouragements we received from everybody, even upon the borders of Scotland, and by that I could gather from the discourse of all persons I conversed with, I concluded I was going into the most Barbarous Countrey in the world. Every one reckon'd our Journey extremely dangerous, and told us 'tould be difficult to escape with our lives, much less without the disapprobation of the Countrey. Yet notwithstanding we resolved to proceed, and stood by one another to the last."

In this mood of desperate derring-do, they penetrated to Edinburgh, and found there nothing worse than a "barren mountain" (Arthur Seat), and a Parliament in debate over proceeding to Union, "with many hard reflections upon the English". Yet, on the Act being carried, "several Lords and Gentlemen men embraced us with all the outward marks of love and kindness, and seemed mightily pleased at what was done, and told us we should not be more English and Scotch but Britons."

In visiting Leith, where Captain Green had been executed five months earl
Earlier ("murder'd purely for the lucre of his ship") said Taylor voicing English opinion, they were cautioned not to speak anything there in relation to Captain Green, Derien or the Succession. Derien feeling was still hot, and Forbes of Dieblair's "Fill for the Pork-eaters" was called after them by boys in the streets. "It's very observable", wrote Taylor, "that the children who can but just speak seem to have a natural Antipathy against the English." Considering the strain of having to guard their tongues and their nationality so constantly, it is surprising that he and his friends could admire whole-heartedly the Highland dress, for instance, or the "very diverting" Scottish songs, one of which "Try let us all to the Bridall" he copied down. He found little else to admire. A first admiration for the Castle he disavowed later, and agreed with "the English Captain who said Scotland had only eight commandments, for they have nothing to covet not nothing to steale". "The bad character it lyes under discourages most Gentlemen from travelling thither", he said, and analysed the causes "which makes their Country so much despy'd by the English. These are as ever "the nastiness of the Inhabitants", "streets dirty", "not above one house of Office in the town", "lodgings as nasty", "the itch so common amongst them" and his own discovery (but it too was an old accusation) "As the Scotch are nasty, so I found them as prophane and vitiuous as other people, notwithstanding all the pretended Sanctity of their Kirk".

The most enlightening incident as regards English and Scottish feelings was a minute one at the end of their tour. Near Carlisle, the inn-keeper "a true Scot by his proud look", offered them the Duke of Hamilton's health, Taylor and his friends refused, "for now we began to think of Liberty of Conscience".

The other traveller of that year, the author of "A Trip to Scotland with a True Character of the Country and People" was in warm accord with the North of England and Scotland writer on the prevalence of beggars, and corroborates all Taylor has to say on Scottish hypocrisy, uncleanness and pride. "Hearing which talk of Scotland's Plots and Pride", had induced him to pay the land a visit. But he found the Scot

"Selfish, ill-natur'd, ever prone to prate,
Built up with vanity and self-conceit,
No Constitution of a Government,
Could ever curb his Talent-Discontent.--
His Principles are Sceptick and Prophane;
His actions not so politick as Vain.
He's very niggardly, inclined to save,
And honest when he cannot be a Knave."

He has had more quotation than he deserves. As some relief, the steady prose account by Brome was reissued in the same year, and also the informative "Short Account of but true Account of the Nobility and Representatives of the Ancient Realm and Kingdom of Scotland."
better than these, however, was an earlier work, "A Short Account of Scotland, being a description of the Nature of that Kingdom, and what the Constitution of it is in Church and State, wherein also some notice is taken of their chief cities and royal boroughs." This was by the Rev. T. Morer, an Episcopalian chaplain of a regiment stationed in Glasgow at the Revolution period. Morer apologises for the account being imperfect, only "such as a Traveller in Time of War might attain to." On the contrary, it was easily the best account of the country yet circulated.

It is a systematic little dissertation, beginning with the fundamentals of race, dealing with the Highlands, (their ancient inhabitants, their present system, religion, raids, dress, opinion of the Lowlanders), and Lowlands, (races, language, education, dress), with Scots agriculture, and manufactures, and then with roads and conveyances, houses, coinage and the rest. To that are added appendices on the Civil and Church Government, (the latter traced the history of the "Reformed Church" from the Reformation on, and gave a full account of present-day Church services), and descriptions of the towns—and Morer knew the chief from personal experience.

The second edition, if not also the first, has further Sir George Mackenzie's "King's or Queen's Supremacy in Scotland", the Scotch Liturgy of 1657, and a table of the national Revenue and Expenses.

What is specially admirable in Morer, apart from this extensive and sound scope, is the dispassionateness of his survey. Except that an Episcopalian he has to stigmatise the "wild Cameronians", and lament Glasgow's being "the nest of Fanaticism and the most Peculiar Town in all that Kingdom", he keeps his pen from what were called "national reflections". His temperate remarks on Scots character are his own, and acute. "They are great critics in pronunciation, and often upbraid us for not giving every word its due sound", he notes; or he sees the Highland's contempt for the Lowlander:—"They look on themselves as a finer race and cannot affect 'em." He has a liking, fortunately, for the chance detail that he himself has noticed, so that the account is lightened by little vivid notes of, for example, the rarity of chimneys, the burning of peat, the fondness for the "snush-box", or, the exact number of horse-post.

In consequence, the English reader would gain from Morer a correctly-informed, wide and unbiased view of Scotland, diversified with crisp, readable details about it.

Morer had issued his account, he said, because the Union of Scotland and England had become matter of widespread talk.

As soon as the Union had taken place, two other writers hastily revised their works to include a description of Scotland. Guy Miege reissued his "Present State of Great Britain and Ireland with such addition. "This plain, the Publick expected no less from the late completed Union". Miege had the advantage over Morer that he could and did draw on a number of Scottish works, the majority of them recent, pamphlets of Sir George Mackenzie and Kidpath, the collections of Sir James Dalrymple and James Anderson, Martin's and Wallace's works on the Isles. The result is a well-documented guide to contemporary Scotland, with very valuable
mention of her scholars, and her scientific progress in Edinburgh. There is still reliance on Buchanan, still mention of marvels, but as off-set to that, an occasional notif of a "beautiful prospect" or group of economic facts from Spruel, a Scots economist. Miege appends lists of past kings, of the present nobles, M.P.'s, advocates, chief officials, etc. and outlines the ecclesiastical government and the military forces, and civil government—in short produces an excellent little handbook.

John Chamberlayne followed suit in his "Present State of Great Britain" He opens with that pronouncement about Scotland that Clarendon, Harley, Defoe had already made in different tones:—"Though Scotland be a part of the Island of Great Britain—yet very few even of our most inquisitive men have a just idea of the Condition of that Country, and many Parts of Africa and the Indies, (to our shame, be it spoken) are better known than a region which is contiguous to our own".

He states his authorities and again one notes the increasing work of Scottish writers themselves. "Kind and timely assistance" came from Sir James and Sir David Dalrymple, Seton of Pitmedden, James Anderson, Alexander Cunningham and others,—"gentlemen too well-known"—since Chamberlayne produced his book for "Men of Business", it took form as a concise manual, written staccato-fashion, facts to the forefront. He found room, however, for mention of some Scottish literature, Douglas's translation of Virgil, and "The Cherry and the Slae" (Miege had referred to Fordun's M.S.) for an admiring "Character of the People, for a very long chapter on religion, for notes of schools and bursars, recent additions to the Advocates Library, names of professors, etc. and for incidental suggestions for improving the country,—a topic few English writers could ever resist.

He admits in conclusion that he had collected his facts "without any knowledge of my own to assist me", but that detracts less than one would imagine from the value of the book. One year later, Miege issued a Supplement dealing with North Britain and the Northern and Western Isles, which rounded off this group of topographical books.

The group is small, and Miege had been accused of plagiarizing from Chamberlayne, as Defoe later was to plagiarize from him. But their work had distinct effect. The previous seventeenth century accounts of Scotland after Camden's leave the generic impression of being satiric, two-thirds libellous, irresponsible statements about the land. The eighteenth century work, on the contrary, leaves the rough impression of tours, antiquarian "progresses", letter-records, some skittish, most of them serious, ready to assess justly and to appreciate where that was possible. The turning-point was the work of Horor, Miege and Chamberlayne. Not that they intoned any "Abracadabra". The alteration was due largely to the nature relationship exerted by the Union, widening interests and the growing facility and taste for travel. Yet their work paved the way to all these lines of progress, and both marked and made permanent a change of attitude to, and a new recognition of Scotland.
X.

The reactions on Scots literature of this period of antagonism and rumpancy were far-reaching.

The fundamental seriousness of the Union pamphlets has already been mentioned. Scarcely one but turned back from the immediate question of Darien or Union to review English treatment of Scotland since the Union of the Crowns. Two facts were evident, first, that the nation was withdrawing itself aggrievedly from England—even while realizing bitterly that the path of future progress lay through England—and secondly that it was taking stock of its position.

Both movements were nationalistic—never more doggedly so. The advance on the home-front, so to speak, that had begun in the 80's was pressed on. New printing presses were set up; newspapers launched, Scotch history and antiquities studies further, new national and literary projects voiced. Fortunately, English lead and models were not despised. In antiquarian and language study, the impetus came from English scholars, the newspapers were on English lines, and a project like the Society for the Reformation of Manners was a parallel to a similar English society established earlier. Again, although historical writing was a perpetual source of contention, "the English writers take all occasions to Insult our Historians", wrote Sibbald to Wedow, scientific studies continued to draw their devotees together.

But the list of new ventures just given is misleading if it gives the impression of a widespread and effective advance. The will to advance was most vigorous, but the land was still distracted by diversions and disheartened by poverty and the consciousness of an "engulfing Union". Men who might have been literati were engrossed in political tract-writing, Fletcher of Saltoun, Seton of Pitmedden, Clerk of Penicuik, for example. Progress had to be forced in the teeth of difficulties.

The struggle for a free press—"to take one difficulty—was a losing battle for years. James Watson in his "Memorial" (1713) avers that when he set up his press in 1705 "the art of Printing in Scotland was very high lost in this part of the Island". The chief crippling at this stage was the drastic censorship of the Privy Council. When the enterprising James Donaldson proposed to found an Edinburgh Gazette, and bring the Scottish capital into line with the English and Irish, the Council insisted that all copies must be examined before being sold, and then, some months later, that censorship be exerted before printing. This was a hopeless handicap on the Scots journalist, who had to fall back on foreign news or very innocuous reporting. Donaldson swore that he "never milled with matters which he had cause to believe would not be acceptable", but even so, his paper had a career of struggle and lapses and restarts.

Yet new printing presses were set up; Watson's in 1705, Jaffray's in
Documents relating to the Printers of some early Scottish newspapers. Bibliog: Soc:

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printing went on. The Town Council cautioned and bound over the printers and crushed that. English competition was severe; they claimed that "the Printers of Scotland had a dependence on those of England and could not reprint any book here without their Licence and Permission". Watson, Kerr and Maclver petitioned against their being prosecuted for reprinting an English pamphlet: the Privy Council refused the petition and ordered arrest. Hence any chance of Scottish gain through the absence of a Copyright Act was frustrated. In the following year Fletcher protested in Parliament against the restrictions of the Town Council, but no real improvement took place until the abolition of the Scottish Privy Council in 1706, and unluckily for Scots the year following saw the passing of the Copyright Act, which left the northern printers very much the losers.

Naturally all this meant the mental impoverishment of the reading public. Aldis's List of Books printed in Scotland before 1700 shows a bare half-dozen of literary value—Dryden, William Penn's "Fruits of Solitude", Cotton Mather's "Memorable Providences"—The 1705 petition of Watson and the others speaks of "Vast numbers and quantities of books relating to the Affairs of Scotland are daily imported from England", but exaggeration was necessary for their case.

It intensified, too, the struggles of the journalists and authors. Cockburn's ambitious "Bibliotheca Universalis" failed. Watson's "History of the Works of the Learned" reprint, a similar effort of eleven years after, continued for about eight numbers and then failed. Other reprints, the Paris Gazette, and the Haarlem Courant were tried in native effort. Aum Boig's Edinburgh Courant had a life of three months; an Edinburgh Flying Post two years later ran for two months. To Scotland's credit, however, failure was no deterrent. Attempts continued.

There seemed a ferment of thought. National critics like Fletcher and Watson diagnosed Scotland's backwardness: frankly as "partly through our own fault", and as due to Scots' lack of enterprise, and in this sturdy frame of mind thought out and urged improvements. Fletcher in his "Second Discourse on the Affairs of Scotland" and his "Speech on the State of the Nation" attacked the problems of beggary—(200,000 beggars is his estimate!)—of the undeveloped Highlanders, and thieving Highlanders of Scots place-seeking in England, of Scotland's poverty and ill-state in general. At the same time he insisted—to Sir Edward Seymour's angry incredulity—on setting his own country "on an equal footing with England and the rest of the world!" That was typical of the national temper. Hodges, the noted pamphleteer, shows the extreme of that in "A Letter from Mr Hodges at London" in which he lamented that "Scotland excels in nothing, and no nation in Europe labours under so many and so great national disadvantages and inconveniences—which it is in their own power to help"—a familiar gambit and proposed therefore the national erecting of "An Academy of Kerr and Universal Learning". He develops this in a glow
of imagination—"all the most valuable Sciences"—"the method of Pleasant Diversion"—"the best Masters in Europe", and ends confidently:—Though this will be undoubtedly the noblest Establishment of that kind, both for Grandeur and Pleasure as well as profit that ever was in the World, yet it shall no ways exceed the capacity of Scotland to accomplish it:"

This was mere bubble-blowing, and grandiose. Yet in the same years John Law of Lauriston, once again in Scotland, was working out far-sighted but sound schemes for his land, and publishing them. He issued a plan for a Council of Trade (1701) Three years later came his "Money and Trade" with proposals for reforming the currency and credit systems of the nation. The proposals were too advanced, however, the country being yet too retarded to profit by them.

Something of that same nationalist zeal was at the root of two valuable publishing ventures; for Masson is believed to have started the reprinting of Buchanan in 1701—a work unfinished, and in the same year a very handsome edition of John Forbes' writings was prepared by Dr George Garden and dedicated to Queen Anne.

Most activity was to be seen in that group of scholars—difficult to classify as their interests were historical, antiquarian, linguistic, and generally scientific—that included Sibbald, and "Fadrow, the ecclesiastic historian and letter-writer, James Anderson, historical researcher and controversialist, Sir James Dalrymple, antiquarian and historian, scientists like Sutherland and Cunningham, topographers like Wallace, Martin, M'Asair Wodrow's letters make an excellent mirror. They show Lhuyd, the eminent Welsh scholar, in close touch with the Scottish scholars, and Nicholson likewise; and an interesting correspondence kept with Scots at work or publishing in London, Martin, for instance, M’Ipath, "a considerable scholar". They document the new interest in Gaelic, spoken of elsewhere, and the increasing interest in the antiquarian and psychical 'treasure trove' of the Highlands. One letter from Sibbald mentions that "A Club of Antiquaries meet here once a week; they are such as are versed in our records". This was the club that decided to have an inventory of all Scottish published MSS.

From that same group came most of the effective pamphlets of the time, Anderson's reply to Attwood, for instance, Sibbald's "Liberty and Independence of the Kingdom and Church of Scotland asserted", M’Ipath of Fletcher's "An Historical Account of the Ancient Rights and Power of the Parliament of Scotland"—England was now realising through these that Scotland demanded recognition.

It was being acceded that recognition by scholars abroad... letter of Leibnitz to Cockburn, written in 1703, says:—"The Scotch prove clearly enough that their genius can quite keep pace with that of the English" though the names he mentions are those of the mathematicians, his remark was not evoked by these alone. Here seemed, in short, to be some justification for the poem that was printed in the following year, "The True Scots Genius Reviving".
1.1692
2 Effigies Clericorum.
3 Published 1730.
If Defoe's "Caledonia" were to be believed, that revival included poetry, for it dilates on "the Epicks thick"; "the strong Heroicks", "Lyricks, Pastorals, Panegyrics"—"a thriving Apollo's Nursery". But apart from Haddington, Defoe is suspiciously silent about names.

A glance backward over the rather sorry show of verse for the preceding twenty years, does however reveal an important little feature. Whether because of the spur of patriotism or because blessed by a naturalism, the poets are using the Doric again, or writing of their own land. With Francis Sempill and the elder Dr Pennicuik, Samuel Colville and William Cleland a flavour of race comes back into verse again. So, the first, two of the most lively of Scots poems are ascribed, "Maggie Lauder" and "The Blythesome Bridall", very stuff in the real tradition that links the poet with the Robert Sempill of "Habbie Simson" and "Sanny Briggs" fame. Colville, too, with the same gusto in his writing, and a similar love of helter-skelter rhyming pours his satire into the mould of Butler's "Hudibras", but keeps the native tang. Cleland can write an excellent English lyric like "Hollow, my fancie", but more excitingly he sounds the note of the full Scots Renaissance of forty years later:

For I am very apt to think
There's as much Vertue,.Once and Pith
In Annan or the water of Nith,
Which quietly slips by Dumfries
Als any water in all Greece.
For there and several other places
About mill-dams and green brae-faces
Both elrich Elfs and Brownies stayed
And green-gowned Fairies daunc'd and play'd.--

And surely there is a foretaste of Ramsay and Burns in an opening like:

When Saturn shakes his frostie feathers
When Russia Garments are rough leathers,
When Dutch Dames over stoves do chatter,
When Men dry-shoo'd traverse the water,
Ere trouts begin to move their finnes,
While Fans give place to black dog-skins)--

The elder Dr Pennicuik, beginning his career with a conventional verse-translation of Ovid, was to carry on this tradition into the new century, and an avowed lover of the Doric himself, to see "Ramsay adopt and win English admiration for it. But when this century ended, no more could be claimed than that the vernacular had thrown out a "green and sappy sucker"

By Defoe's time, however, Pennicuik the elder, the Earl of Haddington, Pitcairne, Hamilton of Gilberfield would be the main tally of poets. Their record is not remarkable. Haddington's verses were "light pieces of immodesty", Pitcairne's polished and elegant but in Latin, the best of Pennicuik's not yet written, and Hamilton's very scanty-scarcely a total to deserve "genius reviving", in poetry at least.
at one venture had a touch of genius in its inception, for it was prelude to the real revival of Scots verse. That was Watson's "Choice Collection of Comic and Serious Scots Poems both Ancient and Modern by Several Hands" — part I of which was printed in 1706. Who gathered the verse is uncertain — John Spottiswood has been suggested — but from the preface "the Frequency of Publishing Collections of Miscellany Poems in our Neighbouring Kingdom" was the determinant. It was claimed with some pride as "The first of its Nature which has been published in our own Native Scots Dialect", and most hopefully as only the first collection, the next to be issued in the following November, Part I made a pleasant introduction to Scots poetry. It offered some excellent earlier verse: "Christ's Airk on the Green", some six of Montgomery's poems, Polemo-Hiänderia by Drummond, and along with that, vivacious contemporary work like "The Pieper of Ailbarchan" — "Sanny Briggs", The Blythesome Wedding", "The Last Dying Words of Bonny Heck". And beside that racy dialect, Pitcairne's elegant "King and Queen of Fairy" poem and Cleland's "Hollow, my fiancé".

It is hard to say what reception it had. No mention of it survives. A second part was published in 1709, a third in 1713, when Part I was reprinted with a few changes. Did it have any circulation in England, is the important point?

But circulating in England or not, at least the publication of anthologies had started, a unique development for Scotland.

Indrama, two small signs of progress are to be seen; the first that in 1702 Pitcairne had the temerity to launch a satiric comedy against the Assembly. This skit "The Assembly" is too rough and abusive a culling to rank high as drama. Half the characters are labelled: — Lady Bigot, Lord Whig-ridden, Mr Timothy Turbulent, or as in his "Tollerators and Con-tollerators, a Comedy" given actual names, Mr John Spalding, clerk. The main plot of Lady Bigot and her daughters and nieces, with their toers, Till and Frank, is poor. But for the first time that comedy is set in Edinburgh at the Cross, the Bull Tavern, Lady Murray's Yards etc and Pitcairne knows his Assembly and its types. He sketches in lively fashion the hubbubs over "Whether ye will plant the Kirk of Scotland or the Kirk of England first"; and his Aberdeen ruling elder with his "Fat hae they deen?", and the pithy Scots repartee of the boatmen in a latter scene show what Pitcairne might have done, had he given his wit full rein, and been less obsessed by the need to bludgeon the Presbyterians.

The prologue to it had pessimistically said:—

Our Northern Country seldom tastes of Wit,
The too cold Clime is justly blames for it.—
Tis a long while since any Play hath been
Except Knead-dancing in our Nation seen—

and had acquiesced in the belief that

the Scottish Wit,

is only given to Censure, not to Writ.

And certainly a Scots comedy of any wit was to continue the rarest of things.

But a Writer to the Signet, Alexander Fyfe, is found attempting an opera
though not a Scottish one. "The Royal Martyr," King Charles I," was
dedicated to the Queen in 1705. It was a sprawling five-act heroic
tragedy in jog-trot couplets. Like Savannaha Brown's, the play was
stuffed with every possible character, the royal family, English and
Scottish dukes, Oliver Cromwell, and even, pointlessly, a lady Buccleuch,
who appears in one scene only to give heroic counsel to the Queen.
It can never have been acted, but Frye reprinted it again in 1707,
and in 1712 tried a second edition with the part of Lady Buccleuch
omitted.

Possibly Frye may have been spurred on by a fellow-Scott's success
in London at this time, for David Craufurd, with poetry and two
comedies to his credit, (to the first of which Farquhar had supplied a
prologue) was making a name for himself.

Craufurd and Thomas Scott-there were probably others-were ranking
themselves among the English dramatists, and Scott's plays. The "Lock
Marriage" and "The Unhappy Kindness" are indistinguishable from the
ruck of third-rate English plays. The first introduces "Within a
Furlong of Edinburgh Town" - but the Scotch song featured in most
plays. A Scotticism or two: - "I'm thinking, Sirs---" is surer sign of
the author's race.

Craufurd drops a few Scotticisms too, and his "Love at First Sight"
is entirely in the English convention. But "Courtship a la Mode!
the comedy acted in 1700, brings in "Wullie Beattiehead, a Scotlaund-
man", a farcical footman to Captain Bellairs. Wullie is another "saw
neg, impudent, coarse-tongued, bragging, with nothing to do but clown
on the stage, bandy repartee of the roughest, and court the maid.
in one respect only is he an advance on Sawney, and shows his Scott
creation: his talk and his opinions are more genuinely "Scottish."
Freelove tells him he must forget Scotland and "learn our "accent."

"Hau, Bau," says Wullie, "Ise do aus our "acat Joohan does, pray for yer
Reformation in good bred Scots...us for yer "accent, Sir, I speak as--
Father madauns spuked before me" Freelove remarks: "Then Adam spoke
Scottish!" Wullie: "Good, aun that he did!" Similarly he rebuffs a servant
who corrects him: "Wauld ye learn au Gentlemen goud Manners? We
Scotlaund-Men are au Gentlemen when we come tea 'angland."

His tales of the 'minister's wife', and of 'ass-John who preached a
'sea'am on one text, his boasts of having a "brau estate in Scotland",
are all in the hackneyed tradition. But his talk has the brusque
freshness of actual Scots talk of a kind- that is, when one translate
the printer's spelling. "1'll gey ye au loup like 'niments," he says,
or "Haud yer Chaffs together!" "Hear ye me, jo, how wad ye like me for
yer goosey?" "He's staaung sighing in the causy" "The deel be fa
yer wheeling Snout". He has two rat' scraps of scene flung him,
"in which he beats off three Englishman, and the final one when he
cries: "I wull gec au Scotlaund 'once-bant I waunt a piper" Bellairs
calls for violins and a shout of "Play up thrawn, Fidlers, aun be haung'd tea ye, aun let me hea au verry bonny 'pring."

"Part from the fresher talk, he puts in, Craufurd made no attempt to
alter the fixed outline of the 'buffoon-Scott', nor does he try to por-
tray any other 'Scott character. Perhaps the accepted apprenticeship
of the Scots writer, perhaps the native ineptness in drama, account for the curious fact that even in this new century the more varied creation of Scots character on the stage was the to be the work first of English dramatists, not Scottish.
CHAPTER VIII. The Highlands.

I. The modern pride.
II. The English view of the Highlands—17th century
III. The English derogation of the Highlander.
IV. The Lowlander's dislike.
V. The actualities.
VI. The English traveller in the Highlands.
VII. The English armies in the Highlands.
VIII. Later travellers—changing conceptions.
IX. National exploration of the land—and irrational
X. Martin and his work.
XI. Highland rehabilitation—
XII. The first study of the Gaelic.
XIII. Extension of English knowledge.
XIV. Vogue for the tartan and for Scots music.
I.

By an ironic swing of the pendulum, the Lowland Scot to-day takes infinite pride in identifying himself as most distinctively Scottish with what is most distinctively Highland. He would have other nations think of Scotland as a land whose roots are in mountain and heather, whose people come from the ancient untamed clans, whose romance and whose history are linked with Highland chief and Jacobite rising. Highland scenery, music, reels, the pipes and the tartan, the dishes of haggis, porridge, uncuebaugh, these he insists are typically Scottish.

It is an ironic pride, and a sentimental one, since it dates from the decay of what was unirriguably Highland. That decay was a century and a half ago. Glance at the Lowlander's attitude to the Highlands before that time. No romance or heroics warmed his estimate. He was as vehement as the Englishman in condemning them as a blot on his country, and their inhabitants as uncivilised savages, most of them would be better deported.

...a nineteenth and twentieth century appreciation of the Highlands, and liking for the Highlander, has therefore to be jettisoned whole blocus in reverting to the seventeenth. The Highlands then were no source of general interest or attraction to the Englishman: no asset of colour or picturesqueness to Scotland. The question of why England felt no glamour about the Highlands, and no heightened interest in the north as a consequence, is ludicrous in face of the actualities.

II.

These actualities are best seen from the angle of an English traveller. His phrase was not 'from Land's End to John-o' Groat's', but only 'from the Mount in Cornwall to Berwick Stairs'. Beyond Berwick Stairs lay the barren land and small ancient towns of Scotland. Beyond these—but that was almost beyond the pale of civilisation—lay the Highlands.

By dream of exploring them? If he rode north, this town-bred English traveller, it was not as a holiday escape from towns, which were the cherished centres of life, but to survey that northern civilisation from the viewpoint of its towns. He turned his horse's head from Berwick to Edinburgh; from there westwards to Glasgow, then south again to his own land.

If he were hardy, he might take the coast-road north to Aberdeen. But always his goal were not the towns, and the sight-seeing to be done there of buildings and streets, universities and libraries. From the main roads he passed he had no passing glance at villages and field-encircled glens usually—but the scenery that won his appreciation was that of his horse's path or of some pretty lake, never of mountains. From Stirling or from the east coast road northwards, he saw the lowering outline of the Highland ranges. But when Lowland travel called for the endurance of bad roads, spindly change-houses, derelicted countryside and the perils and discomforts of horse-back travel in inclement weather, he naturally avoided the suicidal policy of pressing into a land where even bad roads and dear billets were non-existent...
1. Tour thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain
   Vol: 3

2. State Papers Domestic 1563
   3 1610.
...would offer these hose "2nd utfing memt croesong •Ci t of Banditti ppcl huts criticised Highlanders were acet as veil sic jii in of ehecvous—nimble century, and it the forward exercises or robberies rather, and upon a deadly fixed and hatred most forward and desperate to take revenge. Their garb, "apparailed Irish him" was described; their being "divided by certain kinreds which they termes classes". "They commit such cruel outrages, that with robbing, spoiling and killing, that their savage cruelty hath forced a law to be enacted."

Cand with criticism by Scots scholars, and emended by Sir J. Delry moge in 1698, continued to be used as a standard authority throughout the century and it is that type and level of information one must accept as the mental kit of the traveller going north.

...a land of marvels, and a land of robbers—that was his rough idea of the Highlands.

Slightly expanded both ideas. It was a land of witchcraft, and of survival one could expect nowhere else, a terra incognita; it was a den of banditti and itch-infested two-footed wolves. To travel there meant crossing mountains, phenomena of terror to the average southeran, and putting oneself "at the mercy of a barbarous country", as Kirk said, sojourning among "rapish" thieves, who spoke an alien tongue.

In revery of it all could be no more than the sight of merrid Highland huts or brutish mountain, with possibly the view of some battle-field, or the doubtful hospitality of a Highland chief...
1 Barry's Ram Alley
2 Caledonia
3 Memoirs.
Two convictions, rooted uncritically but firmly in the seventeenth century mind, have to be realised by the twentieth century one, the disrepute of the Highlander and the appalling backward state of his country.

The modern reader of 17th century satire is inclined at first to treat the constant jibe of 'barbarian' as a joke, talk of the itch to another and a poorer one, wrath at Highland reiving and clan revenge as a dull insensitiveness to a romantic side of Highland life, and so on. But as the charges are corroborated seriously from this source and that, the reality of them begins to penetrate.

In English eyes, the Highlander was a barbarian, a Fict, a creature half-civilised. His early nickname was Redshanks, first flung at him by the Lowlander to judge from a letter of John Elder, a Highland priest to Henry VIII, explaining "wherefore they call us in Scotland Redshanks, and in your Grace's dominions--roghe-footie Scotts" (such in London stuff derives it from "their odmderate raunching to the redshanks or red herrings!)

He was naturally grouped with other semi-civilised or discredited people:

"I will rather wed a most perfidious Redshank, a noted Jew or some mechanic slave."

And a hundred years later, Defoe is found trying to raise the estimation of the Highlander by arguing his superiority to

--the savage Madagascar Moore;
Capeche Indians or Circassian Boors."

"If any Dunyan ever dared be visionary enough to write

Highlanders and wild Irish can agree,
My pilgrim should familiar with them be.

Familiarity was a dream. England saw the Highlanders en masse once, then they marched south with the army of 164C. Comment was mostly quaint. "They are the nakedest fellows, the Highlanders, that ever I saw." A pamphlet described in some detail these "Highlander's common in called Redshanks with their plainest coat over their shoulders". Blockers must have regarded their use rather as one did the billeting of French negro troops in Germany, as legitimate perhaps, and necessary but a very repellent necessity. A seasoned soldier like Captain Carleton had admiration for their physique--"tall, stinging fellows"--and their temper--"they are all gentlemen and proud enough to be rig;--the meanest tenacious of his honour. They scorn to be condescended but by one of their own family or clan". Into qualities they were supreme, being 'hardy to endure hunger, cold and hardships, and won such shift of foot". He found their "antique" dress ludicrous, however. "These fellows lookd when drawn out like a regiment of merry men, ready for Bartholomew Fair." Others laughed at these "enchant instruments of gallantry, bills, bowes and arrows",

as if they were, no liking was felt, and one recalls how ruthless the fugitive groups of them were exterminated after Worcester.
1. 1651

2. The English Masque
The epithet Medshanks gradually fell into disuse, but Highlander or Sawney carried on the stigma. When the Civil War turned entirely against the Scot, the trait of Highlander, denoting the most repulsive type the country possessed, was found the most telling abuse. "Sawney the Scot" buffooned it in belted plaid and tattered truis. Brown's Highlander was meant to satirize the Scot in general. "The Scotch rogue" was of course Highland, if any Scot were attacked. Highland was the damning epithet. "Staghot", for instance, was satirized in Breval's "Confederates" by a frontispiece drawing of him in Highland dress, and by a reference to his "Highland face"; and in the "Martinid" as "the Highland loon". In the innumerable jibes in this century and the next, Highland is synonymous with treacherous and knavish.

Letch his presentation on the stage. M'beth carefully avoids stressing anything Highland. There is only one touch, a hint that Highland dress was worn, for Malcolm says to Ross: "My countryman, and yet I know him not", as he sees Macduff approach. - A recognition obviously rising from distinctive garb. No comic Highlander appeared on the Elizabethan stage, for Heywood's "Jockey", who bogs the return of his land from Billy Bragg, is probably of the Border. "Glendale, not of the Hebrides.

The masque and anti-masque, with their cult of the outre and fantastic had him fit stuff for their drolleries or antic dancing. Scots gentlemen danced in "Irish mantles" to the bagpipes. His masquerade for the queen, certain Scotchmen came in with a tartan dress, and performed it cloakenly. Ford's masque had "4 Wilde Irish and 4 Scotch Antickes, accordingly habited".

The century saw the Highlander figuring on the stage as comic butt and rogue, and even as that a patched-up conception. Wright's portrait of Billy in the part of Sawney shows him in a tartan of red, yellow and black. Sawney must have been, as Franck says seriously of the Earl of Lenox, "born precociously" in Scotland, as his talk is the usual Lowland dialect, but he is called "Highlander", and "Aberdeen", and maulders of "Iceland ladies" and uses the idiom "his own".

At the end of the century, David Craufurd brings a Scots footman, "Wullie Scotland"), into his "Courtship a la Mode". There is no reference to Highland birth, but Wullie wears that kaily coat: "that antick Garb I love to see the fellow in; it puts me in mind of the old world"; and in this fitting garb he plays the part that Craufurd describes as "a Downright, ignorant Clown". The kilt was seemingly a stock comic "prop", and the Highlander a joke.
1. A Knock Poem on---1678

2. 1687

3 1679

4 A.Shields 1687

5 -687

6 Leing's Fugitive Scots Poetry of the 17th century.

7. The predominance of Roman Catholicism in the Highlands was an obvious reason for Low land dislik

8 Discourses on Scotland -698
A challenge to this English derogation, no attempt at rectifying it emanated from the Lowlander. Set a Scot to castigate a Scot, and Alexander Montgomery and Dunbar had already had malicious exits on the Highlander. Broadsides carried on the practice, and from the seventies on Presbyterian fury over the "Highland Host", and "Big hatred of the Jacobite" give it edge and mortuary. Cleland in "The Highland Host" and Colville in "The Nips' Supplication", or the Scotch Rubaiyat" diverted themselves with some abusive "flying", as does the author of "The Highland Reformation". The pamphleteers abetted. "They brought down from the Wild Highland a Host of Savages upon the Western Shires", wrote "A Hind Let Loose", "more terrible than Turks or Tartars, men the feared not God or regarded man." The author of "A true Narration" calls them "a crew of barbarous and savage men of another language and custom and of no religion".

After the Montrose, and Dundee risings, mocking ballads circulated, some in imitation of Highland accent and "whonories". The Glencoe tragedy drew the comment of "As for the Glencoe-men, they are always counted a people given to rape and plunder (or corners as we call it) and much of a piece with your highwaymen in England".

The Lowlander dislike of the Highlander was understandable. His raids were a constant menace to the farmer and villager and even to the townman. His lawless work in being used to batter on and plunder the conventicles of the west, and his part of pawn in Jacobite schemes made him dangerous. And, basic irritation, he refused, to be assimilated, and made no contribution to national progress. That the Lowlander really desired was the translation of the Highlander into the Lowlander - and nothing less. As he was, he was decimated. Fletcher of Saltoun put it: "There cannot be a proper reformation while Scotland has a people who are all gentlemen only because they will not work, and who in everything are more contemptible than the vilest slaves except that they always carry arms". He wrote heatedly that "three or four hundred of the most notorious of those villains which we call jockies might be presented to the state of Venice to serve in their galleys".

VI.

These, they were the popular English and Lowland opinions of the Highlands and their inhabitants. And the actuality?

Scott and romance have set such a glimmer on the Highlands that it takes an effort to see them bare to the buff. Facts are accessible, however, and tell one story. Seventeenth century Highland life was neither a matter of pastoral idyll nor of Spartan heroics. It was primitive, brutal, and retarded. Since the land was undeveloped, need drove its men to Lowland plunder and cattle-raiding. In the glens a half-savage standard of living prevailed. Adequate schools existed only on the eastern fringes. Religion had a precarious footing. Life was dominated by grim famine and the chief whose gallows stood at his castle gate. Loyalty to that chief was scarcely the gallant virtue it has since been exalted into, but the stern condition of feudal life.
There was scant promise for the Highlander outside his glen. He was untrained in and contemptuous of the trades of civilised life. The Highlander shunned him. Edinburgh Town Guard employed him only as the most deterrent police force they could use. There were yet no Highland regiments. The navy conscripted him from mid-century on, but his best was not towards the sea. The army made greater use of him, but he was felt dangerous in the mass, and sent abroad. (The early history of the Highland regiments shows them always disbanded immediately on their return from Continental service)

In his own land, his life was a matter of stagnant days — (when he was the 'lazy Highlander' who shocked the English traveller) — broken by brief sallics of clan warfare or raid. He could be bribed by the promise of plunder as his chief could be bought — and those who used him in rebellion had to reckon on his demoralisation as soon as plunder was within his grasp.

Government policy made for further demoralisation. It was erratic and opportunist. James VI trusted to drastic suppression. Charles I allowed all control to lapse. Cromwell and Monk harshly subjugated the country again and erected forts. Charles II's reign saw the forts dismantled and a second relapse to lawlessness. James, awake to the tactical value of Highland support began the "courting" of the chiefs. William's policy was an opportunistic blend of stringency and pension-allow to the buying of the chiefs' support. That venality, incidentally, was known and set further discredit on the Highlands.

There was no romantic halo round the person of the Highlander. That could be said for him was that all these defects — ignorance, a personal offensive of dirt and th' zymotic diseases bred in the smoke-filled primitive huts were to some extent offset by the tall build, natural pride of carriage and natural civility and self-possessedness that impressed the unprejudiced traveller.

VII.

It is worth regathering at this point what the English traveller saw and wrote of the Highlands.

Their first explorer in this age, John Taylor, has already been quoted. His intrepid, of his walking penniless from London to the heart of the Highlands, and the uniqueness of his tasking part in a Highland hunting and reporting it to London with great gusto, is still startling, he explained and described indefatigably. For once in the year, which is the whole month of August, and sometimes part of September, many of the nobility and gentry of the kingdom for their pleasure do come into these highland countries to hunt, where they do conform themselves to the habits of Highland men — and lo forth.

It should be the credit of first discovering the Highlands as 'sportman's paradise', by virtue of his ten years. But his prose tells a less enthusiastic tale, especially of the horrors of mountain travel. Such strange ways over mountains and rocks, I am sure I never saw any
that might follow them"; the way over mount Skene "so uneven, stony
and full of boggy, quagmires and long norh" he says in accents of a
horror; and the real Londoner speaks in: "I was the space of two days
after before I saw either House, Cornfield or Habitation for any
creatures but Deere, Wilde Horses, Wolves and such-like creatures, which
made me doubt that I should never have seen a house again!" For a
London audience, too, he tries to make real the Highland scenery. The
"Area of Marr", for instance,"is a large County all composed of such
mountains that Shooters Hill, Edshill, Highgate Hill--(and he calls
on all the hills a Londoner might know are but Holshills in compar-
sion". With this intellectual effort, and the remark that snow always
covers these Mountains, he leaves Highland scenery.

He makes a grateful effort to rectify some English ideas of the Hill-
lands, however, by insisting on the "good Scottish ale", the "bountiful
entertainment of guests", abundance of game, and the Earl of Marr's "-
great store of fir-trees"--which he admits "sounds like a lye to
an unbeliever"

The caveat about Taylor's praise is that his experience was scarcely
direct contact with the Highlands and the ordinary Highlander. He
saw the latter, naturally, noted their "Irish", slept for a miserable
night in one of their huts and suffered from "Irish masquetaes"; but
his real touch was with the Highland nobles.

Did Johnson see the Loch Lomond he planned a pastoral for? And was he
inspired by the beauty of it, pristine and unsullied?

It is a tempting belief, but he is as likely to have been stimulated
only by talk and hearsay of its marvels. Drummond sent him "that map
of Inchnerrinnoch", which may by your book be the most famous. No use
of it is known.

Three other chance travellers left their impressions of the north.
Another, a business man, had his eye as much on mason and joiner work as
on "this fair lough", and "that pretty park", and restricts his praise
to the safety of travel and the civility met with.

Brecon confined himself to the little Tour, as the 18th century call
it, but he saw the Highlander in Edinburgh, and jots down interest-
lessly a description of their kilts: "a kind of loose flap garment hang-
ning loose about their breast, their knees bare"; and with admiration he
describes their wearers as "proper, personable, well-complitioned men,
and of able men (sic); the very gentlemen in their blue-caps and plids." A
notes, too, in perfect credence, all the marvels told of Loch Lomond.
The passing remark of his is that he bought "The Itinerary of Scot-
land and Ireland"; an interesting light on the elusive problem of
guides to Scotland. None at all does Brecon mention such an itinerary;
and the earliest English guide one can trace is F.Holyoke's "Visitor's
Dictionary" of 1646 the earliest Scottish "A Description of the Most
Admirable High Lands and Fairs" (Edinburgh 1711)

The years after Brecon published his travels, Archbishop Laud created
feeling of a sensation by journeying in his coach to Dublin and
travelling. But his diary entry is a terse "my dangerous and cruel jour-
ney, crossing part of the Highlands by coach", which was a wonder that
1. Mercurius Scoticus 1651

---------- Politicus 1650-54 Burney Collection
---------- Elenticus 1651

The Scotch Occurrences 1651-2
The Scottish Mercury 1651
etc
Tention of "fooyle", more frequently "othage." The only "ioioh, go otoih, go... semi-savage guerilla-k-y, the "etn quoted, typical of hack-cloth vf.-uc M »... demoralising. The no nearer...iooign, go... lands... wugh, roody places," he... liuieus. "glish exasperation... scouting... mas... on... played... ins... does... of... x... U",... us... useful... military... movements... their... western... Highlands, where... little... but what is also notorious... Ilominable. Here... are... of... Impregnable Carisons, viz high and inaccessible rocks and mountains... to be stormed... battery. The inhabitants are savage... war,... became... proud... their... Brouses, belted pleats and bonnets, as a Spanish—Their women are pure... on... Highland chiefs—"Desperadoes," they know no other way of robbing... their... but by disturbing the Public is often... they...;... English exasperation... come now... then... to... a... "for... good's sake, let's... something" mood. "Mercurius Scotticus" summed up the Highlanders as "a pestiferous burden where... the country... by... heathenish usage". A correspondent in "Mercurius Politicus" urges Parliament to declare the lost... to... the... Commonwealth's... Demesne". Another wrote it would be... charity as well as policy" to rid the land... captured Highlanders, and... to the plantations. "Here they... nothing but rob, burn... further as often as they get liberty".
The land once conquered, English dread died down, and with it English interest. Yet the Commonwealth and Protectorate did more for the Highlands than was obvious at the time. It was not that the direct experiences of the Army resulted in much. (The army mind is not often curious or experiencing, and it was civilian poets who sang Cromwell’s conquests.) Nor did the economic survey of Tucker, invaluable for the rest of Scotland, supply more than generalisations about “the old Scots or wild Irish”, living formerly by plaine, downright robbery and stealing; the western Highlands destitute of all trade, being a country, stored with cattell, craggie-hills and rocks; the Highlanders generally “affected with clothes and a lazy vagrancy of attending and following their herds up and down in their pasturage”.

But the military measures show away some of the lawlessness and proved that the country could be traversed and tamed. The supremacy of the Commonwealth, too, had the excellent side-issue of driving back Scots lords to the refuge of their own estates, as well as sending some English lords and gentlemen as fugitives into Scotland not so petty a matter as it appears, when one recalls Viscount Tarbat “confined to styde in the north of Scotland by the English usurpers” supplying the Royal Society in Restoration days with little parcels of information acquired then, or the case of Richard Fransc whose wanderings there were in some sort a self-chosen exile, begun in 1656.

Fransc’s account of the Highlands is a Farrago of ecstasies and sudden melodictions. A keen angler, he was in warm agreement with Camden about Angli-shire being “all mangled with fishful pooes”, and recount of enthusiastically the startling possibilities of the country. In his ramblings through “these eminent high highlands”, and visits to the spots now becoming known as “to be done”, Loch Lomond, “What little Mediterraneen is this?” Beleguider, Badenoch, Lochaber etc., he is quick to appreciate the parts of fertile beauty. He might be given the credit of pioneer in the aesthetic appreciation of the Highlands, because of his much-sonnet, his praise of Loch Ness and of “the flourishing Fields of Kintyre and Inverary which few Englishmen have made discovery of”, were it not that his eulogies seem scrolled merely as elegant eulogies in prose, and his admiration stops short at the mountains “a most ornament and to end of cultivation”. And he shares with the next traveller, “Dick”, a detestation of the Highlander.

Dick skirted round the Highlands on his way north to Orme, surveying them with a mind so full of prepossessions as Dr Johnson’s.

He had no eye for scenery, and dismisses it curtly with such a remark as “we rode upon a high mountain near the road, from whence we discerned a great hill, and some of them almost covered with snow.” But with a half-localist contempt, befitting the civilised Englishman, he details the alien and odd ways of the benighted Highlander.

His jumble of comments is blessed but vivid. He had seen the gallowes before the Heir of Helbran’s house; had been told that “he dare pass the Highlands without a guard of ten or twelve at the least” and that the fir-woods at the end of Loch Ness were swarm with rogues; had heard that strange Butcheries have been committed on their Feuds, some of which are in Agitation at this day; viz Argyle with the Macleans and Cameron about Mala Island which has already cost much blood.”

He
He had gathered tales of second sight, attended a Highland church service, stayed with northern hosts. On all these he discourses, flinging own remarks like "the Highlander struts like a peacock"—"they cannot see too much of one of their own name"—"the if a Highlander be injured those of his own name must defend him"—"the Nobility show themselves very great before strangers"—"at your departure, you must drink a leuga Doras (sic) and have my Lord's Beggar strut about you". The chiefs treated their tenants "worse than Gally Slaves". The Highland language, like the kilt, was beyond description. These seem commonplaces to quote. They were anything but hackneyed to his English friends. They were the first steps in the making of a popular but fairly authentic picture of the Highlander.

Both his account and Franck's reflect a changing attitude about the north. Since the English army's presence there, a good deal of the moonshine of marvels has paled. Even French offers a rational explanation of two of those he refers to. Marvels are no longer the prime attraction, though they are still half-believed. Instead, historical and antiquarian sights are becoming matter of interest. Franck notes the battlefields of Montrose and Cromwell, the birthplace of the 1st of Leven, and retells a couple of historical anecdotes; Kirk has almost exactly the same, with an earlier legend like that of the Prentice Pillar of Roslin.

In part this was a natural result of the recent warfare-equivalent to the present-day visiting of the battlefields and the belated writing of our experiences. In part it was the result of the broadening knowledge of the Highlands. By the time Franck was wandering north, the first efforts at accurate Scots topography were in print, namely the maps of Timothy Pont, (who "had visited all the islands inhabited for the most part by barbarous and uncivilized people") and Sir A. Gordon of Straloch, which had been published in Black's Newe Atlas, vol. 5. This was a great advance on Camden and Speed and the five maps of Peter Acer. The foundations of sound study of the Highlands were now laid.

Further, members of the Royal Society had now begun the same investigation of natural phenomena there, tides, rocks, cliffs, and all chance paper in Highland husbandry or some such topic. This was of more value than it first appears, for it had three curiously diverse results. One was to bring some authentic knowledge of the Highlands to English scholars, and to interest them in the land. The second was to clear away some of the bad litter of the marvellous. The last, ironically enough, was to revive a more credulous interest in the marvellous there, this time in the supernatural and second sight. Mackenzie of Tarbat's very first contributions were "several letters containing observations of remarkable particular in the Highlands and promising more"; John Webster sent a manuscript on witchcraft; Sir Robert Gordon "remarks on strange phenomena in Loch Ness". Kirk's "Fellow is been procuring tales of second sight in his journey north". Tarbat supplies 'aubrey with matter for his "Account of second-sighted men in Scotland" in his Miscellanies (30) He circling outward of this interest, Dr Hickey, Lord Avery, Pepys, Clarendon, Dr Smith, Carlyle and others have been mentioned. It is worth noting—
in view of that distant flowering in Colli\'n\'s Ode on the Superstitions of the Highlands" that though demonologists was as much an English study, with Glanvil and the like at work, yet second sight linked itself in the English mind with the Highlands and Islands. The writings of Dobatter, Sinclair, Kirk inclined to emphasize that. Kirk of Aberfoyle, drew from his own district, and wrote of the Sidhe assuming sometimes the tawny and plaid of the Highlander. Aubrey\'s letters had examples from an Inverness minister and a gentleman of Strathpey. Then pamphlets on second sight begin to appear, the anonymous one of 1700, John Fraser\'s in 1702, and his "Superstitions, Customs etc of the Highlanders" (1702), it is the far north and the isles that are indelibly tinged in men\'s minds by this supernatural.

In a sense, there was nothing new in that. The distinctive atmosphere of Macbeth a hundred years before was of the uncanny:
"Lamentings heard i\'th\'air; strange screams of death; And prophesying with accents terrible,"-- and it had its cadence of women.
But the imaginative fineness of its use there was unique. Elsewhere Scotland had a cruder handling as the land of witches, and by mid-century that had sunk to Savory jokes about "Scotch witches". Now the writings of accredited Scots scholars like Professor Sinclair of Glasgow University and Robert Kirk, and the pamphlets of Telfair gave standing to this new interest in the psychic. Second sight was discussed, challenged, argued, until within ten years even the Cockney knew of it and linked it with the Highlander.

One Scots author, at the close of the century did more. Martin Martin, a scholar of Hebridean birth, a man of University education and travel in Foreign Places, published in 1698 an account of a "Voyage to St Kilda". This was founded on his own journey a year before, and in a simple, usually matter-of-fact style, he tells of the island and its people, with all the minutiae of their life. But somehow there keeps breaking in on this here veracity a strain of the romantic and ideal. The subtitle had claimed for them "beauty and singular chastity", and "a genius for poetry, music and dancing". Martin struck that note strongly in his conclusion. "The inhabitants of St Kilda are much happier than the generality of mankind, being almost the only people in the world who feel the sweetness of true liberty. What the condition of the people in the golden age is feigned by the poets to be, that theirs truly is; I mean in innocency and simplicity, purity, mutual love and cordial friendship, free from solicitous cares and anxious consideration, from envy, deceit and dissimulation, from ambition and pride and the consequences that attend them. They are altogether ignorant of the vices of foreigners, and governed by the dictates of reason and Christianity--they live by the munificence of Heaven, and have no designs upon one another, but such as are purely suggested by justice and concordence."

This rises from a substratum of sound everyday detail, as much about their food as of their mourning for MacLeod or the "cutting" of cloth to be song of "a prime charmers". Second sight is restricted to the Scottish, and only with unconscious art, I think, does he picture things pietistically--"the sacred white mists of the hills" and the like.
Five years later, (1762) his more famous "Description of the Western Isles of Scotland" appeared.

Here the uncommon, the unique and the uncanny are deliberately brought to the front. He begins on a low note:- "The isles are but little known or considered, yet not a few among them have a natural beauty. The inhabitants, though lacking knowledge of letters are seem to be better versed in the Book of Nature" He will describe them simply, with "no wonderful in language".

But a glance at the chapter-headings shows a "gouzy" blend of fact and marvel and legend of past and present, seen and unseen: - "The Isle Flades. Frequenting by a monstrous Whale. A Superstitious Custom for a fair Wind. The Monk Ogorgon. The Tour used by Birds and Men round Table-Boat."


So the plain facts about the isles, and these are not tampered with, are mixed with accounts of ancient traditions, queer superstitions, tall stories of plagues or cures, mention of strange antiquities, heathen temples, cairns, ceremonies of ancient Druids, rites of a young chieftain, Beltane feasts, drinking customs and so on. Gaelic acres are given wherever possible; Gaelic MSS listed; a Gaelic prayer quoted and words like sheeling, quern, birlin, that outline island life.

Just before a matter-of-fact chapter on the economic possibilities of the area, he gives a thirty-five page account of the second sight, very full and well instanced. His most suggestive writing is here. Surely the raw stuff of Gollins's inspiration is in "These Spirits said also to form sounds in the Air, resembling those of a Harp, Pipe Growing of a Cuck, or the Grinding of Grains; and sometimes they have heard Voices in the Air by Night, singing Irish Songs--"and in similar passages.

The two small books had a favourable reception and were popular enough to be reprinted. The "Western Isles" attracted special attention, and the "History of the Hebrides of the Learned" (an early book-review) spent two numbers quoting liberally from it.

What have these books on the isles to do with the Highland, it may be asked? No English reader could possibly imagine the account of "golden-age" life in St Kilda fitted Hochheber, or accept without ruffle the idea of "singular beauty and chastity" being Highland. But are that geographical distinction between Highlands and Islands quite so rigid in southern mind? These two books began the inventing of the isles with glamour, a glamour that endured for a century at least; and elusive in its straying as a hear, that glamour fell confusedly, vaguely, vaguely second sight as well.

All through the century, the Highlander had been regarded neither as serious literary "copy" nor as romantic. The best of him has been unknown, the worst a barrier to his being known better.

Now, with this romance-touch of second sight, of peculiar custom, and strange links with a past civilization, he begins to be rehabilitated. Within a few years he even enters serious English literature.
other factors in those closing years of the century were making slowly for his rehabilitation.

The growing power of Jacobitism was making the Highlands more urgently a problem. "I am convinced of their bad inclinations to this Government" was Craufurd's commonplace. A Committee sent the Peace of the Highlands returned a significantly long list of suggestions. (In 1695) Head was felt for more information, though rather with an eye to. "What have we to fear from them?", as Defoe subtitled a later pamphlet.

The alarm over the Scots Plot in 1706, Sir James Maclean's "Account of the Names of Chiefs in the Highlands and of the numbers of men they were to raise" was put before the House of Lords. Inverness, a "Memorial Concerning the Disorders of the Highlands" appeared in the same year, with the warning: "If ever Popery--here is a Force; if an Invasion--here is Assistance; if there be any Domestic Trouble--here are Banditti--" brandished as an incentive to reform.

The writer deals with the evil ways of the Highlander: "Thrift and robbery are esteemed only a Hunting and not a Crime; Revenge and murder count as Gallantry, Indecency a piece of Honour, and Blind Obedience to Chiefs or Branches takes off any other Influence, either of religion or of the Civil Government". He blames the Government for "little or no notice taken of that vast Country", save appointing a Commission of Justiciary and keeping garrisons in some places. There were "many advantages" from economic development, he points out. But first the Highlander is to be redeemed by "Humane Measures", and so he urges the erection of schools, payment of preachers etc.

XIII.

That pamphlet indicates the second factor making for Highland reform, the increased attention and work of Lowland scholars and ministers in that surge of nationalism that moved Scotland from the eighties on.

 mention has been made of the topographical work on the Islands and northern coast by the two Wallaces, their Mackaile, Brand and Martin. Sibbald's papers of queries for his Bible drew out more information. antiquarian research drew still more. The study of the early races, and early religions, of Picts, Scots, Druids, of the early Church, and of Roman remains led to first hand investigation by Sibbald, Maclean, Dhuyl, and others. Dhuyl's queries show a blend of all the interests: "What account of Second Sight? What Irish Grammar? What account of customs of the Highlanders? What known of their Bardic, poetical, conscious?--or their artificial mounts, of old MSS and charters, of precious stones, coins, rings, of old arrows?"

A valuable side of this was the study--for the first time--of Gaelic, the Irish language as it was still called. Sibbald and Secord were encouraged to it by the help it could give in as their research into early Scottish history. As the former wrote: "I could wish you would try to get a Grammar of the Irish tongue, and send it to us; it were worth your pains to learn that language, it might be of use in retrieving our antiquities"--and later: "I hope you will prosecute
1 Wodrow's correspondence 1701-2-3
2 1707
3 1689
4 Preface to "A Saxon Treatise 1623
Franciscus Junius found similar "very good use" 1668
(W.Geddie's Bibliography of Middle Scots Poetry
5 1691.
your study of that Irish and Saxon languages. But Lhuyd's "Archaeologica Britannica", with Gaelic as only one of its vocabularies, shows that the movement was larger in scope. As a matter of fact, it seems part of that revival of etymological study, of the northern languages especially, which Dr. Hickes and his contemporaries started at Oxford in the late eighties. Hickes' Anglo-Saxon Grammar was forerunner to similar works, grammars, thesauri, and Anglo-Saxon texts by Benson, Tenney, Gibson, Rawlinson, Churwits and Elstob. This gave impetus to the study of early Scottish texts; William de L'Isle, an earlier Anglo-Saxon student, had found that by reading Douglas, he "got more knowledge of that I sought (i.e., Anglo-Saxon) than by any other. Now Gibson edits the "Polemo-Riddiania" and "Christ's Kirk on the Green" as "a sort of exercise towards a Knowledge of the Anglo-Saxon".

In the wake of this enthusiasm for language study came the study of Gaelic. Lhuyd's "Archaeologica Britannica" had included "A Brief Introduction to the Irish or Ancient Scottish Language". The complimentary verses that prefaced the book pointed to Scottish enthusiasm, for they included not only Latin poems by J. Keill, Andrew Frazier and Colin Campbell, but Gaelic ones from Gaelic scholars, ministers in the Highlands and Islands. One of them writes:—(translated from the Gaelic)

"Thou hast awakened the Celtic from the tomb,
That our past life her records might illumine,—
thy silent words unfold;
To future ages what our sires had been,
While others say: "A Gaelic race hath been!"

This study of the language coincides with a troubled interest in it taken by the Church, which at this time was concerning itself about the north, and instituting a Commission to the North of Scotland (1700). The Church looked on it with disfavour, as at the root of the Highland problem—the factor that kept the Highlander from religious instruction, from Bibles and Catechisms, and that kept him and his folk apart. But that policy to pursue was a difficult question, and for twenty years had erratic solutions. Kirkwood, eager for the religious instruction of the people through their own language induced Robert Boyle to extend his printing of Bibles for American Indians to include Gaelic copies for the equally pitiable savages of the Highlands. Previously only one Catechism and fifty psalmists had been printed in Gaelic. Kirk of Aberfoyle now superintended a Gaelic Bible, and added a vocabulary of the language later inserted by McKee in the "Scottish Historical Library".

From 1690 to 1703-6, these Bibles were being dispatched north. By the latter year, Kirkwood had a second scheme on foot, for "Bibliothecas" in the Highlands, and throughout England and Scotland, contributions of books and money were asked for. The S.P.C.K., founded in 1699, had established a Scotch correspondent in 1701. Through its instrumentality, one, in the year after Union, issued a further appeal for funds for erecting libraries, schools and churches in the Highlands.

All this missionary work had its antagonists; or at least its opponents in policy. Kirkwood came early into conflict with those who fe
felt strongly that to print books in it was to condone an evil, to prolong mischief. The schools accordingly started with English teaching and English books, alike unintelligible to their scholars. Argument raged round the topic, even until Dr Johnson's day, then Johnson, ironically enough, ranged himself as strongly for continuing the printing of books in the language.

Politics, then, and the prevailing nationalism, the research of scholars and the awakening conscience of the Church, the Lowland desire for an improving Scotland, all brought the Highlander into serious consideration in Scotland.

XIV.

In England, the vague glamour infection from the Isles, has been noted. That had no influence till the last years of the century, however. In the twenty years before that, England too was acquiring information about the Highlands, and even flourishing a taste for two things known as Highland.

The knowledge was gained through a well-informed pamphlet like Hore's and through the publication in London of Scottish books already numbered without bias with the Highlands, and handled in ship-shape summary their race, speech, religion, clan system, soil, dress and the rest. He relied on standard authorities like the Camden, but weeded out what he could check as out of date, and intersperses remarks that were surely from his own experience. For instance, on the topic of the Highlanders of Scotland, he says: "Of late years the scene has changed to the earlier than before," and he insists on affectionate terms existing. But he laments their primitiveness: "not a few profess no religion at all, but are next door to barbarity and heathenism".

In analyses the Highland contempt for the Lowlander, a little essay in national psychology, carefully details the Highland costume, using the active terms like 'brogue' (brogue), and for the first time reports the agricultural work of the people: "It is almost incredible how much at first简易 the plough"—"the declensions," I had almost said the Revozips,--a minute, revelation to the southern who believed only in the 'grey Highlander' and his 'bachelor land'. (And the line direct to Ben Nevis, as the in this period issued his well-known account of Scotland in its curt: "Among the Highlanders they live like savages and go full-armed".)

Some glorified unstintingly from the very early writers on the land "in the natural beauties of this kingdom", "such an inexhaustible number of heroines—that they seem to darken the very Scottish light"—and so on. Obviously Brodie never set foot in the High-lands of his friend, Thos. Hay. From Stirling he looked north, and "a most remarkable country, full of mountainous dangers and terrible inlets", gathered one turner over. Joseph Taylor, similarly, found himself uncomfortable to advice the Highland areas, as near in Kintourn..
streets. Both Taylor and the author of "North of England and Scottish Land in 1704" are inclined to be hasty still about the Highlands. The latter found them on his way south from Glasgow. The former copies John The Slythesome Brideel as "a Highland Ballad in great esteem among them."

XV.

These very points of Highland dress and "Highland ballad" were curiously enough, enjoying some English attention and popularity.

Highland costume—apart from its use on the stage as a comic accessory—and it was never used seriously there again until MacLellan's revival of it in Macbeth in 1778-74—was familiar to London well before the end of this century. Argyle's Highland body-guard alone could ensure that. It had been carefully described, too, by travellers with some care by Cacheverill with the noting of its different 'number' by Martin, and accurately drawn by Slezer in his "Theatre Scots-

from the eighties on, though, there was a popular vogue in London for the wearing of tartan. The Duchess of Norfolk commissions Beggs to secure her "ten or eleven pieces". Ward and Brown constantly mention the 'Scotch plaid', the 'Scotch plaid petticat', the "pin-up coats of Scotch plaid".

The matter is barely worth notice, except that as the fashion for the coats fell and fashioning at the court of King James pointed to the passing compliment of a Scots cult-end proof of amiable relations to this fashion suggests a cult that probably dated from the northern visits of the future James II and his consort to Edinburgh in the eighties. (The later parallel of Queen Victoria's visits to Balmoral and the avalanche of tartan and things Highland that descended on a guiltless England comes to mind.)

"a" vogue more lasting and of greater influence was the contemporary one for Scots music of a certain kind.

As an ironic vagary of taste, the court of Charles II with its almost accidental sophistication had developed a liking for what was called a "Scotch song". This was three-parts an artificial concoction, Scots neither in origin or setting, but a piece of mock-simple, sentimental apparatus in a pseudo-Scottish dialect, its hero some Bawbee or Jockey, its heroine Jenny orрогля.

The genesis of the craze is still a problem. Real Scots songs had been circulating for years in England, so much so that it is hopeless to classify early versions with certainty as originally Scots or originally English; and in earlier taste for northern songs had been seen in the thirties, then "The Broom o' the Cowden-anwes", "Fallow my Bawbee", and others similar had been sung. By the fifties, Scotch airs were being printed by John Playford in his "Dancing Master", his "Musick's Delight on the Cithern", his "Musical Companion" and "Apollo's Banquet". Here these are titles like "Highlanders March", "Montrose's March", "Jemmy Lachly's March" — "Short Representation", performed before
1. 1660. sung by "A Scotchman".

1652.

3 1671.

4 Histories of Music by Dr Burney and by Hawkins.

5 by Shadwell 1690.
General Monk in 1660 had verses to the tune of "The Highlanders New Hunt".

These were only airs. Songs begin to find place in collections too, however, or are issued separately: "Up in the Morning Early", for instance, is printed in Hilton's "Catch that Catch Can" and Charles Cross printed words and music of two of Francis Sempill's songs, "She raise and loot me in", and probably "The Blithesome Bridall" before 1655.

So far it is genuine Scots music that Playford and the others were handling. But then one picks up the song and poem collections of the seventies, say, "The Westminster Drollery, Parts I and II", or "Mock Songs and Joking Poems", and the plays of the same age, D'Urfey's in especial, it is to find a "new Scotch song", stuff like:

Hit the doon be me, mine aye sweet joy,
Thosue quite k'ill me, sueseth thou prove coy.
Suetst thou prove coy and not love me,
Where sell I fiend sike a can as thee.

Billy told her with many a green
Lee cannot follow Sidney for meeter and steeone.

And this is the type of 'Scotch song' that flourished for the next fifty years. Thomas D'Urfey was the chief culprit-composer, although even Prior tried an occasional one. T. Cross engraved them in quantities. Well-known musicians, Dr Blow, even Purcell, wrote the music for them. They became an essential part of a young lady's accomplishments for Clara in "The Scorcers" complains bitterly of being always taught "A Scotch Song more hideous and barbarous than an Irish Cronch". The seal of Royal approval was set when as D'Urfey proudly reports Charles himself sang his (ie D'Urfey's) songs with him.

This popularity is almost incomprehensible. The appeal of the songs was of the crudest. The majority tell of Jenny, voced by Jockey, or Norrie deserted by Barney; and they are either sentimental or indecent ballads. The language was a compound of hackneyed Scots phrases: - 'Bonny lad' - "gong to the kirk" - "shame faw thy lugga" (usually fearsome ly misspelt, as "Jenneyhall wees gang away bit") and sudden lasses into English:

Bonny Jockey, Blithe and Gay,
Said to Jenny making hay,
Let's sit a little, dear, and prattle, 'tis a sultry day.

Here and there a Scottish town or place is referred to, Edinburgh in "Within a Furlong of Edinburgh Town" and "Pretty Kate of Edinburgh!" "Ligaen Water" in another, Yarrow in a late one of D'Urfey's; and occasionally there are echoes or actual refrains from Scots songs - "It's Jenny, Nanny, Nanny O". But in the main the songs are of English conception.

What then explains their popularity for fifty years? (And their vogue is important since it set traditions of later songs.)

The clue is in the very crudeness that condemns them now. For London audiences they were something of a "return to nature", to the rustic. They titillated a jaded town-taste by their sketches of a crude, hole
country-mating. Besides, popular stage and drawing-room song has always been an affair of slip-slop exaggeration, and these Scotch songs whose pathos ran to the maudlin, and whose humour to the bawdy, were perfectly acceptable.

The flavour of Scots tune, too, was relished as fresh. Dryden spoke of "the rude sweetness of a Scotch tune—which is natural and pleasing though not perfect". Those tunes by English composers were sometimes of a watered-down flavour, but the compromise commended itself at least to such a one as Pepys, who heard Mrs Knipp sing "her little Scotch song of Barbara Allen"—"in perfect pleasure", but introduced at one of Lauderdale's supper-parties to genuine Scots violin music the tunes, "as moral and the best of their country, as they seemed to esteem them"—"Lord, the strangest syre that ever I heard in my life, and all of one cast!"

They were issued in quantities with titles almost similar:—"The Scotch Lass"—"The Scotch Wedding"—"The Scotch Lassie's Constancy"—"The Scotch Laddie's Moon"—"Sorrow will never be my Love again"—"Jockey was a Sardey Lad"—"Morose Jockey and Yielding Jenny" and so on.

Practically all D'Urfey's plays include one or two, and so do Mrs Aphra Behn's. Steele's "Funeral" had "A Scotch Air" written for it. Each volume of "Pills to Purge Melancholy", issuing from 1698-1720 had a large collection of them, as had D'Urfey's own collections of songs published between '65 and '68.

At the height of this craze, Playford risked the publication of "A Collection of Original Scotch Tunes, (full of the Highland Humours) for the Violin"—the first collection of purely Scots airs. These had the Scots titles attached, usually in unrecognizable fashion, as "The Corners of Largo"—"Deal stick the Minster"—"Duck a Dollis"—"Wappet the Widow my Lady"—"For old long Dine, my Joe"—but the music was genuine.

It proved popular too. A second edition was called for in 1701, and during the next few years, two other music publishers, John Young and John Arc, borrowed practically the same title, to head their similar collections. The music seems to have been admitted as a little ludicrous or at least bizarre. Young heads his as "comicall and diverting".

In the year of Playford's collection, a Bartholomew Fair droll was—"The Comical Humours of the Enchanted Scotchman, or Jockey and the Three Witches".

Along with this "Highland" music, Scots ballads and some genuine Scots songs were being published.

It is impossible to trace the whole of these, for they were mixed un-critically with the artificial. Thackeray, the bookseller, lists of ballads in stock in '85, he has "Johnny Armstrong", and "The Lord of Lorn" side by side with "Sorrow and Jockey", "A New Scotch Jig" and "When Johnny met Jenny on a Summer's Day", and these with "The Scotch Serent" and "Then first the Scottish Wars began". But it is interesting to discover D'Urfey helping himself from John Forbes's "Cantus Scoticus and Fencibles", that valuable early Barrier collection of Scots airs, (re-printed in '65 and '68) and to find Hat Thompson's "Choice Collection of 100 Royal Songs", include "Like a Wife as Billy had".
There is evidence, though, that a taste for real Scots music was growing. Dr Burney points to the fact that Dr Blow cultivated the "Scots style" from the ballads of "Amphion Anglicus" on; "the union of Scots melody with the English is conspicuous". Purcell was meanwhile setting music to D'Urfey's songs and played from '66 on.

What had this to do with the Highlands? It had two links. First, it brought music of 'Highland humour' into popularity. It was regarded generally perhaps as 'wierish', and was laughed at now and again as Brown did in describing Dr Staggins in Hell composing Scotch tunes for Lucifer's bagpiper. But it offered English taste one distinctive pseudo-Highland contribution it could and did enjoy.

The second link is the more important. These Scotch songs came to be used politically. A parody with a political import would be made, or a frank rewriting of the ballad to fit some event. Thus during the stormy years from 1680 on, references to the Highlander and to Highland rising are slipped in. The "The bonny lads were Sawney and Jockey" song was refashioned as "Three bonny lads were Sawney Cloud, Hamilton and Andrew Grier the captain that led 'em on", and dealt with the Jacobite Rising.

A group appeared at Dundee's Rising, among them "Jockey's Escape from bonny Dundee", with its unusual praising of "Jockey the Laird and Sandy the Man". Another in eulogy, was "The Scotch Virago", as "sung to the Queen":

Valiant Jockey's marched away,
To fight the foe with brave Mackay.

Still another, "The Honest Highlander's New Health to the Queen", addresses "Friend Sawney", an epithet designed to sugar the pill of advice against rebellion.

The novelty of all these is the praise of the Highlander, and even though that sprang from ulterior motives, it is praise.

Some knowledge, a touch of romance about the land, a wearing of the tartan, a liking for a Highland tune and a Scotch song, and some small praise—these are definite advances.

The Highlander is not yet literary copy, not yet discovered... weight of ignorance about him has still to be removed. To expect a detached literary sketching of him is like Alice's King, to cry "Jury, consider your verdict!" before the case opens.

But at least there is promise of these interests growing; the supernatural and the Scotch song continue their popularity, the antiquarian research and Gaelic discovery are carried further. In these, hope of eighteenth century attraction to the Highlands lies.
CHAPTER IX. Retrospect of the Century.
If the reactions in English literature for the century were to be gauged solely by the body of work about Scotland produced, the sum total might be listed as:

In drama, one fine play by Shakespeare, and three historical plays (one possibly by a Scot) centring boldly on national figures—"The Tragedy of Goswry"—"The Valiant Scot"—"Albion's Queens"; some stock parts in historical plays; a general contribution to the stage of sketches in national 'humours', Scots jokes, songs, dances, and a dash of the wilder supernatural; a handful of semi-political satire or farcical comedies a passing taste for a fresh northern-Scottish type of heroine.

In verse, a large amount of satire, some of it like Cleveland's, Milton's trenchant and polished—the greater part of it a topical helter-skelter of broadside, skit and lampoon; some descriptive verse written directly about the land by Jonson, Drayton, Taylor, Franck, for example, and isolated memorable lines by Milton, Donne; a vogue for 'Scotch songs' and for Scottish ballads, prelude to a better cult; some conventional eulogistic poetry, and a very little patriotic.

In prose, the Union pamphlets of Bacon and Saville, the volumes of historians and cosmographers, Camden, Speed, Milton, Heylyn, Clarendon etc; and of countless memoir-writers; an enormous number of tracts, mostly religious and of the Civil War period; a dozen travel accounts; a quantity of antiquarian and scientific papers; and some vivacious journalism, filled with political animus.

It is a motley show, and a disappointing one. So little of it is first rate, so much of it struck off in some heat of national exasperation, or meant only as catch-penny patter. The best of it sets no permanent standard; Macbeth, for instance, is unequalled and unimitated; Cleveland has no rival for a hundred years. The most wide-awake literary interest comes at the beginning of the century, and the best work. At the end, the product is chiefly satire, none too fresh. Two-thirds of what appeared sprang from ulterior motives political motives. It appeared capriciously as events dictated a disastrous dependence. It came sporadically. There seem no sequences, no progressive understanding of and handling of the "matter" of the country.

And if one wishes to be thoroughly pessimistic, the century has assuredly left Scotland in such ill fame as keeps English interest "at the stave's end". "The bad character it lies under discourages most gentle men from travelling hither", wrote Taylor as a new century began.

Accept for the moment this depressing tally.

More half-consciously was expected. Perhaps it is the effect of a Scott-logged imagination that the modern reader, looking back on these hundred years of Scottish history, coloured with Border fight, Highland
Holles Memoirs.
raids, Gowrie Conspiracy, Civil War, Highland Rising, Jacobite intrigue, witch-burning, torture, the "Killing Time", expects something romantic to emerge. Romantic is, of course, a dangerous word to use, for though it was in circulation the cult of "a romantic eye" was a matter of the next century, not this. But not even an imaginative response, say, to what was distinctively racial, far less to what was alien, tartly un-English, emerges, except in one or two cases.

Turn over the satiric prints of the time. For practically all that deal with Scotland the one woodcut is made to serve, a bonneted figure with Scots fall and with thick staff in hand. That was felt adequate. The same holds good of literature.

The events of the century had "set" an almost indelibly bad impression of the Scot in the majority of English minds. The historians and memoir-writers, in four cases out of five, had averred that the Scot was dissimulating, crafty, canting, venal, self-complacent, cowardly, dishonourable. Holles wrote of "the goodness, piety, wisdom, and moderation of our brethren of Scotland", "a wise people, lovers of order and firm to the Monarchy", but he was using the praise as a stick to beat the Independents with.

Travellers had found some traits to admire, but unluckily no two agreed as to which. When Brereton declared "the greatest part of the Scots very honest", one recalls Doord's "trust yow no Skott"; "and zealously religious", continues Brereton, and one recalls Welde's and Aird's "no Service-book--nor Decency nor Order in their divine Or rather contumacious Service." On the other hand they concurred happily in finding them poor, parsimonious and lazy, and most of them uncivil, boastful, irreligious.

In this discreet, what poet would tilt so wildly against popular opinion as to sing the virtues of Scotland and its race, or what dramatist set a Scot on the stage as young hero. Today the Jew is rarely made hero, except in a Galsworthy "problem play:" "Potash and Perlmutter" part, where he is "hit off" to popular laughter, is the acceptable one. So, though Scottish names grace the stage, "tribes of Bruce", said Dryden satirically, the Scot trod it only in the one drab role, "a crude Harry Lauder type, bonnet, kilt and staff--to be greeted with guffaws.

A Scots dramatist, like Craufurd, improved his idiom a little, but so far as one can trace from Genest, there were no prominent Scots actors who might have added touches of veracity or even of variety to this stock humour, nor even a Macklin to draw from his recollections of Scots he had known. London asked for no more, of course. Audiences carped only if the dialect went beyond the known dozen words of "pidgin-Scotch". With no sense of incongruity Doogsett wrote of Aston, the actor: "Though ignorant of the Scottish dialect, he made an excellent Sanny".

The sketching of national character, then, made practically no advance during the century. The only advance is that satire cut possibly a little nearer to the quick, as the two peoples came to know each other more shrewdly. By virtue of form, Cleveland's, at mid-century, is best, but the
1. 1578

2. Dekker's Lanthorn

3. Bacon on Union 1603-4

4. Pleadings ——1673
actual travellers to the north, Airke or E.B. of "A Trip to Scotland" learnt sharper cuts and picked out the national foibles more maliciously. Occasionally, a serious traveller like Ray or Morer noted some genuine trait of national character—"they cannot endure to hear their countrymen or country spoken against", or "they are great critics in pronunciation"—and these promise some progress in limning a little more accurately the stranger Scot.

To revert for a moment to that badge of a Scot, his dialect, the Englishman regarded it either as a broad joke or as a curiosity. Serious consideration of it was slight. Harrison had written of it almost as a foreign language, "the Scottish—a toong very like unto ours", but when James and his courtiers brought the contemporary form of it south, its closeness to English was realised. Dekker spoke of it as "the quick Scottish dialect, sister to the English". Bacon, statesmanlike, saw its future, "the enriching of one language" rather than "a continuance of two". But though it clung to the tongues of James and the older Scots, (and the "unhappy tone" of the Scot was never lost) it was dropped for literary purposes and probably smeared over in talk. No English critic, however, felt it worth discussion.

The early dramatists amused themselves with it as a piece of spicy ridicule, as Jonson did. In prose Nash thought it inexpressibly comic to tell his herring story in a lingo of "fra thence ne sarry taile of a herring they caud gripe".

The first travellers north found it novel enough to make short glossaries of, as Bowther and Brereton, (by mid-century it is Gaelic words the travellers are gathering) and the latter even appraised its riches—"significancy in pathetic speeches" and "innumerable proverbs and by-words"—a notable discovery.

In the same years the "Northern Lass" cult brought it on to the stage again, where it was heard in the bardic chorus of "Fuimus Troies" and from Scots Peggy of "The Valiant Scot".

But the events of the Civil War swamped it in the discredit of the whole nation. There is one glimpse of Secretary Indebank painfully "translating" the messages of the Scottish Privy Council, its survival in state documents in the north is somehow unexpected. But it becomes from then on the familiar medium for doggerel skits against the race, and for satiric broadsides, lampoons of Variston, Lauderdale, Burnet, and so on. The travellers enjoyed mimicking it, and Franck and Kirke attempt an anecdote or two.

Whether writer or printer was to blame, the dialect always reads execrably. Kirke's Berwick bellman announced "a fauthfill broother lawlly dipawrtid out of thes prissant varld". The Scotch song blend was worse as has been quoted; and there it could be clapped between lines like:

"She triumphs in a proud disdain".

The dialect fell farther, for sharing that connotation pejoratif of many things—Scotsish, it became slang for cursing and indecent talk. At a time when its reputation was at its nadir, one striking defence of it came from Sir George Mackenzie, then at the height of his legal fame, and a voice to be listened to. He was concerned primarily to th
vindicating its use for pleading, but his impetuosity carries him beyond. "Our pronunciation is like ourselves, fiery, abrupt, sprightly and bold." "Nor can I enough admire why some of the wanton English undervalue so much our idiom, since that of our gentry differs little from theirs; nor do our common speak so rudely as these of Yorkshire; as for the words wherein the difference lies, ours are for the most part old French words.---Sometimes our fiery temper has made us for haste express several words into one.---Their (i.e. the English) language is invented by Courtiers and may be softer, but ours by learned men and men of business and so must be more massive and significant; and for our pronunciation, beside what I have said formerly of its being more fitted to the complexion of our people then the English accent is; I cannot but remember them that the Scots are thought the Nation under Heaven who do with most ease learn to pronounce best, the French, Spanish and other foreign languages, and all nations acknowledge that they speak the Latin with the most intelligible accent.---I say not this to asperse the English, they are a Nation I honour, but to reprove the petulance and malice of some amongst them who think they do their Country good service when they reproach ours. So unusual a plea to an English audience is one's excuse for quoting it at such length. Inspite of it, and in spite of the scholarly interest in old Scots shown by some of the philologers, (William L'Isle found it "more hard than High or Low Dutch) no English writer of repute showed any serious interest in the Sorie.

But in the latter half of the century the popularity of the "Scotch" song brought the dialect into favour again, probably still as a "pretty odd" taste. It seems however to have trained that more discriminating liking that Taylor, for instance, shows, when he copies down "The Elythe sometime Brydall" with its racy vocabulary, and that was ready to greet Humsay's first verses in the next century.

Enough has been said of those chief barriers to literary interest, English ignorance and prejudice, and Scottish disrepute. Perhaps it is dangerous to seek illustration of that from individual cases; but the contrast between Jonson's enthusiastic journey on foot to the north at the beginning of the century, returning full of literary projects, and epy's visit towards the end, with his curt dismissal of the entire people in one sentence: "There is so universal a rooted nastiness hangs about the person of every Scot (man or woman) that renders the finest show they can make nauseous, even among those of the first quality" seems significant.

The other obvious reasons for a lack of literary handling of Scotland need not be laboured, the censorship that could see 'political spectres' in a play; the sharp party warfare that incited the scribbler to perpetuate the old libels; and that less tangible foe, the temper of the age. Contrast for a moment the eighteenth century's exploration of the rustic and the outre, (its Lapland love songs and Newgate operas) its interest in scenery and cult of the romantic and discussion of race, and one sees how much more attuned it was to what Scotland
1. Breval’s skit on -rbuthnot
2. British Sessions of the Poets
3. Dorset
4. Cokayne’s Praeludium to Brome’s Court Beggar 1633
5. Dryden
6. Historical ‘memoirs.

7. Spingarn’s Critical Essays of the 17th century.
had distinctively to offer. But in this inclement age, one other charge told heavily against the nation, and turned aside much of that possible attention of the best writers: the charge of intellectual inferiority. The educated English man was convinced there was no such thing as Scottish wit. The jibe is frequent:

"The Muses dwell not in thy Northern air
And Poetry's an Itch not catching there."
or-

"-- Apollo 'twas said,
Would in no wise allow of any Scotch wit"
or-

"We send the Graces and the Muses forth,
To civilise and to instruct the North."
or-

"Apollo may enlighten them, or else
In Scottish Grot they may conceal themselves."

It is rare to strike such a recognition of a Scot as "that noble wit of Scotland, Sir George Mackenzie", and difficult to think of others to whom it could have been aped. For the accusation was just, on the whole. Scotland had not yet its fine reputation for learning. Parish-school education was not at its best until tightened up by the 1696 Act. The famous medical school of Edinburgh was founded before the century closed, but the real renaissance of Edinburgh and Glasgow Universities did not show till the twanties and thirties of the next century. The libels of E.B. on a 'Scotch Master of Arts' are not to be taken seriously: (it was only three years later that Carstares principalship drew many English students to Edinburgh) But Sir Calamy, scrupulous critic, visited all the Scottish Universities in 1709, and declared: "If they have not among them many scholars of the first rank, they yet have many of a middle size, who have a competent share of knowledge"—a damning with faint praise that is only a gentler phrasing of Johnson's later dictum.

The conviction of inferiority found support from the side of literature. In Scotland there was no literary class. There were groups of scholars, keen, eclectic in interest, with published work to their credit, but a group of dramatists?—of poets? Nor could the nation show more than three or four dramatists supplied to London, and these third rate, and of poets Drummond alone not among the minors.

England barely knew of Scottish literature, of course. The English literary critic is best criterion of what was known, and to search the works of Elizabethan and Caroline critics, the collections of Boethius, Winstanley, Langbaine is to discover with a shock that Scots writers are scarcely known even by name. The Elizabethans knew of James and Buchanan—something has already been said of that. Bolton, Feucham, Dryton, Reynolds, Uttenham, Alexander, Suckling, Wither extend the knowledge to Drummond, Alexander and Barclay of Argenis' fame, and Suckling laughingly to 'Murray', probably William Murray, Earl of Dysart. Aeclyn swept together Boethius, Major, Buchanan, James VI, Napier of Merchiston, John Barclay, Sendor, John Skene and Dr. John Maxwell.
Phillips' work was titled "Theatrum Poetarum Anglicanorum" and that probably accounts for no Scots poet being named. (He had edited and praised Drummond) Winstanley's Lives of the Most Famous English Poets mentions Ogilby. Langbaine's "Dramatic Poets" lists Philotus, that early Scots comedy, J.W. of "The Valiant Scot", Lochovick Carrell, and Alexander, of whom he says naively: "as the author has already pleaded his Country, so he ought to be excus'd by all English Critics." Stray references crop up, like alluding to the "Horridgment of the Scotch Chronicle" (Monypennie's?) Dryden preferring Buchanan to all the historians that ever wrote in Britain, Pepys amassing the Maitland collections of Scots verse, "The Affair of ye Queen of Scots", a Scottish almanac and a Survey of the Scotch Prayer Book, Sceene's History, and M'favour's Practises, an early law book. But it is doubtful if English knowledge during the century went further than Buchanan and James Drummond and possibly Urquhart, the translation work of Ogilby and Loudardale, individual books like 'Argenis' and 'Aretine', tracts on the supernatural by Sinclair or A'irk, Colville's Audibas, and the trash of M'Chary Boyd.

Half of that ignorance does justifiable. Even in the eighteenth century the Scottish writers are wrestling with the difficulties of written English, while Sheridan instructs them in a passable spoken English. In this earlier period, the verse of a poet like Pennicuik (senior) and still more the fugitive verse in general shows a botch ing of Scots and English, and the letters of men of Wodrow's standing are unconsciously full of Scotticisms. To any English writer, that was enough to put an author beyond the pale.

So much for the negative side of Scotland's literary contact with the north. But did Scotland fail entirely to fertilise the English imagination, or even to impinge on the literary consciousness of the south?

Granted that the land's wilder scenery was unknown, unappreciated. Slezer had certainly offered mountain landscapes as backgrounds in his engravings, but mountains were still an offence to good taste. A print of the 'Memorable Battle fought at MillyCrangie' does not even introduce Highland dress. No painter had yet set the Highlands on canvas — that came a half-century later. Mystery lingered round the Hebrides and the far north, but only there.

The English idea of the land, as a whole, was Justice Shallow's: "Bar ren, barren, barren, beggars all, beggars all, Sir John-marry, good air".

But the essential difference did impinge on English consciousness. It was alien to the roots. A 19th century poet could cry:

What would the world be, once bereft
Of wet and wildness? Let them be left.
O let them be left, wildness and wet,
Long live the weeds and the wilderness yet".
a cry that sprang exultingly from a love of the wild highlands. The 17th century had no such liking and no such desire, but it already felt Scotland as "wildness and wet" - "the weeds and the wilderness" - was a soil which bred strange growths, where primitive perils, marvels, atrocities, the uncanny - be they hocus-pocus or not - could be expected, incredible in another country, incredible in this. The Highlands had their lure of second-sight, the isles that 'golden age' glamour of St. Aida, even the Lowlands, to judge from the "octot songs" picturing of a blown 'sail-yard' wooing and mating had that "ultimate rusticity of thatch" that no Devonshire could rival.

Granted, again, that the English writers never thought of the lawless or tragic events of the north as rich in 'copy'. When Aikie noted the feud between Argyyle and the Macleans and Macdonalds, or Brome told of the Clan Chattan-Glen Kay fight at Perth, it was as deplorable survival of "their Barbarous Customs". Mercurius Politicus ended its report of witch-burning with the heartfelt comment: "Here is enough for reasonable man to lament upon". And after all, was not the cheap English satire of Jockey, fleeing from a land of famine and cold, Billy the cadging pedlar or the hang er-on at court, Sawney the coarse-tongued servant bragging still of his standing in his own land, and 'Meast-John' with his cant, nearer the actual Scotland of the age than the modern Scot would like to admit? Scott chose to illumine parts of that century, and these are felt now as romantic; large part of it he left 'penny plain' - the Parliament, the leading worthies of the church, the General Assembly in action, Cromwell's conquests and so on. Yet 17th century Scotland was stamped by Privy Council and General Assembly, as it was marked by dolorous Calvinism, poverty and famine - none of them romantic things.

Yet that allowed, there is evidence that England did begin to find an encrusting of romance round some of the nation's great figures. Stuart romance had of course begun with the person of Mary, Queen of Scots. Langbaine in the '80's said: "most historians of those times have written her story. - Nay, even writers of romances have thought her story an ornament to their work, witness the Princess Gloria, where part all of her story related - and she pourtray'd as Minerva, Queen of Myopia". The French romancers had written even more of her, and Banks built a play round her fate. But the Jacobite side of Stuart romance, if it may be called so, had one foundation established too. The Eikon Basilike with its fifty editions had done much to sanctify Charles, and the Montrose and Dundee risings had increased that atmosphere of tragic loyalty. Montrose's glorification came rapidly, thanks to his own verse, to "ishart's History and Gordon's "Britain's Distemper". At his obsequies honorary in 1660 a pamphlet was issued, and eulogies in verse and prose. Constantly he is referred to in such a phrase as "the illustrious and truly valiant Montrose". Burnet suggested "he lived as in a romance", and though that was barely meant it fitted the idea of him already forming. Similarly with Dundee, memorable poems and ballads 'starred' his name. Both were too close to contemporary life to make fictional use of, but from the remarks of those English travellers who visited their battle-grounds in the north, there was clearly some enshrining of their memory.
W.J. Hughes. Wales and the Welsh in English Literature  
Snyder- The Celtic Movement in English Literature.

2. Taylor 1652
3 Trip to North Wales-
4 Crouch 1671

1700

Taffy's Progress to London 1707. etc.
Earlier heroic characters were recollected by some of those travelers, Wallace, the "Renowned Champion of Scotland", says Brome, and Bruce, and tales of Balliol and Cumin and De Boune are quoted. Nothing of that as yet enters literature, however. Only the Stuarts and those unfortunate leaders in their cause had a growing romantic attitude shown them.

Lastly, one corrective to this sketch of England's literary interest in Scotland has to be added. To keep a just perspective, trace the parallel English interest in Wales. Scotland had no unique attention in this century—(though 18th century Welsh scholars admitted it had in the next) the parallel of dislike and satire, travel account and exploitation of national 'humours' was extraordinary close. There was "The Valiant Welshman" to partner the "Valiant Scot"; Taylor's Tour to Wales as well as his tour to Scotland. The Civil War brought abundance of 'Welsh satires, as well as 'Scots', and similar jibes at language and diet. The satiric "Trip to Wales" by L.B. was predecessor to his Trip to Scotland". Welsh proverbs were collected as well as Scots. Correspondence was begun between English and Welsh antiquarians from Commonwealth times on—as between English and Scottish. The Welsh rogue found place in picaresques like "The Welsh Traveller" and "The Life and Death of Sheffrey Morgan". In the eighteenth century the parallel is even closer.

Both nations, it may be said in conclusion, were beginning to be felt but not expressed, as having distinctive possibilities. The actuality of each was written of in dislike and contempt, but an undercurrent of "attractions" in each case promised the literary discovery proper of the 18th century.
CHAPTER X. Defoe and Scotland.
1. Sources—the standard biographies of Defoe, his own works, letters from the Historical MSS Commission's reports, and the volumes of The Review. (Burney Co)

2. 1701
In any record of Anglo-Scottish relations at the opening of the eighteenth century, and in that particular record of England's slow realisation of Scotland, one man of letters played an outstanding part, Defoe. No other writer was half so cognizant of Scottish affairs, devoted half so much paper, or made a tithe of his effort towards arousing a general awareness of Scotland and a respect for it. Allow that much of his work was paid propaganda, and that it has little or no permanent literary value. Allow further, he was scantily interested in Scotland other than politically and commercially. Yet these literary honours are due him that he was the first English writer to compose a long panegyric on the land and people, to present movingly and dramatically the tale of the Scots persecution, and to introduce the country's first romantic rogue, Rob Roy.

He himself would probably have disparaged these claims, and preferred to be known as the first Englishman to use tract and poem and periodical for a thorough "boosting" of Scotland—if the Americanism may pass—"boosting" political in origin, its aim the English acceptance of a new economic policy towards Scotland. For twenty years he 'lilum-lighted' the country, sometimes exaggeratedly but sincerely, sometimes tongue in cheek. But always he thrust Scottish religious and political history, Scottish commerce and agriculture, the Scots' welfare and the Scots' rogue upon English attention.

Even his personal relations with the land were exceptional. He paid it at least six visits, made long stays in Edinburgh, was in intimate touch with Parliament and General Assembly, stayed with and advised the Duke of Queensberry and travelled as far north as John o' Groats. As novel was the writing that resulted, for while Pepys travelled into Scotland, and in later days Steele and Aaron Hill—all three men of letters—none were inspired to write about the country, while Defoe has to his credit two substantial historical works, pamphlets innumerable, a handful of poems, three tales dealing with the land or its characters, a series of almanacks explicating the second-sighted Highlander, and some vigorous journalism.

His connection with Scotland is worth tracing in some detail, for nothing makes more vivid the relations between the two countries, the feeling between Scot and Englishman at this period.

His was no case of an unique prepossession for the land. His first mention of it was the satiric fleer in "The True-born Englishman" Its biting lines on the treacherous Scot,

By hunger, theft and rapine hither brought," and on the accession of James:

The royal branch from Pictland did succeed,

With troops of Scots and Scabs from North-by-Tweed."
It was Defoe's touch with the Scots, William Paterson, already financial adviser and secret service agent to Harley, that brought him into Harley's favour in 1703. Possibly at the latter's suggestion, possibly roused to interest in Scotland by Paterson, there issued shortly after the first batch of his pamphlets about the land: "The Shortest Way to Peace and Union" - "The Liberty of Episcopalian Dissenters in Scotland" - "Peace without Union".

In the next year, Defoe having established a secret intelligence system in England was advising Harley to adopt a similar system in Scotland: "a thing strangely neglected there--without doubt the principal occasion of the present misunderstandings between the two kingdoms". His "Consolidator" allegory of England and Scotland steered a tactful middle course between the conflicting claims, and offered a compliment of two to Scotland. The same test is in his Review's reporting of the Worcesters case. - He will have no hasty "Censuring of the Justice of a Nation", and raps English knuckles over the "Immoderate Heat and Resentment". But as a sugar-plan for an anti-Scott London, he slips in a chimney-sweep's abusive reply to a Scot's letter.

By 1706 he was definitely committed to Scottish affairs, and in that spring engaged on his first two "Essays At removing National Prejudice against a Union with Scotland". In the May number of the Review he talked of "employing this work to remove the vulgar obstructions", but postpones that plan. The essays were issued. In September Harley sent him his marching-orders for Scotland. The Scots Parliament was to meet in October. Defoe was to find out and prevent measures against the Union, and promote the project in talk, writing, answering objections, etc. Above all, "You are to use the utmost caution that it may not be supposed you are employed by any person in England, but that you camethere on your own business and out of love for the country."

Defoe reached Edinburgh in September 1706, and remained there until December of the following year--seeing the Union debated and passed, and the dangerous months of reaction safely negotiated. His own part in it can be pieced together from his letters to Harley, and his articles in the Review--if one allows liberally for Defoe's flamboyant romancing about himself.

His first impressions were of raging anti-Union mobs. "Certainly a Scot's rabble is the worst of its kind", he wrote Harley. The Scots in general he found "the steadiest unsettled people I ever met with--they mean well but are blinded in their politics and obstinate in opinion". Later: "There is an entire harmony in this country, consisting in universal discords". But in the Review, he suavely urges England towards Union. "I shall sing you a Song of Peace and Union, and introduce the serious Subject as merrily as I can." So to--
"Unhappy Englishmen, at last be wise,
No more your proper happiness despise.--"

A month later, "The Kirk are aw oor, pardon the Scotticism," is his aside to Harley. "The very word Parliament is grown terrible here." But he himself has been applied to as a financial expert to assist the Parliamentary committee determining the Equivalent."I believe I shall have the honour to draw a scheme of their demands out for them". He is exceeding instructions, too, in "writing a poem in praise of Scotland"-"an odd Subject to bear a Panegyric", but "all conduces to persuade them I am a friend of their country", and with éclat he dedicates his "Caledonia" to the Duke of Queensberry.

In the Review meanwhile he is dragging out English objections to the Union and noisily exposing them; the Englishman is illogical; the fear that Scotland will encroach on our trade "is a vulgar error, so gross that it really discovers itself to be a malicious charge"; Scots have manufactures enough of their own; there will be no pouring of "her Shoals of People"; their Poor cannot outwork us or underwork us; so otland might be reduced by force, but how fatal a policy; as to fear of Jacobitism, "go into Scotland and inquire what Remembrance the People there justly entertain of the Cruelties of some of that Family"[the Stuarts]. Church fears are similarly argued away, and the anti-Union pamphlet of Hodges analysed and laughed out of court.

All the while Defoe conceals his being in Scotland, until at the end of November that is no longer feasible. He and Paterson are then attending meetings of the Assembly:- "I disease converse, Presbyterian, Episcopalian-Dissenter, Papist, Non-juror"-and are still on the committee discussing terms of trade settlement. "To the merchants, I am about to settle here in trade, with the lawyers I want to purchase a house. To-day I am going into partnership with an M.P. in a glass-house tomorrow with another in a salt-work; with the Glasgow mutineers I am to be a fish-merchant, with the Aberdeen men a woollen, and with the Perth and Western men a linen manufacturer, and still at the end of all discourse the Union is the essential, and I am all to everyone that I may gain some. Again I am in the morning at the Committee, in the afternoon at the Assembly. I am privy to all their folly, I wish I could not call it knavery, and am entirely confided in."

He was at least amassing a great amount of knowledge. Through "our itinerant, Pierce", who travelled the Lowlands and the west, (as Defoe planned to canvas the west and north) he gathered and printed in the review first-hand information on the Glasgow tumults and the burning of the Union articles at Dumfries, and prints there, too, his "Short Letter to the Glasgow Men". And while that information was being pressed on England, the Edinburgh presses were putting out his Third and Fourth "Essays at Removing National Prejudices", his Glasgow letter, and his "Vision" poem, a skit on Belhaven's sensational 'vision' speech in Parliament. That year ended with the uneasy report to Harley: "It will be either a Union or all confusion in a few weeks more.--I have removed my lodgings for I have been openly threatened to be the first sacrifice".

January of 1707 was the critical month. The question of his future
arose between him and Harley. "I confess I have had an uneasy post here", he wrote, yet he determined to stay. "I could wish you will please to settle me here after the Union. Perhaps I might do her Majesty a service of one sort while I was in an office of a different face" — a typically Defoe suggestion.

His efforts over Union redoubled. By the end of the month the fifth and sixth "Essays at Removing National Prejudices" had been sent out and an advertisement that there was "being prepared for the Public a compleat History of the whole Affair of this Union". "Caledonia" was announced in the Review as "wrote as well to do Justice to that abus'd Country as to let some Gentlemen in England know the Scots are a Nation worth Unitting with".

To account for his continued stay in Scotland: "I give out I am going to write the History of the Union in folio, and have got warrants and begun subscription for it. Then I treat with the Commission to make them a new version of the Psalms. By these things I effectually amuse them and I am perfectly unsuspected. Then I am setting weavers to work to make linen, and I talk of manufactures and employing the poor, by which trifles I serve the great end, viz, a concealment".

On his English readers he urged in three successive numbers of his paper the value of Scotland and of Union with it. He begins tiltingly "But, pray, gentlemen, what can you expect out of Scotland? Poor, barren Scotland, where you fancy there is nothing to be had but wild Men and Ragged Mountains, Storms, Snows, Poverty and Barrenness. Very well, Gentlemen, and what if you should be mistaken now, and I should tell you that Scotland is quite another Country than you imagine, and not so ill worth unitting with as you think; that it is a noble Country, fruitful in Soil, Healthy Air, seated for Trade, full of Manufactures by Land, and a Treasure great as the Indies at their Door by Sea — That the Poverty of Scotland and the Fruitfulness of England is owing not to mere difference of Climate and the nature of the Soil, but to the Effects of Time and the Misery of their Constitution. — Liberty and Trade have made the one rich, Tyranny the other poor!"

He goes on to sketch the nation's unbounded possibilities. The next number, opening with the news that the Union is at last concluded in Scotland, takes a familiar text once more: "Scotland is a Nation worth unitting with". "I must confess when first I saw that Country where by reports I expected nothing but Barbarism and Barrenness, I was under two unaccountable Surprises. First that we should live so near it, and have such wrong and ridiculous Ideas of a Country which it was so easy to be undeceived about: It would really be a Satyr upon England herself to record here the strange Romantic Accounts that have been brought out of Scotland about the Barrenness of the Country, the inhospitable Climie, the unindolent People, their manner of Living, their Manners in their Houses, their despicable Poverty and the like". And, more honestly than his propaganda pen usually allowed, he admitted Scotland "a poor Country, an unimproved, barren Country", yet counters that with what he knew would really influence his readers' ideas, the tale of Hodges and another being paid £1000 for their writings, and that of ladies at an Edinburgh assembly wearing £5000 in jewels.
In his Miscellanea published with the Review he deals for two months entirely with Scots topics; reports a dialogue he'd heard between a Jacobite and an anti-Union Presbyterian, invents a series of tales between Jacobite and Cameronian, crams in a Scots anecdote or two, and in two numbers continues to describe the actualities of the country. As grand finale, he pens "On the Approaching Union of the Two Kingdoms". "Nor let any Man charge the Dulness of my Verse on the Coldness of the Climate, and say they cannot be good because they are made in Scotland. The inspirations of the North are every day equal to those of the South, and the Muses are as apt to Harmony there as in any other part of Britain". There follows the doubtfully inspired paean:

Peace from the North dawns like the Rising Day.
--Heli, France and Rome in vain oppose their Power.--
England no more shall meanly learn to fly
And Bannockburn shall sink in History;
Scotland no more shall Banks of Trent invade,
And Fledden Fields be in Oblivion laid.

and much more in the same strain.

A week after he quotes his complaining publisher:--"Nothing but Union Union,--you will tire all the Town with the Union, they want a little Diversion"; Defoe mercifully announces "a Recess of that Affair".

He continues to be well occupied in Scotland however. "I act the old part of Cardinal Richelieu", he wrote with gusto. "I have my spies and my pensioners in every place, and I confess 'tis the easiest thing in the world to hire people here to betray their friends. I have spies in the Commission, in the Parliament, in the Assembly, and under pretense of writing my History I have everything told me". Thanks to this, he revealed to Godolphin the Scots plan of running in cargoes of wine cheap after the Union, offered him "a tun of the best claret" and warmly assures his Review readers that rumours of such Scotch practice are quite wild!

During March, he purrs approval of Union going through in England so easily. "The Spirit of Union and the Treaty of Union join together". On the 29th, "I have the Pleasure just while I am writing these Lines to hear the Guns proclaiming the happy Conjunction from Edinburgh Castle".

Defoe knew only too well that that meant no relaxation of his effort. He had conciliatory projects ready:--a news-sheet "A Review of the Trade and Improvement of Britain", whose aim would be "to talk to you of the Improvements of Trade, Land, Navigation, Manufactures etc for the Publick Advantage of Scotland"; and an essay to move England "to engage Scotland with all the Acts of Kindness and all the Advantages which can be desired in Reason, and to move Scotland to entertain no Jealousies--This with an Equality of Arguments on both Sides, without Partiality or Affection".
In the March review he reiterates his doctrine of "the Employing and Improving of Scotland is our Concern"—"lessened prosperity in Scotland means the same in England"—"to employ Scotland is to employ England"—and a doctrine so new demanded reiteration. He drives it in by talk of what he himself is doing in the north:—"Nor am I an idle Spectator here. I have told Scotland of Improvements in Trade, Wealth and Shipping—and I am doubly pleased with this, that I am like to be one of the first men that shall give them the Pleasure of the Experiment—I am now contracting for English merchants for Scots Salt to the value of above £10,000 per annum—I have now above 100 poor families at work by my Procuring and Directions for making Such Sorts of Linen and in such Manner as never was made here before.

How far these projects were actual it is hard now to say. Defoe, like Aaron Hill later had an alert eye to business, and both knew Scotland unexplored land commercially. Though Defoe unscrupulously exagger¬ated Scotland's present state—"full of Manufactures by Land" etc. he was neither visionary nor fool where a commercial investment was concerned, and might well have embarked on Scottish schemes. His "Tour through Scotland" letters show how genuinely his mind was preoccup¬ied with the economic possibilities of the country.

His letters in May, June and July report him visiting the chief Scots towns, with Union propaganda as his aim. "I am traveling through the towns and disputing with the rigid and refractory clergy", he says:— "To dine on Wednesday, with the Presbytery of Dunfermline, and the next week with that of St Andrews!" He went on to Glasgow and Stirling. All his persuasiveness was needed. The whole nation was in a ferment, furious over the 'Judas-money', over the Customs officials, over the 'unfairness' of the English Parliament. Defoe was alarmed: "I never saw a notion so universally wild, and so readily embracing everything that may exacerbate them. They are ripe for every mischief".

None of his travels were alluded to in the Review, but scraps of talk with Scots were given, chiefly to soothe English clamour about "the Scot¬tish Frauds", (the wine-running affair) And it is significant that from March (with one break) to November he has to handle Scottish matters in every number.

Once more he sends south unique information, such as an account of the Dingwall riots.

He finds time for "ramaging among old Records" for his History of the Union, which he can now advertise as "great part of it finished". But he complains in his Review of "Scurrilous Reproaches concerning my being in Scotland", and from September on he is renewing his pleas to Harley to return south. "The best way to make me truly useful is to have me be eight months here and three months in London each year" Harley acquiesced. On January 1, 1708 Defoe set foot in London again the first of his remarkable "bouts" with Scotland over.
His furlough was brief. A month later, rumours of a Jacobite invasion went round London, and by the 20th of February Defoe was again in Edinburgh. Unluckily the letters to Harley are very scanty now, as on the latter's resignation Defoe had been allowed to transfer his services to Godolphin, and letters to him and to Sunderland are only begging ones. The Review is sole guide. Defoe is silent there on some matters until his hand is forced by the absence of letters and other opportunities to engage men to enter more deeply into the present invasion of Scotland. As in the Worcester case, he plays the diplomatist. He will only deal with the temper of the nation in an "Enigma or Allegory", which proves to be a longish poem representing that land as "a Widow, Coy and Dauntly, Bold and Strong" married to a rich husband she did not love, and pursued by a rival she once had loved. The next number adds the key, and analyses the attitude to the invasion of the four parties in Scotland. The next begins the actual reporting of events. He defends the loyalty of the Scots throughout, "No man has concerned himself more than the author of this paper to clear up the Suspicions entertained among us in England of the Presbyterians joining with the French and falling in with the Jacobite interest".

Letters from the north are inserted weekly. One little sketch, a dialogue between Mr. Rehearsal and a "caudee" of Edinburgh is a sally into dialect, and though Defoe could ring down a Scots proverb—"it's hard to dig out o' the Flesh what's bred i' the Banes", he rarely attempts dialect.

The Invasion alarm died. Defoe laughing it out of his paper with a bunch of comic anecdotes of incidents in the west.

But during the rest of that year Scotland continued to occupy articles, though less constantly than before. Belhaven's death drew recollections and a eulogy from Defoe, who had mercilessly bantered him in verse. More seriously, he began printing an "Abridgment of the State of the Church Affairs in Scotland". His first important pamphlet on these topics: "An Historical Account of the Bitter Sufferings and Melancholy Circumstances of the Episcopal Church in Scotland" had already been printed.

The "Abridgment" appeared from August to November. It was broken by another of those illuminating 'digressions' about the nation: -- "I have been lately in Scotland, and if I am not come away I am there still—in Scotland where whatever you may think here, corn grows as we have, and they cut it down as we do"—So to some satirical jibes at the Englishman's ideas. "I print this only for the Admonition of those people who think Scotland a Desert, a vast howling Wilderness, a Place of Wild Folks, that live in the Mountains, live they know not how and feed upon they know not what, and not at all like other Parts of the World" But the land, he argues, lacks only the English luxury. "The Countrymen are worse husbandmen and better Christians than ours and they have both more knowledge and more practice of Religion among the poor than we have." He illustrates it by contrasting England's rural education, where one third of the people cannot read or write, with Scotland where the poorest have their children taught and instructed.
This recognition of a side of progress that the country could legitimately pride itself on since the 1696 Act was as novel in English journalism as it was to the English mind.

A couple of months later Defoe points out another contrast in Scotland's favour, in commenting on the plunder of a wreck at Deal, and the salvage of one in Scotland—"in our northern barbarous Country of Scotland, as some that know it not, are fond of calling it". He informs his readers, too, of the ruined Scottish harvest, of the state of the "dark and ignorant Highlands", and once more of Scots trade.

Probably he returned to London that winter, but it cannot be verified. The following year began with the issue of his "History of the Union" from Edinburgh, and with the pamphlet on the Episcopalian-Dissenters, "The Scots Narrative Examined". His review had the pleased report of "the Request of some Gentlemen in Scotland, who have by their own voluntary Subscriptions encouraged the reprinting it at Edinburgh, since the Paper has been received by our Brethren of North Britain as so profitable, so honest and so needful a Work".

With this extended circulation he renewed his pro-Scot advocacy, with a half-avuncular scolding:—"You seem now united to Scotland, but not one Jot more united to the Scots Nation. I can give you but too many Instances of it". After full admonition, he ends, "It lies upon England to convince the Scots that when they opposed it (the Union) they stood in their own light; and this can only be done by endeavouring to assist them in Trade, encourage them in Improvements, support them in their just Liberties, and taking off their ancient Chains of Bondage. And if this be omitted, you must expect to be told of it by this Author, as long as he has a Tongue to speak or a Hand to write".

That July an unwary London letter-writer drew from him a defence of the nation still more vigorous. The writer had suggested that the unwanted Palatine immigrants be sent to Scotland, "where they should never want Hunger, Cold, Disease, barren Lands and Smokey Cabins"—no unusual jibe. Defoe fell on him. "To hear our People speak of Scotland or of the Scottish Affairs or People would make a Stranger think that this same Place was some remote Country in the East Indies or about Madagascar, the North-West Passage, the South Seas or some where unfrequented, where very few people ever came. Learned Gentlemen of this Party will ask if there is any Mutton or Beef or any such thing as Milk in Scotland. The Highlanders they take to be a Sort of Monsters and ask if they live on Roots and the Bark of the Trees. Never was more wild Notions in the Heads of our People here of the Caribbees in the Gulf of Florida. Nay, one but the other day, who is a Man of Letters and a Man of History seriously and for real Information asked me what Sort of Speech the Scots Tongue was, for that he had never met with any Books of it. Another asked of me as seriously, being a Merchant, where the Scots fetch'd their Corn before the Union, and what they had to buy it with". Exasperatedly he declares:—"There is not in the whole World two Nations that stand so near, have so much Concern with and Interest in each other, that know so little of one another as these two".
For the enlightenment of this colossal ignorance, he repeats his familiar points:- Scotland is not barren, only uncultivated, and suffering from poverty, and the tyrannous system of tenures. "Lands, 150 miles north of Edinburgh are as rich as Middlesex or Hertford." With the Parthian shot that the immigrants would be happier in Scotland than in England since the Scots are superior in courtesy, he leaves the letter-writer—but not the topic of Scots agriculture. Throughout that month and the next he discusses its improvement, not with the uninterested English, but—novel point—with "You Gentlemen of Scotland", at whom he wags an admonitory finger. He discusses with them their deficient stock, ignorant methods, want of markets, and impolitic tenures, while pointing for the south the usual moral "to enrich Scotland is to enrich ourselves". He writes as if from personal direct study of his own, a thing almost certain as he advised Queensberry on agriculture in his estates.

He was in Scotland by August. He began touring the North-East and West and with one of his rare glimpses of his surroundings writes in October:—"I am writing this Paper in Scotland where I can look out of my Window and see the Fields standing full of the Shocks of Corn".

From this tour he returned to tackle the reporting of the Greenshields' case, and the Reviews in November, December and January (1710) deal mostly with Scottish religious toleration and innovations.

It seems likely that he was in Edinburgh for much of that winter. The Town Council authorised him in February to print the "Scotts Courant". His place must have been by now a fairly eminent one there. Indicative is his endorsement of the newly-elected Town Council list, sent to Harley:—"all but two my very particular acquaintance".

In England he was being accepted by the Ministry as an authority on the country—Godolphin, to judge from a letter of Defoe's, had at one point offered him the post of Commissioner of Excise—He sent Harley in 1710 a long pamphlet of "Proposals for Scotland". This was the essence of Defoe's Scottish economics. "I lay it down as a foundation principle that it is the great interest of England to study and promote the prosperity and increase of Scotland". Then follow his proposals, strikingly long-sighted and wise, for ship-building yards in the Forth, a Forth and Clyde Canal, fisheries-development, for instance, and wide-spread for they ranged from manufactures, navigation and foreign commerce to agriculture and the employment of the poor.

Defoe consulted him on the choice of a Commissioner for the Assembly and Defoe constantly primed him with news gained by his secret intelligence scheme. He was inclined to over-do his authoritative standing:—he has "particular papers just arrived" or "I long impatiently to represent to you some very material things relating to Scotland".

Though these are remarks dating from 1710, 1711, 1712 the Review had much less matter about Scotland in that period. Defoe was still passing between the two countries. In October 1710 he received once more directions for "Management in Scotland," and arrived there by November. But his secret service work becomes more tortuous to follow, for he
He reports, for instance, "two vile ill-natured pamphlets have fallen into my hands, the 'Scots Atlantis! Full of invective against the Queen and Government' and 'Atlantis Major'—"a bitter invective against the Duke of Argyll, the Earl of Mor and the election of the Peers. It's certainly written by some Englishman and I have some guess at the man". Piquant remark, since the latter pamphlet was almost certainly his own, and was printed "in Oir eexy" a month later.

He remained in the north from November 1710 to February 1711 and made a short visit to the borders and the south. (In the preface to his Tour he claimed with pride to have "viewed the north part of England and the south part of Scotland five several times over") But except when particularly "noisy" matters like the Greenshields case or "the alarm lately raised upon the coast of Scotland (June 1710) were on the tapis, the Review was silent on the land. He admits in January 1711 "It is long since I shave concerned myself in this paper with anything relating to the affairs of Scotland, and I should not have done it now, had it not been absolutely necessary"

Some months later, however, the menace of Jacobitism rouses him. The first of a series of fighting articles appears in the Review, an attack on the Highland Superiorities. He must awaken the Government to the evils of those, he says, "for if ever the present Establishment receives any fatal blow it must be from thence". The following year had pamphlets on further Jacobite issues: "Hannibal at the Gates", and others, and again in the Review he strikes the authoritative note: "I have often been asked by the Heads of our Administration in England, as well past as present, if there was no way to reduce these Superiorities in Scotland, to destroy the Vassalage of the People and to set them entirely free? And I have always answered in the Negative"

He had not abandoned the topic of Union altogether. His "History of the Union" in folio was published in the same month—"the first time in England—and the Review emphasised its issue by an article on "The Unalterableness of the Union".

Another venture followed, slight in itself, but interesting as showing before beginning to view Scotland as quarry for his popular "copy". A year before (April 1711) he had spun a tale in the Review of picking up in Newcastle a pamphlet—"British Visions", said to be by one who "has come out of the Hills in Scotland", and "talks of second sight". He now reports another pamphlet by this same Highlander, "The Highland Visions or the Scots New Prophecy". "The Highlander had for many years been known to have strangely foretold several things". Both pamphlets are, of course, the usual type of gulling almanac, full of vague forecasts glorified by the name of "prophetic observations". A year after, a third of the series appeared, "The Second-sighted Highlander, by the famous Scots Highlander". By the 1715 number, Archibald is thoroughly enjoying the "barney" off Archibald McDonald of Inverlochy being possessor of the sublime illumination hereditary from many ancestors, that superior gift by which a more intense sight of things to come is communicated" describing his visions. "Led by this ray of Supernatural Light it was that at Midnight the first day of the month
of January—standing on the highest Pinnacle of the Mountain Aphlec in one of the floating Islands of the miraculous Lough Loman—turning myself towards the Splendid Dawn I seemed to discover War with his armed hundreds riding furiously across the world."—So to the bathetic conclusion of worthless forecasts.

These pamphlets were mere diversions, sottises. 1711 and 1712 were proving difficult years for the Union. Not only was Jacobitism growing, but commercial and Presbyterian antagonism to the Union was becoming implacable, for reasons already traced elsewhere. The climax came in 1716 when political and ecclesiastical grievances added to popular ones like the Malt Tax led to a demand for the dissolution of Union.

At this point Defoe put out his "Union and No Union," subtitled "An Enquiry into the Grievances of the Scots". It has a very frank admission of the failure of the Union to bring about any warmth of emity between the two nations. Indeed there had been a "decay of affection", and Defoe traces carefully the Scots' grievances. He quotes the type of talk heard in the north: "England was treacherous and false"—a breaker of treaties—the Parliament was partial against Scotland—the Scots members being few were oppressed and outnumbered so on. Defoe pleads vigorously for the removal of these grievances.

A year later he had to renew his championship, Swift's stinging indictment of the Scots in his "Public Spirit of the Whigs" provoking his "Scots Nation and Union Vindicated". Again he constituted himself the mouthpiece for Scots opinion. Swift had compared the country to a penniless wench inveigling rich England into marriage. Scotland might more truly claim: "Did I not long deny you? Did you not throng me with vows of using me kindly?—Did you not promise to employ my poor Servants—Did you not add a thousand Chimeras of imaginary Advantages? " As to birth—"I have as truly Noble Blood in my Veins as you"—England had sought the Union. She, if any, must have gained by it, "for as to Scotland, we hear yet little of it". Scotland was not so low and poor as to lack other suitors; "Whenever ye think well to break the Union, Scotland will not deny you"; but if it is broken England will be the greater loser; there will be no security against the Pretender, and the dangers of independence will be untold. As for Swift's libels on the nobility of the north, Defoe has eulogies to cancel these, and a general "All the World courts them, are fond of them". The accusation of the Scots carrying bullion out of the country is answered ingenuously with "Why else should all nations around us increase in wealth and commerce, and Scotland only decline and languish?" He ends with further praise of the land's military glories.

The '15 Rebellion broke out a year after. For Defoe's part, no help from letters or review is available. Both had ceased. A host of pamphlets are accredited to him, dating from 1715 and 1716, but they defy verification and are astonishingly diverse. (These are considered in the chapter dealing with the '15). What strikes the explorer of them is the versatility of disguise, for if the tracts are his he writes now as a
Quaker, sounding a "trumpet in the north", now as a rebel in the Camp at Perth, now as "one clergyman to another", now as "a Country Whig to his London friend"; and his versatility of principle, for his "View of the Scots Rebellion" is full of the type of ignorant discrediting of Scotland he had attacked so often in his review. Evidently Defoe like Steele felt it necessary to be sound, conventional Whig while the rebellion lasted. He wielded his pen to effect, however, and produced exposures of "traitorous manifestos" and Jacobite misdeeds and the like.

After 1715 his writings on Scotland thin out. One ends his first-class piece of work ends his political and ecclesiastical writing, the "Memoirs of the Church of Scotland". This is matter of value. Two years before Oldmixon in his "Memoirs of North Britain" had urged and praised the zeal of the Presbyterians, spoken of the cruelties committed against them, the ill-deeds of Sir James Turner, the butchery by thousands at Bothwell Brig.

Defoe had promised his readers in the review of March 1711 "a black martyrlogy, a horrid Account of Barbarities, Cold Blood Murders, Cruelties--wrought on the Presbyterians"—now he produces it, but a moving yet spirited account of their sufferings, with quotations from manuscripts and Scots authorities, stories at first-hand, a vindication of their risings and a reasoned appeal for their not being stigmatised as rebels.

The third book is a piece of most effective writing. Defoe was exactly the man for the task. He had a gift of dramatic terse narrative, an expert touch in making vivid and actual a person or scene, the journalist's gift of "writing up" an incident, and at his worst the liking for "a part to tear a cat in". Here he had scope for all four. As motif he quoted and re quoted "They wander'd about in Sheepskins and Scotoatskins, in Dens and Caves of the Earth being destitute, afflicted, tormented" until this dirge pervades movingly the whole book. He offers his English readers passionate defence, actual documents, first-hand accounts "repeated as near as possible in the very words", sketches of men like Cleverhouse and Dalziel, Cameron and Hackston of Kithllet, setting their outlines for writers ever since tales of the martyrs, and occasionally even a snatch of comic dialogue as effective relief. Remember he was near enough to the times to tap living witnesses as he swears he did in the case of Sharp's murder; and he knew the scenes of many of the events--the drowning of the Solway martyrs, for example, or the rescue at the Enterkin Pass. All gave force to his telling.

Granted that the vindication is written too exhaustingly at the pitch of his voice, and that his sympathetic repetitions of "these poor people" "their barbarous and inhumane treatment" weary; and further that it evoked little comment when it appeared in 1717, Scotland preferring her own religious historians, England too indifferent in general still to religious troubles of the north even to demand a second edition. Yet as Geddes has claimed some parts of the book "need scarcely shrink from a comparison with some of the most picturesque passages in the first "Tales of my Landlord".
In the year these Memoirs were printed, Defoe, at his usual game of not letting his right hand know what his left hand was doing, was earning Tory pay and writing for Whig journals. One group of articles to Mists Journal and Mercurius Politicus is interesting, for he is reporting the doings of "that arch robber Rob Roy". The subject was immensely to his liking, for he could embroider those "accounts from the Highlands" until they made Robin Hood tales look colourless. All this work he gathered up six years later, when he added to his sketches of rogues like Cartouche, Jack Sheppard and Jonathan Wild, "The Highland Rogue or the Memorable Actions of the celebrated Robert Macgregor, commonly called Rob Roy"—introduced with the relation of the Unequalled Villainies of the Clan of the Macgregors several years past. The whole impartially digested from the "memorandum of an authentick Scotch MS."

He had already tried the semi-fictitious sketch of a Scot, in his "History of the Life and Adventures of Mr. Duncan Campbell". The actual deaf-mute, London knew was fitted out with a half-Highland, half-Lapland parentage, presented as a child living-vaguely "in the Western Islands" and wearing "a little Bonnet and Plaid"—"that kind of dress which is truly Antique and Heroick". Then after his father's part in Argyle's rising, the child was brought to Edinburgh "to play marbles at the cross. But after that solitary stroke of actuality, he is transferred to London. For Campbell's "talent of the second-sight Defoe quoted liberally from Martin's "Description of the Western Isles", a book he had already used for local colour in describing the life of his hero's father in Shetland.

Fortunately Defoe had more matter for Rob Roy, and with great gusto he proceeded to set it out with embellishments, first, of course, insisting that only a plain and truthful tale is to be told. "It is not a romantic tale—North Britain had wanted no proof of his Existence, nor has his name been unheard-of in England and other parts of Europe". He has extracted his matter from certain papers, but these were "so insufferable in Stile and Disorder" that it was impossible to quote a single line—another familiar gambit of the author's.

An introductory history of the Clan Macgregor is given, blood-curdling in the extreme, especially in the tale of the Battle of Glenfinan and its barbarities. "Rob Roy is then described,"—"A Man of a Prodigious size Strength and of such an uncommon Stature that he approaches even to a Gigantic Size. He wears a Beard above a Foot long and not only his Face but his whole Body is cover'd over with Red Hair."

In the same Jack the Giant-Killer vein, his refuge at Craigroyston is described:—"on the borders of Loch Eanach Loamond, and inviron'd with stupendous high mountains and rocks of a prodigious Magnitude"—"Loch-Lomand is a pleasant fresh-water Lake, famous for two things, a floating island, Fish without Fins and being often tempestuous when the air is calm". In this fit setting, Rob Roy's adventures are retold. Defoe, notice, makes no attempt to make a figure of heroic valour out of him. Rob's profession "was Plunder and Violence". In the '70s, he was active in nothing serviceable to the Rebels, nor signalized himself by anything but running away with the booty" Years only "made him Notorious for Robberies and Rebellion".

Yet Defoe cannot resist working up the tale of his capture in the
Defoe also made an early use of Scotland for picaresque, in bringing his two 'Jacks' to Edinburgh, in his "History and Remarkable Life of the Truly Honorable Colonel Jacque, vulgarly called 'Ol Jack" 1722. But he has only one High Street incident of hangman and public flogging to record vividly—the rest is conventional. One other 'rogue' story is also Scots, namely the ''Account of the Conduct and Proceedings of John Cow the Pirate" 1725. "The Second-sighted Highlander, the Friendly Demon; or the Generous Apparition " 1726, is a further but worthless essay in the 'Duncan Campbell' vein.
Scott vein: - rob turns at bay: "And am 1 then betrayed? Has a Man of your quality such a mercenary soul as to forfeit his word, his faith, his honour and all for a pitiful reward?" So fictitious dialogues, and scenes of rob "diverting the company with comical old songs and pleasant stories of his own adventures" are added. Regrettfully, I think, Defoe leaves "this famous Scotch-robber without a final death-scene. There now wants nothing but the account of his death, which we have not yet received any certain advice of."

One last work on Scotland deserves a brief mention here, the third volume of his "Tour thro' the whole island of Great Britain", which was published in 1727. This account of Scotland in letter form was not the record of a specially undertaken tour. Defoe seems to have made a rechauffe of earlier travels and a journey he must have made about 1718 or 1719. Possibly he felt Macky and Matthew Duncan in their tours were peaching on his preserves by describing the country in which he was an authority. Preface and introduction criticise adversely the accounts of these travellers, and promise instead the placing of Scotland "in a true light!"

What he has to say of it is best dealt with later along with the others travel journals. But nothing more completely summarises Defoe and Scotland, for the tour is an erratic mixture of his usual advocacy of Scotland, a sharp noting of its economic position, reminiscences plain and coloured, and an irrepressible penny-dreadful-ing of the Highlands.

Contrast the original six letters with the later revised and extended versions made by others, and Defoe's attitude to the land stands out in striking clarity. The later accounts note houses of Druidesses, remains, connections with Macbeth, quote Pitcairne, talk of "this most romantic wood". Not a word of that is in Defoe's own letters. He had no romantic vapours in his mind where Scotland was concerned. Once he began: - "Our Scotch writers tell us a story of a battle between Colbius and Ferguson - but these Scots legends I shall say nothing to. He travelled to scan "the face of industry" chiefly, and hated the sight of "hills black and frightful!" The north Highl ands and the Lochaber district were both "a frightful country, full of hideous desolate mountains and impassable", while the mere thought of crossing to the Hebrides was insane.

His interest in Scotland, one feels, was bred only by his political and economic preoccupations. He showed no awareness of Scots literature, other than of two poems, Colville's "Whigs' Supplication", and Drummond's "Pleas-Medimne" (and that he thinks Colville's). He gave no sign of liking the country, in spite of his text being the invariable "Scotland is a country worth uniting with." When he praises Scots courtesy or the pietie or education of its people, was it in admiration, or as a moral object lesson to England, with a political motive attached? He drew no pictures of Edinburgh life, no realistic sketches of Scots characters. His "caudac" or "old country-woman" are puppets who speak to order. Steele's delight in the "humours" of the caudac he entertained has no counterpart in Defoe.

Why then it may be asked have Defoe's relations with Scotland been described in such detail. Is he not too untrustworthy, too "slippery" a
writer to deduce anything from?
The claims to be made for him are as diverse as his work.
Undoubtedly he brought Scotland into English literature and into reputable English journalism to an extent never before achieved. However insincere or wrong his writing, however ulterior in motive, he praised the country and forced that praise on English attention. And his standing and vogue ensured almost certainly that attention.

Again, his tracts and Review drilled into London some elementary facts about Scotland. That these were mostly economic was all to the good. A sound basis of commercial recognition and good-feeling was a primary step towards any fruitful contact between the two nations. Defoe's economic doctrine was precisely the axe needed to clear away the barrier of that evil 17th century doctrine of commercial alienism and more it hewed foundations for a new and valuable co-operation.

Again, whether poorly or no, he brought into English literature the second-sighted Highlander and the Highland desperado, and the Covenanters with their martyrs and persecutions.

Apart from these gifts to the readers of the day, Defoe gives the present day reader, through the Review and private letters, a more vivid and actual conception of these times of Union struggle than can be had elsewhere. The actualities of English and Scottish opinion are revealed. Defoe was shifty, but he could express most frankly what Scotland felt, and must have been listened to as no Scots writer would have been. He spoke too for the common Englishman, and is mouthpiece for his blunt fears and ignorances about the north. Nowhere else do one get the mental bedrock of Anglo-Scottish relations so surely.
CHAPTER XI. Epilogue to the Union. 1707-1715.

I. The Poets on the Union
II. Reception of the Union in England and Scotland
III. Continued dissatisfaction in the north.
IV. The Dissolution Bill. Swift's pamphlet.
V. Scots in Queen Anne society.
VI. Closer contacts in literature.
VII. The periodical and Scotland. Tatler. a Spectator
VIII. English lead to Scots journalism.
IX. Young Scotland and English influence.
X. Advance of Scots biography and editing.
XI. Increasing alliance in matters literary.
former Union of Policy with less Union of Affection had hardly been
own in the whole World", wrote a disillusioned Defoe, six years after
ion. It was a fact he must have known only too well before that event.
idence of it was plentiful enough then. It is the explanation of the
ucity of real literature dealing with Scotland in this pre-Union
ried.
le joining with Scotland was looked on as an unpleasant political mea
sure, disliked popularly, (if rather lethargically,) and resented com-
ically. Certainly it was felt no matter for cultured interest or suf for literature.
at note was taken of the nation, beyond Defoe's "Caledonia", and his
aphlets and journalism, beyond the "Scotch Rogue" and a half-dozen
its, the abuse of Tom Brown and Ned Ward, and an informative pamphlet
gh as More's?
rendon's History was published at this time, (1701) and its overpow-
ing anti-Scot bias was barely commented on. Sir Philip Warwick's
oirs, as contumaciously anti-Scot, received a similar reception. Who
uld trouble to vindicate Scotland?
the actual Union was celebrated almost entirely by formal writing. The
ess occupied itself printing the addresses of congratulation. Only
er a lapse of time did the Tory Examiner dare to publish a satiric
planation' of the Union: - "England, being bounded on the North by a
or Mountainous People called Scots, who were vassals to that Country,
d the English Prime Minister being largely bribed, obtained the Queen's
ent for the Scots to arm and exercise themselves; and they, finding
y were now in a condition to be troublesome, began to insist upon
ms and threaten'd upon every occasion to join with the French. Upon
ich the Prime Minister, who began to be in Pain for his Head, set on
et a Treaty to Unite the two Kingdoms, which he had the good Luck to
ge to pass; and from that time, valu'd himself as Author of a most
orious Union, which indeed was grown of absolute Necessity by his
ruption."
one might have been Swift's words: it was exactly the charge he re-
ved in "The Public Spirit of the Whigs". His sentiments in verse
razoned, for he scribbled a short lampoon on the Union:

"The Queen has lately lost a part
Of her Entirely-English heart,
For want of which, by way of botch,
She pieced it up again with Scotch.
Bless'd revolution! which creates
Divided hearts, united states!
See how the double nation lies,
Like a rich coat with skirts of frize:
As if a man in making posies,
Should bundle thistles up with roses.
Who ever yet a union saw
Of kingdoms without faith or law?
Henceforward let no statesman dare
A kingdom to a ship compare;
Lest he should call our commonweal
A vessel with a double keel:
Which, just like ours, new-rigged and manned,
And got about a league from land,
By change of wind to leeward side,
The pilot knew not how to guide.
So tossing faction will overwhelm
Our crazy, double-bottomed realm.

Swift shot this bolt alone. From most of the poets came conventional
tributes, from Sheffield, Fenton and others. Mr. Vernon dedicated a pom-
pous poem to Granby, one of the Commissioners, "to persuade the Subjects
to an Union of Affections"; but he drew a tactless picture of English
bishops welcoming for conversion's sake "the stubborn Scot" which can
only have reminded the Scots of the

- Welcomes little fishes in, with gently smiling jaws.

Rowe distinguished himself by producing both an eighteen line allegory
in verse, and a passage about it in his Saxon play "The Royal Convert";
Ethelinda, a British lady init, foretells Anne's reign and the Union.

- Her chief glory shall be to unite.-
\[\text{Picts, Saxons, Angles shall no more be known,}\
\text{But Britain be the noble name alone.}\]
\[\text{With joy their ancient hate they shall forego,}\
\text{While discord hides her baleful head below--}\
\text{Suspicious Heaven on all her days shall smile,}\
\text{And with eternal Union bless her British Isle.}\]

But the reason for Rowe's liberal attention probably was that he was
aiming at that Secretaryship to the Duke of Queensberry which he after-
wards enjoyed from 1709-1711.

"Rowe no advantages could hit on,
Till verse he left and wrote North Briton."

commented Lady Winchelsea shrewishly.
"A Copy of a Letter from a Country Farmer to his Laird, an M.P.

Seton of Pitmeddon, junior.

Defoe?
The Union, it has been said, was "an heroic attempt to disregard as far as possible, the differences of interests, habits and nationality, which had grown up between the two States". It had been both desired and undesired in both countries. Taylor, passing north to Edinburgh two years before Union, tells of an old countrywoman accosting him with the anxious question of "what was done in Parliament?" and calling down blessings on him for his hopeful news. But Scots pamphleteers drew a different picture. "I hear few speakers for't but a wheen chapmen and pedlars that fancy they'll get 'oud in S keeping'" or "In a corner of the street, one may see a Presbyterian Minister, a Popish Priest and an Episcopal Prelate all agreeing together in their discourse against the Union, but upon quite different Views and contradictory Reasons."

Similarly in England, "Too many amongst us have conceived such an aversion to the Scotch that there is hardly any reconciling them to an Union," said the author of "A Discourse upon an Union"— Yet the general rejoicing which inaugurated it there was equally undeniable.

Seafield had signed Scotland's fate with the jibe that this was "the end o' an awld sang". No one was so fantastically hopeful as to imagine that the Union would be the end of all ill-feeling. Before was blidden to remain in Edinburgh where his pen was still needed. His articles for his "Review" in London were monitory sermons on "the present Duty of either Nation to one another in our new and united Capacity". That this continuing propaganda was necessary, his own later reports show. Before a year had passed, he was writing to Harley from Edinburgh, of the attitude of "this miserable nation" to the Union. "How shallow it lies in the Affection of the people—how little of the out-of-humour principle is removed by it"—"how blind, how prejudiced and how much adverse to English government a large party even of our friends are here."

Nine months later, he turns on his English readers:—"You seem now united to Scotland, but not one jot more united to the Scots Nation. I can give you but too many instances of it."

By 1713 the very title of his pamphlet, "Union and No Union" reveals how matters stand, and his analysis is candid. "A firmer policy of Union with less Union of Affections has hardly been known in the whole World. There will not, I believe, be offered or suggested that there is any visible increase of Good Will, Charity or Love of Neighbourhood between the Nations since the finishing the Transactions of the late Treaty of Union". The same pamphlet groups the reasons for this "decay of Affection" under Matters of Religion, of State and of Property, over-weighty headings for the succession of magnified irritations that soured the post-Union years.

Scotland was the more to blame. Many a parish had kept the Day of Union, May 1, as one of penance and fasting. Edinburgh's mobs, always
I. Memoirs.
2 Dornan's Jacobite Times
3 March 1708.
4 No: 2.
against
the measure, were again and again in riot. The delay in paying the Re
equivalent was a grievance. Its arrival was hailed by flung stones
and cries of "Judas-money!" The merchants cavilled at only one fourth
of it being paid in bullion. They had already been in outcry against
the English Parliament, which, frustrating a design of theirs formak-
ing a profit by cargo-running before the Ist of May, had seemed to
condone an equally doubtful piece of English sharp practice later.
Greater grievance still was the arrival of English tax-gatherers for
the Customs and Excise. "Our merchants are much alarmed"—"Our people
are in an unaccountable ferment", report contemporary letters. These
English exactions were bitterly execrated. Lockhart called them "the
very scum and canaille of that country, and quoted with sour relish
the English landlord's accounting for the disappearance of the high-
waymen, "They are all gone to your country to get places".

The first session of the United Parliament, which met in October and
decreed the abolition of the Scottish Privy Council, did little to
smooth matters. As much against Union as the mobs and the commercial
classes were the Jacobites, and these were becoming more daring in
their sullen demonstrations, so "uppish that he durst hardly look them
in the face", wrote the Earl of Leven.

Reason and proof of that came as early as February, when rumours went
round London of a projected invasion from France. Lockhart has it th
that in Scotland there was nothing but prayers for a lucky voyage—a
manifest exaggeration. But Leven informed Har:—"By my letters from
Scotland I understand there is a great ferment there, and particularly
in the west country, and that the Jacobites are very uppish".

English alarm may be guessed from the fact that General Stanhope
made a motion in the House of Lords to bring in a Bill to dissolve
the clans in Scotland.

The fleet sailed on the 17th of March. By May the affair was over, Eng
land calm again, and Jacobites north and south subdued. The taking of
the Scots prisoners to London was resented, and there was angry talk
of influencing the elections. The popular post-mortem on the whole
project laid the blame in large part at England's door, or at least
on the English ministry. It was to blame for neglecting Scotland's
proper defence, starving her of funds and forces. "Never a country
more destitute and defenceless than we are, nor have we so much as a
1,322 treasury or any money for incident charges", wrote the Lord Advocate
to Har.

In Parliament, the Scots M.P.'s denounced the invasion as warmly as the
English, and the Kirk at home had held a Day of Solemn Thanksgiving for
its defeat. Yet there was some popular English outcry of the affair be-
ing Scottish, and soothing of the Scots prisoners led through London.

The north was indignant in consequence. The "Scots Observer" wrote
"Our Country is shushed here upon that Head in a Barb rous Manner, par-
ticularly by the Pamphleteers and Publick Writers who to please the
English make us a Pack of Rebels and Devils".

This was probably repeated on the projection of a second Jacobite in-
vasion in 1716, when Captain was busy intriguing in the Highlands and
Defoe dealt with news of "The Alarm lately raised upon the Coast of
Scotland" (June 1710)

Ogilvie
I. 1711

2 A Letter from a Gentleman at London to a Lord at Edinburgh

3 Atalantis Major. Dec 1710.

4 Feb-April 1712.
Ill.

The years 1709-1710-1711-1712 showed no improvement in Scotland’s attitude to England. No concrete gain from Union was visible. (There was little for fifty years.) The feeling grew of being "bubbled" over it, as Lockhart put it. The English excise men were more than ever resented, and smuggling became universal and even something of a patriotic virtue. Merchants talked openly of the impossibility of getting fair play commercially from a Parliament in England.

That distrust was unlucky increased by a series of measures meant to benefit both countries, that in their actual working involved either loss or disproportionately small gain to Scotland. The 1711 Acts, affecting linen, Scotland’s staple commodity, and Highland timber, were particularly unfortunate. Parliamentary debates over the duty on linen led to the angriest of talk on both sides. Harley is reported to have said, "Have not we bought the Scots, and may we not claim the right to tax them? For what end, pray, did we give the equivalent?" Manley said that whatever was or may be the laws of Scotland yet now she was subject to the new sovereignty of England, she must be ruled by English laws.

This sort of dangerous remark inflamed Scottish nationalism. A month later Jacobitism made a scandalous flourish in Edinburgh, when the august Faculty of Advocates was offered and accepted a medal of the Pretender. England was alarmed, particularly since the Jacobites at London "triumphed upon it so much," as Oldmixon wrote. A pamphlet was circulated, "The Scotch Medal Decipher’d".

The House of Lords meanwhile, by its decision over the Scots Peerage Case was creating further matter for resentment. It was voted that no Scots peer should by right of an English title become a member of the House of Lords. The Scots peers had angrily seceded, but after some secret diplomacy were induced to stomach the measure. "The Scots Peers are all boughted ('boughted') again," Wodrow contemptuously put it. Their vacillating part was stormily attacked in the north, and as Scott in London declared "it afforded a handle to represent them in this place as a pack of despicable, spiritless creatures, who might be kicked and cuffed at pleasure". They were urged to stand by their rights and privileges. "We know how much some affect to have the Union rendered more and more complete as they term it, by lessening the power and credit of our judicatories and abolishing everything that derives its origin from the Scottish constitution."

Defoe made the 'heats' in Scotland worse by publishing surreptitiously there his "Northern Atlantis" skit on some of the peers.

These grievances were aggravated by ecclesiastical troubles. Presbyterianism was being further alienated. An Episcopalian minister, Greenshields, had been punished for liturgical practices. He appealed to the House of Lords, and was upheld by them. The case, dragged out by its various appeals, made much talk-Greenshields becoming "The Scots Jacobin", and a storm-centre in Kirk politics. An Affair of Presbyterian rabbling at Old Deer increased the outcry; the withdrawing of the monopoly of Bible-printing from the Anderson family, and the giving it to a non-Presbyterian printer did likewise. As climax, the
As of Elevation (Feb.1712) and the Patronage Act (April 1712) seemed to establish the supremacy of Episcopacy. The Presbyterian party was in dismay at what Union had brought it to.

At the end of 1711 the Earl of Mar averred that "the English as most of the Scots are, seem to be weary of the Union." During the next year it was being widely admitted that the Union was a failure. The Earl of Lauderdale's letters show the bitterness felt by the Scots M.P.'s "it being very plain that no party here has our country much at heart," he wrote, and again, "I knew very well that our English friends would not be our champions but when at the same time they were their own, and promoted their own interest as well as ours.

Similarly Mar, in his "Legacy to his Son", said "When I found that we continued, (notwithstanding of the Union) to be ill-treated and conditions not kept or explained away, I became as much for having the Union broke as ever I had been earnest for its having been made".

Before doggedly in his "Review" on "the Unalterableness of the Union", but he has to chronicle Jacobite riots against it, or to defend the Scots from the cry of "Scots treachery" that went up when Dutch troops abroad, that had a Scots brigade as auxiliary, unexpectedly surrendered.

1713 was the critical year. A commercial measure, to levy an equal duty on malt in all three countries, was received by Scotland as the crowning oppression. Riots were general, the whole nation turbulent.

"A great hum and coldness betwixt the two nations", reported Lockhart, and described with zest how he and Abercromby used the matter as deliberate propaganda to undo the Union. "The ruin of our country was so inevitable" was his conviction. Harley, hearing of his caballing among the Scots M.P.'s, summoned him, and told him angrily "we were driving too far and too fast, and would bring down an old house about our ears." Bromley, Speaker of the House of Commons, and some others attacked him in the same manner. Bromley saying "he was not very fond of the Union in all respects, but since there were some advantages to England from it, and that they had catch hold of Scotland, they would keep her fast."

But the Scots M.P.'s had irate constituencies urging them forward. In June came the culmination, when the Earl of Seafield put forward a Bill for the repeal of the Union.

The debates in the House of Lords drew out possibly the extremes of Scottish and English opinion, yet some gauge of public opinion can be made from them. The Earl of Findlater alluded to recent grievances, the dissolution of the Privy Council, the forcing of the English law of Treason on Scotland, the decision of the Scots Peerage Case and the Malt Tax. He said that the Union had not "those good effects as were expected and hoped from it", but he trusted that separation would secure "an entire unity and good correspondence betwixt the two kingdoms". Other Scots Lords said practically the same. "If the Union were not dissolved, their country would be the most miserable under Heaven". "They were aware the animosities between the two nations were much greater now than before the union. If the Union were dissolved, the two nations would be like to be better friends."
1. 1714

2 1714
"The English Peers seemed pretty indifferent whether the Union was dissolved or not", Calamy noted. Three of them made attacks on Scotland, Lords North and Grey making jests on Scots poverty, the Earl of Peterborough using the hackneyed metaphor of the Union as a marriage to argue that the lady should not sue for divorce "the rather because she had very much mended her fortune by the match". He declared the Scots a people who could never be satisfied, who desired all the advantages of being united with England, while paying nothing for their goodwill; who had more money from England than all their estates amounted to in their own country.

After all this blustering talk, the Bill was defeated, though only by the narrow margin of four votes. Lockhart swore that its defeat was due to some of the Scots themselves, who surreptitiously let it be known that they were voting for the repeal only to save their faces at home. That belief was fairly current. A staunch Presbyterian like Wodrow held it. And it is noticeable that by these years, the attitude of a Presbyterian stalwart and that of a Jacobite was practically identical. "The Union I reckon to be our great and principal burden. The Union, the mother of all our taxes"—Wodrow's remarks, but paralleled by a score of Lockhart's.

IV.

After the defeat of the Bill, a sullen quiet fell. England knew that the matter was not solved. Apprehensive talk of what Jacobitism might dare became frequent. There was a feeling of strain and tension.

At this juncture, and with the best of motives, Steele issued his pamphlet, "The Crisis", praising the Union, pointing out that it could never be broken peacefully, that war was the only and evil alternative. Therefore "it becomes the Englishman in generosity to be more particularly careful in preserving this Union". The Scottish representation in Parliament was small. He deplored "the impotence in which so many wise and able men of the Scottish nation left themselves". And there was more in the same vein.

The pamphlet evoked an explosion of Tory wrath from Swift. In "The Public Spirit of the Whigs" he retaliated with the most savage attack on Scotland since Clarendon. The trend of it was "I defy any mortal to name one single advantage that England could ever expect from such a Union". He called it "a project for which there could not possibly be assigned the least reason or necessity". The earlier overtures by James I had been "rejected with indignation and contempt by the English; how degenerate and corrupt were the court and Parliament, at that time, they would not give ear to so infamous a proposal". The present Union he declared forced on England by Godolphin's bad management, and the danger of leaving the north inhabited by a fierce northern people in arms. "It would probably have cost us a war of a year or two to reduce the Scots". Instead England was now forced to endure the evils of Union, and he adduced the venality and rapacity of the Scots peers.
Steele had praised Scotland's "numerous nobility". Swift offers a cutting parallel of "I imagine a person of quality prevailed on to marry a woman much his inferior, and without a great to her fortune, and her friends arguing she was as good as her husband because she brought him as numerous a family of relations and servants as she found in his house." He fears at Scots pretensions, objects to the privileges and precedence of the nobles, and the pensions and employments they now hold, and has a final half-veiled attack on Argyll and Islay, who had pretended to want the repeal of Union, but "have since gathered more money than ever any Scotchmen who had not travelled could form any idea of."

This stinging pamphlet, anonymously launched, was clearly as much evoked by Swift's anti-Thiggism, as by his hatred of Scotland. But the clamour against it was led by Argyll and the Scots lords, who complained directly to the Queen. Meanwhile, Defoe, who had constituted himself advocate for Scotland on all occasions, drafted a defence, "The Scots Nation and Union vindicated from the reflections cast on them--" (a tract more fully quoted in the chapter on Defoe.) He brandished his usual principles, "Scotland, being by the Union, become a Part of ourselves, he that stabbs Scotland may legally be said to wound himself" "He should be Nicer in an Affront offered to Scotland by how much more frankly they have by the Union given themselves as it were into our Hands." He then came to grips with Swift's accusations, and as far as possible refuted these. He admitted that Union had meant little gain, but surely more to England than to Scotland. The breaking of it would mean distinct loss, however, and he cited the dangers. In conclusion he eulogised the fine military traditions and record of the Scots nobility, and offered the whole as a handsome amende honorable.

Yet the Swift pamphlet triumphantly ran to a fifth edition. Obviously its sentiments were well appreciated.

Allowance has to be made, however, for its being a succès de scandale. It is not suggested that all England felt as anti-Scott as Swift.

For, while Scotland continued to be inflamed against England after the Union, England was much less vociferous. Union had barely affected national life or progress there. Consequently the only hard given the north was when either of the two bugbears, Highland rising or commercial profit-making stirred English fears and dislike.

Jacobite alarms were frequent and troubling, because of the ignorance of Highland strength. As Oldmixon complained, the Tories would have England believe "that North Britain is a Nation of Jacobites" hence the dread that found vent in bills and talk about breaking the vassalage of the clans, in hooting the 1708 prisoners, and in rumour of "terrible racketts" in the north.

Commercial jealousy was still prevalent, too, from the outcry over the "notorious-frauds" of the cargo-running scheme of 1707 to the

2. 1709
Bill and Halt Tax years.

Parliament saw no mingling of national distinctions. The Scots declared themselves differentiated against their interests neglected, Brodie the Speaker prejudiced against them. They withdrew into an arrant, and voted generally en bloc. The same tactics were true of peers—"the Scotch Brigade"—Hervey nicknamed them. The English entitled this national grouping and bloc voting, (usually for the Government), and there was some malicious satirising of it.

Throughout the nation, as a whole, there did begin with the Union luring of sharp national differentiation. Church and party politics dominated Society and literature, so that the groupings of Tory, Jacobite, Hanoverian (later labels) were the ones that primarily interested. Under these, not above, came the subdivisions, English, Scots.

In London's social world, Scots were prominent, not merely in scientific circles, as in earlier years, but in letters and art as well. Two of the Scottish nobles were generous patrons of both English and Scots writers. Argyle, for example, was patron to Killigrew and at first friendly to Swift, later sided Thomason and was of the first to pronounce the "Beggars' Opera" a success, and Mr. a great actor. Hamilton and Queenbury were almost as well known to the former with "some taste of learning", the latter Defoe's patron, to whom he dedicated "Caledonia" and the "History of the Union".

Earl of Cromartie, the Earl of Woford and the Duke of Gordon alienated themselves with belles lettres, as Macky avouched, and the ills of Middleton and Roxburgh admired for their learning and breeding position raised the scandalous discredit of some of the other Scots poverty-bound in London, existing like one on the profits of gambling table, or like Sir John Maclean, on the charity of the press. The master of Sinclair records his disgust over these:—"I was and they wanted a 100 to pay their debts, and carrie them down to wind.—My God! how concerned I was to see those who pretended be of the ancient Scots Nobility reduced so beg at an English ort!" Satire used them as targets, as Mrs. Hanley did, for instance "The New Atlantis" with the miserly Earl of Dysart and others.

to recall Queen Anne society is to summon up Burnet and Arbuthnot, the Scottish friends of Pope and Swift, not must have been the most maligned men of the day, attacked by politicians and clergy, by Scots and English, in prose and verse, in Latin and English, in epigrams and broadside, at least twenty opponents can be traced. But he was firmly entrenched as Bishop of Strathclyde, noted author, and his speeches in the House of Lords make influence, too, were Gerstner and Secretary Johnston.
Johnston, politics abandoned, was settled at Twickenham, that noted "humour and pleasantries" of his still attracting good company thither. "He is in nightly with Harley," Cadwoman writes of him in 1710, and later, "he keeps a very treat rank"—"he frequently has Mr Walpole and the greatest courtiers with him." For Roxburgh's son, this was novel company.

Among the wits, Arbuthnot held high place. His career had been meteoric, for once the hackneyed term wits. He had settled in London towards the close of the century. Creeken mentions him in May of '98, he is dining with Pepys in June. His scholarship and medical practice are already known. In the first years of the new century, a mathematical essay of his is published. By 1703 he is in attendance on the Queen. A year later he is elected Fellow of the Royal Society. A year later, he is in attendance on the Queen. A year later, he is elected Fellow of the Royal Society. Correspondence of the next years shows him in touch with Lord Peterborough, Sir Hans Sloane, Mr Hekes and Dr Charlott and David Gregory. By 1710, the year he was made Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, he is spoken of as having great influence at Court—"he is hardly a moment from Kensington," wrote Viscount Wentworth.

His reputation as wit was established during his friendship with Swift, whom he met in 1711, and with Pope, in 1712. In these years he was delighting London with his "Law is a Bottomless Pit" (the first part of the History of John Bull) and its continuance, John Bull still in his Senses. The latter held the first good-natured fun about the Union. If the sermon preached—at the Mercat Cross of Edinburgh—had been Arbuthnot's, he had been then a cynic about Union, though for it:—"England has oppressed Scotland ten times more since the Union of the Crowns, than ever they will be able to do after the Union of the two Parliaments"—"many of our nobility and gentry are now continually at London, a few to govern, some to oppress, many to complain, and all for strife and contention." If these evils were already present, then better accept Union and its trade benefits than "cost of our Sovereignty and slave" (1712).

Now in John Bull he puts the whole matter hilariously; Peg's (Scotland's) admitting sternly that John (England) has "the honour to be my brother!" her reception of the protocols to take her into his house: "She huffed and stormed like the devil." "The little I have is free, and I can call it my own; hence's home, let it be never so homely.—I ken him weel enough, he could never abide me, and then he has his ends, he'll e'en use me as he did before. Tell him he may e'en gang his gate", and as flippantly Arbuthnot laughs at the post-Union quarrels, Peg's lads having "great stomachs" and constantly begging drink-money.

Though this skit of Peg and John Bull is only a joke, dished off in jocular mood—such as Pitcairne must have written his "Assembly", the ironic detachment of both writers is worth remark. That detachment of a Scot from over-seriousness where his nation's affairs are concerned, is novel, and it is that Oliver Bell would define as civilized. It is, of course, the mood of the wit.

Pitcairne, with his wide scholarship, his famous library, his Continental experience, his touch with English scholars and poets, and Arbuthnot, transplanted entirely to England, were examples now of Scots
1 Swift's correspondence—edited F. Ball
2 Martinised.
3 Letter to his brother. 1726
4 Dunciad 1728
who had passed beyond a narrow nationalism. They were conforming to English standards, as easily as their peers to a polished English. A touch of significance falls on the fact that England, which had hurled nicknames at the Scot for a century, had not a Scot retaliating with 'Johnbull'.

Arbuthnot wrote nothing eulogistic of Scotland, or even particularly Scottish, and he laughed at Gaelic as having "the nearest similarities of sound and pronunciation" to the Kouthynym language. Certainly he kept in touch with Scots friends, and occasionally draws Swift's attention to a Scottish book, like Martin's St Ailda. And satirists underline his race: "a puzzling, drolling, prating, pedant Scot" or "a grating Scribbler Whose untuned Lassays, Mix the Scotch Thistle with the English Bays.

Yet he identified himself entirely with London.

No other Scot was accepted as admiringly, at least not in London. Howad, John Law was beginning to gain that international reputation as Napoleon of Finance through his Bank of Paris and his Mississippi schemes. Financier and economist, he was being given by France the opportunities his own land denied him, as later was Adam Smith, for his "Wealth of Nations".

In London, William Paterson was the leading financial adviser to Cockburn and Harley; he and Gregory calculating the Equivalent. His part in Darien was forgotten in his prestige as founder of the Bank of England.

Gregory, too, was in his heyday of fame, as professor at Oxford, as author and contributor of papers to the Royal Society.

Better known generally was the London group of Scots doctors, who came south in the opening years of the century, practised brilliantly in the City and at Court, wrote as brilliantly their medical treatises, and in four cases out of five, amassed fortunes. Their success was one reason for the influx Thomson wrote scornfully of later, the Scots surgeons who "come near like flocks of vultures every day".

Among these first 'lights' were Sir David Hamilton, one of the Queen's physicians and an F.R.C.S., the leading practitioner of midwifery in London, and according to Kunk's "College of Physicians", making a fortune of 200,000; and Dr William Cockburn, who began as naval surgeon, settled in London about 1710, became Swift's trusted doctor, "honest Dr Cockburn", a medical writer of very high credit, and the maker of a fortune also. Dr James Douglas was another noted obstetrician and a great anatomist. Pope's chance couplet-

"There all the learn'd shall at the labour stand,
And Douglas lend his soft obstetric hand-
Keep's on record of him, and perhaps Walpole's mirth over his amazing collection of editions of Horace."

His surgeon brother, Sir John Douglas, a controversialist of some note, Sir Thomas Burnet, and best known of all possibly, Dr George Cheyne,
1 Hist MSS Comm Rep; Harley's correspondence
2 1701-05.
3 Letter of James Anderson.
4 1711
5 Historical "account of my wife"
6 1714-15.
7 1709-eg Burnet, Orkney, Orsart etc.
8 1712
of long-enduring reputation as eminent physician and medical writer, but them one connects more with Lyttleton and Richardson the novelist, and with Dr Johnson's praise-those are three of a list that could be easily lengthened.

Scarcely one of these was doctor only, and none was a nonentity. Cockburn, Douglas, Arbuthnot, Cheyne were men of pith, humour, wide interests and in the case of Cheyne and Douglas with just that dash of eccentricity that made them London 'characters'. Queen Anne society certainly gained in flavour from this northern admixture.

To the credit they added to Scotland came further credit, through from the world of art, through the promise of two notable young architects, James Gibbs and Colin Campbell. Their best work was done in the reign of George I, and will be noticed in a later chapter. But both, destined to become famous, were now launching themselves, and like true Scots using the aid of fellow-countrymen. Gibbs ingenuously asks Harley for his patronage, 'which I am sure will oblige very much my lord Mar and all my friends'. Possibly through that, Gibbs is given one of the new London churches, and his St Mary le Strand begins to rise in 1714.

Scotland has a strong contingent, then, in London society. Partly because of this, partly through the natural increase of intercourse after the Union—and the missionary value of forty members of Parliament counted—literary relations became closer.

It is seen in a variety of ways. Co-operative work is frequent; Scots contribute to Collier's Dictionary and its supplement; Harley has a 'noble and generous design of publishing Fordun and his Continuator'—'a real and engaging mark of his affection to this Nation'; the 'Miscellanea Antiqua' includes three old Scots tracts; correspondence between scholars and notable divines is marked, that of Bishop Sage and Dr Dodwell, of Alexander Cunningham and Harley, of Keill and Newton, of Calamy and Carstares suggesting themselves. Dr Calamy's tour in Scotland is a triumphal procession in the University towns; it is rivalled by Bishop Sage's lionizing in Bath and London. Complimentary verses cross the Borders. Piteairne writes in eulogy of Newton. His work is appreciated in England: Prior imitating one of his poems, 'earns copying one into his diary. His death is felt a loss by English men of letters as well as by Scots. Hepburn fitly dedicates his 'Dissertatio' on him to Addison.

As the reverse side of this gradual amalgamation, satire makes common foe of Scot and Englishman alike. Mrs Manley's 'New Atlantis' swept both nations for victims to libel. "Bibliotheca", a poem
ascribed to Dr William King, castigated the translators Ogilby and Lauderdale, and of course Burnet. "The Parliament of Birds, an anonymous political jibe was aimed at some of the Scots peers.

In satire, too, the quickness of Scots imitation shows up very plainly, and there is a tossing to and fro of the ball of satire, as in Manley's "New Atlantis", for example being followed by a "Scots Atlantis", that Hepburn's "Tatler" takes note of, and by a "Northern Atlantis", while in the thick of that, Defoe slyly issues an "Atalantis".

Imitation was almost as quick in another branch of writing, however. This is the age above all of the Tatler and the Spectator.

How far this new type of periodical took note of the north, and how far it influenced, even helped to create a reading public and a literary group there, are points worth considering.
VII.

The credit of "presenting" Scotland goes first not to these, but to Defoe, whose "Review of the Affairs of France and of all Europe—of an entertaining part in every sheet being Advice from the Scandal Club" (1704-5) brought in mention of Scotland and at least one letter from a Scot. His "Review of the State of the English Nation" went further, for it dealt constantly with Scottish matters, adverted soothingly on that nation's excellent points, and attacked a Scots pamphleteer like Hodges, incorporated "A Short Letter to the Glasgow Men". In fact made itself as acceptable reading north of Tweed as south; and it is evident that it became so. The Preface to the 5th volume now called "A Review of the State of the British Nation" mentioned the request he had had from some Scots gentlemen to have the Review printed at Edinburgh. That was done. From 25th March, 1709, it was reprinted three times a week in Edinburgh, and published in all the principal towns and cities of Scotland, or so the advertisement said, the publication extending to Northumberland and Westmorland, and to Belfast, Carrickfergus and Londonderry. Swift's pamphlets recall how thickly the Scots had settled in north Ireland.

At that point, Defoe reiterated his policy. "Since this paper extends itself to Scotland, as well as to England, being, reprinted there, it ought and shall always have a part of it dedicated to their advantages as well as satisfaction."

This kind of promise was not new, for there had been Scottish reprints of English papers as early as the fortys, and windy protestations in these of dealing with Scottish interests. But actually to redeem this circulation pledge was distinctly novel. Defoe stood by his word during the rest of that year. He published matter of special importance to Scotland, such as his series on Scottish agriculture for the instruction of "You Gentlemen of Scotland", or those on the Jacobite Episcopalian Interest in Scotland since the Union. He informs London of the extension of the S.P.O.M. into Scotland, and prints a report to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Commission on the Islands. A chance line or two: "I am writing this Paper in Scotland, where I can look out of my Window and see the Fields standing full of the Shocks of Corn", even gives a breath of the northern air.

But next year found him occupying the Review with English and foreign matters almost exclusively, and only in late November is there a return to "Coming lately into Scotland and Discoursing there—"

In the following January he says frankly: "It is a long time since I have concerned myself in this paper with anything relating to the affairs of Scotland, and I should not have done so nor had it not been absolutely necessary". In spite of this unpromising start, the paper revives its attention to the north, and Defoe is once more omniscient on all Scottish matters, from the herring-fishery and the falseness of the latest Scots pamphlet to the Old Deer Rubbing and the problem of the Highland Priorities. He even scales the English news-writers for their neglect: "I cannot but think it strange that not one of our News-writers have thought it worth while to tell you that the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland is now sitting".

Again and again, he reprints reports from "by letters from Scotland", with a malicious joy in setting his own detailed accounts side by side with "Mr. Scott-by's" more measured news. Unfortunately volume 9 is the last; the Review died in June.
Before it ceased, the Tatler and Spectator had begun, and one half expects on picking these up to find Scotland figuring as much there. After all, it was Steele not the country's champion in "The Crisis"; a year or two later, he not only taken up the cudgels even on small points, advocating, for instance, that the terms England and English be replaced by Great Britain and British? (The impudentest thing in the world, wrote Dr. Swift, and concerted with Prior and now a punitive skit of "Mr. South-British and Mr. William North-Britain," two gentlemen who before you ordered it otherwise were known by the names of Mr. English and Mr. Mr. Scott," who, having dined on North-British collars, and watched children playing North British hoppers, took coach to North-Britain Yard—and so on.)

To one's surprise, Scotland is barely mentioned in the pages of either paper. Chance references occur, naturally. Addison has a jest over the 'bagpipe' style of talker, dull, he says, tedious, story-tellers. "Some have observed that the Northern parts of this island are more particularly fruitful in bagpipes." He cleverly inserts. On the topic of national impudence, Steele condemns Scottish with English. Occasionally a "saying among the Scotch" is used, or a remark like "in the remote parts of Scotland they have second sight." But only twice is Scotland given prominence of any sort:

In the Tatler of March 1719, Steele adds a postscript: "The letter from Caerlisle of Edinburgh is received, and the performance of his promise earnestly desired," and the following number announces: "The Correspondent, having lately intelligence that the ancient simplicity in the dress and manners of that part of this island called Highland begins to decay, and that there are at this time in the good town of Edinburgh Beaus, Tlops, and Concordos, his late correspondent from that place is desired to send us their names and characters with all expedition, that this may be proceeded against accordingly, and proper officers named to take in their names, snuff-boxes and all other useless necessities commonly worn by such offenders." Unfortunately, the topic dropped, and the unknown Caerlisle wrote no further.

The only other Scots contributors are the authors of a heavily allegoric dream, which was printed in No. 524 of the Spectator (Oct: 1719) by which Steele had popularised the second-sighted Highlander, so this conventional dream, which is now thought to be the joint production of Alex: Dunlop, the Greek Professor at Glasgow University and a Mr. Montgomery, was prefaced by: "I shall add a Dream which comes to me from Scotland by one who declares himself of that country, and for all I know may be second-sighted—"

When Addison announced his design of giving up the Spectator, he discovered, he says: "Some of the most outlying parts of this Kingdom alarmed upon this Occasion, having received Letters to expostulate with me about it, from several of my Readers of the remotest Boroughs of Great Britain; among which I am very well pleased with a Letter dated from Berwick-upon-Tweed":

But with that, the tally of Scottish notice ceased.

But explains the discrepancy between the Review's full mention and the Tatler's and the Spectator's scanty one? The latter papers had a Scottish circulation too. The Tatler was reprinted at Edinburgh; the Spectator was read even in distant Perthshire; there was no question
of a lack of Scottish readers, even though the number of correspondents be few. The solution comes when one turns back to Defoe's paper and realises that he "wrote up" Scotland only as a journalist-politician, and only because the country was news politically. Scotland in the sense of Scottish life, society, character was not news, was only vaguely known, and was negligible. Defoe scarcely looked at the country save as a propagandist or economist. He drew no sketches of Scots life for their own uniqueness. His Edinburgh 'caudex', his Jacobite, his Cameronian, his 'old wife in the country', White, the Edinburgh hangman, all point some political tale. That mention of the cornfields is used purely as opening to a talk on Scots crops. Apart from one or two early letters and his recollections of Lord Belhaven, he rarely discusses Scottish personalities, never describes Edinburgh society or the lights of the General Assembly. Much of that might admittedly have been dangerous, but Defoe goes to the other extreme, writes almost entirely in vacuo, 'a voice from the north'.

The Tatler and the Spectator were primarily social papers, with no political inducements to focus on the distant north. They sprang from the developed, self-conscious society of London, dealt with the interests and the foibles only of that society, one narrow in its limits. In Scotland, a society of similar standards was only beginning to develop, as Osiris's letter proves. But of what interest was that to London's Coquetillas or Will Honeycombs?

Addison and Steele were both to pay a fuller attention to Scotland when the '15 Rebellion broke out; Steele went north afterwards as one of the Commissioners of the Forfeited Estates. Prior to that, neither makes any attempt to cater for or deal with the land.

VIII.

Nothing illustrates the drift of literary relations so well, however, as this matter of English journals and their place in Scotland.

Before Union, Scotland was fed almost entirely by English and Continental news-sheets and reprints, to the disgust of patriots: "Scotland served with News at Third and Fourth Hand", grumbled one editorial. Now and again an Edinburgh paper would struggle into existence, solicit support, lapse into wretched printing, peter out, and restart again. James Donaldson and Adam Boig, the prime movers, spent half their energy fighting each other, the other half fighting English competition. Yet somehow, there appeared the Edinburgh Gazette, Edinburgh Flying Post, Edinburgh Courant, Reviewed—all short-lived—the Edinburgh Gazette (a restart) The Scots Postman or New Edinburgh Gazette, a continuation of it, and The Edinburgh Flying Post—both precariously hanging on.

Then Defoe's Review began its reprint in March of 1709, and that seems to have been a successful venture. It proved the way to the rapid developments of the following year. 1710 found Defoe invited by the
Edinburgh Town Council to print the Edinburgh Courant. Whether he did so, or did so for more than two numbers, all that survive, is still doubtful. In that same month, James Muirhead began The Scots Courant, successful enough to run for ten years. More interesting even was a North or Northern Tatler, a bi-weekly, printed by John Adie for Samuel Colvil. Though for that, Chalmers' Life of Ruddiman is the sole authority, and no copy of it survives, it appears a very likely venture, for the English Tatler, already running a year, was being reprinted weekly in Edinburgh by James Watson and was also issued piratically and legitimately in volume form by September 1710. At the same time, the Examiner was being reprinted. Later, when the original Tatler stopped, the London continuations have northern reprint.

So Scotland's reading public is now amalgamating with England's. A random recollection of Stewart of Dalguise makes that vivid: "Rare as the intercourse was between the capital and the Highlands of Scotland yet did the Spectator soon find its way regularly to that part of the kingdom. Mr Stewart of Dalguise, a gentleman of Perthshire—has informed us that when as usual in that country the gentlemen met after Church on Sunday to discuss the news of the week, the Spectators were read as regularly as the Journal. He informs us also that he knew the perusal of them to be general through the country."

The Tatler too runs from London to the north. Still better sign, Scotland now begins the creation of Tatlers of her own. For even if Chalmers' report of a North Tatler of 1710 be inaccurate, a second imitation, the Tatler of Donald Macstaff of the North survives—a venture of January 1711.

This paper of Robert Hepburn's is no great journalism, though its place in the history of the Scots press is important. Its real value, however is the ingenious mirror it makes of the outlook of young Scotland, or at least of young Edinburgh.

For note that Mr Bickerstaff had barely said farewell, before Donald Macstaff was drawing in the editorial chair. His paper was frankly to be in close imitation of the London Tatler, whose demise he laments. His too is "to give the Town some small diversion by drawing some Pictures of the Vices and Follies of Mankind," his measures to be "those already laid down by the British Censor." He hopes too for the support of "the Men of Wit and Pleasure about the Town." But, from his opening editorial, he declares that he will concentrate especially on Scotland. "It is evident that Mr Bickerstaff took very little notice of this part of our Island. For which Reason, though the greatest Part of my Reflections shall be general, yet I am resolved to take a particular Care and Inspection of the Good Town of Edinburgh, and of the Natives of these Ungrown Mountains, from whence the Family of the Macstaffs originally came."

One correspondent enthusiastically approves this policy, regrets that Steele had ceased, but hopes that "if anybody continues that useful paper, it may be a Scotsman".

So a quaintly Scotticized Tatler was launched. Instead of a London Tatler and his sister, there was Donald MacStaff and his sister, of the Mac Staffs of Glencoe, a Town of Lochaber in Scotland, and of Edinburgh.
In place of Sir Roger de Coverley was "my illustrious Relative, Sir Donald Macdonald of the Isles"—"a true Scotsman". Where Sir Roger was the patriotic English squire par excellence, Sir Donald "seems to be angry with me for not sufficiently maintaining the manly character of a bold undaunted Highland-Man." "Go on and prosper, and remember you are a Scotsman" is his message. As comic humours, are four worthy knights from the Highlands, who, ghillie in attendance, visit the Tatler to argue their descent and their precedence. Lastly, in place of London rendezvous, "The reader may expect from MacClurg's Coffee-house, Reflections on Wits and Politicians; from the Jews' Chocolate House, Remarks on the Beaux and the Ladies; from the Exchange Coffee-house Observations on Citizens, Would-be Wits and Would-be Politicians; from his own apartment all sorts of miscellaneous subjects".

But into this native setting, Hepburn introduces Philinda and John Cool-Stifes and the like, a Female Court of Wit, and some slavish imitations of Tom Brown's "Dialogues of the Dead"—all perfectly English in fashion. And his main essay is commonly in Steele's tone and style, on topics such as Eloquence, the relation of parents and children. Even in reviewing books, it is Cervantes or Montaigbe that he chooses, and only once Sir George Mackenzie.

To do him justice, he can break a Scottish lance occasionally, for "our old Highland Songs", for instance. "The masters (at a concert) did mightily offend me because they refused to play a Scots-Tune". Once he satirises the English incomer—"Red Eulalia of London", who "had got an invitation to come to your country to get a considerable post"—"I'm een as arrant a Scoundrel as any". Shall he stay at home, or "make a flashy appearance with you for a while, and then sneak off!" Once he takes note of Edinburgh's contemporary pamphlets, Timander's "Scots Talantis".

This rather haphazard compromise held together for only forty numbers. From the first Helburn had admitted his task difficult. "A business of this nature must needs be the more uneasy to a Scotsman who cannot be supposed to be so much master of the English language as in it to express his thoughts with all the force and beauty the propriety and business of a native tongue". He adds interestingly—"I have often been at a loss to think what should be the reason why Scotsmen take so little care to recommend themselves to the public by their writings. I am confident it is not so much for want of genius as of a language to express their thoughts—"I am sure that if we had a just sense of the beauties and elegancies of the English language, we should be at more pains to acquire it than at present we are. This a city that so many learned and ingenious men as are at present among us should live so obscurely in the world and want the applause and esteem they so justly deserve".

In the number of May 30, Hepburn announced briefly:—"I am resolved to act no longer in quality of censor! Rumour had it that he offended by his satire. He said himself:—"It is impossible for a Scotsman to discharge so difficult an office in this place where every character I draw is either presently known, or misapplied". A letter he had from Steele refers sympathetically to "The inconvenience of writing in a place where there are so few proper objects of humour and raillery,
1. Being MSS.

2 1707. Roman Monuments in Scotland
   1710. Act of Writers. Ancient and Modern who
   deal with Scotland 1710.

3 1708 1709 1710. See later notes, chapter 13.

4 Vol 2 1711.

5 1712.
and so few 'Candid and Impartial Judges of your Lucubrations'. The effort of elegant English was no doubt a strain. But the real difficulty was, as Steels saw, the lack of a mature, cultured, tolerant society. There were beginnings'—"Archimedes, Urbenus, Strepbon and all the other Men of Wit and Learning in this Nation", says a letter-writer largely; but the sophisticated, the civilised temper was a thing not to be attained in general for half a century yet.

Hepburn ends his paper light-heartedly. "I am informed to my agreeably surprise that my Paper is reprinted at London"—and Steele had expressed his approval of it—two brilliant feathers in Hepburn's cap.

Two years later, when the paper was issued in volume form, a Latin poem to Steels prefaced it. (an English poem to him had appeared in Number II). During these years, he had been busy on the works of sir George Mackenzie, and then of Pitcairne, and his dissertation on the latter was dedicated to Addison.

All shows the contemporary bent of the young aspirant to letters in Scotland.

As parallel, turn to the Lazy Club, the first of Edinburgh's famous literary groups, founded in 1712 with Allan Ramsay as its leading light.

Its members, choosing eminent literateurs as imaginary patrons, choose English authors, Bickerstaff, (Ramsay's choice) Rochester, Tom Brown, L'Estrange, Newton, Sir Thomas Heywood. Its secretary, G.Buchanan wrote to Addison:—"The first thing that induced us to join in a society was the reading of your Spectators, where it is frequently recommended, and the better to make us acquainted with such fine thoughts we have observed as one of our fundamental laws, that one or more of the Spectators shall be read at every Meeting". And his tone, as he praises Addison, and begs him to lay down rules and methods for their Club, has all the fervid homage of a disciple:—"him who has a profound respect for you and your incomparable writings", he subscribes himself.

But examples of this could be multiplied, from Wodrow, from Ramsay's early verse, and so forth. Sufficient to sum up that from 1710 on, the influence of Addison and Steele is potent among the younger Scots writers.

X.

These younger men—and Hepburn died in his early twenties—were the outliers, however, and in advance of the main body of Scottish letters. The eight years between the Union and the '15 Rising see the elder men still spurting along in dogged nationalist brigade. Sibbald and his circle are engrossed in antiquarian work, the two Crawfords, George and Thomas on Scottish history. The foundations of Scottish biography are being laid, if rather inaccurately. Sibbald has an "Account of Writers Ancient and Modern, who deal with Scotland". (Nicolson had chuckled over fictitious historians being raked up "pretty solemnly" by Sir George Mackenzie.) George Mackenzie, (not the scholar just named) issued in 1708 his first volume of "Lives and Characters of the Most Eminent Writers of the Scottish Nation". Dr Patrick Abercrombie followed this by "The Martial Achievements of the Scots Nation"—the patriotic
These works sprang from an energetic cooperation between printers and scholars, for by now the presses of Watson and Mosman, of Freebairn and Ruddiman were in splendid activity. They were enthusiastically planning the editing of Scots classics. About 1707 Freebairn undertook to reprint Douglas’s “Aeneid,” and a keen group, Sibbald, Pitcairne, Nicolson, Sage lent their help. Sage wrote the “Life,” Ruddiman drew up a valuable glossary, “serving for a dictionary to the old Scottish language,” and in 1710 this first scholarly work on old Scots was issued. Watson, meanwhile, had published his “Choice Collection of Scots Poems, Ancient and Modern, Part II,” a poorer anthology than the first, seventeenth-century poems mostly, by Ayton, Mackenzie, Drummond, Lithgow, varied by a handful of sixteenth-century ones, and had then begun an edition of Drummond of Hawthornden, Sage and Ruddiman directing. It was brought out in 1711, another achievement of value. 1711 was a year of striking activity, with the volumes of Abercromby and Mackenzie, Hepburn’s Tatler, and Watson’s third and last volume of the “Choice Collection.” That last book came nearest to the value of the first volume, a haphazard mixture though it was, with Montgomery’s “Flyting” ranged beside lyrics of Ayton and Montrose, and these beside “Rob’s Jock cam to woo our Jennie,” and “Bair’s lune, my Babe.” It was marked: “The end of the first Volume,” but though a second edition of Part II came out in 1713, no second Volume appeared. More serious work was on foot. Watson was drawing up his “History of the Art of Printing,” which he published in 1713 with its interesting preface on printing in Scotland. Ruddiman was undertaking an edition of Buchanan, the editing of whom Mosman had begun in 1701 but had abandoned. To this present edition Ruddiman brought erudition and expertness of the first rank, and produced a monumental two volume edition. Unfortunately it came out in the year 1715 when work of this kind was checked by the Jacobite rising. That event, and Sibbald’s retirement from active life, and the deaths of Sage, Pitcairne, Abercromby within a few years of each other, broke up this remarkable group. Literary progress suffered badly by its disruption, which came at the worst of times. For what these enthusiasts had been doing was nothing less than preparing the way for a renaissance of Scottish literature.

...rebirth of Scottish culture and scholarship began in the eighties of the previous century, with its scientists, historians, dons or reviving intellectual life and incidentally “Scotland’s reputation. That stage of mathematical, scientific, medical study (the narrower side of scholarship) and of painstaking historical and antiquarian research passed gradually into a broader one of more liberal intellectual venture. Now with the reprinting of a Scots author of international fame like Buchanan, of scholarly note like Douglas, of contemporary English admiration like Drummond, younger Scotland made the stimulating discovery of possessing a high literary tradition, a native craft, a raey dialect
rich in possibilities. Douglas, Drummond, Watson's Collection—these not only offered the young Scot models, and inspired and spurred him to imitation; they supplied the fundamental dynamic for Scotland's advance in literature, namely, a literary background, and a literary confidence to create.

To claim that, is not to deny the undoubted impetus gained from the English writers.

An English venerated lies over Edinburgh society. 'Osiris' and his compatriots of Hepburn's Tatler show circles there aping the wits and beaux of London, cultivating the same affectations and jargon, at their best discussing the same topics. Steele, Addison and Rochester are favoured writers. A random collection of elegies and epitaphs that survives poems dating from 1708 are all sedulously English, in the common conventions: "Pastor's Lament for Londres", and so on. The two stimuli, Scots and English, were able to act contemporaneously however.

In conclusion, two illustrations of the increasing rapprochement in matters literary may be added. The first is the increased quickness with which any Scots author of 'sensational' work reaches a hearing and discussion in London. Lockhart's "Memoirs" of 1714, Crawford's faked memoirs, and the anonymous "Memoirs of the Lord Viscount Dundee" can be cited. (1714)

The second is the curiously novel appearance on the London stage of a Scottish gentleman as hero. Mrs Centlivre's comedy, "The Wonder; A Woman keeps a Secret" adds the temerity not only to do so, but to add a moderately self-respecting Scots footman as comic embroiler of the plot. The author set the scene carefully in Portugal, and of course avoided everything political. Colonel Britton, "a gentleman of a good estate, of excellent principles and strict honour", introduces himself as "an honest North Briton, by birth". He is, however, the usual man-about-town and heiress-hunter. A joke or two on "How deliciously a man lives here without fear of the Stool of Repentance", and the introduction of his footman, Gibby, as in Highland dress - "Which for the honour of Scotland I make all my servants wear" - is evidently felt as strong a flavour as is bearable from one of the heroes. Gibby, on the other hand, is a working up of the usual stock comic-Scot who had never left the London boards for long. ("Sawney the Scot" had been restaged in 1708.) Gibby's first entrance suggests the worst; for a couple of dull remarks are greeted with "Hal! Hal! a comical fellow!" But his part develops surprisingly. Unlike Sawney, he is not superimposed on the play, but takes an essential part, through confusing the two heiresses. Neither is he set and butt, but a staunch follower, a man of his fists and of his own
opinions. He hates "a leear", and knocks down Lissardo for his lies.
He stands no insults. An Englishman calls him a "Scotch Rascal"-
"some Highland Monster, I suppose", and is knocked down with "Wha's
the better Man, now, Sir?" The end of the play brings him the reward
of the maid-servant's hand.

But even more unexpected than this rehabilitation of character is
the sound Scots dialect. How Mrs Centlivre achieved it, is mysterious.
Were other plays employing dialect parts at the time, or was she help¬
ed by some Scot? "Gude troth, she's no' Kenspeckle!" says Gibby, or
"Deel ha my Sol, Sar, gin ye get no jour Carich for that Lye now", or
"I think our Scotsmen the greatest Feuls to leave their weel-favoured
honest Women at Heam to rin walloping after a Pack of Gyrkarlings
here". The Colonel is "the Laird". A Scots proverb comes pat: "Mony
een spiers the gat they ken right weel", as do phrases like 'foregath¬
ed', "sculdudrie", "weel enough". His jokes are the well-worn ones
still, remarks about "this Wutch", and his longing for a ruling elder,
or the Kirk's Treasurer, his welcome of a "dram"; and he ends the play
by inviting his to "dance the Reel of Bogye with me"—a repetition
of Wullie's finale in "Courtship-a-la-Mode"

So far as one can trace, this is the first play of contemporary man¬
ners to make present a Scots gentleman in a leading role.
CHAPTER XII. THE '15 REBELLION.
With something of that earnest romantic fervour in which America
hallowed the Pilgrim Fathers, the present-day Scot regards the '15
and '45 rebellions. Just at them, and "we are not amused". Present
them for the hundredth time in full panoply of romance, Prince Char-
lie a figure of tragic charm, the clans of heroic fidelity, the red-
costs brutal and overwhelming, and fit homage has been done.
Fifty years ago, Charlie-over-the-Waterism was laughed at, in the hope
of laughing it out of existence. To-day the Jacobite novels of a
Cambridge history don fill the book-shop windows. That other scoot-
stuff of Scottish fiction, the kail-yard novel, has found ruthless
critics among Scots themselves, Douglas in "The House with the Green
Shutters" offering a savage truth in place of maudlin sentiment. But
Jacobitism is left with all its trappings, both fine and shoddy, undistur-
bled.

Ironically, England as well as Scotland shares that romantic enshr-
ing of the rebellions. To most English readers, they are Scottish his-
tory. A historical novel about Scotland must deal with them-what else
could it deal with? The Scots songs they know, apart from those of
Burns, are Jacobite songs. Prince Charlie is romantic hero, par excell
ence.

No one would deny that the '45 at least had its glamour; the '15 is a
more doubtful affair. Scrape away Scott's bright colours, and the more
glowing modern ones, and the original is a much drabber picture. It
has features, part grim, part silly, long since painted out; for the Pope
is in prominence and the Highlander is precisely war-Britain's idea
of the Hun. Clan fidelity is in less evidence than clan plunder and
desecration; war is as much laughing-stock as "Arch-Treason"; and Lon-
don swings from an ignorant terror of the Highlander to a nearly tri-
umphant jeering over the trials and executions.

So any conception of the '15 as a splendid sally of the Scots Jacob-
ites, with the clans marching into a focus of picturesque interest
and romantic dread, has to be revised. To English, and Scottish-con-
temporaries, it was coldly and prosaically an "unnatural" rebellion,
engineered by political and religious parties, Jacobites, pests as much
English as Scottish. Its aim was to restore a Popish ruler; its leaders
were renegades like Har and Bolingbroke; and among its instruments,
but only one group of several were these 'miserable Benedictine', the Sc-
ottish Highlanders. The last point is most clear in addresses and news-
sheets of the time. London's loyal address spoke only of "Non-resist-
ing Rebels, Passive-Obedience Rioters, Injuring Jacobites and French-
ified Englishmen"; Oldmixon of "a parcel of North-Country Jockeys and
Fox-hunters, and a rabble of Scotch Highlanders.

There was little glamour about the affair. The Pretender deserted
rather than inspired his supporters; his landing only envenomed public
opinion against the Preston prisoners, and effaced nothing. There was
no spirited "dying cause" atmosphere. Only one chronicler of it the
1. History of the late Rebellion 1717
2. Countess Cowper's Diary.
3. A View of the Scots Rebellion 1715
4. The Free-holder
King's evidence turn-coat, Patten, gives admiring sketches of some of the young Highland chiefs, and suggests valiant adventure. The London mob worked up a sentimental feeling about several of the handsome prisoners like Bissett and Basil Hamilton, and unexpectedly the dour Mackintosh of Bollum was popular enough to have ballads spun round him. But the rebellion on the whole was regarded prosaically.

A bungled and chaotic affair it was, and brief. Mar gathered his forces in August, Northumberland and the Borders rose in September and October. In November Preston and Sherifmuir were fought, and by December the prisoners were being filed through London. In the first week of January the Pretender landed to strut his little hour of proclamations and huzzas. He and Mar were in flight within a month. The hunting down of the clans, and the trials dragged from February to May. The Public Thanksgiving was held in June. One year covers it all. The London Gazette's mention runs from July, 1715, to June 1716.

To judge from the press of the day, the rebellion passed in a noisy confusion of rumours and chaotic feeling. No one could calculate the extent of Jacobite disaffection and no two agreed on the strength of the clans. It is ludicrous to find the Postmaster of Scotland recking the rebels at 2500, while Defoe estimates "23,000 rebellious". The Highlander in arms was an unknown quantity. "Two things are much the Inquiry of Out People", wrote Defoe, "what these Highlanders are and what their numbers be." - "Nothing is more extravagantly remote than the accounts of this Matter are from Truth and from one another, one side magnifying and the other side undervaluing the Highlanders and the power they may be supposed to raise."

Further, the rising in the Highlands was reported belatedly, (news commonly took six days to come through) and with the usual vagueness of place. Mar's hunting at Aboyne, the "disputing some passes near Inverness", the camp at Stirling", "the design on Edinburgh Castle"- these are the most definite references; and are followed by "the clans are run to the mountains", or "retire to their Hills and Woods". The Lowland rising was described too with difficulty: "Moffat, which is a mountainous country" and so on.

This vagueness extended to the leaders of the rebels themselves. Mar's letters show that, "I know so little of the Situation of your Affairs" he wrote Kenmure, and to Forster:- "In the ignorance I am in of your Affairs beasoup the River".

Add to this confusion, the revulsions of feeling. The London mob, thanks to both Whig and Tory propagandas, dreaded the Highlander. Defoe wrote of many "so terrified and alarmed at these Highlanders, as if they were all Giants of the Sons of Man, the most terrible Fowls in the World". Addison had the same jibes. "The rabble were instructed to look upon them as so many Giants and Saracens" Londoners in consequence must have pictured a wild swarming of ferocious and enthusiastic Highlanders to Mar's standards.

Yet a bare three weeks after the report of the Aboyne gathering, the London press made a brilliant "scoop", by printing an intercepted letter from Mar to his Bailiff at Kilbrannan. They published first Mar's reounding proclamation, then as an epilogue coda the private letter:-
"Jocke, Ye was in the right not to come with the 100 men ye sent up to-night, when I expected 4 times the number; it is a pretty thing that my men should be only refractory; is not this the thing we are about which they have been wishing these 26 years, and now when it is come and the King and country's cause at stake, will they for ever sit still and see all perish? I have used gentle means too long—If they come not forth with their best Arms, I will send a Party immediately to burn what they shall miss taking, and they may believe this not only a Threat, but by all that's sacred I'll put it into execution."

English dread of the fire-eating clansmen must have vanished for a while in laughter.

The news of the rebellion over the defeat of the rebels is seen by the reception given the prisoners in London. "The Mob insulted them terribly," wrote Lady Cowper in her diary. "Memorably big crowds turned out to jeer derisively. "Bathing some circumstances of pomp and magnificence, it revived the idea of the triumph of ancient Rome," said Gladstone, complacently. But a month later, the Pretender arrived. Fear and anger sprang up once more. The prisoners were more bitterly proceeded against. Another month later, and again a boulevirement, when the Pretender's flight signalled the end of Jacobite hopes.

Drury Lane's roof shook to the applause of "The Cobler of Preston". "Not a Word that was loyal but what met with the greatest Acclamations," entered Lady Cowper.

One great drawback to finding unvarnished English opinion is the fact that the newspapers dared not comment as they would. The London Gazette stuffer itself out with loyal addresses and proclamations. The "reg" type of paper like "Robin's Last Shift", which attacked impudent remarks to its snippets of news, confined itself to "this is very good news". The papers had frankly to admit, moreover, that they were unable to sift truth from rumour. "The Historical and Monthly Mercury" would say—"As our Accounts from Scotland are very imperfect, we shall forebear any remarks thereupon till we are better informed", or "Our Accounts from Edinburgh are so imperfect and generally so false", lesser papers constantly have—"We can't give a true Account of it".

It is worth following one or two papers in their reporting of the rebellion.

The London Gazette could give no definite news of the outbreak of the rising until its issue of September 13-17. Previous to that, the worst accounts come from Brussels. Then letters from Dundee and Perth, Stirling, Edinburgh and Berwick report the rebels' movements briefly. Now and again the ill deeds of the Highlanders are written up—the plundering of villages and "horrid outrages". "They begin to show the benefits that attend a Popish and arbitrary Government". But their condition and strength was decreed as early as October. Highland prisoners are "poor, miserable wretches". "They appear to be exceedingly dispirited and their number daily less by desertion". Further report of desertion of "part of the Highland Foot" follows, and the entry into England of the rest "with great precipitation and disorder"—"extremely fatigued and but indifferently armed".
Sheriffmuir had a verbatim report from Stirling, and an Edinburgh express that "the dragoons drove the rebels before them with great slaughter for two miles." Colonel Harrison sent south from the field a report to Whistall, and that was published.

The Preston victory had, of course, detailed description. (At this point the Thig press made great play with lampoons and prints of a Jacobite "guign", or instrument of torture.) The Pretender's short appearance was less remarked on than one would expect, and his flight dealt with half-facetiously.

Curiously enough, with the dispersal of the clans, the reports from the Highlands became much more detailed and definite. The clans are distinguished, and Godden's march even mapped out: "by the blaze of patho in Balnach and from thence into Glengarry's and Clan Donald's Country"—with mention of "Capuch's men", the "Macdonalds in the Islands", the "Cambrons". Probably news-writers were with the forces and new-running safe.

By the beginning of May, the rebels are subdued and after mention of the Public Thanksgiving news of the rebellion, and of Scotland petered out in the Gazette.

That paper was temperate and typical in its reporting. The "Historical and Monthly Mercury was more vehement over "the horrid Designs of the Conspirators", but is "this new Luxenburgh"; "they have had the insolence to proclaim the Pretender"—"that rebellious Solemnity the Coronation". It was exultant over Preston: - "Thus this great Rebellion was quashed in a Moment".

It is inaccurate, of course, to talk of "English opinion" on the affair. There was French opinion, and it was alike on both sides of the Borders; and so with Jacobite. No national discredit fell in any large measure to Jacobitism, other than on the Highlanders, and even then there was the fact that the largest clan and the greatest chief, Argyle, were for the Government, split attack. Edinburgh forms its loyal associations within a few weeks of the news, and one declaration referred to "a Pretender educated in all the Sactims of Popish Bigotry and French tyranny, comes against us with an army of Irish cut-throats"—assurances of loyalty come as chic from the north as from the south if Whig England was alarmed, so was Scotland. Argyle had sent a "very terrible account" wrote the Duchess of Marlborough, and Lord Cowper in a letter to the King at the start, "has to reassure him that "the Scotch magnify their danger something".

Certainly the fact that Jacobitism was stronger in Scotland and the rebellion lasted longer there, counted against the country. But Jacobitism, not the Highlander was the chief foe. The two plays staged for their popular anti-rebellion frolics, "The Non-Juror", and "The Cobler of Preston" satirized English Jacobites, not Scottish. In the scores of sermons preached on the rebellion, and sermons were the biggest crop in rebellion literature) Jacobite politics and the Roman Catholic menace are the points harped on.

At certain times, there were national rifts in these party amalgamations. The Scots and English Jacobites pulled badly together when they joined company in England. Quarrels broke out in camp before Preston
The Scots forces had the stigma of the Highland desertions against
their name; the English had the meagreness of their numbers. "The Sec-
ret History of the Rebels in Newgate" avers "The Scots Prisoners in
particular damn'd the English Tories for a Pack of deceitful, coward-
ly Dogs, whom they would never trust any more". The end of the rebe-
liion found English Jacobitism a weaker force, and decidedly less in
co-operation with Scottish Jacobitism.
These were not serious national cleavages, however, and at no point
was Scotland made the isolated target of blame for the rebellion.

No satiric onslaught occurred, as when the Scots army marched into
England in 1641. Satire fell on individuals, like Pretender, Mar, Bol-
ingbrooke, Forster, Mackintosh, and it was scanty and very poor.
From the greatest authors, the affair drew little of value. Swift, in
Ireland, ignored it. Addison and Steele both ran propagandist news-
sheets against it, but the former gives the impression of being out of
his element at the task, the latter of disliking it heartily—and
both papers are consequently third-rate.
Addison's "Free-holder" ran for 58 numbers, from December 1713-June
1714, and its circulation extended to Scotland. Its first number an-
nounced, "While many of my gallant countrymen are employed in pursu-
ing rebels—I shall labour to improve those victories, to the good
of my fellow-subjects by carrying on our successes over the minds
of men"; and its first piece of propaganda was to extol the Act for
the commutation for money the vassal service in the Highlands:—"the
King is not willing to have a single slave in his dominions".
In subsequent numbers, Addison offered alternately serious argument
and facetious quips, sometimes on the same topic as when he laughs
at the mob's dread of the Highlander—"very much surprised to find
that every one of them had not with his broadsword—moved down at
least a squadron of the King's forces"; yet creates a bogey as great
five numbers later:—"Should such a fierce and rapacious host of men
as that which is now in the Highlands fall down into our Country,
how would their march be distinguished by revenge and devastation!"
More effective were the mild satires at the rebels' expense:—the "Men-
coirs of one of our late Preston heroes", (from the point when "we
unanimously agreed to rebel first and to find out reasons for it
afterwards".) and the "History of the Pretender's reign digested into
annals", which ends ironically this year, containing the battles
which he fought in Scotland and the towns which he took."
In only one number does he give, or purport to give rather, a contribu-
tion from Scotland, by retailing "a very remarkable vision of a
Highland bear—second-sighted Samson", "a tale transmitted to me by a
student at Glasgow". It is a ferocious "guying". Samson, "going out
one morning very early to steal a sheep"—is "seized on the sudden
with a fit of second-sight". In it he sees "the Temple of rebellion
with a Standard streaming in the northern wind, and embroidered
with a mixture of thistles and flower-de-luces." Allured by the sound of
pipes, he joins the army of these building this temple of ice-sees i
its Gate of Perjury, and its courtyard statue of "Adonis, in the garb
of a Highlander". But slowly the "Sun of Religion, Loyalty, Valour
1. Sept: 1716

2. Jan: 1716.
risks, and the whole melts away. It was a neat though hackneyed little sermon, but far below Addison's level.

The same must be said of Steele's writing. Steele had shown in the "Crisis" a pro-Scott bias, and after the '15 was suspected of favouring too much lenity to the rebels. But during it, he was safely embusqué. On the outbreak, he issued "A Letter from the Earl of Mar to the King", with a commentary exposing Mar's hypocrisy in avowing loyalty to George, while intriguing with the Pretender.

In January, he began issuing a weekly "Town Talk, in a Series of Letters to a Lady in the Country", and into it inserted further articles against the Pretender and those "deluded Zealots", the now imprisoned rebels. But Steele has nothing distinctive to say. The '15 is to him "an undisciplined Multitude and an insolent Invader", and his "British Subject's Answer to the Pretender's Declaration" is vigorous but commonplace. His work, such as it was, was rewarded in June by his appointment as one of Seven Commissioners on the Forfeited Estates.

Defoe's work was far more valuable, and was huge in bulk. To the '15 year alone, belong twenty-nine to thirty pamphlets, some twenty of them almost certainly his, and dealing with every phase of affairs. "Treason Detected"—"A Letter from a Country Whig"—"The Fears of the Pretender turned into the Fears of Debauchery"—"The Second-sighted Highlander"—"Bold Advice, or Proposals for the Entire Rooting-out of Jacobism in Great Britain"—"A View of the Scots Rebellion"—"The Traitorous and Foolish Manifesto of the Scots Rebels"—"A Trumpet blown in the North"—"A True Account of the Proceedings at Perth"—(the list, like the titles, has to be shortened).

Some of these are tub-thumping addresses for the mob, but a pamphlet such as "A View of the Scots Rebellion" was meant as an authoritative tract, and was evidently found so, as part of it was reprinted in Dublin as "An Historical Account of the Highlanders, describing their Country, Division into Clans, Manner of Living and Fighting, their Habit, Arms and Government under their Lairds— with some Enquiries, that we have to fear from them, and what is the properest Method to take with them". The preface to it gives a glimpse of Londoners at the outbreak of the rebellion: "Our eyes are at this time wholly turn'd upon Scotland, and the Discourse of the Town is so engrossed by the daily accounts of the desperate resolution of the Highland Clans—that scarce anything else is talked of." But they know nothing of their enemy. Defoe therefore sketches the Highlanders and their clan system: "Rude and barbarous"—knowing "no law or government but the absolute will of their chief"—"this patriarchal tyranny". He tells of their manner of life in their villages—"thin and remote from one another", their hunting and clan-fights. "They are the best undisciplined Soldiers that can be in the World", and he describes their mode of attack and success at "Silly's Cronkey". A very detailed explanation of their dress is given, the uses the plaid can be put to, the fittingness of all the accessories—a novel explanation. He praises their physique, but rates their character low: "Rather desperate than bold, and rather furious than courageous; they have one temper—that they are merciless barbarous and bloody; no generous pity, no true gallantry of mind, appear,
1. 1716
2 ascribed to the master of Sinclair.
3 "An Acct of the battle of Shiriffmure by a Highlandman who made his escape"
4 Sept 1715
5 1716
6 quoted S H Ware's State of Parties in Lancashire
among them. The meaner sort "may well be stiled wild men, for they set the brutal foot to Perfection, being voracious, cruel, insolent and unmerciful in their Prosperity, and basely servile or sullen if they are subdued.

Before ends with a depreciation of their outmoded way of attack, and an estimate of their numbers in the field, 10,000-12,000. "And shall these terrific a whole Nation?" He suggests three lines of military barrier be drawn across Scotland, the Highlanders hemmed within them, and reduced by starvation.

It is a confidently-written little tract, that one might ascribe to some veteran who had fought the Highlander, were it not obviously penned to soothe Whig fears by taking as text: - "The Ancient Terror of these Highlanders is entirely vanished". And Defoe, who knew better, harps constantly on the barbarity of the people.

This pamphlet, however, and the anonymous "Account of the Loch Lomond Expedition" are unique in their vivid "front-line" touches about the Highlanders.

The clans, as has been said, were partly dreaded, partly hated for their dissipation and the grip of "Popery" on them, partly pitied for the tyranny they endured as vassals. But their share in the rebellion won them no popular admiration, such as the novelists have since given them. Their desertions were too well-known, their sacking and burning and levying of taxes ... for valour in battle, even fellow-Scots allowed them none: - "I was ever of opinion that two lines of Highlandmen were a feast", wrote one leader, arguing that if the first line was beaten, the second fled, if the first victorious, the second broke to plunder. War admitted the same. It was borne out by Sheriffmuir, which was turned to ridicule almost at once, not only in broadsides in verse, but in prose memorials of the Highlander. "Then her Main Bell was pidden gang to Mar's army, she was tald tat to Business was well-contrived, tatt tere was nae doubt of setting King Sheems on to trane", begins one of these.

That the clan Campbell was loyal counted little, since Argyll was disliked.

So England feared wholeheartedly at the Highlanders: - "the most half-naked, Brauny Pagans", according to the writer of a "Letter from a Quaker"; "the Pagans who descended from the high Mountains of Scotland and played the Devil under Command of the Mackintosh, who may be compared to Bealestub, the God of Phcen".

Mackintosh was made scapegoat on other attacks; the "Cobler of Preston" opened the play of that name with a shout of "Huzza, huzza! Mackintosh, a Mackintosh, there is something now so courageous as it were in the very sound of his Name. You are sure he wears whiskers, as soon as you hear him mentioned. Yet he enjoyed a sort of illicit Whig popularity, too, this dour Scot with his "brood Scotch" tongue, and his escape from prison was celebrated by "Brigadier Mackintosh's Farewell to the Highlanders", which goes to the sentiment of:

Mackintosh is a valiant Soldier,
he carried a musket on his shoulder,
both 1716
Cock your Pistols, draw your rapier,  
demn you, Poster, for you're a traitor."

The chief satire of the Highlander and the '15 is in a couple of  
"tragi-comical" farces, The Earl of Mar Harr'd, with the Humours of  
Jockey the Highlander", and "The Pretender's Flight"; or a Knock-Coron- 
ation, with the Humours of the Facetious Harry St John".  

These are both off the type on unsated political comedy, and are titled  
as by Mr Philips. (An advertisement of "The Maid's the Mistress" as- 
scribes them to Dr Sevell.)  

Both are extraordinary concoctions, meant evidently to be taken ser- 
iously, since the rally to "Honour, Liberty and George" is well-under- 
lined, but presenting a ludicrous jumble of characters and things Sc- 
ottish. "The Earl of Mar Harr'd" introduces all the Scots leaders, Mar,  
Hamilton, Gordon, Taliebardine, Mackintosh, "Earl Marshal", with twenty of  
Mar's vassals, a "Company of Highland Lads and Lasses", Jounee, Jemmy,  
Peggy, Sunny, Harry, etc, a Wizard with second-sight, a Scotch Parson and  
the Highland army!  

It purports to trace events from Mar's proclamation to his capture  
and execution after a battle unnamed. There is no plot, only a series  
of scenes:—the proclamation, with a protesting Provost ordered to death- 
the Highland Lads and Lasses taking sides—the quarrels among Scots lords  
in camp—a scene in the "Baillieship of Kilrumpie" with "Jocke" and  
an Englishman, Standfast, trying to each to gain the people to his side—  
a mountainous part of Scotland, and two Scots officers consulting a  
wizard of the hills—a scene before battle, Hamilton urging that false  
reports of victory be substituted for the news of defeat in the south—  
another, showing Sauny deserting to the victorious Argyle—and a final  
one, Mar and Hamilton, beaten, are led off to execution, with priests in  
attendance. 

The prologue introduced the play flippantly, with talk of:—  

Tall Highlanders—ah, Ladies! Lusty Fellows,  
Tis pity Men like these deserve the Gallows!—  

but the main characters of Mar and Hamilton are presented with all  
the frightfulness Philips can command. The wizard sees Mar in his vis- 
ions, as Deformity:— and  

Hypocrisy sat smiling on its Brow,  
While Guilt a fair reflecting mirror held—  
It tore a heap of Monuments and Acts,  
That witness'd foul Corruption, broken Vows  

and endless Perjuries of Bankrupt Conscience."  

Hamilton is equally villainous:—  
Don't talk of Conscience, Friend?  
Where hast thou learnt that damn'd Fanatick Cant?"  

and inhuman:—  
I would have chopped your Barons, Earls and Dukes,  
Dipped out their Hearts and toss'd them in the air,  
The Sport of Children; and your common Bands  
Should have been burnt.—  

Floods of earnest declamation are poured over them finally:—  
When for just George, victorious Argyle draws,  
And Britains fight for Liberty and Laws.  

(sic)
Mixed with this are scenes of buffoonery with the Highland "clowns," who are merely the stock Scots rogues, as knavish in their loyalty as in their talk. The dialect is more added than usual, in an effort to mimic the Highland accent: "That be Sir Robert Gordon, we're ganging twenty Neil without! Shoon to know—can I tel at last?" But some of the hits are fresh, as Sauny's reckoning of the rebel forces as "Aw the looks o' the Highlands! 100 Men of one name, aw very big and tall, but the deil a Shirt or a shoe among aw the Company!"; or Peggy's "Ien ye Maister Hamilton o' Glengardin, he's 14th Cousin to Maister Hamilton o' Castleton, who's within nine kindred o' Laird Hamil-
ton of Dalnacoba, who's fourth Cousin to Colonel Hamilton o'Tallicboch, who's i'the first Degree to General Hamilton that fecht i' Flanders, an' this Hamilton o' Glengardin said to me ten days ago!"

Mid-way between the serious and the farcical is the Wizard. MacKlean and Wilson go to him half-jestingly, but the seer is meant to be taken as serious and quite solemn figure, with his four visions, foretelling the rebellion and its failure. He appears with strange talk: "Last night the Moon looked Bule, I slept but little, and some imperfect Shadow skimm'd before my Eyes. At one precisely, I took my stand upon the Highest Part of all the Mountain, and there I viewed the Moon again. Thousands of bloody Drops stain'd her fair suface Light"—etc. But as the dramatist is unclear about second sight, his seer speaks in some confusion of "Nightly, Glances", and things seen in "Morning Slumber" and he has sudden Macbeth-like starts of "Ha! Sol—What again!" He makes his exit with:

This day, some Brother Wizards of the Hills, Meet to compare their Visions at my cell.

but reappears as the half-comic speaker of the epilogue:

But we, with sober Draughts of Cruel fed, No wild illusion of the Senses drea'd— Had Praytor Mars been bless'd, with Second Sight, He ne'er had ventur'd with Argyle to Fight.

It is absurd to regard the part very seriously, for Philips or Sexell probably borrowed the suggestion and details from Defoe's "Second-sighted Highlander". Yet it has been described fairly fully, since it is the first sign of the popular pre-occupation with Second-sight entering the drama. Curiously, it was not imitated there until Cumber-
land's period, a half-century later, when "Duncan, a Scottish Seer" enters tragic drama.

The sequel to the "Earl of Mar Marr'd" followed close on the events it dealt with, the Pretender's flight. This force is a sorrier affair than the first. The butts of it are the Pretender and Bolingbroke, but labels about these running short, the three acts have to be pad-
ded out with the amours of two French nuns and their abuse of Scot-
land. There is even less plot than before. The same characters are portrayed, Hamilton, reviling the Pretender because of his pusillan-
minity, Mar ready to desert, MacKenzie and Wilson, now married and penni-
less and with the jail in prospect. Only M'Grishal remains faithful. The Pretender is scoffed at from the Prologue on:

"Double, himse'f, fantastica, Thing, A real Coxcomb but a would-be King."
1. Freholden.

2 Reflections on the Conduct of the Present Administration——by W.B. 1716

3 History of the Pesss-Yard——77
In a Council-room scene, he alienates his Lord by fearing to take oath lest he offend the Pope, and Hamilton throws off allegiance to "The puny, puiling Wretch, a Priest-rid Boy". Great play had been made of the youth's weeping over the evacuation of Perth: in the play this is of course exaggerated and tears constant, his final weeping being over a vision in which his father chanced to appear to him with the warning: "O fly, my Child, from fatal Scotland fly!".

Bolingbroke, meanwhile, is sketched as libertine and hypocrite, with one oration on the revival of Scotland's glories, but with more of "dalliance and fair language" to the nuns. The part of loyalist and general moraliser is given again to an English soldier, Captain Smith, who caps a Jacobite song with a Hanoverian, adds ironic sotto voce to a long speech of the Pretender, wins the hand of a loyal Scots lady, Laetitia, and appendes the pious wish: --

"May all Politicks that come from Rome
Fall like this last, and meet an equal doom."

Neither play is more than a thing of shreds and patches, a rough dramatisation of news-sheet and coffee-house joke. But they have this value, that they do give the popular hotch-potch conception of the Scottish side of the rebellion, a conception of course as foolishly untrue as, say, the medley of bugle-calls, marching songs, and cannon-fire that a brass-band presents as "a day in the life of a soldier".

Legitimate comedy paid no attention to Scotland, even when in the "Non-Juror" the English side of the rebellion was well-satirised. Charles, the reformed Jacobite youth, was identified in the "Key" as son to "the Duke of A----L", but there is no proof.

"The Cobbler of Preston" has no Scottish jibes beyond those at Mackintosh and the Pretender. This lack of stage satire is surprising, since Addison laughed over "the whole neighbourhood of Drury Lane Theatre very often shakes with the loyalty of the audience". One reason possibly was the strong undercurrent of Jacobite sympathy. It showed in the feeling for clemency in punishing the prisoners. As one indignant Whig wrote: "Then first the Rebellion was quelled, and the Gentlemen Prisoners expected to have suffered to a Man, we all know what a mighty Clamour for Mercy was then raised". There was furious paper warfare on the topic. Only six of all the prisoners led through London were hanged, and the jailings in Newgate, the visits and "wire-pulling" of those in high office, and the pardons and escapes were a public scandal. So not only was anti-rebellion satire modified, but there was even a circulation of Jacobite poems and songs. Newgate prisons "got a poor Fiddler into the Yard, and made him play Tunes adapted to their Reasonable Bailpint", and among the latter was no doubt that jotted down by Marne five years before: "He's o'er the seas and for ever!". After the executions, the Tory press tried to rouse public indignation by tracts like the "Letter from a Gentleman in Preston" to his Friend in the King's Camp at Perth", which eulogises the four Scots officers executed after Preston. Other appeals were of the type of:
1 To Mr Wm Thomas by R.W.
2 1716
3 March 1716
4 1716
5 1717
6 1716
7 1716
"Tree-born Britons, since a Tyrant reigns,
assert your Liberty, shake off your chains."--

Yet naturally the bulk of current and subsequent comment on the '15 was anti-Jacobite. There were amusing lampoons, like the "Letter from Mr Forster to his Grace, the Earl of Mar", and bitter ones like the "Dialogue between a Whig and a Jacobite upon the late rebellion".

Inverse, Tickell wrote derisive little skit: "An Imitation of the Prophecy of Hercules", picturing Mar met on "Perth's bleak hills" by an aged wizard six feet high,

who foretells the defeat of the rebellion:

He praises the pro-Hanoverian chiefs, Sutherland, Islay, Athol, Argyle—

Three means thy Jenny shall command,

With Highland sceptre in his hand,

Too good for his pretended birth,

Then down shall fall this King of Perth.

Another of his poems, "An Epistle from a Lady in England to a Gentleman at Avignon" uses an Addisonian irony to laugh out of court the female enthusiasm for the Pretender's cause; but he ends on the serious note of:

Since Heaven appoints this favour'd race to reign,

And blood had drenched the Scottish fields in vain,—

Prostrate before the victor's mercy bend.

Cottle was an equally loyal versifier—in his "Rebellion Display'd—an Heroic Poem". Most of that was conventional and dull:

Those rebellious Band late rose in arms,

And where but in Britannia's gloomy North,

From Rome and Hell this hideous Cloud broke forth.—

The Highlanders were "the Caledonian Outlaws"—

That branded Slave-born Race, those Mountain Herds,

Of blind Devotes to their Commanding Lairds—

Rowe has much the same language in his "Ode for the New Year", and the poems that celebrated Argyle's victorious return to London are full of "the rugged Rebels of the North"—"the perjured Ruffians of the Highlanders" or

The Picts untamed, pugnacious and strong,

Always a stubborn and rapacious throng—

Yet naturally the bulk of current and subsequent comment on the '15 was anti-Jacobite. There were amusing lampoons, like the "Letter from Mr Forster to his Grace, the Earl of Mar", and bitter ones like the "Dialogue between a Whig and a Jacobite upon the late rebellion".
1. no date.
2. 1716
5. 1717
One question remains: Did the '15 effect any change in the relations between England and Scotland that reacted on literature? Was there for instance any residue of romance to bring Scotland more vividly into English consciousness? Or was there dislike, alienation?

So far as one can judge, the '15 was not felt peculiarly enough Scottish to effect any change in England's attitude. Once the rising was quelled, news of Scotland lapsed.

The one exception was the Highlands. England had discussed them, feared them, suffered from them, satirized them. The '15 made them the most pressing domestic problem. As soon as warfare ended, the business of trials and forfeited estates and Highland settlement occupied statesmen and lawyers. A group of tracts appeared, such as the "Memorial respecting the true State of the Highlands" ascribed to Duncan Forbes of Culloden, and the "Memoir regarding the State of the Highlands" ascribed to Lord Lovat.

Both of these list the evils of Highland ways and life, and urge the abolition of the heritable jurisdictions, the extension of schools, and the encouragement of trade. The second writer (very doubtfully Lovat) gives, he says, "all manner of fact"; "I was born and bred in the Highlands, and have lived there most of my time"; and he goes further in the exposing of Highland conditions.

England, therefore, made one gain from the rebellion, a wider knowledge of the Highlander. The best and the worst were said. Far in his diary found only one fault with them. The Master of Sinclair had fought with them and abhorred them: "What does an Iroquois, a Huguenot, a Laplander, a Scots Western Highlander, yes, a Highlandman think of? is it not hunting, fishing, stealing, plundering and revengeing themselves? A horse is one animal who thinks of eating, drinking, sleeping, running and returning to his stable. You need not add much to it to form that of a Highlandman"—and so on.

Incidentally, another gain in information came by way of the squabbling over clemency for the prisoners. The more violent Whigs fulminated against showing mercy, arguing that none was shown in the Scottish persecutions of thirty and forty years before. In support of that, several tracts brought to light these earlier events, stressing, as in the "Dialogue between a Whig and a Jacobite" the details of cruelty and oppression.

But as to a romantic view of the north being born of the rebellion, there is no sound case. Romance requires a kindly distance and detachment, and the times gave neither.

The Jacobite press naturally depicted as movingly as possible the fate of Hamish and Lochhart and their fellow-sufferers after Preston, and "wrote up" the Pretender in the vein of: "The Chevalier has a peculiar sweetness of temper." The author of "History of the Press yard," it was complained, had "strained his wits to make some of them pass for Heroes, and others of 'em for Saints."

The impartial surveys, or attempts at such—that begin with a group of histories of the rebellion, published in 1718, 1717, show romantic touches. Better, the Jacobite who had gone through the rebellion, and turned King's evidence, recalls in his History how Lord Hamish's son "always went with them (his Highlanders) on foot, through the Worst and Deepest Way, and in his Highland dress," and how Lord Charles Murray
did likewise, at the head of his regiment. He emphasises that "the Highlanders in Scotland are of all men in the World the soonest brought upon to follow their Leaders or Chiefs into the Field, having a wonderful Veneration for their Lords and Chieftains." He inserts the Earl of Mar's "Journal", with its "I believe it will be found that no Nation in our Circumstances, or so destitute of all kind of succour from Abroad, ever made so brave a Struggle for restoring their Prince and Country to their just Rights". These are small and random points, yet wittingly or unwittingly Paten's marshalling of them does rouse a feeling of romantic venture.

Peter Rae's "History of the Late Rebellion" another "his account- selected from a news-sheet the first of what one might call "the Scott touches", for he writes: "It was told by some of the Rebels, Try'd at Liverpool, that they were forced into that Service by a Cross-Stick, commonly called a Fiery Cross, with Blood on one end and Fire on the other; the Person that carry'd it from House to House assuring them that unless they repair'd immediately to Mar's Camp, that was to be their Fate". (1718)

But whether contemporaries thought these touches romantic is very doubtful. It was ten years later before Lockhart has his phrase about the Highlanders being "the only remains of the true old Scots blood and spirit", and he cancels that seeming praise by calling them "a cunning, subtle race."
CHAPTER 13. The Renasence of Scots Verse.

a. 1. Revival: double stimuli and divergent 'pull'.
   II. Ramsay as determinant.
   III. His work: its English and Scottish sides.
   IV. His contemporaries and contemporary Edinburgh.
   V. The cult of the 'ancient' and the 'patriotic'.
   VI. The scope of Renasence-English recognition.
   VII. Reception of Ramsay's work in England—his 'placing'.

b. I. The Scots 'plantation' in London: artists, publishers, journalists etc.
   II. The influx of the poets: Thomson, Mitchell, Mallet.
1. The younger Dr Pennicuik—Preface to 1721 volume.
2. Edward Young:—verses in "Lugubres Cantus" 1719.
3. Hume:—preface to 1720 Miscellany.
4. The younger Dr Pennicuik—"Poems": "Streams from Helicon" 1721

5. Henry Guthrie's "Memoirs of Scotch Affairs" 1637-49.

Thomas Crawford's "Notes and Observations on Buchanan's History of Scotland." 1708

7. George Cockhart's "Memoirs concerning the Affairs of Scotland" 1714.

David Crawford's "Memoirs of Affairs of Scotland." 1709.

7. Sibbald's "Account of Writers Ancient and Modern who deal with Scotland" 1710.

Mackenzie's "Lives and Characters of the Most Eminent Writers of the Scottish Nation." 1708-1711.

P. Abercromby's "Martial Achievements of the Scots Nation." 1711


The Renaissance of Scots Poetry— and Allan Ramsay.

1.

In any renaissance it is difficult to trace the embryo. In this of Scots verse, it is especially so. At one point, the first years of the century, there seems only a chaos of Latin, English, Scots and Scots-English verse, that promises everything or nothing. Yet within a dozen years the chaos is resolving itself, and there are excited hails of

Now Heaven shines and we in Arts advance—

and

Edina's Bards begin to raise their Head.—

and

Our Youth—begin of late to show a noble genius.

Poetry in our native country—now rises from her Rubbish

In between, roughly from 1707-1715, comes an amazing confusion and profusion of effort. The country is still too agitated by Union sequels and exacerbated by England for creative work to be fostered; but emulously the nationalists are busied with Scots history and memoirs (as for example Bishop Guthrie, George and Thomas and David Crawford), with Scots biography, as Sibbald, MacKenzie and Abercomby, with reprinting the older Scots writers, Lyndsay in 1709, 12, 16, Douglas in 1710, Drummond of Hawthornden in 1711, Buchanan in 1715, Wallace and Bruce in 1714 and 1715, and with gathering in miscellany form ancient and modern Scots poetry in Watson's Collections of 1706, 1709, 1711.

English periodicals, the Review, Tatler, Spectator, Examiner are circulating in Scotland, some of them reprinted there. Scots are launching a Northern Tatler, and an Edinburgh Gazette to parallel the London and the Dublin Gazettes. The first literary clubs are starting. An Edinburgh society is developing rapidly, and beginning to take stock of itself.

In the "stour" of this, the Scots poets are at work, the elder Alexander Pennicuik, from 1682 on, Hamilton of Gilbertfield from 1706, Robertson of Struan before 1713, the younger Alexander Pennicuik, Joseph Mitchell, Robert Smith of Glenshee by 1714, and James Thomson engaged on school-boy verses, and Ramsay, the greatest name, discovering his Muse was "neither sweet nor doury".

As yet nothing could have been prophesied with certainty of their work. The same poet will show good and bad, English and Scots-English verse, slavish imitation and a healthy dash of independence. The elder Pennicuik writes in a mixture of the two languages, sings "auld Reekie", pens verses on and to Scots notabilities, and yet can compose an elegy in most conventional English. Hamilton of Gilbertfield has the talent to write "The Last Dying Words of Bonny Heck", and "Willie was a Wanton Wag", and the mystery of writing nothing else of value until his epistles to Ramsay in 1719. Mitchell is busy over a correct English pastoral
Thomson is writing pastorals too, "Thysis and Corydon," and the like, and some laboured descriptive verse, "Morning in the Country." Robertson of Struan writes circumspect English 'addresses,' and lyrics and pastorals 'To Celestia,' 'To Strephon.' (No sign yet of Scott's favourite quotation:

For cruel love has gartan'd low my leg,
And clad my hordies in a philabeg.)

This inchoation has its obvious cause. Thanks to the closer touch between the two countries, there is pouring in from the south the stimulus of a flourishing English literature, a polished drama, elegant verse, urbane and witty essays,—the whole a revelation to the apprentice north.

Yet the north itself is alive and astir, keenly cherishing its own literary work, beginning to feel its own power to create. Once before a like impact of English literature on Scotland had occurred, when the work of Sidney and the Elizabethan sonneteers and lyrists had moved to enthusiasm James VI's court. Then it had created no problem; the court poets transplanted to England had forthrightly put aside Scots poetry and set themselves to the assiduous imitation of English. That solution was impossible now.

The stormy record of English and Scottish relations had left Scotland—and Edinburgh in particular—to play sedulous ape to England, even in literature. The feeling was—'Excellent model—but can we not do as well?' "It is but reasonable we should have our turn of Writing and Ensuring as well as others," as the Macstaff Tatler's correspondent put it.

Consequently there was clash between the two enthusiasms, and for the poets a 'rugging' in different directions. The pull of the Scots tradition was strong. Already the distinctive forms and topics and style of the native verse-craft had been reappearing. Cleland had early struck the Burns note of We'll sing auld Coila's plains and fells when he declared

No Muses' help I will implore
For I was ne'er at Lesbos shore—
My feet ne'er filed that brooky hill
Where ancient poets drank their fill—

and turned to the "Vertue, Sonce and Pith"
In Innan and the water of Nith
Which quietly slips by Dumfries—

The younger Pennicuik, welcoming his namesake in a paean on Scotland's past poets, showed that glowing pride in his land's 'makars' that is Dunbar's and Burns'.

Seraphick Songs flow from Buchannan's Cuill
Too great for Man, almost for Angels' Skill.
The Admired Drummond dropt celestial Lines
Of Wit in which a Boundless Fancy shines.
Immortal Douglas in his Hermit Cell
Drunk with the Streams of Heliconian Well,
1. Cleland's "Effigies Clericurum".
2. Younger Dr Pennicuik in verses in elder Pennicuik's "Description of Tweedale"-1715.
3. "Peter Many's Obligation--" "Truth's Travels"-by Peter Many.
4. Preface to "Description of Tweedale"
5. "The Highland Host" Cleland.
6. Cleland.
7. in "The Tatler" by Donald Macstaff of the North. Number 2.1711.

8. Prefatory dedication to poems.1715.
9. "Epistle to Hill".
The elder Pennicuik had written a rough verse-tale or two of cottar life, like "The Mock Marriage of Cantwalls", a 'flyting', that Scots amusement that had never gone out of fashion, and had resuscitated two older Scots poems by 'Peter Many'. He had defended, too, the use of the vernacular: "Nor have I, my Lord," he writes in the preface to his poems, "affected altogether the English idiom. I love not pedantry, nor do I reckon that Dialect preferable to our own".

In that same vernacular, the old attractive forms like the bob-wheel were being resuscitated, and excellent matter written: the "Habbie Simon" and "Sanny Briggs" elegies could hold their own with anything of Ramsay's in that vein. And those little idiosyncrasies of topic and style, that the reader recognizes in Ferguson, Burns and claims as peculiarly Scottish—the facetious elegy, for example, the 'last words' animal poem, the liking for a helter-skelter ranting

Some with snapping, some with bowes,
Were charging troops of Toops and Ewes
Trumpets sounded: Skeens were glancing,
Some were Donald Cowper dancing—
or the sketching of a face in a bare line—:
With this rose up a good old Jannie,
A pluffie-cheek'd red-Beaded Mannie—
native touches, all of them, were in evidence.

For the young poet, this living expressive speech was his own, and at his command, while English was a matter of laborious acquisition. (As Hepburn had argued earnestly, Latin and Greek were painstakingly learnt, then why not English?)

As further pull towards the Scots tradition was the infectious nationalist zeal of the elder Scots writers and scholars, and the stimulus of the vernacular poetry Watson was publishing. Recall how Ramsay, reading Hamilton's "Bonny Heck" declared that "Emulation did me pierce", and began enthusiastically to practise the Doric.

On the other hand, English literature was a revelation, an exciting new world, a superior world, the centre of intellectual life, the obvious path for the ambitious—a dozen metaphors might be used. The choice was before the young poet—English or Scottish literature, forms, language, which was he to devote his literary gifts to?

Again and again the conflict shows. Occasionally a writer would speak of it. The elder Pennicuik, for instance, refused to give up Scots for English, though the latter "is now turned modish, being the general language of the court—and the richer Kingdom of England". A snobber, about the vernacular made the clash worse. Mitchell, who chose English scoffed at "our Trans-Tweedale Poets" who "pursue the vulgar Rhime", and he included Ramsay.
1. MS records of the Eas" Club. Edinburh University Lib.
2. MS poems—see above.
At two points, the course of relations between Scotland and England affected the literary temper.

The 1713-14 period of crisis over Malt Tax and Union swung some of the younger group hotly against England. Witness the Easy Club, founded, its secretary recorded, at the suggestion of Mr Spectator, and at first esteeming the English writers as all in all. Yet it was its English devotee, Buchanann, who, in a fiery meeting of November 1713 "represented what Scotland should suffer, what we now in a more inglorious manner do, are like to suffer, (sic) by the Perfidy, pride and hatred of England" proposed that Scots author-patrons be substituted for English. "It would be an honourable article in the Constitution of a Club of Scots men—to pay a Dutifull Respect to the heroes and authors of their Own Nation", and "a Mean to Maintain in us Love to our Native Country which we see daily decaying, and animate us to projects for her interest.

Scots blood was fire, and flaming fir'd itself
In other breasts which kindly took ye Blaze.

Buchanann concluded that the proposal was "Unanimously Resolved in warm expressions by each 'and the English writers jettisoned in favour of Napier, Sewain Douglas, Colvill and Michael Scot, with later addition of Boece, Pitcairne and Tippermaloch.

At the '15, again, a sharpened national self-consciousness had its effect.

An M.S. poem to the Easy Club, "The Lamentation" proves Ramsay troubled over these drumfully times, and patriotically moved:

Should we not sigh to hear our Mother groan,
Now when her sides are torn with civil broils,
And her brave blood in dreadfull madness boils.

It is in relation to this conflict, and precisely in the years of decision that Ramsay takes his place.

Opinion on Allan Ramsay has been apt to take one of two extremes; either he has been held as overvalued in his own age, too much of his verse a tasteless compromise between Scots and English, his vernacular slip-shod beside that of Ferguson or Burns; or he has been exalted as the creator of the Scottish Renaissance of Poetry, a pioneer and a solitary genius. His true place was given him by his Edinburgh contemporaries, and was neither the inflated respect of the later 'Gentle Shepherd' cult of him nor the modern neglect and absence of editions.

He was not pioneer so much as determinant, his solution of this conflict affecting not only fellow-poets, but shaping the future of Scots verse in England.

Recall that he came to Edinburgh in the turbulently anti-English years, before Union, and as a nineteen-year old apprentice in 1704-5) would take a lively interest in the nationalalarums and excursions. His first efforts at writing were made in the period of nationalist work, already described, and Watson's 'Choice Collection' must have been early in his hands. This nationalist ardour and activity undoubtedly stirred him, and his early "Llegy on Maggy Johnston", written in 1711 or 1712 has evidently a keen practice of Scots verse behind it. But— the earliest of his verse that survives is an English ode, correct and dull, sedulously echoing the
La.1713

1. "The Battel: or Morning Interview". 1716
3. 1709. 1710. 1717. 1714.
4. 1708. 1713 1715.
5. 1708. 1709. 1719
6. 1709. 1712. 1727. 1722.
7. 1711. 1723.

8. "Tartara: or The Plaid". 1718
9. 1718.
English poets, and proving in every line the most pertinacious study of their work.

Obviously, then, Ramsay's literary self-education and his enthusiasms were divided between north and south: his ambition was divided. His first work, taking it as a whole, reflects the opposing 'ruggings', and indecision and compromise.

He writes a poem 'To the Memory of Dr Pitcairne', and prefaced it with a quotation from Gawin Douglas; but the poem is entirely English. He writes a 'Heroic-comical' poem of an Edinburgh beau, claiming 'This City, as narrow as it is, is the Scene of many Adventures which may be proper Subjects for both Poet and Philosopher'; but idea and style are clearly inspired by 'The Rape of the Lock'. His first 'standard Habbie' elegies include one on John Cowper, a worthy still alive, and Swift's 'roasting' of Partridge, the almanac-maker, is the model. His first collection of Scots songs is almost entirely English:

If she admire a martial mind,
I'll sheathe my limbs in armour.

And passing to a review of his later work, it was English literature that gave him his guiding lines. A significant detail was his preference for prefatory mottoes from English poets: Prior, Dryden, Tom Brown, Rochester were his texts, so to speak. So his subjects were and forms were almost without exception those most flourishing in English verse. Ambrose and John Phillips, Pope and Gay had all written pastorals: Ramsay writes his, 'Rich and Sandy', 'Patric and Roger', 'The Gentle Shepherd'. Gay and Pope and Somerville had written didacticities on Wine or Sports or Fame: Ramsay hymns Content and Health. Pope's Odes and Epistles, Ambrose Dickell's, Phillips, Somerville's were admired: Ramsay practises the ode and epistle also. The tale and the classical imitation were popular, the "Rape of the Lock" is paralleled by 'The Morning Interview'. Prior's imitation of Horace by Ramsay's similar imitation. The tales of Ambrose Phillips and Prior, the fables of Gay have as equivalent Ramsay's Tales and Collected Fables, and the song-collections of D'Urfey and of Phillips Ramsay's 'Tea-table Miscellany' and 'Evergreen'!

But though he used these moulds, his filling of them, after the first half-dozen poems was markedly Scottish. He had said a word for Edinburgh in his 'Morning Interview'. He goes further in 'Edina's Address to the Country' which describes with pride its clubs, its concerts and its future. 'Tartana' he dedicates 'to the Scots ladies', and praises both the plaids and their wearers, the first time the tartan has been identified with Scotland as a whole and regarded with pride. One line in it gives a glimpse of Highland scenery:

Beneath a Fir-tree in Glentanar's Groves.

In such fashion Scottish detail and sentiment impregnate the work, English in form as it was.

At the same time half his energy goes into purely Scottish production. His 'Maggie Johnston', 'John Cowper' and 'Lucky Wood' elegies bring huge popularity to the standard Habbies once more. To the vogue of Scots songs he adds a first book of eleven 'Scots Songs', but unluckily with their titles alone deserving the adjective; and a second group of songs of more genuine flavour.
1. 1718.
2. "To Aaron Hill".
3. "A Poem to Mr A. R---y."

4. 1724.
5. 1721

6. 1723—A sequel to "Faith and Roger"
7. 1723.
8. 1722
9. 1722.
10. 1723.

11. 1724, 1727.
12. 1724
And, more important effort, while Pope and Prior have been imitating Chaucer, he has issued a reprint of "Christ's Kirk on the Green", with a second Canto of his own.

Though he has not yet openly declared for the Scots tradition, his choice has obviously been made. His contemporary, Mitchell, who, from a London clique, jeered at him as one who

Intent on Cash, pursues the vulgar rhyme,
Two would break his Stock o'er common Vogue to rise!

Above our hemisphere there's nought but hungry Skies.

realized that his success in Edinburgh was established by 1718, and urged him to

Reform the taste of Caledonia's Brood:
Your Way must take, as easiest understood.
By small degrees, the Language will refine,
Till Sterling English in our Numbers shine.

advice which Ramsay wisely ignored. His decision taken, he used the vernacular as and when he chose. At first he had kept it for things in a Jan Steen vein, and English for his more circumspect verse. He ended by making the very gods and goddesses talk braid Scots. As he used it, he became surer of its value. In the preface to the "Evergreen", he turned on those writers who, "shew them the most Elegant Thoughts in a Scots Dress, they as disdainfully as stupidly condemn it as barbarous!" In a later preface to his collected poems, he declared his use of it as "not only inclination" and "the desire of my best and wisest friends", but due to "its good imagery, just similes, the pronunciation liquid and sonorous and much fuller than the English", and above all "our own native Words, of eminent Significance, makes our Tongue by far the completest".

Accordingly the distinctively Scots strength of his verse increases in the years that follow (1720-25) when his reputation was spreading in England. He tries another Scots pastoral "Meggy and Jenny", and a pastoral masque on the Hamilton marriage, and then collects his fables and tales. Among the latter, "The Three Bonnets" is really a play in the rough style already common in the Doric. Another Edinburgh poem, "The Fair Assembly" appears. Then come the two remarkable collections the first two volumes of "The Ten-Table Miscellany" and "The Evergreen", the former an excellent gathering of Scotland's wealth of songs, old and recent, (with the counterfeit coin of some poor "Sawney stuff") the latter of the older verse and ballad, chosen mostly from the Annatyne M.B. To clinch his fame, his best Scots work, "The Gentle Shepherd" was published in 1725.

The climax of Ramsay's career as poet comes there. The later editions of his work only buttress his repute.

His poetry was being greeted in England by 1719, was reprinted there piratically and honestly in 1720, and by the next year, his quarto volume of "Poems" was being subscribed for there, with the names of Pope, Steele, Arbuthnot, Gay, Aaron Hill, Savage, Emblett, Barchet prominent on the list. Already eclogues of him had been sent north, and a liking for even a cult of vernacular verse begun in London. The reception and influence of his work there - important point - will be reverted to later.
But Ramsay's verse alone did not make the Renaissance. What of his contemporaries meanwhile?

In 1716, before Ramsay had half a dozen poems to his name, the elder Pennicuik had published a group of poems as appendix to his description of Tweeddale. They are fairly poor stuff, that give the lie direct to the puff of

--glory of our time,

Parnassus prince, protector of our rhyme.

and they have plagiarized lines from Sedley and Rochester. But his themes, such as the contrast between the country and "auld Reekie", and his 'flyting' and tales like "The Tragedy of Greybeard" are Scots enough to make him link between his contemporaries Cleland and Sempill and the younger school.

The work of this younger school is unfortunately difficult to trace now. A periodical, one miscellany and mention of others, the prefaces in a volume of verse, incidental references in letters of the time-these, pieced together, point to a time of energetic experiments. The periodical, "The Mercury or the Northern Reformer" by Duncan Tatler, Esq., begun in 1717, is a second eager attempt to found a Scottish Tatler. The editor announces that he finds "Ignorance, Immodesty, Error, Immorality etc flourishing in the very Metropolis of the Land. "The End and Purpose then of this Paper is to Instruct, Rectify and Reform the North Country". Duncan Tatler, like Hepburn, models his periodical on Steele's, with papers from different coffee-houses. But there is the typical bravura of the young Scot of the day in the list of subjects he will deal with: "Love, Gallantry, Pleasure, Poetry, Music, Physick, Painting, Learning and Conversation, Breeding and Behaviour". A hot report is given to Mr. Englified who "told myself that if it was done by a Scotsman it could not be well done.--as if home Manufactury could have no value, and as if Scotland could not produce a good Writer." Edinburgh is the best of centres, he claims: "this town is the Scene of so many Adventures, and remarkable for Passages both of Action and Discourse" (phrases borrowed brazenly from Ramsay).

In spite of this parade, the seven numbers are disappointing reading--a facetious tone, conventional articles on eloquence, reputation and the like, letters from Inverness and Edinburgh, but signed Nathaniel Humble or Celia, a censoring that goes no farther than hoop-petticoats and dandyism--a poor score in short.

It lapsed, and no more Scottish Tatlers were projected. But that year saw great excitement in Edinburgh over Steele's first visit there. To judge from the number of welcoming verses, Ramsay's, Mitchell's, Harvey's, Pennicuik's, it gave a real fillip to Scots letters.

Steele had come as one of the seven Commissioners on Forfeited Estates, and stayed less than three a month. But in the following summer he leased a house in Edinburgh for six months; and two years after he was again in Edinburgh in September and October.

From all signs he had the most pleasant of experiences. "You cannot imagine the civilities and honours I had done me there, and never lay better, ate or drank better, or conversed with men of better sense than there". Glimpses of his stays exist, conferences with Presbyterian
ministers, a dinner to the town caddies, (Shiel reports him vowing they would form a fine comedy of native humours) enquiries about second right. In all probability he met Ramsay, for the latter's verse is full of references to "Kind Richy Spec, a Friend to a' distressed" (and Steele was not only kept in touch with Ramsay's verse by James Anderson, but subscribed for double volumes of his poems) As for the town's younger poets

See on Edina's streets the Loving Throng
Geze joyful as thou walkst, and softly wish along. (sic)

Their tone was
To thy dear Name, what Trophies can we raise,
How paint thy merit in our Gothickays?

That poetaster, Harvey, is fairly typical of the Anglophiles among the young writers. He prefaced his collected work with talk of "Polite Writing-so little known or esteemed amongst us, --the Bon Goute neglected or rather ridiculed by our Nation", and confined himself to verses care fully English, to pastorals of Chloe and Leonore, and essays headed "In imitation of the Spectator".

A much more fervid Anglophile was Joseph Mitchell, who produced a first book of verse, "Lugubres Cantus" by himself and John Calender in 1719. The actual poetry is not worth mention: the two young Scots are writing pastoral elegues, lyrics "in imitation of Mr Pope", odes to Isaac Watts and the like. But by some curious chance, Phillips and "Night-Thoughts" Young subscribe commendatory verses, and both speak emphatically of Scotland's progress in poetry. Phillips refers to the stigma of "lack of Wit", so often applied to the nation:

Gover'd by some fatal Providence,
They baffle Nature's Gifts of Wit and Sense

as now past. Young goes further:
Our faded Hopes and fond Endeavours now succeed,
Edina's Bards begin to raise their Head,
Avouch what'er they please to write and claim
What we must yield, an equal Right to Fame.

Commentary verses have to be largely discounted, but the fact that English poets are becoming aware of Scotchish efforts is important. "Lugubres Cantus" was published in London. Were they aware of poetry published in Edinburgh?

There the new clubs were nursing 'wits', encouraging verse-writing and in some cases arranging for the printing of it. The Eady Club called out Ramsay's first verses; an Athenian Club had some hand in the publication of "Lugubres Cantus" and in that of a "Scotts Miscellany" "The Fair Intellectual Club" wrote poems, some of which were printed in an Edinburgh Miscellany of 1720. In Edinburgh Miscellany of an earlier date, 1718-19, is spoken of too, and may possibly have been a third collection. One group published five translations of a Horace epistle by different Scots. Tradition has it that Ramsay was encouraged in, and eventually read the "Gentle Shepherd" to the Worthy Club.

Of all this output, one example is sufficient to show the drift of Scotts verse, the "Edinburgh Miscellany" of 1720.

It was printed by James McHuen, that progressive and experienced printer from London, who had started the "Edinburgh Evening Courant" two years before.
1."An Epistle to Mr Pope"

2."Address to the Masters of the University of Edinburgh".

3."Britannia Triumphans "1713.
"Streams from Helicon" 1720-21
"Cochran and Cochrenia"--1723
"Entertainments for the Curious" with "Flowers from Parnassus" 1726.

Later collections. 1744, 1756, 1769, 1787
A foreword by W.C. (probably William Crawford, the author of 'Tweedside' and something of a literary critic) ushers in ninety poems, the best of them "by young People at School or College." Of the ninety, not a scrap is in dialect. The writers, who include Thomson, Mallet, Robertson of Struan, Henry Hume, David Craufurd, Arbuckle, and Callender, as well as earlier poets, are occupied on pastorals, especially pastoral elegies; translations of Horace's Odes, didactic poems, vers de société and epistles to Pope and Addison, in every case in painstaking English. Almost nothing has any native flavour, Struan's "Farewell to the Hermitage" or the boy Thomson's "Of a Country Life" perhaps the strongest. A Mr Hepburn writes in the Harvey and Mitchell strain of exile-from-intellectual-London:

Me to Edina my hard fate confines--
Why are my Countrymen such Foes to verse--
Why Wit and Genius are in vain poured down?--

and is answered by J.C. of the florest Edina school:

Edina yields not to Augusta yet,
For Learning, Sense, Integrity and Wit--
Succeeding Ages, wond'rering shall behold
Our Poets famous as our Soldiers bold.--
Already they express a generous Flame
And look with Rapture at the Poet's Name.
I think I see the sprightly Youths inspir'd.--

But it is evident that the English tradition, be the poet in London or Edinburgh, is supreme with this group, and one is prepared for that exodus from the north which had begun with Mitchell, which drew Mallet three years later, Thomson another two years later.

Apart from these Anglophiles stand two poets, neither great, yet with a contribution to make to the vernacular. The first is Ramsay's imitator, the younger Pennicuik. He has a touching faith that--"Poetry in our land native Country--now rises--is manumitted from her Slavery, nay, she hath stole down to Men of Lower Ranks and tramples upon the Neck of Prophane Pedantry." But his verse is an undecided welter of all styles and forms. He writes heavy moralising English matter, "A Morning Walk to Arthur Seat," for example, and a racy Doric poem in standard Habbie--"The Merry Wives of Musselburgh." From that level he can drop to a collection of "Merry Tales for the Long Nights of Winter," coarse stuff in a mixture of Scots and English, or rise to a correct English tale "The Fair Maid of Dumblain." He can write pompously "On the Ruins of Wallace's Tree," and dash off a Beggar's Opera sketch of the marriage of a tramp and gipsy "below fair Peebles on the River's Side," or conventional English pastorals side by side with novel Scots themes such as "The Oyres of the Clans" or "The Curse of the Clan McPherson," or flytings at unknown acquaintance with the terse admirably-phrased epitaph on Marjory Scot of Dunkeld that the English magazines reprinted.

Admittedly Pennicuik had not Ramsay's talent, but still less had he the latter's success in synthesis. In his work the effect of the divergent pull of English and Scots has been disastrous. With every enthusiasm for Scots poetry, as that early eulogy of the "makars" showed, his own talent was wasted in a dissipation of effort.
1. 1723. 2nd edition London.
2. 1767.
2a Miscellany Poems. 1750
3. "Poems on Several Occasions" 1749, 1758, 1761.
4. 1726.
5. "The Episode of the Thistle"
Meston, that curious figure of a professor of philosophy out in the '15 and hunted as a fugitive after Sheriffmuir, is a minor satirist and burlesque tale-teller in a rough home-spun fashion. His "Knights of the Kirk", his best work, had a London edition, by some chance, and one wonders if Collins read his breathless rhyings on Familiars, brownies, water-kelpies, and all the other hellish whelpies, Hobgoblins, ghosts and fairy legions—Meg Mulloch and the second sight, Elf-torches glimmering in the night And ignes fatui, these fires That lead men into bogs or mires, The will o' wisps, and fairy darts That shoot our cattle thro' the hearts—

The rest of his work is the usual confusion of correct English verses and tales in the normal mixed Scots, as in his "Old Mother Grim's Tales"

One detail, common to the poetry of all these native bards is worth noting. All, whether in fun or earnest, have some tale purporting to be or actually from old manuscripts. Ramsay Watson's Collections had revived interest in the older Scots verse, and the elder Pennycuik has his Peter Many poems, "from an old M.S." Ramsay his "Christ's Kirk on the Green" and "Evergreen" anthology. In 1719 came the sensational "discovery" of the ballad of Hardknute, with its tale of being found in an abbey vault. When doubts were cast on the truth of that tale, poems began to be headed jocularly "found in an old manuscript", as Meston's "Mother Grim's Tales" were, or Pennycuik's "Tale of a Muirkock written originally in the Celtick Language,"—and carefully preserved by a M.S. belonging to the Pluseardin Monks.

But serious interest in the revival of old poetry continued, and Hamilton of Bangour, like Ramsay, began to imitate the older Scots ballad. His beautiful "Brees of Yarrow" was headed "In Imitation of the Ancient Scottish Manner".

Hamilton is another poet who made his own compromise in this unsettled period, a solution not unlike Drummond of Hawthornden's. Though Edinburgh-centred and Ramsay's friend he rejected the vernacular after the first Yarrow poem, and wrote only in a polished English. In this period he has only his Tea-Table Miscellany songs to his credit,—(the great popularity of 'Yarrow' cancels that only, however) but he is engaged on a great Scottish poem in twelve books, "The Maid of Callowshielts". This was never finished. What survives, written in precise English, creates Scots characters, the Maid, a Piper and a Fiddler, and has a Scottish background—the first attempt at a Scots work on such a scale. Another unfinished effort of his was a version of Bruce. After its abandonment, he concentrates on urban little verses on Edinburgh society, or writes patriotically on the Battle of Gladsmuir or on "The Thistle".

In passing, mention might be made of the significant flourishing of versions or reprints of Bruce and "alasce matter. Patrick Gordon reprinted
"As well unhappy Wallace can attest,
Great patriot-hero! ill-requited chief!"
the "Famous History of Robert the Bruce" in 1718. Hamilton of Gilbertfield paraphrased Wallace, and Pennicuik the younger has a poem on him. Harvey produced a "Life of Robert Bruce", and later a "Bruicad"; Gabriel Abbot a play, "Caledon's Tears or Wallace, a Tragedy"; John Blair a verse "Wallace. Only the Anglo-Scots, Mallet and Thomson and Mitchell are scant in any patriotic references to the national heroes.

These last three poets, it has been said, are all in London by the end of 1725, and are launched or launching into literary circles there. Their work falls to be dealt with later. Here they find mention only because they too have chosen which tradition they will adhere to. In Edinburgh, there remains with Ramsay the younger Pennicuik, Hamilton of Bangour and Hamilton of Gilbertfield, and a group of minor song-writers, contributors to the Tea-Table Miscellany.

And no gap is quite so complete as that between, say, Ramsay and Thomson, or between Ramsay and Mallet, whom "I never caught even in a Scotch accent", as Johnson said.

In brief summary, then, how far has this Scots renaissance extended?

A group of writers has emerged, poets that include Ramsay, Thomson, Mallet, Mitchell, the two Hamiltons, the two Pennicuiks, Robertson of Struan, Neston and Harvey, some early critics like Henry Aume and Crawford, some journalists. They emerge now, partly through the stimulus of the permeating English culture, partly through the widening sweep of the revival of Scots scholarship, partly by the goodwill of national emulation of England, and by the sharpened self-consciousness of Edinburgh society after the 1715. (Because their emergence is so closely bound up with and moulded by the relations between the two countries, their work has been treated in such detail.)

During 1715-1725 the best of Ramsay's work, and examples of the verse of all the rest are published. Typical vernacular verse, ancient Scots poems collections of the finest of old Scots songs, modern 'Scotch songs', Scots ballads, pastorals in dialect, and English verse on Scots subjects, that is part of the output.

An extraordinary diversity is shown as result of the double tradition in the literary education of the young Scots.

Nationalism inspires work in broad Scots, in original song, epistle, verse, tale, comic elegy. Ramsay, the younger Pennicuik, and Hamilton of Gilbertfield all produce delightful poems in standard Gaelic. The first and second write Doric pastorals and pastoral masques, even Mitchell has an attempt at the masque, as Thomson has at the 'Scabby' stanzas. Ramsay and Pennicuik have tales and fables in the Doric, and the two Hamiltons join them in producing songs. Ramsay and Gilbertfield exchange epistles in the vernacular, and Ramsay even uses it for didactic verse.

Nationalism leads too—(though it is not the sole dynamic)—to the study and reprint of classic Scots verse. The Bannatyne M.S. was in Ramsay's hands as early as 1716, and his printing from it begins with "Christ's Kirk on the Green". The increasing knowledge of that older verse inspires imitation of it, notably in Lady Wardlaw's Hardymute, Bangour's
1. 1714.


3. Founded 1717

4. With High School masters, and later Home, Lord Kames.

5. "The Mercury, or The Northern Reformer"—by Duncan Tatler. 1717

6. 1718
Brees of Yarrow' and Ramsay's "The Vision"—with offshoots in the

case of Mallet's "William and Margaret", and Ramsay's retouching of
"The Red Harlaw" and the "Battle of the Reid Swire".

Lastly the current of ordinary native verse bears along a great
amount of work in the ordinary spoken tongue of the Scot, a half-slip-
shed Scots-English—ostensibly English, one might say, but sprinkled
with Scots words and idioms and rhymes. Both the Pennicuiks, Weston,
Smith of Glesheo produce in this, easy, facetious verse, tales and bur-
lesques.

On the other hand, the English influence leads the poets to practise
the writing of verse after the models of the admired leading poets
of the south, and produces the compromise of Scottish subjects treated
in English form and vocabulary. This was the most popular solution,
as it brought them into line with English poets, yet gave them
scope for patriotic themes. The weak point was that it was for the
most part disregarded by the English. It contributed, however, tales
with Scottish settings like Pennicuik's 'Fair Maid of Dumblain', Ban-
gour's 'Maid of Gallovichies', Mitchell's 'Battle of Otterburn', and
later Mallet's 'Amyntor and Theodora'. It gave, too, descriptions of
Scots scenes or Edinburgh life, Ramsay's 'The Battel' and 'Tartana',
Mitchell's 'To Aaron Hill' and 'Ratho', Ban-gour's 'Assembly' poems,
and his epistles in imitation of Horace, Arbuckle's 'Glotta', Pen-
icuik's 'Description of the Cave of Hawthordden', and as later yield
Thomson's infrequent passages on Scotland in his 'Seasons'. Lastly
it gave the patriotic bombast of the lives of Wallace and Bruce and the
contemporary heroic flights such as Struan's epitaphs on Jacobite
chiefs. Much else was inspired by the English influence, but now mer-
cifically lost are the countless elegies, pastorals, translations and
didactic verse, only distinguishable from English by its stiffness
and the unintentional Scotticisms.

As background to this literary activity is an 'Edina', being shrilly
hymned as a rival to London. It is, however, a capital stirring intelle-
tually and becoming ambitious socially. Its assemblies and concerts
and clubs enrich and spread national culture, and the claim is being
enthusiastically made of a revival of Scots wit. The town is preening
itself on its Athenian Club, dedicated to culture, its Rankeinian with
later lights like Colin MacLaurin and Sir Andrew Mitchell, a classics-
study society formed by Audimen, a Grotesque Club of the University, a
Fair Intellectual Club and small social clubs such as the Easy and the
Worthy.

As sign of its new status, the town has new journalist projects. "The
Northern Reformer" and the "Edinburgh Evening Courant" have been al-
ready named. Two years later, the "Caledonian Mercury" comes into being,
with a woodcut emphasising by its thistles and royal Standard its title.
(The woodcut and the advertisements prove to be the only Scottish parts
of the paper, however, until the days of the '45)

In prose proper, less advance shows. Wodrow is occupied on his "History
1. 1721-22
2. Rodrow's letters.
3. 1726.
4. A Complete Collection of Scotch Proverbs, 1721

5. 1720
6. Published Jauncy.
7. See complimentary verses to collected poems.
of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland", Semple on a History of Scotland before the Union. Alexander Gordon, the antiquary on his "Itinerarium Scotiae": in drama, there is less still, for though Pitcairne's "Sabell" was reprinted at London in 1720, and "Mitchell was working at his "Pilgrims of King James I", the nearest approach to original creative work in it is the dramatic tale in dialogue by Ramsay and Pennicuik, their pastoral, particularly those on the Hamilton nuptials, and as main achievement "The Gentle Shepherd". The last was not given a performance, however, until a private one was arranged in 1720. The town as yet allowed no encouragement to this side of literature.

One promising feature of the whole movement is the fact that here and there, parts of it are being obtruded on English notice. London publishes or reprints Ramsay's "Content", his "Achy and Sandy", "Patie and Roget" South Sea poem; Scots Songs of the Hamilton masque, the Tea-Table Miscellany, and a pirated "New Miscellany of Scots Songs", and finally of course his collected Poems and his "Gentle Shepherd".

London publication is not infallible proof of London interest. Were the English writers fully aware of the Scots Renaissance, and, in the improving relations between the two countries was English literature finding any gain from this new northern literature?

As regards awareness, the verses of Young and Phillips might be cited, but until one is sure that these were not solicited puffs, they are doubtful proof. The reception of Ramsay's work is a safer criterion.

The record of that begins with a warmly admiring epistle from Josiah Burchet, Secretary of the Admiralty and a naval historian.

Hail, Northern Bard! thou Favourite of the Mine!

sent at the close of 1749, showing he had read the poet's work before any of it was printed in England. The year after, the London reprints begin, but Curll ignores the fine vernacular stuff and chooses "Content", a didactic poem, which has only a Scotticism or two to mark it out from a hundred other English poems. Lintott seizes on "Achy and Sandy" then, and after a pirated version, prints a proper copy, with "the Honorable Mr Burchet's English version of it"—a needed aid. This is again issued in a small anthology of English poems, with the 'Explanation' of Burchet added. Close on its heels comes "Patie and Roget", with an 'Imitation', that is, an English version, by Burchet and a preface by a new admirer, Mr George Sewell. The latter, a poet and dramatist of sorts, but chiefly a literary puff-writer, hails the poem as a "true and just pastoral". "The Scotticisms, which perhaps offend some overnice Ear, give new Life and Grace to the Poetry and become their Places as well as the Doric Dialect of Theocritus"

Other admirers appear in Anthony Hammond and Charles Beckingham, both young men of promise.

2. Tytler's recollections—several notes. Gay averred Pope "a great admirer of that Pastoral".

3. Chauncy MSS


5. "Bagpipes no Music, being a satire on Scots Poetry" John Cowper. 1720

6. See above. 2
Theophilus Cibber adopts his "Gentle Shepherd" for a London audience, and stages it in 1730. In the year after, a London two-volume of his works is issued, and a Dublin one follows. Both are substantial proof of his popularity. By then he had the praise of Somerville, the tribute of plates dedicated to him by Hogarth, and possibly the approval of Pope for his pastoral — but a rejected couplet in the "Epistle to Dr Arbuthnot" had, contemptuously placed him "among the ragged race that write!"

"I bade 'em all good will and wished 'em luck,
To Allen Ramsey and to Stephen Duck."

He was probably known personally to Steele and Arbuthnot; his references are intimate — and had been visited by Gay and by Lord Oxford, the last a signal honour. He was reprinted as no other Scots poet ever had been, and his name was known as no other vernacular poet's was. In spite of that, his standing is curiously uncertain. When one of his satirists, John Cowper, wrote:

'Sooner shall China yield to earthen ware,
Than English bard's let Scots torment their ear,
Who think their rustic jargon to explain.
For once is once, long long and twain is twain.'

he touched precisely the point which makes the English praise of Ramsey suspect. His vernacular was not fully understood by five out of six English readers. For everything there had to be "an Explanation of the Scotch words used", or "a complete Glossary of all the Scotch words", and copious annotations even of 'Auld Reekie' or 'John o' Groats' House'. When Cibber put "Patie and Ager", a version of the "Gentle Shepherd" on the London stage, he changed it "into the English dialect, without which it would not have been intelligible to our auditors" — an Anglicizing that was still needed fifty years later, when stage versions were again attempted.

In Ramsey's favour, admittably, was a cult at the time of the most outré in dialect. Yorkshire, Somersetshire, Cumberland were seriously or jocularly drawn on for pastorals, and London literary circles regarded this uncouth Scots as some might an Epstein Aima or a Spencer Resurrection, appreciable quite apart from entire comprehension. Beckingham's experience was the normal:

At first thy numbers did uncouth appear,
And shocked th' affected niceness of the ear,
Through Prejudice's eye each page I see,
Though all were beauties, none were so to me.
Yet shamed at last, whilst all thy genius own —
Careful I read thee o'er and o'er again,
It length the useful search requites my pain. —

So a catching the sense at six removes was no bar to the admiration of dialect poetry, and Gay, for example, felt no incongruity in asking Ramsey "to explain to him many of the Scottish expressions of the "Gentle Shepherd" which he would communicate to Pope, who was a great admirer of that pastoral."

Beckingham wrote that "all thy genius own? I believe the number of English readers who took Ramsey seriously was comparatively small. He was a "popular" poet, and the adjective damned him among the writers of repute. Quotation of him in the bigger London magazines is very scanty: the London Magazine and the Gentleman's" quote only three poems
1. 1721-22. (Anderson's British Poets-life)
2. 1724.
4. Crito in London Advices of "The Echo" 1730
5. The Caledonian Miscellany---by Allan Ramsay and other approved Bards eminent Northern Bards. Newcastle. 1742. 2nd edition 1762
7. On the Death of Allan Ramsay. Dodsley's Miscellany 1758
in a range of twenty years from his first collected work.

If London evaluation was influenced by the opinions of Scots there, it would find Ramsay "wrote himself into some kind of fame and a great deal of money" he said in a letter. Fergus Bruce, an Edinburgh correspondent to the Plain Dealer referred to him as "Our !Jllan Ramsay,a living Versifier in the Old Style", a remark which recalls the satire of him:

Scots Ramsay press'd hard and sturdily vaunted
He'd fight for the laurel before he would want it.
But risit Apollo and cry'd 'Peace,there,Old Stile,
Your wit is obscure to one half of the isle!"

Imitation of him in England is very rare, even on the plane of an artificial cult. As one critic said "There is not sufficient Precedent for our Poets reviving--this Old Language, grown downright obsolete here". Some magazine readers contend in turning a neat epigram of his into Latin. Joseph Seig or Seigh, the Cumberland poet, writes a pastoral on Pope's death "In imitation of Allan Ramsay". A Caldeonian Miscellany printed in London for a Newcastle publisher - "at the request of some admirers of poetry written with ease and elegance in the North British Dialect" includes some 25 of his poems.

But all that notice comes in the forties. For twenty years, almost no mention is accorded.

In cultured and critical circles, then, he is either ignored, or he is 'cultivated' as a provincial genius in this most 'ultimate' of dialects, and held-by virtue of his "Gentle Shepherd"--a rustic poet of "rural strains".

"Truth and Simplicity unletter'd shine--"
or again:
"His thoughts ne'er soar'd above the crock or cot".

But with a number of English uncritical readers, he is accepted much more heartily as first, the gatherer of the Scotch songs they like, and secondly as a jocular Habeleidian humorist. Was not a 'Scotch tale' synonymous with a broad or an indecent one? So on the second score, he is accepted as the "Scots Hogarth"--"arch Allan", as one admirer puts it, and noted for what Pinkerton later called his "convivial buffoonery"

England thus placed him uncertainly and diversely, and it is safer to calculate what he offered English literature, than how his work actively influenced it.

The just claim for him would be that he was the first Scots poet to bring Scottish 'race', and life and dialect into English notice, and to secure for it recognition, some admiration, and some liking.

In "The Gentle Shepherd", in his pastorals and songs and fables he drew the lowland cottier-life, actual and natural and vivid, as no Englishman had yet seen it. "The Gentle Shepherd" alone, with all its
artificialities, held incomparable pictures: "a flowrie howm" - "a trottin' burnie" - "a snug thatch-house, with its peat-stack" -
A green kail-yaird; a little fount
Where water poplin' springs -
a cottage interior - (and the Scots genius for the 'domestic' note
could have been realised here)
A' is clean: a clear peat-ingle
Glances amidst the floor;
The green horn spunes, beech-luggies mingle
On skelfs foregainst the door.

For pastoral and song and stage it was a new, fresh element, a folk-element hitherto lacking, of influence in freeing these from the artificially rustic on the one hand and the narrowly urban on the other.

Lowland Scottish life is not all that Ramsay contributed. He trumped 'Caledonian' and things Caledonian, and forced on English attention a new aspect of the neglected country. "Scottish" could stir animosities still: 'Caledonian' was acceptably vague, and it poetized the unwelcome realities. "My Caledonian reed", sung Ramsay, and "ye Caledonian beauties". Under this generic term, he synthesized Highlands and Lowlands, identified tartan and plaid with the country as a whole, but among Lowland songs "Lochaber no more", "The Highland Laddie", "The Highland Lassie", and a song "to the tune of Cha mi ma chattle", and side by side with the kindly Lowland scenery wrote of "northern mountains clad wi' snow" - "black, heath'ry mountains", "mountains clad wi' purple bloom" - and "wild shores where tumbling billows break".

And though to English readers the essentially Scottish in Ramsay must have 'struck home' very confusedly, yet his verse offered them Scots topics, Scots Scots characteristics in plenty. Such that Ferguson and Burns were later to give, he now gives, less pithily one has to grant, but the more palatable to an English audience for that - the satire of the kirk official, the praise of Scots drink and Edin-}

{...}
1. Harvey's Collection of Miscellany Poems and Letters, 1726
2. Dr Geo. Deneue to Harvey.
3. "To Yarde of Devonshire".
4. "To Joseph Mitchell".
chellycoat and beastly elf-shot, the 'high jinks' and grotesquerie, the local and national patriotism. His preface to the "Evergreen" had harped on "our own valleys" and "our own hills", a note that was re-stuck in dedicating his collection of proverbs "to the Tenantry of Scotland".

A third of his services to English literature was his publication of the finest collection of the older Scots verse yet issued. He offered sixty to seventy poems from the Bannatyne M.S. introduced with a warm commendation. The collection was pure gold, most of it; Dunbar, Henryson, Montgomery, Scott, James I, Sempill were represented, old ballads like those of Marlaw and the Acid-Squair, with some picturesque frauds, Hardy's own "Vision" included. English critics let it pass unmarked. It created no furor, found no reprint until 1728. But Percy possessed it, and D'Urfe y announced it, and Langhorne had it in his hands whenever he defended Scotland in the stormy sixties.

Better known and of real influence in England were the volumes of the "Tea-Table Miscellany". Through these Ramsay offered in place of the debased and wretched 'Scotch song' that had flourished since James I's time the genuine lyric. Unfortunately, his greatest weakness, his uncritical, compromising standards, invalidated this service, for he himself could write the D'Urfe y type of song with its little sly indecencies, and the artificial Northern-Prior type, and he swept these into the collections along with the old native song and contemporary fine things such as "Here's my heart blyth", "Leader Haughs and Yarrow", and "The Braes of Yarrow". Yet the miscellany did drive out the debased types before long. Abrose Phillips, for instance, who had been printing collections of ballads, and representing the Scots ballad mainly by "Sawney" songs, suddenly announced in the third volume that he had found "a far better collection" and printed fourteen from the "Tea-Table Miscellany".

Last contribution of Ramsay was the obvious one, that he circulated and made known in the south the Scots dialect. He had been slow in his own use of it, but he grew daring enough in it to translate Steele and Pope and Prior into Ritchie, Sandy and Matt, to address a Scots ode to the Society of British Antiquaries, and to defend it forthrightly in three of his works. Whatever England thought of it, there was the vernacular delightedly kicking its heels in English pastures.

What chance these unique contributions of his had of impinging on English literature, was helped by one thing, Ramsay's own happy complacency. While contemporaries apologise for:

A Northern Muse, born near the freezing Sea,
Our Scottish swains--
Shibboleth still confess'd the native strain.
Ramsay laughs to derision the English picture of a
cauld Scottish bard,
With brose and bannocks poorly fed."

And 'cocked his crest' over his native town and tongue and nation.
--Show them the frozen north
Can tow'ring minds wi' heavenly heat bring forth,
Minds that can mount wi' an uncommon wing,
And free black, heath'ry-headed mountains sing,
1. 1738.
2. 1717-25.
3. 1720-23
Ramsay chose to remain in Edinburgh, his success as a vernacular poet a thorn in the flesh to anglophiles there. But the impulse of half his contemporaries was to make for London and the centre of letters.

Already that city had its 'plantation' of Scottish intellectuals and artists, many of them referred to in a previous chapter. Scots earls and members of Parliament, such as the Earl of Argyll, Lord Binning, Lord Marchmont, Sir Andrew Mitchell struck roots there, and their presence encouraged the immigration of ambitious young Scots.

Further encouragement was the success of fellow-countrymen there, not only in medicine and scholarship but as artists, authors, journalists, printers. For example, James Gibbs the architect, was at the height of his fame; "about the year 1720--the architect most in vogue" said Walpole, designer of London churches, and later of King's College, Cambridge and the Radcliffe Library, Oxford, and in the late twenties producing an applauded "Book of Architecture". A fellow-architect was Colin Campbell, patronised by Lord Burlington, designer of large country houses like Mereworth and Wanstead, of important London buildings like Rolls House, and appointed architect to the Prince of Wales in 1728, by which time he had issued his impressive three volume "Vitruvius Britannicus". William Akerman, the painter, one of Medina's pupils, was encouraged by Argyll to settle in London, and from 1723 on was in touch there with Sir Robert Walpole and Lord Burlington, and mixing with the literary London Scots. Smibert, Scotland's other painter of note, was also there from 1720-28, a member of the "Virtuosi of London", painter of Bishop Berkeley and successful.

In the publishing world, some well-known Scots businesses had been founded. James MacEuen, editor of the "Edinburgh Evening Courant" wrote to Hudson in 1721 of "opening shop at London". Two famous publishers follow, John Millan and Andrew Miller, the first of whom, Sir Macmillan, established himself by 1726, and the second had by 1729 hung out Buchanan's Head at his famous Strand shop. At the same time, Alexander Gordon (better known as antiquary) went into partnership with Wilcox in the Strand. Something of the policy and effect of these can be gauged from booklists of Millar; a 1730 one, for instance, includes Anderson's "Collections", Buchanan's Works, C. Crawford's "Lives and Characters of the Most Eminent Men of the Scottish Nation", Nesbitt's "Heraldry", Hudson's "History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland"; a 1737 one includes the most important works of Thomson, Jemison and Mallet, and books by Sir George Mackenzie, Ruddiman, R. Miller and Alexander Malcolm.

By the twenties, too, some of the best known of the Scots lexicographers or at their worst hack-writers, and some noted journalists were settled there. Thomas Gordon's "Independent Whig" had been the sensation of 1719-20, a pamphlet run into a weekly paper, and, collected in one volume, passing to seven editions within fifteen years. Especially his "Cato's Letters", in collaboration with Trenchard, were almost as popular.
2. 1730–34.

2. of Prince Eugene 176

3. Biography and letters in Laing MSS-Edin: Univ: Lib:

4. being written in 1731

5. "To Aaron Hill".

6. "Lv'n Pennicuik and Ramsay own my claim".

7. dedication 1720

8. March 1731
Decidedly, Gordon was of note. Walpole is said to have taken him into pay in 1723 to silence him.

One of the first was Joseph Mitchell, a divinity student and tutor in Edinburgh, until the scandal of having written a play, and the desire to advance by his poetry, sent him to London. There he courted the patronage of the Earls of Lauderdale and Stair, and through the latter gained a sinecure from Sir Robert Walpole. From 1719 on, he published verse, most of it adulatory to Sir Robert Walpole, Steele and Aaron Hill. (He became known as 'Walpole's poet') Hill allowed him to stage a short playlet 'The Fatal Extravagance' as his own, but Mitchell had his own efforts, a "Fate of James I", untraceable if ever finished, and a tragedy unnamed that he tried to present in 1722 and 1724. He ingratiated himself into literary circles in London. Aaron Hill, with a weakness for proclaiming 'genius' on little provocation, encouraged Mitchell. On occasion, he returned to Edinburgh, but only to lament for Hill the degraded state of letters there.

"Thus Clark and Aer write Palinodes and Sonnets,
Adapted to the Genius of Blue Bonnets,
While Hamilton and Pennycuik compose
To the same tune a Sort of jilling Prose.
Ev'n Poet Ramsay, in Parnassus fam'd,
The common-Gatherum of the Muses named!
--Intent on Cash pursues the vulgar Rhime--"

As he despised the vernacular, he naturally set himself above Ramsay, and in a "Second Petition" to Walpole, asked to be given the Poet-Laurate of Scotland!

But when imitation of Ramsay was profitable, he turned out first a very tasteless Scots pastoral, "The Poleful Swains", and five years later an imitation of sorts of the 'Scotch ballad-opera' of "Patae and Roger", the ballad-opera of "The Highland Fair", or "The Union of the Clans".

As an unusual sally at introducing Highland matter to the London stage the opera is worth notice.

It began with a needed 'clearing of the air' between Critic and Poet.

Critic: - "A Scotch Opera, ha, ha, ha!"

Poet: - "Why not, Sir, 'tis as well as an English, French or Italian one. Yet it is not the Dialect, but the Manners and Dresses of the Country from which it takes its title."

Critic: - "But 'tis such a novelty!"
I. "Covent Garden Journal" No: 19

Genest called it "a very pleasing piece" however.
The poet then defends it because of its moral purpose, to expose "the
Madness and Misery of Family Feuds." But why set the scene so far
north, asks the critic? "Would not the Lowlands of Scotland have fur-
nished you richer materials?" The poet replies: "But not have given
me so just an occasion to show the ancient Temper, Spirit, Manners,
and Dresses of my Countrymen—which I hop'd would not be a disagree-
able Representation in this Piece."

The temerity of identifying himself with the Highlander, and of pre-
senting him on a London stage makes one admire Mitchell, but the opera-
itself is an extraordinarily weak affair, ridiculous where it was
meant to be comic. The scene is "A Fair on the Braes, between the
Highlands and Lowlands of Scotland;" the main characters a Highland
chief and his son and daughter and "old Vassal," a Braes Laird with
his son and attendant, and the Captain and Sergeant of an Independent
Company. The plot is feeble, the reconciliation of the Chief and Laird,
and the quarrels and matings of the younger people. As much attention
goes to moral diatribe on the sins of "blind Obedience and Submis-
sion from their Vassals," and to praise of Walpole's scheme of Indepen-
dent Companies. But Mitchell exploits as best he can the 'Highland'
vein. A dance 'in the Highland manner' begins and ends the play. Pipers
usher in the chief and his retinue. There is a dumb-show parade of
so-called Highland ceremonial, of which pinches of snuff and a Bard's
rehearsal of genealogies form part. A comic character grows elo-
quently about Aqua-vitae; the numerous English songs (no dialect is used)
are to Scots tunes.

How London received this Highland novelty, Fielding tells, with some
exaggeration. "A certain comic author produced a piece on Drury Lane
stage called "The Highland Fair," in which he intended to display the
comical humours of the Highlander; the audience, who had for three
nights together sat staring at each other, scarce knowing what to make
of the entertainment, on the fourth joined in an unanimous exploding
laugh. Thus they had continued through an act, when the author, who un-
happily mistook the poles of laughter which he had heard for applause
went up to Mr. Wilks, and with an air of triumph said: 'Deal o my sal,
Sure, they begin to talk the humour at last.'

After that fourth night, the piece was dropped, and Mitchell made no
further appearance either as poet or dramatist. His verse had been col-
clected two years previously, and subscribed for by the greatest, by
Pope, Swift, etcetera. But Pope's first draft of the Dunciad had held
his name; and that seems now his proper place.

The next two venturers south, matter more. In 1723, David Malloch arri-
vied in London, a young Highland tutor to the sons of the Duke of Montrose
he had watched Mitchell's success; had heard, he writes, that he was
"in a very fair character at London, valued by several of the great-
est wits," and emboldened by that and by the publication of four of
his poems in the "Edinburgh Miscellany" of 1720, came south with an
 literary cargo, not a play but a ballad.

In August of 1724, "aron Hill, after acclaiming in his "Plain Dealer"
a meretricious poem of Mitchell's, says he has discovered "a work
that deserves to live for ever"—"a plain and noble Masterpiece"—
so powerfully filled with that blood-curdling chilling Influence
of Nature working on our Passions,—I never met it stronger in Hom-
er himself,"—and prints "William and Margaret." The following number
1. All is dread Silence here, and undisturb's,
   Save what the Wind sighs, and the wailing Owl
   Screams solitary to the mournful Moon,
   Glimmering her western Ray thro' yonder Isle
   Where the sad Spirit walks with shadowy Foot
   His wonted Round, or lingers o'er his Grave.--

   or

   Proud Greatness, too, the Tyranny of Power,
   The Grace of Beauty and the Force of Youth,
   And Name and Place are here—far ever lost!
   Here humbled in the Dust forgotten lies
   Whom Wealth and outward Beauty join'd to raise
   Conspicuous--

   "The Excursion" pub'd 1728

announced: "The Author is alive, and a North Briton." I congratulate his country.--" Mallet was thus launched.
Within the year he had met Hill and Young and probably Savage, and next summer was welcoming Thomson on his arrival, and constituting himself critic and encourager of "The Seasons". Mallet's own work is not worth noting in detail, but the position he took in London letters is interesting. He sloughed entirely his northern accent, and Stevens noted that he was disliked by Scots—although he befriended Thomson and Falconer. He cultivated English lettereurs, grew intimate with Pope and Lyttleton, Chesterfield, Bolingbroke, Young, wrote plays entirely English, and only an occasional English song to a Scots tune. Once he dealt with a Scottish subject, when in "Ulysses and Theodora" he concocted a romantic tale of St Kilda, but that was an agreeably fashionable exercise, and with no more realism than Martin's "Description" could supply.
Apart from that, Mallet gave nothing radically Scottish to English literature. But he brought from the north the one lyric of value he had. Before he left Edinburgh, he had been in Ramsay's circle, and almost certainly with that enthusiastic group amassing ballads and songs for the first volume of the Tea-Table Miscellany. "Ramsay's poem to him on his departure mentions "William and Margaret". From the centre, therefore, of this Scots activity, comes the ballad that not only made his name but exerted an amazingly potent influence on the romantic trend of the century.
Other 'race' gift then that, he had none, unless the skill in gloomy description which he shows in "The Excursion", and which is extraordinarily like a motif for Blair and Gray shows that northern attraction for the "kindred glooms—Go-genial Horrors" of landscape, that one marks in the poetry of Thomson, Blair, Home, Macpherson.

Mallet is the one poet of this period to show no sign of the divergent pull of Scottish and English. Thomson comes close in this, but his youthful verses of Roxburgh and Edinburgh days are Scottish in some respects, for the rural scenes are clearly drawn from those he knew. The herd in his plaid sets the fallen clogs back on the sheepfold, the fisherman casts his "artificial fleec" (sic) on Tweedside. He admires and imitates Ramsay; his poem on Beauty mentions "Artana", which has already won immortal praise, Most sweetly sung in Allan Ramsay's lays.
His poem "On the Hoop" is an obvious attempt to rival that. Even an effort at the facetious standard "A Abby, elegy survives, the only dialect Thomson used in verse, and poor at best:-
For had the curl but been aware
That death meagre, who none doth spare,
'T attempt such things should ever dare:
As stop his pipe,
He might have come to flee or skare,
The greedy gape.

Those few Scottish marks vanish when in 1725 Thomson settled in London, as tutor with Lord Sinning. For this new English society he had
already a poem partly written. That autumn in London, with the recollection of his native scenery possibly sharpened by homesickness, he worked at his poem, "Winter", putting into the acceptable English dress of descriptive verse a series of nature scenes, half-imaginary, half-observed in his own land. He chose the wildest season, the one felt with most force in the thatched cottage of his own Borders. But though the cottage and the storm, the frost and the winter skies, above all the feel of the broad spacious countryside are derived from his Border life he never once lets slip a Scots name or word. Like Mallet, he probably held it a self-betrayal that would bar his advance in English letters.

The tale of Thomson's acceptance in London's literary circles and his rise to established honour there within ten years, is a familiar one, and not pertinent here. Only one side of it is of concern. It was the Scots publisher, Millan, induced, it is said, by Mallet, who first gave him his chance by printing "Winter", and the other Scot, Andrew Millar, who subsequently printed most of his verse and plays. But apart from a proposed dedication of "Summer" to Lord Binning, a natural acquaintance with fellow-Scots, Mallet, Armstrong, Paterson, the patronage of Binning and of Sir Andrew Mitchell, and the support of his plays by fellow-Scots, Thomson threw in his lot entirely with England. It is typical that he never returned to Scotland, though he wrote once of doing so. His intimate friends were English, Hill, Lyttleton, Pope, Dennis, Ruffle, Cun, Shenstone. To the end of his life he retained a Scots accent, but it is curious that references to him and to anecdotes after his death never mention his nationality. Undoubtedly Thomson is the first Scottish poet to take unchallenged—or more positively—to take with English admiration a high place in English poetry.

He did so through what may be called an Anglicization of his genius. Thomson's gift for nature description was as much the product of his Border youth, as Wordsworth's was of the Lake District. The practice of it was Scots: Riccatoun, Armstrong and Mallet were all working at nature poems in the same years (1725-26) The expression and the decoration was acquired, and was English. That shows clearest in his first work, "Winter", where he is not afraid to use even the natural homely phrases, "the drizzly Night", "the louring Sky", "the chapt mountain", the thatched cottage where

The hollow chimney howls,
The Windows rattle, and the Hinges creak.

Later editions 'refined' that to the pallid sky and the rude mountain and excised the cottage, and Thomson's constant tendency was to emasculate and to generalise until he had produced something faultlessly English in content and atmosphere.

Johnson put his finger on the matter when he said of "The Seasons"—"These poems, with which I was acquainted at their first appearance, I have since found altered and enlarged by subsequent revisions, as the author supposed his judgment to grow more exact. They are, I think, improved in general; yet I know not whether they have not lost part of that Temple calls their race; a word, which, applied to wines in its
1 "Lives of the Poets".
2. 1726
3. 1727
4. 1729
5. 1729
6. 1730.
7. 1735-36.
primitive sense, means the flavour of the soil.

Thomson, conscious of no 'rugging' of national traditions, never dreamt of troubling over the matter. He felt it diplomatic not to stress Scotland. He never named it in 'Winter'; in 'Summer' he wrote of Tweed as "pure Parent-Stream", and for nine lines praised the Scots nation:

kept, I might sing thy Caledonian Sons,
A gallant, warlike unsubmitting Race!
Nor less in learning versed, soon as he took
Before the Gothic Age his Western Flight;
Wise in the Council, at the Banquet gay;
The Pride of Honour burning in their Breasts,
And Glory not to their own Realms confin'd,
But into foreign Countries shooting far,
As over Europe bursts the Boreal Horn.

In a second edition, he excised this, and substituted the lovely but empty flourish of

Far seen the heights of heathy Cheviot blaze,
And Thule bellows th' her utmost Isles.

In 'Spring' he is silent again, but in a second edition expands "the green Sea" into

Utmost Kilda's shore, whose lonely race
Resign the setting sun to Indian worlds.

'In Britain' comes a scant mention of

--where loud the northern main
Howls th' the fractured Caledonian isles.

In 'Autumn' he reverts again to

-the naked melancholy isles
Of farthest Thule, and th' Atlantic surge
Pours in among the stormy Hebrides,
and picking up again the rejected 'Summer' eulogy, elaborates it to twenty lines, and reinserts it. But the compliments to Argyle and For bes that follow show a motive other than patriotic.

It is an important passage, however, England offered for the first time a 'romantic view' of the north:-

the Muse

Sees Caledonia in romantic view.
Her airy mountains, from the waving main
Invested with a keen diffusive sky,
Breathing soul acute: her forests huge
Incult, robust and tall, by Nature's hand
Planted of old; her azure lakes between
Poured out extensive, and of watery wealth
Full; winding deep and green her fertile vales;
With many a cool translucent brimming flood
Washed lovely from the Tweed--

On two other occasions he mentioned Scotland, echoing Buchanan in 

four lines in 'Liberty'

--- the lofty Scot,
To hardship tam'd, active in arts and arms,
Fired with a restless, an impatient flame
That leads him raptured where ambition calls.
and returning in "The Castle of Indolence" to the Hebrides, with the familiar lines describing the second sight fantasies of the lonely shepherd.

In none of these quotations, however, is the actual material fresh or particularly realistic. Milton had invented magic lines about the Orkneys and Hebrides; Henry More and more recently Arborex Phillips had written of Thule; Pope could refer to "Orca's stormy steep". Were Thomson's lines more than a derivative of Martin? The description of Caledonia is noticeably general, and might have come from a poet who had never entered Scotland. Thomson has no merit as a singer of an actual Scotland, a poet of localised description.

Yet he brought into English literature one distinctive thing. Bred in the fine sweeping hill scenery of the Scottish Lowlands, he possessed a knowledge and love of it that, however, generalised and touched-up in expression, he did transmit to English poetry. In those first days in London he had praised Mallet's "Mountain Shower" because it was "simple wild Nature". Seventeen years later, that was still his criterion; he wrote to Lyttleton of "the great simple Country". Under all the decorations, that was the essential aim in his verse, and its essential effect was to restore a basis of reality, integrity, purity, call it what one will, to nature description. His boyhood had given him a knowledge of actual sights, "the roving mists" that "smoke along the hilly country"-of wide skies, of sounds of water, of birds and their habits, of country smells, "the smell of dairy"-of country lore like the signs of approaching storm, of farm occupations. He tampers with these, admittedly, rejecting often the first natural phrase or detail for something more sumptuous, replacing "the guiltless cottage" by "the castled cliff, the venerable tower"; he elaborates and conventionalises. But integrally a part of his verse is genuine liking, and observation bred by his own land.

That was half of his contribution. The other was more consciously made. In the second edition of "Winter" in 1726, writing of the drawing of landscapes by ancient and modern poets, he said: "The wild romantic country was their delight". It was his own. Knowing a wild scenery, a countryside already called by Addison romantic, he chose to make all scenery romantically wilder. So Scotland has a sea that always "furious foams", or "pours in" or "howls". His mountains are "a romantic mountain forest-crowned"; his groves are the haunts of "antient Bards", where

A thousand Shapes or glide athwart the Dusk
Or,atalk majestic on,-

his streams-

Where the dim umbrage o'er the falling Stream
Romantic hangs

his western islands

Assail the setting sun to Indian worlds.

Appropriately when Joseph Warton praises the "Castle of Indolence", it is he as "that exquisite piece of wild and romantic imagery"

Through that imagination, too, he emphasised the remote and lonely and the supernatural, and helped to make these a new taste,His lonely
tower had "the yelling ghost" his valley was
- sunk and unfrequented, where

   At fall of eve, the fairy people throng.

- 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.

And when, attracted the by the Hebrides, he wrote the unforgettable lines on the 'shepherd of the Hebrid Isles', he gave English literature its first imaginative flight about Scotland, in that century.

If the Scottish strain of Thomson's influence on English literature would seem to have no articulate patriotic impulse behind it, that commended it the more to his London readers. For as satiric thrusts from time to time recall, England and Scotland were not yet in such amity as to forget nationalities altogether. Somerville, in an 'Epistle to Mr Thomson' reminded him that word-coinages
— rarely, very rarely will succeed
     When minted on the other side the Tweed.

Swift wrote of "one Thomson, a Scotchman".
Should a Scots poet have claimed more than English readers were prepared to grant, his "Albania", a remarkable poem that its unknown Scots author must have been writing while Thomson was revising his "Seasons". It was printed in London in 1717, with the advertisement that "the fine spirit of poetry which it breathes, its classic air, but above all the noble enthusiasm he discovers for his country, cannot fail to make it agreeable"—epithets exactly fit. It was a glowing and lovely paean on Scotland, written with dignity and a classical beauty that transforms the conventionalisms and the stiffly Latinized style. A joy and pride in commemorating his land's past and present lights up the whole poem. He invokes sonorously—his "loved Albania"
— whether on high Dunedin, thou
Guardest the steep and iron-bolted rock,
Where trusted lie the monarchy's last gems—
Or if along the well-contested ground,
The warlike Border-land, thou marchest proud:
In Teviotdale, where many a shepherd dwells,
By lovely-winding Tweed, or Cheviot brown—;

He glories in its unconquered past:
Hail! land of bowmen! seed of those who scorned
To stoop the neck to wide imperial Rome—
Hail! state unconquered by the fire of war!—

and picturesquely describes its natural beauties of river, lake and hill, the purple heath, the untold riches of game. In one passage—tiner than Thomson's "Hebrid Isles" one—he recalls the legend of the "ghostly hunting" of the thanes of Ross:
There oft is heard at midnight or at noon,
Beginning faint, but rising still more loud
And nearer, voice of hunters and of hounds
And horns hoarse-winded, blowing far and keen—
—the broken cry of deer
Mangled by throttling dogs, the shouts of men,
And hoofs thick beating on the hollow hill.—

From the Highlands he passes to the Islands, from "western mountain
lone"—

I dare the deep, though winter storms
Rage fierce, and round me mad Corbrecho roar,
Wafted with love to see Columba's isles.
So to a fervent naming of the isles:
There view I winged Sky and loves long,—
And talk at once delighted and appalled
By the pale moon, with utmost Hirta's seers
Of beckoning ghosts, and shadowy men that bode
Sore death—

and a final dedication:
Thus, Caledonia, many-hilled! to thee
End and beginning of my ardent song,
I tune the Druid's lyre.—

Its young author of twenty-four having died, a friend edited it, added
a dedication to General Wade, and in some fashion brought it to the
notice of Aaron Hill, an obvious patron since he had travelled in Scot¬
land and was known as friend of Thomson, Mallet and Mitchell. A pas¬
sage, the only commonplace lines in the poem, a praising of the Scots
youth, was published in the Gentleman's Magazine (March 1767). In the
following number, Hill addressed a poem to the editor of Albania, whose
lines on Wade he praised. He then turned in attack on the poet of "Al¬
bania": his patriotism was unpalatable;

"--partial birth misled the patriot praise"
his claims were absurd. Hill grants that
--the Muse had warm'd his youthful song,
Bold were his notes! and his ideas strong.

But—

and the qualifications are many.
No other heed was taken of the poem, and the first beautiful verse on
Scotland dropped into an oblivion from which it was only rescued by
a Scot fifty years after.
To English taste—in the present relationship between the two countries
it was unwarrantable in its claims and therefore unpalatable. It was
obviously premature.

a. I. English writers in the north: Steele, Hill, Burt.
   II. English poets' recognition of Scots work: Swift, Pope, Phillips, Young, Hill, Savage, Gay, etc.
   III. The vogue of the Scots song, and its influence.
   IV. The early travel-tour and travel-letter.
   V. English Magazines and their attention to Scotland.

b. I. The neutralization of the dialect revival.
   II. English dominance in Scottish society and letters.
   III. English bent of the poets.
   IV. Retrospect.
3. 1713
The Scot had penetrated into the arcana of English poetry,—important corollary to the closer relations between the two countries.

That, meantime, of England's penetration northwards, her mental and literary discovery of Scotland?

By good fortune, some after-effects of the '15 were the means of bringing several valuable visitors north, and through them of breeding new English interests in the country.

The first was the matter of Forfeited Estates. Steele, as one of the Commissioners, was three times in Edinburgh on business involved. He made the acquaintance of Professor Scott and James Anderson, bibliophile and antiquarian, and in all probability of Ramsey. He encouraged one writer to issue a pamphlet on second-sight, bought copies of Ramsey's and Mitchell's works, dabbled in church matters, was diverted by the town caddies, infected one or two good turns for Scots friends, declared himself well pleased with his Edinburgh entertainment—but produced nothing about it or the land.

In London commercial circles, meanwhile, where a certain vogue for remote projects was strong, a company, the York Building Company, purchased in 1719 some of the Scots estates. There had long been talk of fortune and uses to be made of Scots timber—Pepys had canvassed it-surveyors had once been sent north. In 1714-15, Aaron Hill, like Defoe an avaricious man as well as writer, had offered a poem on "The Beech Tree" to Harley, urging the utilization of Scots woods. Hill had already been in partnership with a Scot, Sir Robert Montgomery, in another project, and now on the York Building Company's purchase was ready with a scheme for "importing timber, masts, marbles, and other commodities of the natural growth of Scotland". The transfer negotiations went on from 1719-25. In the summer of 1726, Hill set out for Speyside to investigate the purchase.

His coach and six, tremendous novelty in the north, bowed through Edinburgh and Inverness. Deterred possibly by Mitchell's account of the former town's poor and mercenary poets, and "homesick of "depressed merit" and "the rags of language", he seems to have made no contact with worthies there. Autumn and winter were spent in the north. In the following March, Thomson is deploring his absence still, but Hill was then returning to London. A year later, 1728, he was again in the north, actively supervising a great scheme of timber-cutting in "The Golden Groves of Abernethy", as he fondly headed a letter. This time Aberdeen and Inverness offered him the freedom of their cities, he was entertained by the Duchess of Gordon, and much was made of him. Either on this visit or the previous one, he wrote an unusual lyric: "Ronald and Dorna; by a Highlander to his Mistress. From a literal Translation of the Original".

It is the first English attempt at a poem even purporting to be a Gaelic translation, and worth note because of that, but it is fairly certainly a 'fake' of Hill's own. A craze at the time for 'artless'
Lapland love songs had infected Phillips, Hill and Mrs Rowe, and all had been furishing verses on 'Orr's Moor' and the like. Thomson, in a letter to Hill had spoken of Skor-urron's snowy Top! A third inspiration had been Martin's book on the Isles. Hence

Come let us climb Skorr-urran's snowy top;
Cold as it seems, it is less cold than you;
Thin thro' the snow these lambs its heath-twigs crop,
Your snow, more hostile, starves and freezes too.

What tho' I lov'd of late in Skye's fair isle,
And blusht' and bow'd and shrank from Kenza's eye—and so on in conventional sentiments, and with "local colour" whipped from Martin's pages:

...or

Mark with what tuneful haste Sheleila flows,
To mix its wid'ning stream in Donnan's Lake—

His only other travel verses on Scotland were epigrams cut on the glass of inn-windows, of the type of

Scotland! thy weather's like a modish wife!
Thy winds and rains forever are at strife.—
So termagant a while her thunder tries,
And when she can no longer scold—she cries.

He visited Edinburgh again in 1736, possibly on York Building Company business still, as Highland timber had been abandoned for Lothian mines—(commercial concerns still had fantastic ideas of marble quarries and gold mines in the north)—but his opinion of the land remained:

Bleak are thy hills, O North, and wild thy plains,
Thy Nymphs unsoftened and untaught thy Swains.—

The "kind Inspirer and Candid Observer", as Thomson called him, paid one unexpected tribute in later years, however, when in one lyric he compared Scotland favourably with England, and in another found a quality to praise.

—England, thy sister, is a gay coquet,
Whom art enlivens, and temptations whet.—
Scotland comes after like an unripe fair,
Who sighs with envy at a sister's air,
Thoughtless how soon she'll grow to have her day,
And be the toast when 'other's charms decay.

But Hill had far more concern with Scotland than travel and epigrams. His liaisons between Scottish and English literature will be returned to.

The sale of forfeited estates was only one part of the problem of settling the Highlands. The short-lived Glenshiel rising of 1719 had shown the need for further action. (That rising, incidentally, had stirred London for a while. "The Mountains of Scotland have engrossed the Talk of the Town—"
I. Preface to "Art of Poetry". 1719.

2. 1719


   Sir K. Mackenzie. "Wade and his Roads".

5. The History of the Kingdom of Scotland.
   Dublin 1724.

6. "The Second-sighted Highlander, the Friendly
   Demon, or the Generous Apparition". 1726
   "Account of the Conduct and Proceedings of John
   Gow, the Pirate". 1736.
   "The Agreeable Caledonian"-1728.
   "Secret History of Mary Queen of Scots. 1727.
   "Genuine Letters of -- -- -- -- -- -- 1726
   "Memoirs of Imprisonment and Death of-- 1729.

7. March 1731.
The Forked Hill of Greece is silent, complained Gildon. Demaid produced a play meant to parallel the Jacobite invader—"The invader of his Country"—with a prologue declaring its aim:

"When Britain's Rebel Sons of late
Combin'd with Foreign Foes t' invade the State—
We show to-night, such Treasons to prevent,
That their Guilt's followed by their Punishment,
That Heaven's the Guardian of our Rightful Cause—
But the Coriolanus parallel was over-strained, and the play badly received. London relished more a reprint of Kirke's libellous "Modern Account of Scotland", and a jocular lampoon in verse "The Victory of Glenshiel in Scotland"

The Highlands continued to command attention even after the Glenshiel quietus, for the papers were full of the notorious "mischiefs" of Rob Roy. The 'Loch Lomond Expedition' pamphlet of 1715 had told of the Clan Gregor, the Rebellion histories of Fatten and Roy dealt with Rob's part. Defoe had kept London papers supplied with his doings in 1717—false report of his death in 1721 led to a poem by Ramsay:—

O Badenoch and Woods of thole—
being printed in the St James Post. Two years later, Defoe's life of him appeared, and with it, "The Scotch Rogue, Part II", obvious sops to public interest in these turbulent regions.

In 1724 General Wade was sent north to inspect the state of the Highlands, inquire into recent robberies, examine the workings of the 1716 Disarming Act and find how far Lovat's "Memorial" and its solutions could be utilised. From July on, Wade traversed the country and gathered facts, military, psychological, economic on the Highlanders. His suggestions for reform were put before the King in the following April, and the first constructive English reforms then begun, with road and bridge building and the formation of Highland Companies of soldiers. A further Disarming Act was passed; a further report from Wade was presented to the Government in 1727.

All that activity drew attention to the north, as well as taking thither military and engineering officials. One valuable observer was Captain Burt, appointed by the Treasury a receiver and collector (from midsummer 1725) of the rents of an unsold residue of the Forfeited Estates. His well-known letters will be considered with those of the travellers. They were being written now, in 1728-29, to a friend, fictitious or real, with an interest in the Highlands.

Though these were left unpublished—a matter of real regret—Wade's reports induced a little spate of pamphlets about the country. A "History of the Kingdom of Scotland", and a "Description of the Kingdom of Scotland" were launched in the wake of his first report, and some 'rogue' accounts, and Mary Queen of Scots tales followed.

When in 1729-30 six Independent Companies led by Highland officers were formed and the formation of Highland regiments was then and after a topic of heated debate in England—there was an acule enough interest in the Highlands to encourage the opportunist Mitchell to stage "The Highland Fair" with its absurd propaganda.

And steadily during these years the road-making went on, and steadily
the voting of supplies of money for them provoked acrid talk in Parliament. "I cannot see what made such a design so absolutely necessary," grumbled a typical opponent, and compared aggrievedly the meagre amounts drawn from Scotland by taxes with the £10,000 already spent on roads. Walpole had to persuade the House to continue road-making and Independent Companies by recalling the invasions. The re-collection was sufficient. The Highlands were still held dangerous soil.

From time to time verses on Wade's great scheme were published, that show that the undertaking was felt to have an epic touch. Some distichs from the Edinburgh Evening Courant were reprinted in the Gentleman's Magazine. Its completion in 1737 was hailed by a number of poems. Welstead had one Ode, an anonymous writer another; a Scots poet a third and the editor of "Albania" a fourth. The last flung a Frank Brangwyn glamour over the work:—

Then shall astonished armies, marching high
O'er causeway'd mountains that invade the sky,
Climb the rais'd arch that sweeps its distant throw,
Cross tumbling floods, which roar unheard below,
Gaze from the cliff's cut edge, through midway air,
And trembling, wonder at their safety there!
Pierce fenney deeps with firm unsinking tread,
And o'er drained deserts wholesome empire spread.

Apart from the settlement of the Highlands, two perennial grievances in Parliament inclined to keep relations 'on edge' between the two countries. The lesser was the smallness of Scotland's contribution to the national exchequer. "Beggars all, beggars all, Sir John", thought England. The greater was the slavish subservience of the Scottish representatives to the Government. After the Malt Tax riots of 1725, Walpole overthrew the Squadrons Volante, abolished the Secretary of State and ruled Scotland through Argyle and Islay and Duncan Forbes. Through them the Parliamentary peers were chosen to a man, said opponents,—with fair justice—and venality was alleged. In spite of Scottish protest in 1733 and 1734, that malpractice continued. Resentment expressed itself in epigrams that the magazines picked up and printed:

Thy countrymen, good Charles, are still the same;
They murder'd once thy body, now thy fame.
By venal Scots thou to the block wast led,
Betray'd when living, and bely'd when dead.
All peace be to thy soul, much injur'd prince,
The sires sold thee, their sons their country since.

The coming to London by boat of the Scots' M.P.'s produced one that ended:

And Scotsmen in great George's reign
Will tempt the Treacherous Sea for gain.

A third begins bluntly:
Unhappy England, still in '41,
By Scotland art thou doom'd to be undone.
1. Journal to Stella 1712.
2. "Honest Dr. Cockburn"—but on Cairnes—"What can one expect from a Scot and a fanatic?"

3. 1729
2a On Cutting down the Thorn 1727
4. Letter to Gay in Scotland. 1729.

6. Swift's commentary dates from 1723-36 (on Clarendon) that on Burnet from 1724-34.
John Macky's "Secret Services" 1733.
On three occasions, England was alarmed over Scottish matters, in the Salt Tax riots of 1725, in the Porteous affair of 1746, and in the sensational desertion of a Highland regiment in 1743. But none of these led to much writing on Scotland, though the Porteous Riots had a backwash of furious talk in Parliament over the Pains and Penalties Bill—(Lord Hervey "the only man almost in the King's service that did not talk and act as if Scotland was to be torn to pieces for the transaction")—the fullest reporting in the London papers, and broadsheets of the type of "A Surprising Conversation of a Highlander who has the second sight— with an Indian Bramin about Captain John Porteous."

Renaissance or no, the leading English poets in this age gave no more literary attention to Scotland than did their predecessors.

The London circles in which Pope and Swift moved were full of Scots, and both poets were on terms of intimacy with many.

Swift wrote of Argyle at first: "I love that Duke mightily"; of the Duke of Hamilton: "I loved him very well". His best friend, Arbuthnot, was a Scot, as were his banker and his doctor, Cairns and Cockburn. In the list he made of "men of distinction and my friends" he was proud to place the Earl of Mar, the Earl of Orkney and Arbuthnot. Yet Swift was incapable of forming any opinion of Scotland, not distorted by political prejudice. The unbiased references he makes arc few, once he praised

"Scottish bards of highest fame,
Wise Hawthornden and Stirling's lord."

Once he praised Scottish education in his "Essay on Modern Education"; and once he called them "a brave people and defenders of their liberties", a remark inspired more by annoyance with Ireland, however.

Far more frequent were the jibes, a cutting analysis of Scots conversation, passing hits in verse at "the pedlar Scot", or

\[\text{-Deny their country like a Scot,}
\text{Though by their idiom and grimace,}
\text{They soon betray their native place.}\]

Three books drove him to vent some of that rancour against the race that obsessed him.

Clarendon's "History of the Rebellion" was the first. It was too mild for Swift. He annotated in fury: "The cursed, hellish, villainy, treachery, treasons of the Scots were the chief grounds and causes of that execrable rebellion". Clarendon had called Scotland the wilderness of England's garden; Swift, "the dunghill!" The former had written of the lack of curiosity about Scotland; Swift, "Should Bridewell news be in any Gazette?" Of the selling of Charles, he said—"that infamy is in the scurvy nature of a Scot" Only Montrose was "a perfect hero, wholly un-Scotified". "All Argyles—cursed hell-hounds for ever!—all Highlanders, "rank Scottish thieves", won his verdict. Down the margins he jotted "cursed, hellish Scots"—"Scotch dogs"—cursed Scots for ever" with inexhaustible virulence.
1. "And Oldmixon and Burnet both outlie" (Satires of Dr. Donne)
2. Dunciad 1728.
3. Ask men's opinions; Sco to now shall tell
   How trade increases, and the world goes well;
   Strike off his pension, by the setting sun,
   And Britain, if not Europe, is undone. Moral Essays.
4. "A Scot will fight for Christ's Kirk on the Green"
   1st Epistle to 2nd Book of Horace.
5. 1740
6. 1729.
Burnet's "History of My Own Times" roused him afresh. Burnet was "treacherous villain", his history more properly to be called-"A History of Scotland during the Author's Time with some Digressions relating to England," for I believe two-thirds of it relate only to that beggarly nation and their insignificant brangles and factions". In the same "Short Remarks" he tore the author to pieces, "the worst qualified for a historian that ever I met with. His style is rough, full of improprieties, in expression often Scotch.--His observations mean and trite and very often false--the most partial of all writers--" His annotations are not so anger-stung as those to Clarendon, however; and the same is true of his marginal notes in the "Memoirs of the Secret Services of John M'acky", although he proves as fertile in abusive epithets there for almost all the Scottish peers M'acky praises. Whatever the complete tally of causes for Swift's antipathy to Scotland be-and among them are the "imperfect sympathy" at its most imperfect, party rancour, the dislike and contempt felt for many Scots he came into contact with, his later hatred of Argyle, the smarting belief that his own frustrated career had suffered by political faction influenced by Scots--he remained an unrelenting hater to the end. One of his last pamphlets, "The Story of the Injured Lady" published during the '45 rebellion, described Scotland, "the lady," with all his command of stinging abuse. She is tall, lean, ill-shaped, bad-breathed, of a natural sluttishness, with no reputation either for virtue, honesty, truth or manners, her common conversation a scolding and cursing, her life poor and beggary, the scraping of maintenance by pilfering wherever she comes". Her house is frequented by a company of rogues, thieves and pick pockets; (Highlanders) her religion is of the most rank and virulent kind. As to her attitude to England--"she still beareth him an invincible hatred, and revileth him to her face, and raileth at him in all companies".

With this typical language about the country, Swift ceases to take further interest in it.

Pope could abuse Scots on occasion as he did Burnet (whom he parodied hilariously in the "Memoirs of P. P. Clerk of this Parish", which "might be entitled 'the importance of a man to himself'"), Ridpath, "To Dulness, Ridpath is as dear as Mist" and Mitchell and Ramsay, though he revoked the lines on them.

Among his closest friends, however, were Arbuthnot, Mallet, Thomson, Dr. Cheyne, Lord Marchmont, Alexander Cunningham the M.P., and his eulogies of these and of Argyle outweigh his jests about "Scots" and his pension, or the Scots patriotism that will even extend to fighting for "Christ's Kirk on the Green". Mallet, whom I love and esteem", and Thomson and Aikman he stood staunchly by, attending the first nights of several of their plays, and offering Thomson suggestions for his revisions of "The Seasons."

Yet, if he ever mentions Scotland, it is with a curious sense of its remoteness. Once, sighing for a complete seclusion from life, he wrote Marchmont: "I do sincerely wish myself in Scotland or the forests"--a remark paralleled though in laughing mood by Swift's excuse to Gay in Edinburgh: "Who could write to you in Scotland?"
Yet where Swift and Pope were too London-centred to respond to the alien and unknown Scotland, some of the lesser men were free-lance enough to do so.

Ambrose Phillips, since his visit to Denmark in 1709 had shown an interest in northern literature that led him to write an 'Epistle from Copenhagen', a translation from a Danish skald, some Lappish translations, and coming nearer home, to start a poem on Thule. In London again by 1719, he accorded a recognition of Scots letters when he praised in Lungubres Cantus Mitchell's attempts "his rugged land to civilise" four years later it is believed to be he who published a volume "A Collection of Old Ballads" to which he added "a few old Scotch songs". These are "Gilderoy", "Bonny Dundee", and four "Jocky and Moggy" specimens. A second volume held some versions of genuine songs, but Englished: "The Lass with the Golden Hair", "The Spinning Wheel" and another fifteen pseudo-Scots ones. For the third volume, however, he was astute enough to make his choice from the "Tea-Table Miscellany", a sign that he continued to be aware of Scots work.

His contemporary, the poet, dramatist, and literary patron, Hill, was by then doing his unique service to Scottish letters. His efforts were a curious agglomeration. Between 1720 and 1740 he was enthusiastically establishing three of the Scots poets in London's literary circles, urging them on ...-notice. The "Lungubres Cantus" acclaimed by Phillips and Young brought Mitchell to his notice. "I am never more delighted than when I meet with an opportunity to unveil obscure Merit and produce it into Notice", overred Hill, and Mitchell had a fluent and adulatory pen to commend him. Within a year their friendship was strong enough for Hill to be writing a poem at the request of Mitchell, and for the latter to be staging as his own a play of Hill's. For that play, Hill wrote prologue and epilogue, the first a eulogy of reviving Scotland:

"That Brave and long-fam'd in arms, her warlike race
    Have trod the fields of death, with dauntless grace-
    Fatal.

    For that she was, by rising arts, she grasps the bays,
    Extra-
    And her old cant, like falling stocks, decays!

    Vengeance". Her long-lost Muse new-lights her ancient flame,
    And our scene blazes with recover'd fame.

On Mitchell's visit to Scotland about 1723, he wrote to Hill, listing satirically the poets there. In the following year, Hill's paper, "The Plain Dealer" had five most unusual numbers dealing with Scottish poems or topics, the first time an English paper had given such attention to the north. The first, after praising "the charming majestick Nakedness" of earlier poetry and of "our good old ballads", finds it in "a poem by a young Scots Gentleman", a vapid ode by Mitchell, and in "a plain and noble Masterpiece", Mallet's "William and Margaret". Neither poet is named, but both are hailed as recovering for English verse "venerable undress'd Nature". Ten numbers later, he announces that the poet of "William and Margaret" is a North Briton, and he again hails his 'genius' with a flourish.

In the same number he states that an Edinburgh writer 'Fergus Bruce' has promised a correspondence from there, and after quoting Bruce's
letter from them, (in which Bruce describes the welcome given Hill's paper by "our politest people") repeats his pleasure at "the Event of this Northern Correspondence". For I have retained from my Infancy a kind of affectionate Partiality for the generous Brevity and gallant Plainness of our Brothers beyond Tweed; He distributes compliments lavishly, and draws attention to the fact that since the beginning of the century "the Muses and the Graces have very visibly fixed and seated themselves in their learned Seminaries. Their rising Youth of both Sexes seem to vie with one another in a warm and generous Emulation which shall most adorn their own and soonest match the Elegance of other, even the politest Nations". He cites two of the Edinburgh clubs and quotes one of the poems of a member.

A month later another letter by Bruce is inserted, a summary of the "Advantages and Disadvantages of our good Town", and after another month, a third letter admitting that many of the Plain Dealer's readers in the north have taken offence at his remarks. In spite of that he continues his survey of the town, and says interestingly: "As the Correspondence and Communication between the now United Kingdom has in a great Measure improved and also refined our Language in a very sensible manner" -(he excepts accent and pronunciation as "hardly to be naturalized without much Time and continual Converse") so it has polished the Taste, the Air and the Fashions of both Gentlemen and Ladies of my Country. - When I look into the Writings of Mr Drummond of Hawthornden, Sir George Mackenzie, the Earl of Lauderdale, Bishop Burnet, Mr Fletcher of Saltoun -- my Countrymen are not so very far inferior as that Critics should depreciate our Pretensions to the Language".

Hill, possibly alarmed at the idea of a wavering Scotch circulation, adds to this many suave compliments on the learning of the Scots peers, and other inappropriate remarks, diplomatic in aim Bruce had no more letters published, and after praising two further poems of Mitchell's, the Plain Dealer's eductive articles on Scots literature and society stop.

That was in November 1724. By then Mallet was in London, and already in Hill's graces. A year after, Thomson arrived. He did not meet Hill at once, but a poem of the latter's "To Mr James Thompson (sic) on his asking my Advice to what Patron he should address his Poem called "Winter" suggests a correspondence. The success of that poem drew a most flattering letter from Hill, however, and a meeting followed.

From that point Hill 'cultivates' all three poets, supplies, for example a prologue and epilogue to Mallet's "Eurydice", greets Thomson's "Liberty" with "I shall never think be able to think of a loveliness in moral, a frankness in social, or a penetration in political life to which you have not in this imitable masterpiece both of language and genius, given a force and a delicacy which few shall be born with a capacity to feel, and none ever with a capacity to exceed".

It was scarcely in these tones that he criticised in the following year the unknown dead poet of "Albumie", and it is that entire lack of discrimination that invalidates the striking claims that at first sight one believes can be made for him.
Admittedly he was the first to proclaim to England the new Scottish genius and its contribution to English literature. He was the first to welcome and extol the newcomers from the Edinburgh school, to praise enthusiastically that force in nature—description that Thomson genuinely did possess, and to draw admiration to the ballad of "William and Margaret".

By virtue of that remarkable little pastiche, too, of "Ronald and Dorna" which appeared thirty years before any Ossian cult, he can claim credit as pioneer of a pseudo-Gaelic cult.

Yet each claim has its weakness. He acclaimed Thomson rapturously, it is true, but the same praises were heaped on Mitchell. His appreciation was as wayward as it was extravagant ("Liberty" was found superior to "Winter", for example) It sprang in good part not from a highly intelligent criticism, quick to recognize new spirit, new genius, but from a love of literary patronage and a mutual-admiration cult among Mallet, Mitchell, Hill and at first Thomson. What he really admired was not the racial but the Anglicized side of their art, or as in "William and Margaret" the compromise—ballad. He could write "Ronald and Dorna", but had no liking for the actual Highlands; they were "golden groves" only in the money sense, and Skorr-urrran's snowy top was offset by the commoner mention of "thy bleak hills"—"thy dusky moors"—"wild thy plains". In Katherine Mansfield's phrase, one begins by presenting Hill with a bouquet and then taking it back flower by flower.

...The other poet had the penetration to greet Scottish work, for Savage printed verse by Riccalton and Mallet in his 1726 Miscellany. It was an early appearance for an English Miscellany. Bryden's and the six volumes of Lodgeley's hold only work by Thomson. He acclaimed the "flight of Mallet and Thomson in his ""underer", too.

Letly, Jay showed one Scottish contribution in his work that was novel, for his "Beggar's Opera" owed something in its return to reality, and in its exploring of a new milieu to the lead set by Hmsay's "Gentle Shepherd". Gay had Arbuthnot as friend, the Duke of Buccleuch and the Duke of Argyle as patrons, and a stay of some months in Edinburgh and the acquaintance of Hmsay. But except for touches of dialect in "The Shepherd's Week", and talk of Blowzybeus singing of 'Taffey Welsh and Jimmy Scot', Gay made no literary use of Scotland.

Only one thing Scottish he admired and used, and the gain came from his "Scottish friends". The Scottish airs he utilised for the songs of all his operas.

In that he was not alone, and it is of value to note what had happened to the wretched "Scotch song" of twenty years before.
The century had opened, it will be recalled, with the "Collection of Original Scotch Tunes" (full of the Highland humours) published with great success by Playford and Young and here. At the same time, the finer song-writers like Dr Blow and, to a lesser extent Purcell, were using genuine Scots melody for English songs, as well as turning out the popular 'Scotch song.' This vogue of genuine music, artificial lyric, continued, until a purification came from the north itself.

In Edinburgh, instrumental and vocal music had flourished as early as the 90's of the previous century. A St Cecilia's Day programme of 1695 shows music by Scots composers being rendered by a large orchestra, the majority of whose members were titled Scots. Of that orchestra, one boy William Thompson, migrated some years later to London, became a singer and singing-master there, and had extraordinary success in performing Scottish songs. By then, that is in the second decade of the new century, a Scottish society had established itself in the capital, and in drawing-rooms there the genuine songs were being sung, lady Grisel Baillie's daughter, to give one instance, famed as "sweet-tongued Murray" for her renderings. Thompson's popularity grew, until, as Tytler of Woodhouselee avouches, he was often invited to court, and being patronized by Queen Caroline taught the princesses the old songs. In 1722 a benefit concert was arranged for Thomson as a mark of recognition.

Two years later, Ramsay issued at Edinburgh his first volume of the "Tea-Table Miscellany" of songs, and its success was instantaneous. They were, of course, without music. In less than a year Thompson had put out a collection of fifty of the "best Scotch Songs set to Music", the first collection of genuine Scots songs set to genuine Scots melodies. This, the "Orpheus Caledonius" by name, included "The Bush Aboon Traquair", "The Broom of Cowdenknowes", "Waly, waly", "O'er Bogie", "Down the Burn, Davie", "By let us all to the Bridal", "Auld Lang Sine", "Serenity a heart light", "Tweedside" etcetera, evidently a mixture of old and modern, and with the words chiefly from Ramsay's "Tea-Table Miscellany". The volume had a subscription list of notabilities, a dedication to the Queen Princess of Wales, and an excellent sale. Eight years after, it was reissued in two volumes, with fifty additional songs.

Thanks to Ramsay and Thompson the Scots song enjoyed an unparalleled vogue. Seventy of the "Tea-Table Miscellany" songs were set to music by Alexander Stuart a year after Thompson's "Orpheus", that is 1730. The lyrics themselves were reprinted piratically in England in 1727 as "A New Miscellany of Scots Songs", were borrowed from without acknowledgment by Ambrose Phillips for his third volume of Old Ballads, and by Watts for his "Musical Miscellany" of 1730, and by the compiler of "A Complete Collection of Old and New, English and Scotch Songs" (1735).

In Edinburgh further collections of Scots tunes were published by Adam Craig (1730) and Alexander Munroe (1730), by Alexander Baillie, "Airs for the Flute" (1735)—the list is a fairly continuous one. A dancing-master there, a composer and publisher of music, James Oswald, went south to London in 1741, and in the following year published
two-volume "Collection of Curious Scots Tunes". (1742) These were well received, and Oswald became noted as a composer of the fashionable Scots song, his reputation reaching its height when in 1759 he published "The Caledonian Pocket Companion".

But the forties saw the greatest output of collections, English publishers taking up the issue of Original Scotch Songs', as Walsh's of 1742, of "Caledonian Country Dances", of a British Musical Miscellany of Celebrated English and Scotch Songs, and of innumerable gatherings of the lyrics. "The irresistible power of the Scots music is now so universally recognized through England", noted the Scots Magazine for 1739. "The Merry Companion or Universal Songster" of 1742 said in its preface: - It was judged proper to assign the first place to the Scots Songs on Account of the General Esteem they are in, not only for the Elegance and Simplicity of their Thought and Diction, but the Agreeable Airs to which they are commonly sung. It therefore printed sixty-four of Ramsay's. John Parry's "Ancient British Music" of the same year, exploring a slightly different tract of music-country, covered English, Welsh, and Scotch Airs. Osborn's popular collections, "The Lark", "The Robin", "The Linnet", "The Thrush" of 1742-1749, numbered among several hundreds of English songs, almost a hundred Scots, of which the most popular seem to have been good things like "My Jo, Janet", "The pawky-auld earle", "Doun the Burn, Davie", "Tweed side", "Leader Haughs and Yarrow".

These well-produced song-books had as cheap equivalents the 'Garlands' of three, four or six songs, in which the proper Scots song also found a place, though the pseudo-Scotts was swept in indiscriminately also. A little later, the 'Songsters' and 'Concerts' came on to the market, "The Vauxhall Concert", "The Mary'bone Concert", "The Warblers", "The Summer's Amusement" and the like, these belonging chiefly to the fifties and sixties. (Amsay's was only laid out in 1744, and neither it nor Vauxhall employed vocalists till after 1745.) They proved the repertoires of the pleasure-garden singers full of Scots songs, as well as of English imitations of them. Arne was engaged by then as composer of songs, and Dr Burney says that many of his ballads were professional imitations of the Scots style, while "in his other songs, he frequently dropped into it perhaps without design", - a striking proof of the strength of this taste.

The taste had not only this amazingly long life, - strictly speaking it never died out, - but it was surprisingly pervasive.

In Edinburgh a 'Scots Centate', the music by Bocchi, the dialect libretto by Ramsay had been issued in 1726. In London, Gay set the songs of the "Baggar's Opera" to Scots airs, and its furore established the use of these melodies on the stage. In the ensuing craze for ballad opera, they were constantly used. Gay's "Folly" included nine, his "Achilles" four, Fielding's "Intriguing Chambermaid" three and so on. In opera proper, where the 'Scots snap' became a common characteristic, even the Italian singers felt the challenge of their popularity, and adopted them as a "draw". Burney has a tale of "Roselinda" being put on, with "The Mass of Patie's Mill" as first air, "which Monteverdi condescended to sing, and Veraceini to set parts and ritornels to". Further, they became part of the repertoires of the leading Italian singers.
This rapid sketching of a musical vogue is less a digression than it seems. Its valuable reaction on Scots literature is, of course, obvious. It encouraged the writing of song lyrics, particularly those in dialect; it suggested the collecting of Highland songs that began in the fifties; and it directly started George Thomson—and through him, Burns—on the task of gathering older lyrics. It was Tenducci's singing of the native songs that inspired Thomson. "He it was who inoculated me"—"I conceived the idea of collecting all our best melodies and songs and of obtaining accompaniments to them". Hence the movement that drew such excellent matter from Burns.

On the English side, the vogue had varying influences that in sum were as valuable. It made a bond between Scots literature and English people; it even linked the two literatures, for English poets practised the "Scotch song", and William Thompson, for one, could write lyrics of glens and bagpipes! It gave a lead to the publishing of English and Scottish verses side by side. The comparison of English and Scottish music, constantly made in essays by Arbuthnot, Armstrong, Beattie for example, taught a little race psychology—an important gain. The popularity of the songs, bound with that of the Scottish country dances and 'Scotch step' that flourished in the thirties, made always welcome one thing Scottish. Lastly and chiefly, it kept alive a liking for the simple dialect lyric, a liking that commended the Scots dialect, and paved the way to an acceptance of Burns' verse.

In these years of peace, and of a mild half-political interest in the Highlands, one other taste had the chance and the stimulus to extend its scope to Scotland: that was the taste for the travel tour and the travel letter.

It was not pleasure travel alone that brought Scotland her 'chiefs among ye takin' notes! Steele and Hill in the twenties came on Government and commercial business, as did Captain Burt, William Stukely and Alexander Gordon, John Loveday and Roger Gale were bent on antiquarian research. Whitefield and Wesley in 1741 and 1751 came for religious purposes. Gay in 1739, Lady Oxford in 1745 for social reasons. Only Defoe and Defoe, Lord Oxford and Holmes, the President of St John's College, Oxford, and Dr William King came more or less for travel's sake.

A burst of noisy publicity was prelude, one of those familiar English versus-Scottish outbursts that in this case followed the 1719 invasion. Kirke's satire on Scotland had been reprinted; Misson's "Memoirs and Observations in his Travels over England, with some Account of Scotland and Ireland" had appeared, and Misson, blithely admitting "I filled my Note Book with all they told me" was full of unreliable and obsolete information, discreditable to modern Scotland; a second skit

5. 1722.
6. 1723.
7. Letters from the North of Scotland".
called "A secret service..."

In addition to these these had been "partial" handling of the country by English historians, and a cutting remark from Dr Stukely on Scots scholars compiling their ancient history "from invention and uncertain reports".

A perfervid Scot, J.W. therefore decided "to Confute the Ignorant as well as Malicious Misrepresentations of the Enemies of my Native Country", and published a "History of the Kingdom of Scotland", with an "Account of the Rebellion in Scotland", and a "Description of the Kingdom of Scotland and the Isles". This was published in Dublin in 1722, and with additions in 1724. Ironically it was entitled 'by an impartial hand' nothing was more fervidly Jacobite and nationalistic. Everything Scottish was hotly defended, the full list of monarchs, Mary, Queen of Scots, and England furiously blamed for the Covenanting troubles, Glencoe, the Darien Scheme... As for the land's present position, J.W. was eulogistic beyond all English credulity; "all the Seas about Scotland are wonderfull Stor'd with most Kinds of Excellent Fishes"—Plains—with most Kind of Grains, Herbs, and Fruits—Many of its Mountains not only lined with valuable Mines—but cover'd over with numerous Flocks, great Droves of Cattle"—etc. He supplied in moderate terms an account of clans, and a description of the government, laws, courts and the rest.

In the year it appeared, a Matthew Duncan, (pseudonym or not) had published a "Journey through Scotland", and in the following year, John Macky, the secret service agent, issued his "Journey through Scotland in Familiar Letters". (A vogue for such journals was then prevalent) This, too, was a glorification of the country, though a more temperate one than J.W's. It was dedicated to the nobility of the land and paid an excessive attention to their seats. (But said it might better be called "A Journey to the Herald's Office and the Seats of the Nobility of North Britain") The towns were made much of. Edinburgh had "Thestateliest Street in the World", Glasgow was "the beautifullest little City I had seen in Britain", Dundee and Aberdeen had both "a great face of Trade", Stirling and Aberdeen their flourish of culture, "consorts of music" and so on. He admits the decay of the Fife-shire towns and the villainy of the Highlanders, "as wild as they can be represented". Otherwise all is praise.

From 18th century travellers, one expects more; an attention to scenery & knowledge of Scots writers and authorities, some noting of psychological differences of race, personal observations and thought 'about it and about'.

In Macky there is little of the first. Mountain landscape is "coarse", but the cult of the lake and water-fall 'prospect' has begun. Macky notes two familiar views, and with more novelty finds "a romantick Seat on the Lake Loch-Trool". He quotes "Winton, an old Scots poet", and Dalrymple's additions to Camden; refers to Fordun and to Sir George Mackenzie, and uses Martin freely for his account of the Isles.
It and its predecessor jarred on Defoe,—as doubtless on other English readers. He issued three years later the third volume of his "Tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain", prefaced with frank talk of Scots "who have complimented their Country at the Expense of their Senses as well as their Sincerity"—"The World shall for once hear what Account an Englishman shall give of Scotland, who has had Occasion to see so much of it, and to make critical Enquiries into what he has not seen".

Defoe's three Letters are a patchwork, bits of past travel eked out of notes of a tour undertaken between the Rebellion and 1719, and the pattern is diverting and original. In many things Defoe was obtuse; he "won't run to History much", he announces; wild landscape is an eyesore of "black and frightful Steep Hills", "Rocks and Steeps", "this frightful Country"; the Hebrides can hold nothing of note; and so his vision narrows. A born journalist, however, his eye caught this detail and that, he jotted down an opinion or a comparison as he went, and made himself constantly the English interpreter—in light vein—of Scotland.

Almost his first note, for example, was that the first town on the northern side of the Borders was entirely Scottish, while on the southern side, the English towns were 'penetrated' by Scots, and even the Scots style of houses adopted. From that topic, he passes to inns, sales, soil, fir-trees, Scots enclosure, Haddington's factories, solan geese,—a typical conglomeration, full of vivacious if hasty comment, and rung down in Defoe's authoritative tone.

In this fashion, he dealt with the country. The first letter described the tour from the Borders to Edinburgh and the towns along the Forth. He had nothing new to offer here, laughed at Holyrood's Kings' portraits, noted Edinburgh's prosperity and its notable men, Balfour, Sibbald, the late Pitcairne. The second letter dealt with the west from Carlisle to Glasgow and Stirling, and worked in the report of a field-conventicle he had once seen, a eulogy of Glasgow's beauty and prosperity, and a long tale of a Border hill climb, undertaken in ludicrous terror. (An illuminating 'footnote' to the contemporary attitude to the out-of-doors.) With the third letter he "entered the true and real Caledonia", but his route was only through Fife to Perth, and thence by the eastern shires to Inverness. He commented on a bad reception at Montrose, "because we were Englishmen—not because of the rebellion and the forfeiture of estates, but on account of the Union which they almost universally exclaimed against." Of the Northern Highlands, he declared:—"Our Geographers seem at a Loss in the Description. They are obliged to fill it up with Hills and Mountains, as they do the inner Parts of Africa with Lyons and Elephants for want of knowing what else to place there". He inveighs against this, describes the country and praises the nobility. So to John o' Groats House, "where we set our Horses' feet into the Sea". In these parts he "could understand nothing of what the People said, any more than if we had been in Morocco", and he speaks
in a shocked hush of the state of religion there. Even worse was "all that mountainous, barren and frightful Country called 'Loquabre'—indeed a frightful Country, full of hideous desert Mountains and unpassable. I see the Highland robbers, such as the famous Rob Roy find such retreats! Rosdalbin, with its "fierce, fighting and furious Kind of Men" was little better. Here, however, he is obviously falling back on Camden, his own stores of knowledge petering out.

This account was acceptable enough to be reprinted constantly in later years, with additions by other writers, for some editions by Richardson; and it is educative to watch the trend of that 'touching-up', the visits to 'most romantic woods' or natural cascades; the references to Druids and Roman remains and Macbeth; the quotation of Martin and of Faultless of second-sight; in short the gradual 'romanticizing' of Scotland. But with Defoe in 1727 that had not even begun. His assessment of the country was the severely practical one. She "will afford a great variety to the Observer and to the Pen of the Itinerant", but since the Union "she appears no more but as a Province or at best a Dominion".

Consciously or unconsciously he achieves one curious thing, for he infects the reader with a sense of the adventure of touring Scotland. His exaggerations are seductive—"the frightful and impassable Precipice" of Edinburgh Castle, the 'tremendous, and horrendous, heaven-defending' velocity of a Scots gale; the 'frightfullest pass' of Enterkin. He touches up vividly every little adventure of his own, and suggests further; travel through the northern Highlands best done caravan-fashion with tents, for instance, and offers the romantic comparisons of Morocco and the like. This coloring loses nothing from its contrast with the economic background, for Defoe's account of coal-mines, of the finding of ore in the mountains, of a project like the Forth and Clyde canal all have something of the same romantic glow, conjuring up for English readers a terra incognita, commercially as well as geographically, and excitingly accessible.

Several times Defoe had referred to the '15 rebellion, and he had visited Perth and the field of Sherrifmuir, and meditated suitably on "that rabble of Highlanders". That the scenes had become an attraction is evident from the tours of other travellers. Lord Oxford, on a journey to Paplin House in 1725 rode to see Perth, "which I was chiefly induced to do on account of the fame it obtained in this part of the world in 1715". Or rather the chaplain he kept the journal, shows two other attractions being found luring; for "an Iris catch" was noted down, and translation from Gaelic into Scots, and in Edinburgh there were appreciative visits to Ramsay, and to 'Addie in the Advocates' Library.

The scholarly interests were beginning to count more (partly because the activity of the Society of Antiquaries, revived in 1717 and flourishing under Gala and Stukeley), partly as consequence of two books, a reprint of Martin's "Description of the Western Isles" in 1715, and Dr Stukeley's "Account of a Roman Temple and other Antiquities near Graham's in Scotland" (1720). For the effect of the first glance at John Pond's copy, bought in 1720. He thought Martin's subject of the first importance: 'Those Islands afford a great number of Materials for exer-
Using the talents of the ablest antiquarians, mathematicians, natural philosophers and men of letters," he wrote on the flyleaf. Martin's text was therefore drastically scrutinized, corrected, copiously annotated and then forwarded to Viscount Hollesworth for a similar handling both are impatient of Martin's second sight account, andoland, with a knowledge of Gaelic and a study of the Druids, riddles Martin's antiquarian lore badly.

Likely a scholar in close touch with Scottish antiquaries, was tracing Roman remains in Scotland that summer (1720), and his book gave an impatient to research in the north. His preface had expressed concern "that the Scotch Nation, where there were so many good Scholars, should be so negligent in investigating Roman antiquities. This sentence fired Alexander Gordon, writer and publisher and antiquary, to devote himself to that study, and in 1727 he brought out his "Itinerarium Septentrionale; or a Journey over the greatest Part of Scotland," a book that became the bible of Roman antiquaries of that century.

Its effect can be gauged from the travellers it brought north. John Loveday, Hearne's antiquarian friend, paid an eighteen weeks visit in 1722, bearing messages from Hearne to Ruddiman. Loveday examined indefatigably old buildings and pictures, visited the universities, finding Edinburgh adorned by Simson and Hutchison. He had an eye for non-scholastic things, too, for he noted that the Scots "with ye utmost Freedom from the Union," and "all remember ye Darien affair and ye Massacre of Hencoe," and he commented on "cots dress, physique, Sabbath-observances, communion, and the terrible rural housing that always shocked southeners—mud Cots cover'd with Purf." Once he refers to "our romantic route," but that was possibly one of the later revisions he made in his text, like the sketch of the writer Pennivick.

Loveday returned satisfied: "The Scots were agreeable to me; they seem good-natured, and are a lively active sort of people"—a very unusual testimonial.

Joger Gale, a more eminent antiquary, went north seven years later, and differed violently from Loveday's opinion. The Scottish universities were "but a poor thing; Edinburgh's insanitary state was insufferable; to the land a great face of poverty and pride reigns through the hole." "We were splendidly entertained, but I think I shall hardly take a journey of pleasure to it again. We saw everything that was remarkable, found them much short of our expectations and the eulogiums bestowed upon them by the natives." That solitary compliment of hospitality had been paid by Dr King on his visit to the Scots capital three years previously; "entertained with the greatest politeness and delicacy," he reported, and found a novel condonation of the town's malodorous state by arguing it was no worse than Paris. The opinions of all the next visitor of note, and of Dr Holmes who did the little tour in the following year, and paid special attention to Glasgow and Edinburgh, universities, unwillingly do not survive.

Lastly, before the '45 once more cut off the Highlands and travel thither, they were being explored in one new direction, medicinally. The Lowland eyes such as Moffat were already known, but Highland centres for the air and for "whisky-drinking" were becoming advocated. Sir John Lock, for example, made special journeys to Dalguise, and an account of him in 1742 refers to "the most charming views"—"'tis perfectly
2. Suggested as Defoe's work.
3. On the Winter Solstice"-dated from Edinburgh. 1740
Among Scots, evidently, an appreciation of the Highlands had begun.

In England, meanwhile, two books had been published, one by John Transham "The World in Miniature, or the Entertaining Traveller," one by Manuel Gonzales, "A Voyage to Great Britain," both purporting to deal with Scotland, Highlands and Lowlands. But both descriptions were "grown downright obsolete," as the critic said of Scots dialect, and have as well a suspicious similarity, and obviously were not by genuine travellers.

Of the remaining travellers, Whitefield in '41 had an eye only to the reception of his preaching, lady Oxford only to the works of art in the aristocratic houses she visited, and Akenside, the poet, only to the colours of the climate:

But lo! on this deserted coast
How faint the light, how chill the air!
Looked with whirlwind, hail and frost
Fierce Winter desolates the year.

That tally of travellers and their records is not yet a large one. (And mention of the most important letters, Burt's, postponed till their year of publication.) But the influence of both men and books is worth taking into account.

New points of view in regard to Scotland and the Highlands are emerging. The first "romantics" are being dropped, though generally about lake and valley scenery and prospects. Some interest is taken in the Gaelic; there is talk of Caledonia; the battle-scenes of the '15 are a source of attraction; the Highlands and isles are being recognised as fruitful ground for antiquarian work; and to the biased eulogies of Scots such as Wallace and M'acky are being added the dispassionate accounts of Defoe and Loveday. All concur in instructing England—if she chooses to be instructed!

But if the above list suggests misleadingly a wide-spread English interest in the north, a corrective is to be had by scanning the English magazines for the period.

If the Gentleman's Magazine, begun in 1731, or the London Magazine of 1732 on, be any criterion of the attention of the English reading public, then the attention given Scotland was small. Their readers would gain no inkling of any poetical activity in the north, for no articles dealt with Scots letters, and poems by Scots number at most two out of sixty, in the year's 'poetical Miscellanies'. In the years of the Porteous Riots, and the Bill of Pains and Penalties, the number is a little higher; but there is less note of Scottish literature in the ten years' issues of these magazines, than in the five numbers of Hill's "Plain Dealer".

Of Scots poets printed, the score is roughly this:—Ramsey has his poem "To Duncan Forbes" on the playhouse, and his "Daphnis
1. 1737-1742.
2. 1736

3. 1731-45. With the '45 Scottish references were naturally more frequent.

5. W.D.
6. 1724.
7. 1738.
8. Boyse.
the editor annotates apologetically:-"Helen Ramsey, a peculiar Favorite of the Author's." Ralph's pastoral on Pope's death is the only imitation of Ramsey to be found. The Scots poets writing in English are given more space. Thomson has a song, two extracts from longer poems, one from a play; Kellett by his "Birds of Inverness," the "Aikman Epitaph" and an extract from a play; Mitchell two poems, Armstrong one; Lord Dinning one or two songs, Pennicuik his Epitaph on Argary Scott, Robertson of Struan his "Looking-Glass," Boyse his "Loch A'an" and "The Prospect." That represents the total for the two magazines for a period of 13-14 years. To these may be added about twenty poems by anonymous Scots, usually laborious blank verse by "a young gentleman of 14" on topics like "On Chiviot Hills," or "Verses to the Memory of Sir William Wallace," but on occasion including the extract from "Albania" and two dialect poems.

A dozen poems by English poets deal with Scotland miscellaneously, and comprise satirical epigrams on the A.P.s or Burnet, topical verses as "On Captain Forrester's Travelling to the Highlands of Scotland," elegies on the Duke of Argyle, a descriptive "Epistle from Scotland" by "Caroline," a flattering description of the Castle of Edinburgh. Twice a "Scotch Tale" in rhyme is inserted, "Sauney the Scot," and "The Merry Monarch," both as diverting buffoonery, just as the weekly papers would occasionally make merry over a "Copy of a letter written in the Scotch Dialect".

What guided the English editors' choice of Scots matter is incalculable. Of course when any events in the north were attracting attention, the election of peers and the Scots Peersage Bill, or the Forteous Riots and the Bill of Rights and Penalties, there was a surfeit of Scottish matter. At other times, months of complete ignoring might be followed by some insufferable poem from Scot:-

- Ev'ry Station yields to Scotmen's praise,
  Theirs is the laurel wreath, and theirs the bays;
  To them the senate yields, to them the fair,
  First in the field, and foremost at the bar.

The only explanation of that is as one correspondent writes:-"I know you have many readers in that country."

Quotation from the Scots papers is rare, as was natural since the "Flying Post" listing the newspapers circulating in London cited under Scots News one, the "Caledonian Mercury." (Compare it with the eight under Dutch News.) The Gentleman's Magazine reprinted three numbers of the Edinburgh "Aevus," a month after the Edinburgh issue, but these were entirely English in manner and style.

The thrust of Scots contributors:-"Pleas to insert in your next the following Epitaph on Mr John Harvey,--of Robert the Bruce, a Poem," the possible attention attracted by their sporadic rhapsodies over while still on Grampian's lofty brow I stand,
  That solemn Prospects strike on every hand--
or   -- What airy prospects! what romantic views!
these were the most hopeful lines in magazine work.
I. "Preface to "Evergreen"."
Once, with a fine eloquence, Ramsay wrote of the "good old Bards" of Scotland: "Their Poetry is the Product of their own Country. -- Their Images are native, and their Landscapes domestic; copied from those Fields and Meadows we every Day behold. The Morning rises (in the Poet's Description) as she does in the Scottish Horizon. We are not carried to Greece or Italy for a Shade, a Stream or a Breeze. The Grovers rise in our own Valleys; the Rivers flow from our own Fountains, and the Winds blow upon our own Hills".

Ramsay flung that as a challenge to his own Scots contemporaries, "our Hymns to the Spring and Makers of Pastorals".

His own record, when he ceased in the early thirties to write verse, is of work inspired by that enthusiasm for "our own Valleys", "our own Hills".

He had revived with success the Scots vernacular, rescued the older courtly Scots literature, and the older folk-ballad, given a lead to the modern imitation of both, and shown how any and every English form might be made pipe for a Scottish Muse. With real enthusiasm he had set before his fellow-poets the models of Dunbar, Henryson, Montgomery, Scott, admittably he tampered with these, chose not always the best from the Bannatyne M.S., but the Rabelaisian stuff as well, and slipped in frauds of his own, even additional verses to Dunbar. But he knew that the verse he printed could be a vital inspiration to Scots literature, and he commended it as such.

While he appreciated that classic poetry, he saw astutely the possibilities of the Scots song, real and artificial, and his "Tea-Table Miscellany" was accordingly gathered. Gathered for profit they may have been but again Ramsay did his native literature a service, for the old folk-song and the modern imitation, the modern lyric in Scots and in English were all stimulated, and a group of lyric writers encouraged, Crawford, Halket, Hamilton of Bemour, Lord Binning, Lady Anne Mackenzie and many more.

Above all, Ramsay reinstated for Scotland its vernacular as a medium for poetry that could win admiration south of the Tweed as well as north; and he sang Scotland as no previous poet had ever attempted to do.

Ramsay's success at the time, in triumphantly entering English literature and as triumphantly giving a patriotic lead to Scottish, was due to that versatility and fluency that has now dammed his fame. Thanks to that versatility he made his own working synthesis, practised past and present Scots styles, wrote Scots and English, sang Highland and Lowland, town humours and cottar life. Had his contemporaries been able to follow suit, this Renaissance of Scots literature would have continued.

Scotts poetry did continue, but little of it through Ramsay's inspiration, or through that of the "Evergreen", the latter volume was not reprinted for many years, and was not mentioned by English writers for forty. The imitation of the older literature dropped after a while,
I.Wm.Sterrat "Epistle to Allan Ramsay".
and there was a gap of twenty years even in the printing of the older poets hitherto fairly regularly brought out. No further exploration of the Bannatyne M.S. or any similar M.S. was made, no more ballads whether genuine or 'Hardyknutes' brought sensationally to light. All progress on that side of the movement was stultified. Ramsay was enthusiastically applauded for his verse and its renown.

Give me the muse that ca's past ages back,
In shews proud southern songsters their mistak,
That frae their Thanes can fetch the laurel winorh,
An' big Parnassus on the Firth of Forth.

Yet, amazingly, after Ramsay's retirement as poet, the dialect almost disappears. Of the poets busy and prominent during the next fifteen years, Bengour, Gilbertfield, Robertson of Struan, Harvey, J. Buckle, Boyse, Armstrong and Blair scarcely one uses it. It was hustled out of the capital and out of literary circles. It rarely found place in any periodical; the Scots Magazine, for instance, prints only six poems in the sixteen years from 1740-56, and of these two are Ramsay's. No master hand touched the Doric again until Ferguson appeared in 1773.

In the first half of the 17th century, the vernacular had 'gone to earth'. This time it went landwards, and was kept alive by the country poets. A contemporary of Ramsay's, Alexander Nicoll, declared "Bright Ramsay's first collections" his first and constant inspiration, and followed him in writing the Scots tale, epistle, pastoral, song, elegy, and in adding a fourth canto to "Christ's Kirk on the Green", this during the years from 1739-66. Another poem inspired by "Christ's Kirk" was "The Monymusk Christmas Ba'ing", written by John Skinner about 1740. In Edinburgh Thomas Blair wrote an excellent bit of dialect in his "Gibbie and Wattie", which was given a place in the Caledonian Miscellany. In Aberdeenshire a trio of poets in 'broad Buchans' appeared, Francis Douglas writing his "Rural Tale" about 1741, Robert and William Forbes their "Ajax his Speech to the Grecian Knabs" and "The Dominie Deposed" about 1748 and 1747 respectively.

Some five years later, Alexander Ross is writing his dream in imitation of the "Cherry and the Slae", and with Ross's "Helenore" one comes in clear sight of Ferguson and Burns.

But these links, from Ramsay to Burns are dangerously slight. The strongest was not the ambitious vernacular tale like "Helenore", but the song. The town poets preferred to cultivate the English song; the country produced "Logie o' Buchan", "The Rock and the Wee Pickle Tow", "Tullochgorum" and the like.
1. founded 1723.
2. 1727. reprinted 1729
3. 1727.
4. 1739
5. 1739.
7. Wodrow's Letters and Diary.

6a 1727
Meanwhile the capital, both in its society and its literature, showed the English ascendency. There was, of course, the solid substructure of Scots achievement. The University, for example, was rising into fame with the brilliant Maclaurin as the Mathematics Professor, and with its remarkable medical side, Monro, professor of Anatomy, Preston of Botany and then Alston. In 1731-2 the Medical Society was founded which, famous by 1736, extended its scope to philosophy and literature and became the Philosophical Society of 1739. Similarly clubs such as that for the study of Scottish history, founded in 1724, or a society such as that for the Encouragement of Scottish Agriculture were native ventures.

Hudmon published an anthology of Latin verse, the "Selecta Poemata," prefaced by a brief defence of Scots scholarship against some derogatory remarks by Burman. He printed too Anderson's "Collections relating to the History of Mary, Queen of Scots," and his greater work, the "Selecta Diplomatum." Laidler edited a two volume collection of sacred verse "Poetarum Scottorum Musae Sacrae." Fletcher's works and Pitcairne's were published in 1737 and 1740 respectively, though the latter by English editors. Only the reprinting of the Scottish classics is markedly neglected between Ramsey's editing in the late twenties and that of the Foulis brothers in the late forties. Instead of the plain reissues of Blind Harry and the Bru's, Hamilton of Gibertfield and John Harvey have their ornate English versions in circulation.

So the social facades that went up were very much on English lines. Edinburgh society had its 'beaux' and its 'fair sex', the one led by its Beau Forrester, the 'Great Polite' as Johnson called him, the other with its Fergusians and Hamillas sung by Ramsey and Hamilton of Bangour, and by Freebairn in his "Eloge à l'Ecosse et des dames Écossaises." The youngsters of good family began to be sent to Eton, as Sir John Clerk's son was, or like the young 'Jupiter' Carlyle to be taught "to read English with just pronunciation and a very tolerable accent, an accomplishment which in those days was very rare." The town had its weekly concerts and Italian singers and operas, as early as 1722 a Mr Gordon had published proposals for establishing a Pastoral Opera in Edinburgh, and by 1725 a "musick opera" was drawing audiences.

In 1726 the Musical Society of St Mary's Chapel was instituted, and by then Edinburgh had sent south Thomson to make a name for himself. Within ten years it could boast of other Scots composers, Oswald, Lord Colville and William MacGibbon.

Similarly in art, the School of St Luke, for the Encouragement of Painting had been established in 1739; and while London drew away Askman and Smibert, Gibbs and Campbell, there remained John Alexander the painter. A first exhibition of pictures was held in 1734. Thus music and art could claim a certain flourishing, thanks to the stimulus of southern example.

The Assemblies were another cultural venture. Further the town had its first circulating library, with "all the villainous, profane and obscene books as printed in London"—so the irate Wodrow; and to his indignation "the English Players, Comedians, Strolllers come down to fill up our Cup of Sin." Of these Alston and his Company of players had been entertaining since 1723 such 'seasons' as they could in the teeth of Town Council and Church opposition, but by 1728 success had made them daring, and Wodrow reports talk of building a theatre. Four years later
themselves felt a sufficient backing to urge that still more strongly. That theatre, opened in 1736, lasted only till the following year, when a Parliamentary measure crushed it; but four years after, the regulation was avoided by plays being given as part of concert programmes, so that from 1742 on Edinburgh had its London plays served to it.

English influence, however, did not mean an entire slavishness of imitation. Of the new periodicals being started, two or three, the "Reveur" of 1737-38, the "Patriot" of 1740, and "The Letters of the Critical Club" right admirably have been written by Londoners, except for an occasional letter or poem. But others, the "Echo", or Edinburgh Weekly Journal" of 1730-34, "The Thistle" of 1734, "The Scots Magazine" of 1739 on have all something of a Scottish self-centredness. The Echo's first numbers show that social snobbery seen in the 1707-15 period, that acceptance of the English standards as immeasurably superior, for carping letters ask "Is not this place a little too narrow?" and similar questions. Yet the "Echo", like the "Thistle" and "The Scots Magazine" did take up Scots topics, publish Scots poems and quote on occasion a letter in broad Scots. The "Echo's" correspondence shows too a growing concern over those things in which Scotland was behind England, from lesser points, Scotticism, the opposition to drama, national roughness of manners, to urgent problems, the support of home industries, provision for the poor. The "Thistle", more political in aim, ran its articles under the signatures of "Sir William Wallace" and later Sir John de Graham, discussed Scottish agriculture and the national Constitution, and published poems by Boyse. The Scots Magazine, the biggest effort of the time, was meant to satisfy a northern demand for a magazine of the scope of the "Gentleman's and the "London", and at the same time "to encourage Scotland's sons in an earnest exertion of their talents", and to give "the Caledonian Muse" - "a publick Echo to her song". In actual fact, the magazine was very little different in format and style from its London prototypes. Its town news preceding London news, and its London letter were the main differences. It printed poems by Scots, but those were either indistinguishable from English verses or were very often reprints from the London papers.

That last point reveals clearly the trend of the young Scots writers. More and more of the younger men are regarding London as their literary Ecce, and sending their work direct to London papers. It is understandable. The periodicals have enthusiastic reference to the success of Sir Thomson or of Sir Mallet, their first nights described or complimentary verses quoted. The late twenties, the thirties and the forties saw Arbuthnot, Thomson, Mallet at the height of their success; Arbuthnot chosen in 1727 to deliver the Harvey Oration, and intimate with Bolingbroke, Chesterfield, Peterborough, Pulteney, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu; Thomson's poems and plays received with unbounded admiration not only by the older established men such as Pope, but by the younger, Collins, Gray; Mallet's plays also acclaimed, and his social and literary standing as high as Thomson's. Both were friends of the chief poet of the time, Pope, and of the greatest literary patron, Lyttleton. More, both were patronised by the Prince of Wales and were in receipt of pensions from him. Shenstone has a story of his tailor crying: "Lord, Sir? I have
1. Mallet made Under-Secretary to the Prince of Wales 1742 and then pensioned—as also Thomson.

2. Poems on Several Occasions. 1729.

3. Wm. Pattison. "To Mr. Mitchell".

4. 1736

5. 1722.

6. Life of Robert Bruce, King of Scots. A Poem 1729

7. "To a Gentleman going to Travel".

7a. 1739

8. "On the Palace and Park of Dalkeith" 1732
   "On ———— Yaster. 1734
   "On the Ancient Palace of Falkland" 1735
been the Prince of Wales and all his nobles walking by the river's life!—the latter Thomson and Mallet!
The same period, saw too, collected volumes of Mitchell's and Ramsay's verse issued, and their dramas on the stage. There was very little satire to deter them. Mitchell had been attacked with a

Back, scribbler, to thy Caledonian plains—
Cold as thy genius, barren as thy brains—
Then peaceably betimes resign thy quill,
Scotland to British power is subject still.—
Mallet was "a Scotch pedlar in wit" according to Theobald.

Johnson had one passing jibe in his "London":—
For who would leave unbrib'd Hibernia's land,
Or change the rocks of Scotland for the Strand?
There none are swept by sudden fate away,
But all whom hunger spares, with age decay.—

But these were negligible attacks, in comparison with those of a later day, and the Scottish contingent in London was powerful. Note, as one instance, a report of the first night of "Mustapha! "The pit was before five o'clock filled with Gentlemen who made a very polite appearance, and were mostly of the Scots nation." That was a repetition of Thomson's first nights. The Scots "claque" was already notorious.

These very years of London conquest were the years when the more brilliant group of younger Scots were at the University, and consequently most alive to those successes. Smollett, Home, Robertson, Adam Ferguson, Strang, Adam Smith, Wilkie all realised where the prizes in the literary world were to be won. So too did Armstrong, in London by 1735, with verse ready for a publisher, Hume there with his first pamphlet in 1737, Smollett there with his tragedy in 1739.

And undoubtedly those successes determined the English bent of those poets remaining in Scotland. Gilbertfield, who had racily spun his Horatian epistles and his Scots songs, had turned to rewriting "Wallace" in a conventional English, which he called "a rendering more intelligible." John Harvey similarly turned the Brus into "an Epick poem," in which it is difficult to recognise:

Now rings th'Alarm along the Northern Coasts,
And rush to war, the Caledonian Hosts.
From Skye, Pomona's Isle and Caithness Strand,
Three thousand Yarnets glitter o'er the Land.—
as the prelude to Bannockburn.

Hamilton of Bangour, too, has no more use for Yarrow, but writes Miltonic Odes to Fancy, or poems "in the Manner of Mr Gay." If he deals with Jessey it is to place him

—on the flower-blushing bank of Tweed
Or Clyde or Tay's smooth, winding stream—

These very phrases are typical of the most popular practice among Scottish poets now, the description of Scottish scenery in a conventional English style, and with an Englishing of names. Arbuckle and Boyle versifiers both but of influence among their contemporaries were busy writing of "Glotta" or of Grampian prospects, and Boyle specialising in ornate descriptions of the estates of the nobility. This kind of
1. 1726
2. 1731
3. 1736
4. 1745
5. 1733
6. acted 1738. Preface says written since 1733.
7. 1768
The performance of English plays—most direct of influences—and the opening of an Edinburgh theatre had their effect on dramatic work. Forbes of Disblair published his "Xanthippe, or the Scolding Wife", done from Erasmus, Alexander Gordon a comedy "Lupone, or the Inquisitor", J. Baillie a biographic drama of the Prince of Orange, "The Patriot", and William Lyon a farce adapted from Vanbrugh, "The Wrangling Lovers"—all four plays closely following English lines.

But two odd efforts, belonging to the year 1733 when talk of a town playhouse was enthusiastic, seem to be attempts at national work, at a national tragedy at least, and a town comedy. Gabriel Nisbit's "Caledon's Tears; or Wallace, a tragedy" tries to dramatise the "Calamities of Scotland" from the death of Alexander III to that of Wallace, with the help of an amazing cast that includes Abymer the Prophet, Bellona the Goddess of War, Caledon the Genius of Scotland, Sibylla the Queen of Genii, English and Scottish kings and "Worthies", and Clarona Braidfoot, the wife of Wallace! The dramatist built with these a stiff heroic tragedy, classic in style, fervently patriotic in tone. Like an earlier Strutt he crammed it with antiquarian and historical details, and even packed the pages with footnotes, while keeping incongruously all the symbolic byplay of Bellona, Caledon and the rest. The play is clearly unactable, a bookish and patriotic rash breaking out of antiquarianism, but its appearance is a 'pointer' as to contemporary ambitions.

Written at the same time, although not published until five years later was a comedy, "The Disappointed Gallant; or Buckram in Armour, a new Ballad Opera" acted at the New Edinburgh Theatre. This was a farce, lifeless in its plot, but aiming at being a native comedy. The dramatist, Adam Thomson, offers the modest excuse, that

With Pain he sees the Muse neglected here,
Shutting to charm, not daring to appear.

The scene is laid in and about Edinburgh, and with the leading characters of Sir Robert and Lady Careless are Scots characters, Sandy Buckram, a tailor, and Jean his wife, and Mally, a lady's maid. But every part is in English, and even the six Scots airs used have English words set to them. The epilogue had a vigorous appeal to fellow-Scots to produce their own drama:—

Shall Caledonians thus to others bend,  
And on the bounty of their Muse depend?  
Exert yourselves to wipe off the Disgrace,  
Nor hold in Poetry a second place.

Thomson's conception was clearly of an English drama, however, distinguished only by name and place from what was put out on London boards. Though the "Gentle Shepherd" had been staged in Edinburgh four years before, no poet had followed its lead. Fifty years were to elapse before a "Scots pastoral comedy, in imitation of the "Gentle Shepherd" was ventured, namely James Balfour's "Jamie and Bess ".
1. "Advice to a Painter".

2. 1740.

3. 1723. Earl of Stirling, David Craufurd, Alex. Fyfe, Thos. St Serfe. (or Sydserff)

4. 1734 1736. Hayward also quoted Alexander, Earl of St.
The '45 Rebellion might be used—arbitrarily perhaps—as break and as chance for retrospect.

The thirty years that have passed since the '15 have been a time of comparative peace between the two countries, though of sullen dissatisfaction on the part of Scotland. The northern nation has been still resentful over Union. A Glasgow pamphlet of 1718 even revived the petition for dissolving it.

"We are ruled by Kings but we never see them.
We have a Parliament and a Privy Council, but they sit in a foreign country, whose Friendship we never felt.
We have a vast many taxes but no trade.
We have seas but we dare not fish in them.
We have a Mint but no money coined."—and so on.

Before and Loeday both testified to the feeling against the Union being still bitter, and the causes of that are obvious. No benefits as yet bulked large. The traveller's accounts of the decayed state of the Fifeshire towns are a shock. Glasgow's prosperity is only now beginning; the east coast towns not yet.

Limmer, would you expose Alba's Fate,
Draw then a Palace in a ruin'd State,
Nettles and Briars.—wrote Robertson of Struan.

On the English side, there had been alarm over Jacobite invasion, Malt tax riots, and the Porteous affair, and constant exacerbation over the deadweight of the controlled (Anglice bought) Scots representation in Parliament.

But over these reefs the tide of common national interests had been steadily ebbing in. London is regarded now as commercial and literary centre. English literature is the Parnassus for the Scot. England has accepted without unfair discrimination the advent of the Scots poet and dramatist, and has read—and in some quarters liked—and admired the Scots dialect.

A first vernacular collection has been published in England, "The Caledonian Miscellany", with poems by Ramsay, the younger Kennicott, Thomas Blair and Josiah Alph; and the advertisement to it spoke of ease and elegance and purity in the dialect, as if these were now appreciated. English literary biographers have begun including the Scots. Four dramatists, for example, find place in Giles Jacob's "Poetical Register".

English anthologies and miscellanies print a very occasional poem by a Scot, Heyward, for instance, a passage of Lyndsay in his "British Muse". But these were rare occurrences...part from Ramsay, none of the purely Scottish work made any impression on English literature. What did gradually and imperceptibly begin to affect and alter English literature were the racial qualities in the work of Thomson and Selkirk, and just before the end of the period Blair, and in those imitation ballads such as "Hardyknute" and "William and Margaret!"

As to the reaction on Scots literature, the spread of English culture, the spur of English example have affected potently northern culture, society, letters. But nationalistic feeling and native renaissance have been pulling crosswise, and the first enthusiastic revival of dialect, and of older poetry has been neutralized.
CHAPTER 15. The '45, and the beginnings of Jacobite Romance.
"I here insert a saying of the Jacobites abroad", wrote General Wade in his 1727 "Report relating to the Highlands". "They always owned that their greatest hopes were from the Highlands of Scotland, and when it was said that these hopes were vain, -- their answer was "We have-- a Standing Army of 12000 Highlanders as resolute, as well-armed and as much under Command as the Regular Forces you so much depend on".

This was the second occasion of plain-speaking from Wade to the King and the English Ministry. Three years before, his first report had broadcast the most pressing facts about the clans: — and it is a measure of the scariness of English attention that most of that information had already been offered by Defoe, J.W. and others and had evidently dropped out of notice. The first report had summarised trenchantly the menace of the clans to civil peace. "Their Notions of Virtue and Vice are very different from the more civilised Part of Mankind. They think it a most sublime Virtue to pay a Servile and Abject Obedience to the Command of their Chieftains. -- The Virtue next to this, the Love they bear to their Clan" -- The rule of the chiefs was "an Arbitrary and Tyrannical Power". After these and other elementary facts on Highland arms and methods of fighting, on "Black-Meal", "Tascal-Money" and the use of the Fiery Cross, Wade reviewed the military situation then in the event of war; 12000 Jacobites, better armed than ever before, in spite of the 1716 Act, outnumbered the pro-Government clans by a clear 2000, and in their impassable country have an easy advantage over English forces.

This report had its results. Lockhart tells—very partially, of course—of the English Ministry resolving either to extirpate the Highlanders or to compel them to be of a less warlike disposition, and thus introducing the severe Bill for Disarming the Highlanders. "Not so much as one Scotsman had the honest and courage to appear in behalf of their oppressed countrymen", said Lockhart, and declared the Highlands treated by Wade as if "one open enemy had been in the fields". That was gross misrepresentation. Wade was drastic in disarming the clansmen and in suppressing depredations, but he saw to it that certain Jacobite chiefs—and Rob Roy—received the King's Pardon, and he personally cultivated friendly terms with others. His measures of road and bridge-building, the increase of Highland Companies, the appointment of Commissioners of the Peace were all aimed at a peaceful solution of the Highland problem.

That 1727 report, however, showed him still uneasy about Highland disaffection. He had reason: in July of that year the Pretender was asking Lockhart "whither my going to the Highlands of Scotland might not be found proper". So far as one can tell, Wade's second report provoked no action from the English ministry, and he was alone in his desire to "make peace" by any further measures. The Highland Hanoverian chiefs were confident of peaceful settlement: English opinion equally so. In the House of Commons there was talk of too much money being spent on Highland

2. Sir L. Mackenzie—on "Wade and his Roads"—cf supra.

3. Guthrie.


5. "Remarks on People and Government of Scotland"—another version titled:—
A Short History of the Highland Regiment.
reprinted 1747 with additions.

6. "The Highland Rogue" was reprinted 1743.
The incident revealed most clearly an English ignorance and terror of the Highlander still existing. One anonymous London writer tried to remedy matters by an account of the Highlands, and began frankly:—"When the Highlanders walked the streets here—there was more staring at them than ever was seen at the Morocco ambassador's (sic) attendance or even at the Indian chiefs. The amazement expressed by our mob was not greater than the surprise of these poor creatures; and if we thought their dress and language barbarous, they had just the same opinion of our manners". He admitted the people different from southerners:"Yet methinks it is pretty strange that lying at so small a distance we should be so little acquainted as to wherein that difference consists?" He then dealt with the country and its conditions of life, the Highlander at home and in England, ("strangers and far from being beloved") and after a rational explanation of the deserters' motives in the recent affair, pled for their pardon, "as unfortunate men, as strangers, as people bewitched with the love of black heaths and barren mountains"—the last note exactly that of a Scots poem printed in the Gentleman's Magazine:

Ye think our Highlands, bleak and bare,
O' Phebus' bounty ha'nae share—
But much mistaen ye little ken
Each bonny strath and verdant glen—
There then were the preambles to the '45 rebellion, that strongest and most telling impact of the Highlands on England.

The course of the rebellion—the landing of the Chevalier in the Western Highlands, the march south, the victory at Prestonpans and triumphant occupation of Edinburgh, the march into England and retreat at Derby, the battles of Falkirk and Culloden, the flight of the Chevalier and Cumberland’s suppression of the Highlands—is too familiar to need recording.

As to England’s reactions, much that applies to the ‘45 applies to the ‘45. Now as then, London was at first in alarm, and the wildest of rumours were circulated and swallowed; while the country as a whole seemed as ignorant and as much the prey to mob cries and anger and panic as thirty years before. No advance in knowledge of the Highlands, no nearer grasp of the situation—that is the first impression given by a reading of the contemporary newspapers.

But unlike the ‘15, the ‘45 had a character of its own that stamped itself on English consciousness. It was, of course, a more serious affair, and the early victory at Gladsmuir and the advance as far as Derby created a heart-felt terror that choked all the facetious sallies of the ‘15 days. It had a more tense focus, for the main factors were the Highlanders, incalculable and dreaded, and the young Chevalier de St George, unknown but at once cynosure. ‘T was a far clearer and more detailed reporting, once the first panics were over, and a consequent vividness the ‘15 never had. And thanks partly to that fuller and more dramatic journalism, and it came from the Scottish side as well as the English—thanks partly to the popular appeal of the Chevalier, and to the more moving appeal of the fate of Balmerino and Kilmarnock, the rising touched quickly and sharply the English imagination.

Proof comes from glimpses in the letters and memoirs of cultured onlookers like Walpole, Dr Carlyle, Hervey, Glover, Gray, in the writers of the histories that came out very soon after the rebellion, in the articles and correspondence of the newspapers, and in the popular tracts and poems, some traceable, some only known from the magazines’ book-lists.

The suddenness of its outbreak was a shock to England. As late as the end of August, the news-sheet ‘Old England’ could write complacently, “The notion of an invasion will probably vanish into Smoke”. Within twelve days that complacency was shattered, and England filled with consternation at the news that was coming through. “The clans will not rise for the government; the Dukes of Argyle and Athol are come post to town, not having been able to raise a man; I look upon Scotland as gone” wrote Horace Walpole. “But all this is not the worst! Notice came yesterday that there are 10,000 men, 30 transports and ten men of war at Dunkirk. Against this force we have—I don’t know what scarce fears!”

The general dread was that all Scotland was for the Stuart cause. “The Caledonian Mercury” never calls them the rebels” was the ominous note more alarmed preoccupation as with the advancing Highlanders. English opinion about them was chaotic. The mob swung between the ‘15 tagátoe conception and the age-long abuse of them. Broadside scribblers poured out “loyal songs” that revived the old nicknames and catcalls.
"O brother Sawney!" began the most popular, which vowed that
Against a Banditti,
Twang 'em, we'll bang 'em and hang 'em up all.

Another declared:
From barren Caledonian lands,
Where famine uncontrouled commands,
The rebel clans in search of prey
Come over the hills and far away.
Regardless whether wrong or right,
For booty not for fame they fight,
Banditti-like, they storm, they slay,
They plunder, rob and run away.

And a third:

The Blue-cap Lads
In bennet Rags and Plaids,
Whom Right Divine bewitches,
Forsaking their Home,
From the Highlands are come,
In quest of Shoes and Breeches.

The same abuse fell at once on the young Pretender, and mock odes on
his landing were circulated.

Much of that was bravado, and was suddenly checked by the news of the
Highlanders' victory at Gladsmuir. The Government's attempts to keep
back that news, and the absence of the sound well-detailed reports of
the Caledonian "mercy now suppressed, led to the credence of the most
alarming accounts. Reports like the 'Craftsman's' of "a ragged hungry
rascal of "Yahoos of Scotch Highlanders" were suddenly discountenanced,
"We are sadly convinced that they are not such raw ragamuffins as they
were represented", wrote Walpole. The first easy abuse was replaced by
more bitter.

Satire sharpened further in the months of tension that followed. Invasion
of England was expected, and the preparations to meet that stabil-
ed English feelings for a time. "Sure, banditti can never conquer a king-
dom" was the belief, and something of that cockahoop spirit found vent
in the October and November sallies against Charles Edward and his "rag-
ged rout of Highland beggars". "A crew of naked half-starved rebels issu-
ing from the Dens and Caverns, of the North". There poured out:-"A Trip
to Scotland or a Hue and Cry after the Young Chevalier"-"The Highland
Invasion, a ballad"-"The Baffled Hero, an Heroick Poem"-"The Perkinade"-
The Rebel Scot"-"The Rebels in a Panick". With these came reprints of
histories of the '15 rebellion, and more usefully three or four letters
and newspaper articles exonerating pro-Government Scotland. A Scots
Gentleman at Berwick was "Surprised to hear that England asserts that al-
mast all the inhabitants of Scotland and especially the Citizens of Ed-
inburgh were disaffected Persons", and refused the charge. An 'Old Eng-
land' essayist made a large apology for Scotland:-"If ever any people
merited generous compassion, that people does"; and Fielding, in his first
number of "The True Patriot" deplored "that indiscriminate Censure which
were apt to vent on the whole Body of the Scottish Nation", and dis-
istinguished the loyal Lowlanders from "the savage Inhabitants of Wilds
Mountains, who are almost a distinct Body from the rest of their Coun-
dry"-(a discrimination only now penetrating English minds)
But when the actual advance into England began, the satire became angrier. "The Highlander Delineated," choosing as motto
The sable Squadrons darken all the plain,
Inflamed with Hopes of Spoil and lawless Love of Gain.
was printed to "undeceive" England as to "this Northern Army of ravenous Mountaineers" it collected from Buchanan, Camden, and Drummond the most derogatory passages about them, and added Tom Brown's derisive verses on "The Highlander" and two of the popular anti-Sawney songs. The press put out accounts of Highland atrocities and plunder— and even men like Walpole accepted these. Fielding, with scare-monger relish, invented a nightmare of victorious Highlanders plundering and raping, and quoted a Perth correspondent's description of them as "the greatest devils out of Hell".

As the advance continued unchecked, English consternation grew. Rumour reached such a pitch that Fielding filled his "True Patriot" with a weekly sop of reassuring jibes. A Penrith letter reported "The Highlanders are a shabby, ill-looking Generation, and have nothing Formidable in them but their Meagre Hungry Looks and their Filthiness" Fielding declared the idea of London being attacked "merely chimerical, mixt of Panic and Ignorance", and to laugh away fear began a weekly "Apocryphal History of the Rebellion" Even when the rebels were at Manchester he wrote—"We have only a few ragged Ruffians to deal with"—and kept the Government flag flying.

Derby was the crisis. Walpole reveals the relief in London at the retreat. "We dread them no longer" He shows too the anger that was the residue of that panic. London had now a rooted hatred for the rebels who had threatened her so alarmingly, and it was that hatred, a "Highlander-phobia"—if the term may be coined—that kept the '45 from being 'passed over' as the '15 had been.

From the Derby retreat to the battle of Culloden, a matter of three months, England was guiescent. "What a despicable affair, a rebellion upon the defensive" wrote Walpole, and expressed national feelings. English newspapers could mock now at the vanishing clansmen. A Derby correspondent described the town's experience of them: "So many fiends turn'd out of hell—Under their pladds nothing but a various sort of butchering weapons to be seen. Their dialect seemed to me as if an herd of hottentots, wild monkies—or vagrant gipsies had been jabbering, screaming and howling together" Cumberland's march north renewed confidence too, and "The True Patriot" amused itself with another account of victorious Highlanders, this time in broad farce. Some of the tawdriest of skits came out, such as "The Highlanders Salivated"—by Sukie Stitchwell of the Midnight Club" Along with these were laboured magazine efforts—"On the Retreat of the Rebels in the vein of

"To dark rebellion's native seat repair,
There brood o'er Treason in that tainted air."

The defeat at Falkirk reduced these high spirits however, and not till the news of Culloden reached London did London recover equanimity. The city's joy was beyond bounds. "The town is blazing round me as I write, with fire-works and illuminations" noted Walpole. That night it was dangerous for a Scots accent to be heard in the streets. "London all over
was in a perfect uproar of joy
In the theatres, patriotic prologues were the order of the day. Theobald Gibber furnished one for "The Honours of the Army", Walpole one for Tamerlane:

Chains, real chains our heroes had in view,
And scenes of mimic dungeons chang'd to true.
An equal fate the stage of Britain dreaded,
Had Rome's young missionary Spark succeeded
was its tenor. The anti-Jacobite and Perkin Warbeck plays had been resurrected. Sadler's Wells prepared "Strephon's Return, or the British Hero" At New Wells the programme concluded "with an exact view of our gallant Army under the command of their Glorious Hero passing the river Spey, giving the rebels battle, and gaining a complete victory near Culloden House, with the Horse in pursuit of the Pretender"

During March, April and May the 'Glorious Hero' was subjugating the Highlands, and in the pause in movements, the first reflective articles about the rebellion reached the magazines. These were half-retrospective. "Why in the name of heaven did we persist in the fatal error of despising them!" said one writer on the rebels. Another drove in the fact that "We were scared out of our wits by 7000-8000 Ruffians" A third considered "why the Highlands are the centre of every rebellion" Most of them suggested drastic punishment of the rebels.

The latter topic grew in importance as the prisoners began to be crowded into London. By June they were assembled. "People are making parties of pleasure, which you know is the English genius, to hear their trials. The Scotch, which you know is the Scotch genius, are loud in censuring the Duke for his severities in the Highlands" One figure had strangely dropped from notice, the young Chevalier. He was being blithely satirised:

Shall Charley fall, and shall no Grub Street lay,
In doleful doggrel mourn his sad mishap?--
but during July and August nothing was known of his wanderings in the west, and it was September before "it begins to be believed that the Pretender's Son is got to France"

After Cumberland's return, however, popular attention rivetted itself on the trials. These formed a curious turning-point in English feelings about the rebellion. Up to this point, the actualities in all their gross and harsh representation in the London press, and the war emotions at their worst had dominated English minds. The rebels were an undistinguished and impersonal mass - "the Highlanders" and as such to be damned. Their leaders were barely known more than by name: Charles, Tullibardine and Perth.

was one ballad-refrain. Only Lovat was notorious, a cunning old fox.
Now London saw day after day the actual rebels in court, heard "Donald Macdonald, aged 25, of the Macdonals of Aboyne" summoned, and some fair-haired boy tell his story, read in the papers the short life-sketches of others, graphically written, and came to admit that the clansmen were not ruthless banditti, fit only for extermination. There was no entire slewing-round of opinion, naturally, but there was a sufficient sympathy for appeals to be made such as that in the General Evening Post of July "Let us endeavour to reform those miserable wretches"
Further, most of the English papers printed a letter from an Englishman in Fort Augustus:—"We see a good many letters here from London that treat these people with the odious name of savages, which is a term which I think they don't deserve, for excepting what relates to the Rebellion, I can see nothing in their behaviour worse than other people, and I am sorry to say in many respects better, bringing rank to rank, and I only wish some fair measure was pursued, the better to understand their morals and dispositions by a friendly intercourse, which I hope when the rebellion is over, will be worth thinking on". (July '45.)

In two cases, sympathy became so strong as to be outspoken. Kilmarnock and Balmerino captured English admiration and pity to an amazing degree. Walpole's letters show how moved the spectators were. "The greatest and most melancholy scene I ever yet saw! the most solemn and fine"—he draws the trial-scene. "Then came old Balmerino, treading with the air of a general—the most natural and brave old fellow I ever saw"—"the old hero" Other memoirists concur. Gray was moved. The memorable lines on the deaths of the two lords:

Pitted by gentle hearts Kilmarnock died,
The brave, Balmerino, were on thy side,—

have been imputed to Johnson. Certainly, with their fate, a new strain of sentiment was felt about the rebellion.

Lovat by this time was also in London, met on his way thither by Hogarth and drawn counting the Highland clans on his fingers. This grim Durensque sketch—'the perfect warlock' he was whispered in Scotland to be—enjoyed a tremendous vogue, and by the time the old villain's trial began, he was already the topic of London's grimmest anecdotes. Kilmar-nock and Balmerino had moved English sympathy and imagination; Lovat pricked the imagination. He talked romantically and dramatically. "Je murs pour ma patrie et ne m'en soucie guere," he told Lord Ilchester. He desired to die by the Maiden, and to be buried in the ancestral tomb in Scotland. His will provided money for "all the pipers from John o' Groats to Edinburgh" to play before the corpse. He was sure the good old women of his country would sing a coronach before him. "And then there will be old crying and clapping of hands, for I am one of the greatest chiefs in the Highlands". Every detail of these floridities found its way into print—illustrated by Hogarth's portrait of him, a drawing of the Maiden, and here and there a character-sketch or poem. Gray had heard of his sleeping in prison—"at his head lie two Highland women, at his feet two Highland men." An Erse ballad was read at his trial in the London mob he was the incarnation of the ruthless Highland chief that rumour had fed them on; but these picturesque details began to throw round both himself and the Highlands a grim fantastic glamour. Popular imagination was touched, and though no more than that, the touch was vivid because it came from direct seeing and hearing.

Lovat finally stamped in the impression he had made by dying "extremely well, without passion, affectation, buffoonery or timidity".

His execution did not take place till April 1747, but as early as the previous October the popular accounts of the lives and death of Balmerino and Kilmarnock had been joined by "The Life, Adventures and Tyranny and Great Vicissitudes of Fortune of Simon, Lord Lovat". In the same month or a little later there followed "The Book of Lamentations of Simon, Prince of the Tribe of Lovat", "Memoirs of the Life of Lord Lovat", "Genuine Memoirs of the Life of Fraser of Lovat", and "A Free
1. Sept: London Mag: 45
2. Oct: Gent: Mag: 45
3. St James Evening Post Nov: 45
4. Nov.-Dec: 45
5. Byrom's too was the admiring poem on Kilmarnock: Balmerino:—

—"Scorning when past thro' life with conscience clear
In death to play the hypocrite and fear,
His head adorned with the Scottish plaid,
His heart confiding upon God for aid,
He, as a guest, invites his welcome fate,
Fearless, intrepid, gallant and sedate.—
If each obey's the dictates of his breast,
And of true worth sincerity be test,
Then to Kilmarnock's penitence give quarter,
And Balmerino call a valiant martyr.—
Examined of a modern romance entitled Memoirs of Lord Lovat. Synchronising with these, the magazines had "An Account of the Young Pretender's Escape after the Battle of Culloden", well-written, precisely detailed with mention of Highland names and places, telling of the aid given the fugitive by "one Miss Macdonald", and full of graphic touches of the prince lying all night upon the moor, or "to keep up the spirits of the people, he sang them a Highland song".

It is at this point that the romanticizing of the rebellion distinctly begins, and begins with the figure of the Young Pretender. Until this, only some flying broadsides and Jacobite songs had dared praise him in England, and these had been shouted down by the satires. The latter came out in prose and verse, in dialogue and ballad. "Jack English" made fun of Young Chevalier de Guicci; an Italian and an Englishman discussed him; a "Hue and Cry" was printed: "Run away from their Master at Rome two young Lurchers of the right Italian breed—supposed to be on the Hunt for Prey in the North"; a Biblical skit appeared: "The Chronicles of Charles, the Young Man", that began "And it came to pass in the eighth month that the Young Man landed at Moirdart in the Wilderness of Lochaber"; Ballads dealt with "young Pompey"—"the Boy"—"Charles"—"the young Gentleman"—often ironically as "The Pope sends us over a bonny brack Lad Who to court English favour wears a Scotch Plaid."

In the theatre, Ford's "Perkin Warbeck" had been put on at Goodman's Fields, (a verse Perkinade had already been printed) while Macklin and Hiderston were both hurrying to a finish plays on the same theme for Drury Lane and Covent Garden. The former staged his, "Henry the VII or the Popish Imposter" but as he had written up his own part of Huntly as chief role, "Perkin" escaped with little attention.

Noticeable, however, is the fact that the Pretender was never taken either very seriously or very vindictively, and that the satire of him was in the main good-natured. His Manifesto was printed and duly reprinted as "The Pretended Prince of Wales's Manifesto—dissected, Anatomized and exposed to ridicule; but from the Edinburgh period on, mention of him was largely a matter of scoffs at his having landed among "wild men and savages" or of having won the adoration of the Edinburgh ladies. After Prestonpans, Falkirk and Culloden he was libelled as having been safely in the rear during battle. "One does not hear the Boy's personal valour cried up," Walpole remarked.

His remark was made early in the rebellion, however. When Charles held court at Holyrood and charmed Scottish followers to him a popular adoration of him began in the north. A collection of poems was made at Edinburgh and published—a long sonnet "Ode to his Royal Highness", various birthday odes, poems on the victory at Gladsmuir and verses of welcome. By the time he marched into England, popular fancy there had been sufficiently captured to make the wearing of plaid breast-knots and ribbons popular, and the Chester Journal printed a vivid poem of Byrom's, "A Genuine Dialogue between a Gentlewoman at Derby and her Maid Jenny" revealing the mistress, under her scoldings of the maid's admiration, as eager to see and as ready to adore the Chevalier.
After Culloden, mention of the Chevalier dropped, as has been said. Cumberland's ruthless subjugation of the Highlands was prominent in the news of the day. Scottish glamour over his atrocities was loud, and an appeal to public sympathy began. Smollett's "Tears of Scotland", written it was said on the night London learnt of Culloden, was published anonymously, and had "such a run of approbation". "A Letter from a Gentleman at London to a Friend at Bath" reported instances of cruelties to rebels in the Highlands and asked that an enquiry should be held. The Groans of Scotland", a prose tract, laments in Biblical style over "forlorn Caledonia". "Castle Drummond is a Heap of Rubbish-Strathallan is a Desert; Fraserdale and Castle-Dony are Monuments of the Folly of their Owners; Achnacarry and the Seats of the Camerons are laid in Ashes".

So a sympathetic attitude was created, and consequently when the first reports of Charles' adventures in the Highlands came through, they were rushed into the papers, and followed almost immediately by romantic and admiring embroideries of them in the form of popular chronicles.

The first newspaper reports of October-December 1746 had themselves a strong appeal to the imagination. The scene of adventure was the Morar country and the Isles, and the latter, Skye, Uist, Benbecula had already a glamour in English eyes. Vivid and picturesque details abounded-"seven days in the glens of Morar", or "went over the great hill of Morar in a letter'd Highland habit and was joyfully received by Macdonald at the head of his men".

The first of the romantic chronicles, "Ascanius, or the Young Adventurer, a True History", and "Alexis: or the Young Adventurer, a Novel" did their best to enmure these actualities. Their authors took refuge behind allegory, and so could praise without litigation or remorse of voice the heroic Ascanius or Alexis. Of "the intrepid prince" "enough already has the world heard of his Story to excite Compassion in the generous Breast" But the chronicler of Ascanius promises "truth undisguised". There follows an account of the hero of fearless soul, and of his heroic Behaviour when traversing the wild and lonely Desert, climbing the creaggy Rock or exploring the dark recesses of the Subterraneous Gavern"; of his "faithful Lochiel", of the valiant Macdonald who delivered a message with his dying breath to his beloved master", and of Highlanders "every Man of whom would spend their last Drop of Blood to defend him". Ascanius' elegant and eloquent speeches are given in full, and are in the tone of "The Life of the Mean est of my Followers is as dear to me as my own, nor shall one be sacrificed by being left behind if I can help it". Flora Macdonald has an equally romantic turn of phrase:-"over yonder blue Hills indeed, I believe "the Message is open to Currada", and the like, and her part is expanded to a full heroine role. The romance-for it is no less-ends with the Chevalier's landing in France, and with two appendices of letters, characters of his supporters, and a refutation of the tale of Jenny Cameron, the so-called Prince's mistress.

Alexis" declared itself a pastoral novel. The hero, of "graceful and uncom mon mien" is" a Shepherd of the First Rank", who had formed "noble and generous Designs". "Never was there a "Scheme of more Disinterestedness in Enterprise of greater Danger". The events of the rebellion are then
I. or a Genuine Narrative of all that befell that Unhappy Wanderer

2. 1746 c Dec:

3. 1746

4. Arbuthnot's "Life and adventures of--1746"
dashed through in a few pages, ending in Cumberland "riding triumphant-
ly in gore", and the Highland adventures begun. "They eat the brown
crust and drink the cold Stream. The "rass and the Leath is their Bed,
and the hard Stone their Pillow". "Lexis meets Heroica, a young Shep-
derdess, "a blooming nymph", and thanks to her and to Clarinda escape
is planned. But just at this romantic zenith-*lexis had sung "several
pretty pastorals") the M.S. breaks off.

These first essays in "novelette" were very popular. *lexis had "a
prodigious run", having been excellently "puffed" by the arrest of the
bookseller. The following year, which began with the feeling over Loy-
all's trial, and ended with a surge of Jacobitism that alarmed the Gov-
ernment saw more chronicles. "The Wanderer or Surprising Escape" pro-
fessed to be "A Narrative founded on True Facts", written by one who, 
though Hanoverian, "felt admiration and pity for the unfortunate Youth,
as did many others". His account imitates *lexis; the "Wanderer meets
Porcia and sails to the isles of Lugubra and Carkeuria where his "un-
happy Enterprize" finishes.

Three attempts were made to get back to some degree of truth and real-
ity.

"The Young Chevalier" was published as the work of a Scots gentle
man, personally acquainted with the Prince, one whose "Style and Diction
were to purely North-British" as to be "too obscure to the English reader"
without translation into English. In spite of that, the account sounds
truthful. Small details of Culloden are given, credible remarks by the
Prince, references to the animosities between the clans, and the place
names and routes are identifiable. The absurd stories of Flora "sodon-
ad are denied: no brilliant lady but "a simple modest Girl"; and roman-
tic flourishes are eschewed.

Similarly, a pamphlet-"Aeneas and his two Sons" subtitled itself "a true
Portrait". The prologue hit off a typical coffee-house scene: a Cit, "after
reading some accounts of the Indefatigable Vigilance of that young ad-
venger, his marching on foot and voluntarily sharing all hardships
with the meanest of his followers, cries "Adieu! these Madcap Highlanders
have an active young fellow at their Head. - We have no despicable Enemy
to deal with". Exaggerated hearsay of the young Pretender is too rife,
says the author, and his own pages, sketching character and appearance,
decrees for him any signal bravery or remarkable beauty, and end that
his fate is "of no further Importance than unless further attempts to
disturb us end that mild and just government of that family of Hanover"-

Some of the early narratives of the rebellion, meanwhile, were issuing
the usual sarcastic accounts of the Chevalier, and the 'scurrilous in-
vectives' complained of by the author of "The Wanderer". Michael High-
est's "Plain Narrative", for example, describes his experiences in the
Hanoverian army, and jibes at the "rebellious vermin", and at their lead-
er's part at Culloden-"in the near pretty safe, three mile from the Bat-
tel". The Book of the Lamentations of Charles, the Young Man was in the
same vein. Discreditable chronicles of Jenny Cameron, the Edinburgh mil-
tiner and reputed prince's mistress appeared. "The Life of Jenny Cameron",
2. "A Complete History of the Rebellion" Bristol 1750

John Marchant---same title--1745
History of the Rebellion. Dublin 1746
G. Penrice's (Accot: of G Hatcliffe) with a full Accot of the Rebellion--1747
A Complete and Authentick History of the late Rebellion 1745
History of the Rebellion of 1745, with an Accot: of the Genius and Temper of the Chiefs 1750
The Life and Adventures of Jenny Cameron. The magazines printed plates of the Chevalier, Flora Macdonald and Jenny Cameron.

By the time the first histories were written, an unvarnished description of the Chevalier's part in the rising was almost impossible to find. The rebellion itself was "already differently represented by different sorts of People." But Alexander Henderson's "Edinburgh History of the late Rebellion" drew from his own memory and the columns of the Caledonian Mercury a description of the prince's entry into Edinburgh and his appearance then. It dissipated any 'clan' glamour, too, for Henderson, with a Whig and Lowland dislike for the rebels, calls them "choice Highland desperadoes," and summarises the 'faithful Macdonalds' as "very poor and addicted to Theft and Robbery," and the clans generally as "mostly Papists" and "drowned in Ignorance." Henderson stops with Culloden, but the 'Young Chevalier' pamphlet bound up with a later edition may have been his attempt to give the truth about the flight.

Samuel Boyce's "Impartial History of the late Rebellion," published at radical in 1748, aimed similarly at truth, and attacked the popular romances. "The particulars which adorn these kind of composed Relations (cooked up only to feast the present cravings of Novelty) are more proper for romance than history." He wrote as Hanoverian, but the dramatic chronicler—or the sentimental poet—kept breaking in, with the result that his account is "twopence coloured." He has purple patches describing the Chevalier's triumphal return to Edinburgh after Glencoe, or the Highland hut "cover'd with green Sods and Boughs so that it rather resembled the habitation of a Shepherd than a Prince"; of the dragoons "destroying the rebellious clans," "carrying Fire and Desolation as they passed"—"Thus were this fierce People subdued, whom neither the Romans nor Saxons could reduce." He dismisses the Chevalier's flight with "All we certainly know is that after four months' shifting from place to place"—"he escaped. But a footnote adds the appeal to emotion:—"Nothing could be a greater Proof of the Fidelity and Devotion of these infatuated and deluded People to his Cause than that neither the vast Reward of £30,000 offered, nor the known Danger they were liable to in concealing him should ever induce one of these Witches to betray him".

James Ray, the Cumberland volunteer, gave the Chevalier shorter shrift. He is "the Mock Prince," "the Young Pretender," and after a rapid sketch of his dress, bearing and accent, passes on to his own adventures with the army.

No accounts once more attempt to get events into a sane perspective. Dr John Burton of York, with the methods and doggedness of a modern war correspondent, had been spending most of 1748 in ferreting out from those actually concerned the details of the Prince's escape. These he set out as "A genuine and True Account of the most miraculous Escape of the Young Chevalier, by an Englishman"—its preface attacks fictions like Aeneasini and states his own unimpeachable (?) sources. "I have endeavoured to tell in their own Words as near as I could without altering their Sense and Meaning." The narrative that follows is as prose...
as a police-court report, and as choked with corroborative facts. Here
and there Burton "writes up" a little, puts a dialogue into broad Scots
emphasizes the loyalty of the Highlanders or "his beloved Lochiel",
and sums up with a list of the Prince's adventures, -five times nearly
killed, nine times pursued, six miraculous escapes and so on--its bald-
ness a little ludicrous, as it is in his whole narrative, and yet tell-
ing.
Next year, "A Plain, Authentick and Faithful Narrative of the several
passages of the Young Chevalier from Culloden--to France" appeared in
London, under the signature of Philalethes, believed to be Forbes. It
added little new material, but out of Burton's reports from Donald Mac-
donald, Flora MacDonald, Edward Burk, Kingsburgh and the others, he built
a vigorous, 'actual' narrative that set the outlines of the adventures
for all future story. Philalethes had a natural gift for a phrase,
and a weakness for an occasional flourish. Hence the Chevalier "betakes
himself now like a roe to the mountains", or "was glad to shelter from
the winds and the waves", or "slept that night with the heath for a pillow",
or "starting from sleep--cried 'Ah, poor England, poor England!'"
Scenes are graphically imagined: -'the long strides of the great tawdry
man', who was 'the Chevalier in disguise; or the cutting of the lock of
hair; or his appearance at Athnasual--"He was barefooted, had a long beard
in a dirty shirt, an old black Kelt coat, a plaid and a philabeg, with a pis-
tol and a dirk; but cheerful withal." His talk is natural and unaffected,
and as naturally Forbes uses native words in his tale, and shielings and
battles, claymores and dirks and philabegs form a gain in local colour. He
ends with no peroration, but with two remarks made of the Prince by men
who had known him, and the quiet expression of their admiration is most
effective.

With these accounts, then, and the circulation of Jacobite songs, the '45
rebellion begins. Some characters are yet in the rough; little is made of
the Highland chiefs, for instance; some now prominent, like Jenny Cameron
and O'Sullivan are later erased; Flora MacDonald's is still a shadowy
figure of romance. (Epigrams and Latin poems are dedicated to her, but
her actual stay in the Tower was barely remarked by London)
That romance was to grow in Jacobite songs and Gaelic poems and oral le-
gend, but after this first group of novelettes and narratives, the drab
acts of the Prince's life at foreign and Catholic courts stopped any
further fiction about him. Half a century passed before glamour gathered
again round his unhappy venture.

It is absurd to leave the impression of the rebellion ending in a romant-
ical haze, however. These chronicles were only one by-product, though a novel
one.

The rising had drawn out ballads and songs and satires, journalistic ac-
counts and narratives of the rebellion, informative pamphlets about the
Highlands, histories and collections of original documents, poems and
stage prologues and plays, controversial pamphlets on the settlement of
the Highlands, and an abundant reprint of earlier literature about the
1. eg. Wm. Duff's "Critical, Biographical and Geographical History of Scotland" 1749

2. 1746

3. 1746.
The first effect of that rebellion literature-as of the rebellion itself-was to cast a fierce light upon the Highlands and the Highlanders. The serious and concerned interest of England was a thing unprecedented. The country had been thoroughly alarmed, and though by '47 one historian declared "some still retain the Terror impress'd by the March of the Rebels to Derby--and others affect to treat it as a mere Bugbear, as a Raw Head and Bloody Bones", there was one topic that over-rid all others in newspapers and magazines-"What is to be done with the Highlands?"

Even in the opening months letters and articles had issued on the subject. "A Letter from a Gentleman at Edinburgh to his Correspondent at London" fulminated against "the besotted ignorant Papists", the Highlanders, and offered from his own travel-observations an account of "a People under no Government, no Law nor of no Religion". He had the worst to say:-"Falseness and Poverty, Ignorance and Superstition greatly prevail; everywhere "miserable Vassals ina Slevish Dependence to Popish Chiefs"; he saw some possibilities, for the men had "a naturally quick genius", the fisheries might be developed, S.P.C.K. work continued, the better clans used as war-fodder abroad: none of these fresh proposals. The author of "The Edinburgh Packet Opened" put forward emigration and the development of trade as necessary. A third Scottish pamphlet, "Superiorities Displayed, or Scotland's Grievance", a reprint of a 1716 publication dealt too with the vexed question of the hereditary jurisdictions, but most competently prefaced that with a resume of laws enacted for the Highlands, recent abuses such as the Highland Host, and the legal difficulties involved in the settlement of the country. The author, obviously a lawyer, urged the abolition of the entire feudal basis of Highland life.

In London a fourth pamphlet appeared:-"An Enquiry into the Causes of the late Rebellion and the proper Methods for preventing the like misfortune for the Future" This was a remarkably dispassionate and sane analysis of the rising, that goes on to state the favourable and unfavourable sides of the warlike Highland spirit, the loyalty to their chiefs and its value, and argues quietly against the abolition of the Highland garb, and tellingly for reform through trade and education.

But the magazine articles were far below that level, virulent over the Highlander, drastic over remedies. "Let us reform these miserable wretches, I mean the banditti that harbour in most of the Highlands of Scotland, that nursery of rapine and violence, where rebellion is always hatching and brooding her cursed offspring", said the General Evening Post, and urged wholesale impressing into the forces. "What noble fleets might be manned! What an army of brave men!" The Westminster Journal disagreed:-"The hearts of these people like the rocky Highlands they inhabit are a soil that will not bear any culture" Therefore "trans-plant the Highlander to America or other people to the Highlands". But "pity the common Highlanders who are but little removed from the state of Nature", and at all costs dissolve vassalage. On that last point English opinion was at one; the roots of rebellion they believed to be in clanship and hereditary jurisdictions. These must be eradicated once and for all.
I. Torrens' "History of Cabinets."

2. Gent. Mag: Oct: 1747
3. London Mag: Dec: 1747
4. Feb: 1848.
Discussion became more heated in the months when the remedial legislation for the Highlands was passing through Parliament. Every type of informative pamphlet was circulated. Even poems said their feeble cry:

"To seize the broadsword and proscribe the plaid, veils but little while the heart is bad. But use the hand and cultivate the mind, and Highland Jacks true Britons we may find."

One outstanding pamphlet was in reply to "Superiorities Display'd", "An Essay upon Feudal Holdings, Superiorities and Hereditary Jurisdictions in Scotland", believed to be by the Scots lawyer, Lord Bankton. This tried to impress on English minds that the basis of clanship was not the slavish dependence on the chief-mischievous as that was—but the connections of blood and neighbourhood, and that the hereditary jurisdictions were neither the cause of the rebellion nor safely to be abolished. He suggested as better reforms the opening-up of the country and the spread of education.

That reasoned appeal came out at an untimely moment. The Disarming Act with its heavy penalties and drastic proscription of Highland dress, bagpipes etc: had gone through, and after it a Wardholding—ct, both arousing Jacobite heats. The Hereditary Jurisdictions Bill began to be hotly debated during the spring and summer of '47, and brought out bitting attacks on the Highlanders. Lord Chesterfield was typical in his standpoint:—"Were I to direct, I would have a short Act of Parliament for the transporting to the West Indies every man concerned in the rebellion, and give a reward for every one that should be apprehended and brought to transportation. This I think would be a better way than hanging some of the rascals, and letting the others go home for another rebellion."

By the autumn there was an amazing resurgence of Jacobitism that startled the Government. Chevalier romances were streaming out, Jacobite sons were brazenly sung, ballads made heroes of English Jacobites like Colonel Towneley and Jimmy Dawson. In London, there was a flaunting of the plaid in society. In Parliament, discussion brought out Jacobite die-hard trumpeting. The Gentleman's Magazine printed by request Belhaven's "Vision" speech of 1706, and an admiring letter about the Chevalier taken from the Caledonian Mercury. So outspoken was feeling in Scotland that a new "British Magazine, or London and Edinburgh Intelligencer" was started, dissociating itself bluntly from its disaffected contemporary, the Scots Magazine. Its editor announced:—"They mean to advance the interests of their country, and that they can never do by propagating Jacobite stories, tales, pamphlets, and puffs". In London, a new paper started a direct attack on "this dangerous spirit of Jacobitism" and this "Jacobite Journal by John Trott-Plaid, Esquire" bore as illustration a Jacobite and his wife, tartan-garbed, led by a sly Jesuit.

The Hereditary Jurisdictions Bill went through, only three Scottish nobles dissenting. Press attention to the Highlands broadened to plans for extended trade and the planting of industries there. Passages of Martin's "Description of the Western Isles" were reprinted, apropos of fishery schemes. There were "Proposals for Putting the People of that Country into the Hot-Bed of Trade and Manufactures". The Jacobites Journal
1. Scots Mag: March 1746
2. True Patriot No: 23.
3. MS in National Library of Scotland. Pencilled name Wm Storey.
brought a plan for settling colonies in the Highlands: 10,000 acres were to be bought, fifty townships planted, flax-growing and fishery to be made staple occupations. The Gentleman's Magazine, which had been running a series of travel-articles and surveys, announced that the next would be a survey made in Scotland, and by the end of '48, rebellion topics were gradually lost sight of in a general but fairly alert interest in the north.

So far as English literature was concerned, the '45 was a slow-detonating mine in the unknown quarry that was the Highlands. The first detonation threw up only the rubble of conventional verse. "On the Pretender's Son Landing in Scotland": "Ode on Liberty": "The Alarm, a Poem": "On the Rebel's Flight": "Lovat's Ghost": "Ode to the Duke of Cumberland". No realistic touches are felt necessary. Cumberland's march into the Highlands is Now o'er the high and shaggy Hills, Now o'er the low and humble vales, O'er the braes beset with thorn, And rocks the traveler's foot that scorn, Bonny Laddie, Royal Laddie.

Culloden was a matter of:
The barb'rous foe they soon o'ertake, The Spey's swift current flow'd between, And now the northern islands shake and echo with the martial din.
The best of this topical verse was struck out by Scots poets in the heat of feeling, as was Smollett's "Tears of Caledonia", or Hamilton's "On Gallia's shores".

After this light matter, came the 'heavier things in four-wheelers', the bombastic odes and epic poems. Nothing in the first group is worth noticing; the odes for the year 1745 "having only the tritest conventionalities about the rising. The second group is a meagre one. As Walpole declared laughingly to his friend Conway, it was unfashionable to form poems from actual history; "otherwise your campaign in Scotland, rolled-out and well be-epithetized would make a pompous work and make one's fortunes". Yet the inevitable "Rebellion: a Poem in five books" appeared. It was strongly Whig in sentiment,hackneyed in expression. The Highlands were "Mountains where perpetual Winter reigns", and where The traitrous Scots proclaim him as their Lord, And in his Cause they draw the vengeful Sword.
The clans are vaguely listed; the Scots towns send recruits-Next Aberdeen her traitrous Sons sends forth, To join these hardy Natives of the North. Their rage for Plunder and their arms the same, Which proves the barbrous Lineage whence they came. Jenny Cameron is brought in, in all seriousness, as a war-like Amazon, "the Cameronian Maid", who counsels the Chevalier, and fights at Culloden. The hero is of course subordinate in interest to the Duke of Cumberland, whose victory at Culloden ends the poem. This 'epick' was being
1. Denest reports it acted spring of 1745-46, at Drury Lane, but not printed.

2 of later notes

3. Long MS. Instructions from Sec: of State to Mr Br Aug: 1749. (Cumberland MSS.)
written, it appears, in '49, and has one glimmer of interest that Southey is alleged to have revised it many years later, with a view to its publication in 1799.

In the drama, the rebellion produced no plays of note. Macklin's 'warping' of Henry VII into some parallel was ludicrous, and the prologues of Walpole and Gibber negligible. "Entertainments" made use of "The Rival Highlanders" and "The Scots Figgaries". But the only influence in drama of any lasting effect was the encouragement given to sketches of national 'humours'. Macklin put on a farce, "The Humours of the Army" in which an Irish, a French and a Welsh comic character were joined by a Mackyland or Colonel Hyland; and this, after a short gap, had a series of successors, in most of which Highland Scots figured.

Prose gained only by the narratives and histories and the brief novellette chronicle. Some of the cheapest of the former have their value, for they hold lively sketches of the Scots army or of Scotland. Michael Hughes, for example, stationed at Inverness, drew "Our Highland Fair" there, and the chaffering between Highlander and military merchant. The short histories had their informative details about the north and its men, of the type of "they always move by daybreak or sooner if the moon shines" (admittedly, these are trivialities, but in such fashion the stuff of future fiction was amassed).

Boyse and Kay added fuller accounts of the clans. The former emphasized exaggeratedly the tyranny of the 'Lairds of the Isles', and gave instances of the deadly feuds still prevalent, as he avowed. "The same blind devotion, the same barbarity and bigotted attachment to the religion and customs of their ancestors, whose language and dress they superstitiously retain, and the same disposition to rapine and sloth". Yet he agreed with the author of the "Humour Disquisition", who had declared that the Highlanders "have spirits made for better things", and ends on the note: "Reformed by laws and improved by manners, the Highlanders, so long the disgrace and terror of Britain, would in process of time become her ornament and defence".

Kay's "Complete History" professed to give not only the course of the rebellion, but a full description of the Highlands he traversed with the Government army. He has thumb-nail accounts of the towns, jibes at the Highland dirt and poverty, extracts from Buchanen, from Dalrymple's additions to Camden and from Macky's Tour, and as opinion of his own, a thorough townsman's hatred of his bleak northern billets. "Inviron'd with black barren mountains, cover'd with snow and streams of water rolling down them, the sight of which is sufficient to give a well-bred dog the vapours, and occasioned numbers to fall sick daily, as well in their minds as bodies".

The '45, like the '15, had one valuable sequel, in that it sent Englishmen in various capacities into the Highlands. Among these Government officials, a surveyor of forfeited estates, Bruce by name, spent 1749-50 in exploring the land and clans in the most distant northern and western
and sent back a report, more minute in its survey than any that had yet come south. Bruce was a sturdy Whig and had no liking for the highlander, so that although he promised "nothing from me but the plain truth," he was inclined to report what he had expected to report. Still, he gave the most detailed account, county by county, of the clans in each their reputation, physique, way of living, conditions of tenure, possibilities of development and so on. Nothing is left in the abstract, though he is inclined to use a swashing summary of the type of: "The Macrae were till twenty years ago little better than Heathens in their principles, and almost as unclean as Hottentots in their Way of Living." In the Isles: "the Common People are little better than Slaves or Beggars" he dealt drastically in realities only: he laughed at the "ridiculous stories of the antiquity and grandeur of the Macdonalds," and would say of clans: "more than half of them are pitiful half-starved creatures of a low Dwarfish Stature," or "five parishes speak English after the Scotch Dialect, and the other five a corrupt kind of Irish." But unconscious, his account had a romantic side, for he reported old tales of vendetta, or "a Maxim with the Macleans never to turn their backs upon an enemy though ever so unequal in numbers, but either to conquer or fall upon the spot," or tell of the people of Glenmoriston practitioners of a Charm to make them invulnerable in the rising. His business, however, was to observe and make practical suggestions, and he did both. He advocated a severe "bridling by Garrisons of the Disaffected and Savages," but drew out a lengthy list of "Means to Civilise" as well, a list that covered reforms of tenur, of policing, of trade, of religion, poor relief and civil education. The cost of such work might be £5,000 a year, a fraction of that Britain spent on colonies: "Of not half the importance of Civilizing and Improving this part of Britain itself that has been so long a Nuisance and reproach to the Nation."

How far that report was circulated or acted on is unknown, but it was an invaluable marshalling of facts.

The '45's real reaction on literature is not to be computed in terms of this tract or that goblet of information, however. What the rebellion most vitally did was to bring the Highlands and islands into the dynamic current of English literary interest. Or to change the metaphor, the first period of alarm, the general Highlander-phobia, English anger, the surge of sympathy over the executions of the rebel lords, the hunting of Charles, the urgent discussion of what the state of the Highlands was and might be—all these had ploughed and harrowed the soil, and what seeds of suggestion about the North were dropped now had a chance of bearing life.

No poems owed their appearance to the post-rebellion ferment of talk about the Highlands and islands. Mallet, who had nursed for some years the plan of a tragedy set in St Kilda, now drafted it as a long poem, and launched it on the crest of interest in 1747. "Amyntor and Theodore" was full of romantic bombast about the Hebrides:
Far in the wetry waste, where his broad wave
From world to world the vast Atlantic rolls
On from the puny shores of Labrador
To frozen Thule east, her airy height
Aloft to heaven, remotest Kilda lifts;
Last of the sea-girt Hebrides, that guard
In filial train Britannia's parent coast.
Thrice happy land--
Beyond Ambition's walk, where never War--

and so to a verse paraphrase of Martin. It was admired by contemporaries, and the magazines printed eulogies. Even Dr Johnson, who disliked Mallet, praised it, possibly because of the attraction of its island settings, diluted Martin as these were.

Two years later, a poem of real beauty came into being, Collins' "Ode on the Popular Superstitions of the Highlands". In one sense, any liking of that first exquisite expression of Highland glamour with the '45 seems forced. Its origins lie in the poet's own imagination, in the suggestions of Martin, probably in talk with Thomson, who had already written of Hebridean psychic lore, and more certainly in talk with John Home, who visited the poet in the autumn of 1749. But something, I think, was owing to the current talk of the north and the survival of superstition there, the newspaper quotations from Martin and the constant deploring of the Highlands as a country strangely outside the pale of normal life. Collins was not too unworldly a recluse to be above the influence of these, so that one origin in the '45 may fairly be claimed.

Another writer was certainly worldly and astute enough to seize the opportunity of popular interest to publish his Scottish tragedy, which was set in the Highlands. Smollett's "Aegicide, or James I of Scotland" had been long hawked round the theatres. Now there was some chance for its scenes--"a convent at Perth", its use, though very conventionally, of Highland nobles like Athol and Angus, its mention of "savage clans", "vig'rous mountaineers" "the clans that lurk

Behind the adjacent hills--"
its desperadoes like Grime and Cattan, and its speeches in the style of "Keep, Caledonia, weep!

Other signs of this literary interest in the Highlands crop up.
An obvious one was Dr John Campbell's attempt, "The Highland Gentleman's Magazine", issued in January 1754, with a frontispiece of a tartan-plaided, bonneted figure. The author sketched his life, from his birth "in one of the most remote corners of the Highlands" to his coming to London, and promised his readers a full account of his native country in his second issue. That issue appeared as a tract "A Full and Particular Description of the Highlands of Scotland, its Situation and Products, Manners and Customs", and was a most fervid panegyric on the Highlands and Highlander: "as brave a People as any Nation in the Universe--They are all Gentlemen--entire Strangers to every mean and disgraceful Action! The native garb was "the most heroic and majestic Habit ever wore". No nation in the world produces Men of more bright
I. 1729 2 vols.

2. Some Elements of the ancient Scottish or Caledonian Celtic. c. 1726

3. Pleasures of Melancholy 1745


5. Queries circulated 1702-02-03
natural Parts"—as refined as the most polite Nation" Their bravery, loyalty, hospitability, courtesy are, all hymned. London, however, seems to have been diffident about desiring a third number, and Campbell's venture ceased.

The '45 exerted a most potent influence on Gaelic literature. The beginnings of interest in Gaelic study with antiquaries like Lluyd, Sibbald, Wodrow, and of Gaelic publication for religious purposes by Boyle and Kirkwood have already been noted. These were nipped back for a time by the deaths of Lluyd and Sibbald and by the '15. The 1720's showed antiquarian interest flourishing again, and much talk of Druids and of 'Celtick Religion and Literature! John Toland began about 1721 a "History of the Druids, containing an Account of the Ancient Celtic Religion and Literature", and though his death intervened after the first letter, that fragment has reference to Celtic bards still to be found in the Highlands.

Confused attention in general was given Gaelic. Travellers like Gordon and Lord Oxford amused themselves writing down tags of Gaelic verse, but rather as oddities than for any literary value. At the same time Pennicuik has a sarcastic heading of a tale—"written originally in the Celtick language by the famous Mythologist, Alaster Macalamore"; and possibly now Aaron Hill was writing his "Ronald and Dorna.--by a Highlander!"

Then any mention of literature was swamped by the wordy controversies over Scottish antiquities that went on in the thirties. Linguistic theories, some of them far-fetched, were debated, and philology triumphed at the expense of literature. Anne's "Critical Essay on the Ancient Inhabitants of the Northern Parts of Britain or Scotland" had an appendix of "ancient M.S. Pieces", but these were mostly Latin fragments and scrap of Fordun, and only a list of early kings was in Gaelic. Malcolm announced "Specimens of the Ancient Scottish or Caledonien Celtick", but these were word-lists. (Malcolm, it may be noted, did Gaelic one service, in that his persistent canvassing of Edinburgh societies and Gaelic scholars in support of a plan for reprinting an amended version of Lluyd's Gaelic Dictionary kept the study before public notice)

A reflection of this semi-antiquarian interest is seen unexpectedly in a paper like the Grub Street Journal, which runs from April to September of 1736 a hot controversy over the antiquities of Scotland.

Literary vagaries, meanwhile, still kept the Druids and their lays to the fore. Stukely's book on Druidism and Stonehenge, published in 1740, led to increased mention of them in verse and drama. Warton placed them in Mona's woods. Wod's 'sage Druids' were Fetched by my summons from the western Isles,—
From stormy Scotland. ---

The latter was a natural connection, since the Druidic remains in Scotland had been spoken and written of. The step further was inevitable. If remains still existed in Scotland, what of the ancient bardic verse? Lluyd's question: "What is known of their Bardic, poetici, Sencciones?" was again in the air. Was an older literature still in existence? Did Gaelic hold any fragments of it?
By the forties, the first collecting of Gaelic poems was beginning, for Alexander Maca of Caithness later claimed that in 1739 he and a friend "entered into a project of collecting these old poems"; and before the '45 Farquharson, a Roman Catholic missionary in Strathglass was doing similar work. No modern Gaelic verse was looked for, and none was in print, the only recent publications being a "Confession of Faith", and a "Gaelic and English Vocabulary" by Alexander Macdonald. (41)

At this point the '45 intervened. London, instructed from this side and that on the Highlanders and their peculiarities, heard sufficiently about the Gaelic, in some cases heard it spoken. Adam Ferguson's "Sermon preached in the Erse Language" was published in London (1746). A translation of an Erse ballad by Lovat had to be read at his trial. The Chevalier could sing to his fellow fugitives songs in their own tongue. Was it as an echo of this, and of the cult of "artless gems" from Lapland or Greenland, that Conway, Walpole's friend, in Scotland with his regiment, produced a poem which he declared was from the Highland or by a Highlander?

Only one other response is known. John Home, fresh from his service in the '45 and his escape from Castle Dounie, brought to Collins' ear old legends as well as superstitions, and most probably talk of the undiscovered ancient literature he later declared he had heard much of and was avid to read. Collins' imagination stirred at the thought of:-

Ev'n yet preserved--
Taught by the father to the listening son
Strange lays--

and pictured the old Runic bards listening to
The choral dirge that mourns some chieftain brave.

Beyond that sensitive appreciation, English interest was as yet unproductive.

But in the same years, 1748-49-50, the work of two poets was signalling a new era; for Jerome Stone had begun the study of Gaelic at the advice of his University Professor, and was to become one of the pioneers in the collecting of ancient and modern Gaelic verse; and the Highland bard, Alexander Macdonald, was gathering his own poems and planning an anthology of Gaelic poetry.

Macdonald's "Poems" published in 1754 were epoch-making in the history of Gaelic literature. They mark a renaissance of Gaelic poetry, for within a few years not only he but MacCodrum, MacKellar, Buchanan and MacIntyre are writing verse. They mark a revolution in Highland ways, for hitherto no verse had been printed. They mark a new literary confidence: Macdonald in his preface offers the poems to "those versed in this ancient and comprehensive language", and "to raise in others a desire to learn something of it, if they can be brought to think that it may possibly contain in its bosom the charms of poetry and rhetoric", and "to be Speak support for a greater collection of poems of the same sort"

He adds praise of "the Celtick nation" and its language, and inveighs against the fact that "this language alone should remain in a state not only of total abandon—but this people and this language should be alone persecuted and intolerated".

In spite of that his first poem is an eloquent hymning of "the Resurrection of the Old Scottish Tongue". That was followed by Songs to the
"An Inquiry into the Original of the Nation and Language of the ancient Scots"

Prince", a "Song of the Clans", "The Proud Plaid" (a eulogy of the native dress), "In Praise of Macrimmon's Pipe" some satires on the Campbells and various nature poems.

So ardently was the Jacobitism of these poems that the volume was ordered to be burnt by the hangman. That stimulated an illicit sale, with such success that the poems were partially reprinted in 1764. Mackellar, Buchan and MacIntyre were thus emboldened to publish their work too, in 1762, 1767 and 1768 respectively.

Unluckily, nothing came of Macdonald's plan of an anthology.

Whether or no Stone read of it, and it is extremely likely that he did, he was engaged in the same and subsequent years-1750-56—in collecting Gaelic verse, ancient Ossianic ballads, and such modern poems "as are remarkable on account of their beauty or the interesting nature of their subject". He was writing a treatise too, enquiring into the origins of the language. He was upholding its importance philologically in the columns of the Scots Magazine by calling Johnson to account for neglecting it in the derivations in his Dictionary. Most important of all, he brought to public notice the existence of a body of ancient Scottish verse. From Dunkeld, November 1755, he addressed a letter to the Scots Magazine:—

"Those who have any tolerable acquaintance with the Irish language must know that there are a great number of poetical compositions in it, and some of them of very great antiquity, whose merit entitles them to an exemption from that unfortunate neglect or rather abhorrence to which ignorance has subjected that emphatic and venerable language in which they were composed" (a repetition of Macdonald) "Several of these performances for sublimity of sentiment, nervousness of expression and high-spirited metaphors are hardly to be equalled among the chief productions of the most cultivated nations. Others breathe such tenderness and simplicity"—on which he dilated. He then offered, "an old tale translated from the Irish, 'Albin, the daughter of Mey'". His translation was long, conventionally phrased, and provoked no comment from the magazine readers. But it was invaluable pioneer work. With a shock one finds Stone's epitaph printed in the same monthly six numbers later.

Is it stretching the long arm of coincidence too far to suggest that a young James Macpherson was in Edinburgh that winter (1755-56) and had in all probability a keen eye on the magazines he was soon bombarding with his own poetry, he read Stone's letter and his 'Albin and Mey', caught his enthusiasm, and in the verse started that summer on his return to the Highlands, let his imagination draw its own pictures of ancient time and heroic youths.

But with the publication of that work, "The Highlander" in 1758, a new chapter opens.

One other 'postscript' to the '45 remains to be mentioned, for to it one owes the first Highland landscapes painted from nature by English artists.

It need hardly be said that though the contemporary prints of the rebellion were full of cuts of Highlanders, led by the 'Cope or plundering a country town or fleeing after Culloden, and of the Pretender surrounded by Scots beauties or grouped with Flora Macdonald and Jenny Cameron,
there was neither knowledge nor drawing of Highland background, beyond the outline of a river in the Culloden battle scene.

But the rebellion brought to Scotland two artists, Thomas and Paul Sandby, whose work was destined to be famous. The elder, Thomas, was already known to as an excellent draughtsman and had thus been appointed secretary and draughtsman to the Duke of Cumberland. In his retinue he went to Scotland in January 1746, and saw the campaign through. He made a sketch of Culloden fight, that was sent south to Windsor Castle, and two detailed drawings of Fort Augustus, Loch Ness, and one of Fort William with the English encampment. In subject matter, these were works of no great novelty. There was already a fashion for "draughts of Killiecrankie and landscapes of Glencoe", as suitable adornments for gentlemen's parlours. These were never drawn from the actual scene, however, and Sandby's accurate, highly-finished drawings set a new standard.

Probably through Thomas's influence, his brother Paul, then a youth of twenty-one, secured the post of draughtsman in the survey of the High-lands begun in '46. He was already in Scotland, for among the specimens of work submitted in applying for the post were two drawings of Edinburgh Castle. He had been showing a Hogarthian appreciation of Edinburgh town types, too, for folios of his have sketches in Indian ink and colour of a fishwife, a pedlar, fiddler, blind beggar, street sweeper, piper, hawk and so on, and little groups of street-corner loungers, strutting Highlanders, shawled women and babies, a street seller at her stall, a scene at the docks, and beggars innumerable. He drew too the High Street, a cartoon of Balfour's Coffee-House, the scene at Young's execution, rebel Highlanders under arrest, a caricature of a Highland laird making his will. It is, I think, the first time an English artist set himself to the sketching of Scots types from the life, and though Hogarth would have been the best commentator—(he had used Charteris and Lovat) Sandby's eye was shrewd and amused enough. He hit off the tattered and grotesque swarms to the life. Once he amused himself with a drawing of a Scots washerwoman, petticoats kilted up for treading, an object of English disgust from time immemorial. This he chose for the first time to insist as attractive, and drew a Juno-esque figure, whose fine limbs and billowy clothes recall some Inigo Jones sketch for a stage goddess.

He must have explored the countryside as well, for his "Well near Broughton", and "Tree at Drumlenrig" are early work. Of six small landscapes issued in '46 the majority suggest Lowland scenes, and were in accord with the popular tastes for river and waterfall views.

From '46 to '51 Sandby is known to have been employed on survey-work in the Highlands. After that no later stay of his is referred to by his biographer. If these six years were all, then the land must have been an extraordinary inspiration, for in later years he issued many sketches of the romantic scenery and antiquities of the country. A group of ten views "etched on the spot" were published in '50. Eight folio views of Edinburgh, Leith, Bothwell, Dumbarton, and Stirling followed in '751. He exhibited five "Views in Scotland", three of the 'Lynns of Clyde' one a "Waterfall in the Tummel near Killiecrankie". During the '60's and '70's Sandby was at the height of his fame, his reputation made as a romantic landscape painter since that picture of
I. W. Sandby's "Thomas and Paul Sandby"
Prints in British Museum consulted.

Prince: A Song of the Clans, 'The Proud Kilt
Snowdon and Gray's Bard, exhibited in 1761. In '78 his views were collected as "The Virtuosi's Museum". By then the vogue for Highland tours was flourishing, and probably creating a demand for the work he could present, and had already supplied as illustration for Pennant's tour. He therefore gathered the early views of the falls of Clyde and Tummel, the Drumlanrig and Bothwell and Edinburgh Castle scenes, and added four views of Ben Lomond and its surroundings, and views of Dunstaffnage Castle, of Kilcarn Castle on Loch Awe, of country seats at Killin, Appin, Strathtay, and of Fort William, Fort George and of ruins at Dunfermline, Stirling and Glasgow. The majority of these express only the limited appreciation of the age, the acknowledged romantic claims of cascades and ruined castles, for example; but some show a more advanced taste: "A View up Strathtay" "Drumlanrig with a Distant Prospect of the Mountains of Galway in Scotland". One has to grant that details of trees or loch must have been inserted from memory and imagination, and Sandby had a liking for picturesque foreground sketches of kilted Highlanders in full arsenal, or drinking a deoch an doruis at a cottage door or dancing a reel to a piper's playing. But these facts do not invalidate the important claim that Sandby was the first to draw from life Highland scenery and the wilder landscapes of mountain and loch, to render these impressively, and to bring them to the admiration of English readers.

So in the primary impetus of '45 activity, the landscape painting of Scotland has its origin.
CHAPTER 16. "The Scotch Yoke, or English Resentment: a New Song".

a. The first English attacks, and their significance.
   Causes of English animosity:
   - political, social, literary 'interloping'.
   - the national stigmas, cleannishness etc.
   Expression in satire, in farce, squib, etc.

b. The Renaissance of Scots letters.
   Adverse effects of English abuse.
   Reception of the work of Home and Hume.

c. Amicable relations: signs and effects of these.
I. November 1746

2 December 1746.
The 145 Rebellion had barely been suppressed, when a London paper, "Old England, or the Broadbottom Journal" printed one of those articles that seemed framed in malice prepense to embroil English and Scots. Its author, "Retine" made the occasion of attack the appointment of additional judges, and after a blunt, "I should be sorry to see a Scotchman upon an English Bench of Justice", extended his attack to the whole race, "being intimately acquainted with the disposition of these people, who are extremely national, proud and poor, restless and overbearing in their temper, and insufferably insolent in their manners". "They have poured upon us like swarms of locusts, into every scene of life. The army abounds with them; divinity is not without them: and law begins to abound with their dissonant notes and ragged quality. Physics has them plentifully. And where anything is to be got, you may find Scotsmen convened, like hounds over a carrion, or flies in the shambles."

The late rebellion, he continues, was due to "the innate animosity against us; as well in the brutal ignorance of the barbarous Highlanders, as in the polished treachery of the false Lowlander". "A Scot is a natural, hereditary Jacobite, and incurable by Acts of Unity, Generosity and Friendly Dealing". How then was England to protect herself? The Scots were too many to exterminate; were they transplanted it would be difficult to repopulate the country; the rebuilding of a new boundary wall was impracticable. The only solution was a national boycott. Then must they keep within their own barren confines, for I see no occasion we have for them in the several Sciences and gainful Professions here". He urges a debarring of Scots from office in the army ("an Englishman ought not to be put under the Dominion of a Scot") and a boycott of all Scots doctors, churchmen and lawyers.

The magazines reprinted this article, usually with a word of depreciation, but with a shrewd estimate of its "sales" value, for the sentiments were not unpopular—the attack was thought to be a 'clubbed performance' and it had garnishings of Cleveland and titillating libels on Scots lawyers.

It created the expected alarum. Of the replies, one, believed to be by William Murray, Earl of Mansfield, had most prominence: "The Thistle: a dispassionate Examen of the Prejudice of Englishmen in general to the Scotch Nation"—and particularly of a late arrogant insult offered to all Scotchmen by a Modern English Journalist". As a debating-hall riposte it was effective, but it neither analysed the causes of English prejudice, nor attempted to clear Scotland's reputation, except of the stigma of Jacobitism. That the Scots were venal and corrupt he practically admitted, but blamed the English seducers: and in tu quoque vein he dealt with the other points of attack. "The English, you say, are sick of the Scots: I may venture to assure you that the Scots are very sick of the Union, and you may judge if they have any great Gout to the Union-mixers"... for the influx of Scots into the professions, he argues it as gain, and recognised as such by "the present Statesmen at the Helm", whose impartiality on this subject distinguished them "from
too many of their English fellow-subjects"
Other Scots replies were in the tone of "Scoto-Britannus's
"The base invectives of thy spiteful pen
Make no impression on my Countrymen."
English writers, entering the fray, allowed "we ought not to charge
the rebellion upon them as a national affair", but otherwise inclined
to support Aretine.
Although "The Thistle" was followed by "The Rose", which tried to mini-
imize the attack by declaring it "a design of our enemies to set one
part of the nation against the other", sluice-gates of feeling were
open by then and abuse of the Scot poured out. The London Magazine
printed "The Diabolical Courant or the Hellish Intelligencer", a coarse
satire on Pope and Jacobites and Scots. The news-sheets were full of
petty libels about Scottish torture-machines and the like. This con-
tinued till May, 6 months from Aretine's article, when "The Umpire", a
"serio-comical dissertation on 'Old England', "The Thistle" and "The A
Rose" concluded the matter.

This acrid little paper-war may seem trivial, but it is not merely a
chance cheap-press "stunt". It has a significant place as the first of
that series of rancid anti-Scot outbursts that culminated in the
notorious explosions of Wilkes, Churchill, Junius and Mason, in the
sixties and seventies.
The "North Briton" attacks, for example, are apt to be singled out as
exceptional, a sudden virulence temporarily spoiling the settled amity
between Scotland and England. The facts prove the contrary, that they
were only an unusually blatant expression of what was a commonplace
in Anglo-Scottish relations still, namely a fundamental disruptive
animosity.

Scratch the surface of that smooth veneer of 'Union', and one comes
on antagonism. Even in mid-eighteenth century, Scots still talked bit-
terly of the Union, and Englishmen of the interloping Scot. The En-
lish dislike only bursts out sporadically, but it is not a sporad-
ical emotion. Whenever there was a matter for popular division, that dis-
like found quick vent—end applause; and division was made over matters
as diverse and irrelevant as Scots antiquities and the Porteous Riots,
the Battle of Fontenoy or the '45 Rebellion. In each of these cases
immediate attack swept on to "reflections on the Scottish nation"—
one need only cite Bishop Sherlock's speech after the Porteous affair
or Swift's "Story of an Injured Lady". Further, such attack was always
condoned, and the satire of a Clarendon or a Swift thought excusable
and natural, while the praise of a Defoe or a Horace Walpole was held
suspicious and to be derided.

The causes of this English animosity were in part those already analy-
sed, the residue of past events, the differences in national psychology
and status. But since the anti-Scot outbursts grow more and not less
frequent even after the settlement of the '45, obviously other causes
were rankling.
1. re General Election 1708.
2. "Notes sur l'Angleterre" written 1730
3. Mathieson's history and Burton's.
4. "Not so much as one Scotsman had the honestie and courage to appear in behalf of their oppressed countriemen"—Lockhart's Memoirs.
These were a tangle of grievances, conscious or unconscious, or at least inarticulate.

Chief of the conscious grievances were the political ones. There was the bad political reputation of the Scottish representatives in Parliament. The "King's List" of Scots peers had been notorious, and the last packed election of these at Holyrood had to be fenced with troops. Bribery was known, but the attempt to prove it had failed. The flagrant selection and venality of Scots members was equally notorious. Burnet declared that Ministers "laid it down for a maxim not to be departed from, to look carefully to elections in Scotland that the members returned from there might be in an entire dependence on them, and be either Whigs or Tories as they should shift sides". Montesquieu had noted: "Il y a des membres ecossois qui n'ont que deux cents livres sterling pour leur voix, et la vende ou ce prix". An English M.P. in the forties had said bluntly: "The forty-five Scottish representatives in the House always voted as they were directed". They incurred the scorn of their own countrymen by refusing time and again to make any patriotic stand. They raised no protests, for example, over the drastic Disarming Act. Marchmont even praised in Parliament the Highland severities of Cumberland after Culloden. Only the division over the Porteous Riots and the Pains and Penalties Bill (against) which the Scots members in the Commons voted, and Argyle attacked in the Lords, disproved that charge of subserviency to the Government, and one "break-away" could not alter the accepted stigma of "Scots brigade".

After the '45, and particularly during the Newcastle ministry, that pro-Government voting continued. By the mid-fifties, a vicious circle had been formed; English animosity drove the Scots to vote 'nationally'; further animosity was felt thereby and expressed. Aggravating causes of dislike were the pre-eminent positions of the second and third Dukes of Argyle and the caballing imputed to them. "Job Roy and Archie his man", the ballads christened Walpole and Argyle. When the Forfeited Estates Act of 1752 was passed, annexing the estates to the Crown, and allocating the money to Scottish services, it was suspected as an estate move by Argyle to gain Jacobite support.

Further, the stigma of Jacobitism was still attached to the Scots, and English members continued to see Jacobite sympathies and intriguing where there were none. The sheriff-deputies appointed temporarily by Government after the '45 to regulate the Highlands were re-appointed for fifteen years, any change obviously being dreaded. A year after Shelburne was still assuring Parliament "all Scotland was enthusiastically devoted to the exiled family, with a very few exceptions". The Scots member who previously declared there were more Jacobites in Middlesex than in the Highlands was a voice unlistened to. Countless instances of the English belief can be quoted. The career of a lawyer like Mansfield was seriously harmed by the ineradicable suspicion that he was Jacobite. When the English Militia Bill was discussed in 1752 Townshend suggested a similar measure for Scotland. In vain. In the Act passed Scotland was expressly excluded; the country was still regarded as dangerous.
Structure of Politics at the Accession of George IV.

2. So too an impoverished peer who kept a gaming-table, a sketch from the life, and so only mentioned briefly engaged from 1758 on in portraits of the Prince of Wales, Bute etcetera.
In addition there was dangerous gossip of Scots pensions innumerable, of sums spent on secret service work in the north, and on doles to Scots peers. In getting to the truth of these charges, the recent researches of L.B. Namier have been invaluable, for his statistics show that during the Newcastle regime from 1754-60 the sums spent on Scotland for election 'purchases' were a fraction of the total paid out. At the '54 election, £1800 went to Scotland out of a total for England and Scotland of £22,000. In the '57-60 period, sums of £500 for Perth Burghs, £300 for the Orkneys were spent, in each case less than the usual sums spent on English towns. Certainly Government bought openly in Scotland—"it did the same in Cornwall and Devonshire. Only racial dislikes threw limelight on the one scene of transaction, and left the other obscure. As regards pensions, the "aristocratic dole" as Namier calls it, went to six Scots peers, and to precisely twice as many English. The hired and pensioned journalists included two Scots, Guthrie and Mallet, the anti-Jacobite spies three; but the amounts paid to these and to two Scottish officials were comparatively small. So one charge of the anti-Scots is now unexpectedly refuted. Then it need hardly be added it was tenaciously believed.

A major grievance was irrefutable, and was the chief thorn in the English flesh. That was the intrusion of Scots into every branch of official and professional life in London, and their success there.

The fifties witnessed a steady capturing of high Government office and army rank. The decade opened with a protest from Pelham:—"There were at least as many Brakines and Dalrymples preferred as of my English name". Before six years had passed, a Scot, the Earl of Bute, was the recognised favourite of the Prince and Princess of Wales, and in 1766 was at the head of the Prince's establishment; William Murray, brilliant orator and lawyer, had become Attorney General and Lord Mansfield, and for some months of '57 Chancellor of the Exchequer; Sir Gilbert Elliot was Lord of Admiralty; its First Secretary, John Cleveland, a Scot; Sir Andrew Mitchell was Ambassador to Russia; Oswald of Dunbar a Commissioner of Trade; Lord Dupplin was right-hand man to Newcastle; Lord Marchmont and his brother Hume Campbell (the latter famed for his oratory) in high standing until their withdrawal to Scots posts, and the Prince of Wales stood patron to Scots like Thomson and Mallet, to the architect Campbell, and now to Allan Ramsay the painter.

This recented' climbing' was as evident outside Parliament and politics as 'Arctine' had complained. For a realistic glimpse of how matters stood, recall Smollett's Roderick Random arriving in London. Rory, typical, said Smollett, of "many other needy Scotch surgeons", and his friend, Strap at once seek fellow-countrymen. The tobacconist, at the sign of the Highlander, was a Scot; Mr Cringer, M.P. was a Scot, his levee attended by a great many young fellows, whom I formerly knew in Scotland"; Mr Concordance, teacher of languages, whose English accent was so artificial as to be incomprehensible, was a Scot; and a young fellow-surgeon inevitably so. The Navy Office complained of "such a swarm of Scotch surgeons—that the Commissioners are afraid of being torn in pieces" Rory was frankly told:—"You Scotchmen have overspread us of late as the locusts did Egypt". Similarly Melopoynt tells him that hackwork
1. "The Occasional Critic, or the Decrees of the Scotch Tribunal in the Critical Review rejudged"—Shelley.


3. Letter of Milhar the publisher.

4. Letters.
"As a mere drug, that branch of literature being overstocked by an inundation of authors from North Britain"

That sketch of the 'northern penetration' was perfectly true to life. But it did not go far enough. London found Scots among its leading bankers, lawyers, doctors and merchants, and the Scottish tutor and gardener were already a commonplace. Names can be quoted—bankers like Barclay, Coutts, Andrew Drummond and Campbell of the Strand, doctors like Clephane, Smellie, the two Forbeses (William and George), the two Hunters, (John and William) Macaulay, Armstrong, Cheyne, Grainger, men noted in society and in lettered circles as in medicine; merchants such as Richard Oswald, (who from being Contractor of Supplies to the Army rose to being Chief Commissioner of the Peace Negotiations after the American War) and Alexander Hume, an M.P., and a Director of the East India Company.

Hume Campbell and William Murray had already made their reputations at the English Bar. London society regarded Murray as one of its stars, and welcomed Sir Andrew Mitchell, Oswald of Dunnikeir and Sir Harry Erskine.

Where the Scots told remarkably, however, was in letters. Restrict the field, first, to those in London. The fifties find Mallet still in high standing, the doyen for young Scots like Hume to approach. His works have been published, and he is believed to be preparing a life of Marlborough. Smollett has 'arrived'. "IoderickRANDOM" made his name, Peregrine Pickle and Ferdinand Count Fathom have established him. In 1756 Hamilton enlists him for his "Critical Review", and from then on, he and a small group of fellow Scots become the "Scottish Tribunal" so angrily satirised by Shebbeare and Warburton. His "History of England" is a 'best-seller' of 1757—running to 20,000 copies. His Chelsea house is a centre of the town's literary celebrities, Johnson, Goldsmith, Carrick, Sterne and the rest.

Among these two lesser Scots are finding a place, Armstrong, who has been trying didactic verse, essays by "Launcelot Temple" and a drama, and Grainger, contributor to Dodsley's Collections and a reviewer of poetry, drama and medical books for the 'Monthly Review'.

Without portfolio in London society, but acknowledged and given rank (willingly and unwillingly) in English letters, were the famous Edinburgh group. Hume had found a London audience as early as 1748: "My bookseller informed me that my former publications were beginning to be the subject of conversation. That the sale of them was gradually increasing." His "Political Discourses" were successful from their first issue. Three volumes of his "History of England" came out during the fifties, and if two of these exacerbated English opinion, they at least were admitted to be work of eminence. Robertson's "History of Scotland" was the literary triumph of 1759. "To acquire such a flood of approbation for writing on a subject in itself so unpopular in this country is neither a common nor a contemptible conquest".

Drama and poetry too had been invaded by this northern group. Home's "Douglas" had been acted in London in 1757, and had drawn Gray's compliment: "The author seems to me to have retrieved the true language of the stage". His "Criss" had followed in 1758.

In verse, Blair's "Grave" was by now steadily running through new editions
1. 1755 and 1756
2. 1757.
3. 1752
4. 1759.
1753, 55, 56, and its issue once with Gray's Elegy shows the place it was taking. Spence was acclaiming a rustic genius in the poet Blackistle, and publishing a life and an edition of his poems. Wilkie, scarcely the "Scottish Homer" that Hume would have him, had yet won high praise for his "Epigoniad".

And in philosophy, James had issued his "Essay on the Principles of Moral and Natural Religion," and Adam Smith his admired "Theory of Moral Sentiments".

Add to this flourishing of the Scot as historian, philosopher, dramatist, poet, the Scot as pamphleteer and hack-historian, as editor of monthlies and of daily papers, as publisher and "Maecenas of literature". Collett's picture of an inundation of the race in Grub Street appears correct. On a level above these were the successful hackwriters and journalists: Dr John Campbell with his amazing output in the forties of histories, travels and 'lives'; Johnson's assistants on his Dictionary; Robert Shiels and Alexander Macbean, the former with the greater part of Gibber's 'Lives of the Poets' to his credit; the Reverend Alexander Mickle of Bayle's Dictionary; Andrew Reid and Dr Alexander Russell with a record of periodical and abridgment work, Thomas Gordon, dying in 1750 with an unfinished 'History of England'; William Guthrie with a four volume 'History of England' and a sound pension—and the impertinent Archibald Bower, engaged during the fifties on a four volume 'History of the Popes', but after his exposure by Douglas in 1756 disappearing from reputable ken.

As to the printers, the famous four, Millar and Millan, Strahan and Murray were already established, names and work too familiar to need mention.

That, in rough, was the surprisingly large extent of the Scottish interloping in literature.

Here, too, as in politics, it was not only the fact of eminence that caused dislike, but the means of gaining it. When Goldsmith, in one of his essays, was picking out one quality for each nation, the levity of France, the pride of England, for Scotland he chose the 'national partiality'.

But was an old charge, and made the more frequently as the power of Scottish patronage increased in the fifties, and especially under Bute in the sixties.

Clannishness always had existed. It was natural that when a group of young Scots like Mitchell, Mallet, Thomson, Murdoch, Paterson, Armstrong arrived for the conquest of London, there should be an interchange of useful introductions, and a good deal of mutual admiration, their plays trumpeted by some fellow-Scot in the Gentleman's or the London Magazine, and their poems dedicated to the Scots lords whose patronage had encouraged them. A certain amount of that was excusable in face of the London temper. It was a small factor in gaining success, often having the unfortunate effect of provoking adverse English criticism, and it tempered with the value set on poems less than one might expect. Only Collet's eminence was an obviously false one, and it is unwarrantable to ascribe that to clannish 'cheating'. (The position of English poets like Hill and Lyttleton was equally false)
1. "A Criticism of the new Sophonisba" 1730

2. In the Daily Advertiser 1745.

3. "To daub over with the panegyric"—Almon's "Rev. of Lord Bute's Administration 1763

4. "Le Montagnard Parvenu" asserts that the first epoch of national jealousy against Bute was at his influencing the Royal Family to attend home's Plays. 1763.

5. Murphy's Life of Garrick.

6. And Smollett wanted to enlist the pen of Mallet.
and apart from the first help given through introductions or influence with a publisher, the work of Thomson, or of Hume, for example, owed nothing to this clannishness. Indeed, in the majority of cases, Thomson's, Robertson's, Beattie's, English patrons did more to proclaim and advance Scots work than Scots did.

Where national partiality did show itself a menace and an injustice was in regard to stage successes. A play was hailed as brilliant, complained English critics, because the author had "a numerous Party", and the house had been packed with "Scots with tuneful hands and merry feet". Disgruntled pamphlets about this abuse of patronage, -(Bute's bringing of the Prince of Wales to Home's first nights roused great ire and this nationalist 'claque' came out after Thomson's "Sophonisba" and after "Tancred and Sigismunda", attacked by Benjamin Victor; after Sellet's "Mustapha", suspected of owing its success to the political illusions to the King and Prince of Wales, and after "Elvira", disliked "offering incense to Lord Bute".

The result was that by the sixties nothing Scottish or known to be by a Scot was given an entirely impartial hearing in the theatres, with the possible exception of "Douglas", and even there Jackson's proposal to set the young Douglas in genuine Scottish costume and sword from Culloden was vetoed at once. Home's "Divine" was damned as soon as the identity of the author was known. No dramatization of Ossian was successful in the larger London theatres, and only in the form of dramatic poem or pantomime did the matter of Ossian have a hearing in two of the lesser theatres. Delap's "Captives", an Ossianic play, as late as 1786 was brushed from the stage.

(The evocative has to be made that there were other prejudices at work here, the chief being Bute's ascendency and the fact of his close intimacy with and advancement of Home and Macpherson.)

Complaints of clannishness came justifiably from Grub Street. There the struggle for existence had always been acute enough without the aggravating influx of "needy North Britons". Their national talent $ for amassing and purveying book knowledge brought them the prizes of the dictionary and "universal history" work. And again and again instances crop up of Scots put in charge of such enterprises at once hiring other Scots. Carlyle has a passing illustration of this in his tale of Captain Cheap, who, returning from Anson's famous voyage, was asked by Lord Anson to find someone to write the account. "Captain Cheap had a predilection for his countrymen, and having heard of Guthrie--".

(Incidentally, it is Dr Carlyle who gives the vivid sketches of the clannishness centres of Scottish society in London; the British Coffee House at Charing Cross, "where so many of our countrymen assembled daily" (a communication to all the Scots peers could be sent therewith in one envelope, said Walpole! Forrest's Coffee House or Tavern in the same district, a Strand coffee-house where a club of Scots officers met, and the general social rendezvous of the 'Scotch Dancing Assembly' of the King's Arms Tavern, Cheapside.)

The same advancement of the Scot by the Scot held good in the newspaper and review and magazine world. Archibald Hamilton chose Smollett to edit his "Critical Review", Miller offered Hume similar work. London saw criticism becoming too much a matter of Scots critics, and Shebbeare's "The
1. Letter in praise of Gerard's "On Taste".
2. 1771
4. --s for instance a scathing review of Dr W. Anderson's History.
Occasional Critic, or the Decrees of the Scotch Tribunal in the Critical Review rejudged" summed up English exasperation. "It is known", he shouts, "you are a Cabal of refugee Scotchmen, the style yourselves Physicians; who from innate Hate have combined to depreciate the productions of all Englishmen and Irish Physicians and Writers, and make from innate Prejudice and Favour to extol those of your own Countrymen, and keep Stupidity in Countenance".

The charge of national bias in criticism became common talk. "You will say the Reviewers are partial to Scotch people", writes Shenstone. It was common belief as well, and the consequent English reaction seen in a remark such as Mason's, "in congratulating Beattie on his "Essay on Truth": "I will freely own to you that the very idea of a Scotchman attacking Mr. Hume prejudiced me so much in favor (of the Essay) that I should have approved it, if instead of being a masterpiece, it had only been a moderate performance".

The truth about this charge of biased criticism is difficult to sift. Shebbeare, in his "Decrees of the Scotch Tribunal rejudged" quoted definite instances of Smollett praising recent Scottish books and disparaging English ones; and the Critical Review continued to be attacked on that score, one satirist claiming:

In vain Wit and Learning assert their just claim,
"Your Wit is Burlesque, and your Learning is tame."
But tip them a Fee, or enlist in their Clan,
Then 'tis "Fine! Bravo! Glorious! Aye, this is the man."
Be the stuff what it will, to the Skies they extoll it,
Macpherson's Verse-Prose, or a Story by Smollett."

Yet if the pages of the Review have their lavish praises of Robertson's 'History of Scotland', for example, or Kames' 'Essays' of 1760, they have too the most acid criticism of Home's 'Douglas', and some cutting jibes by Smollett at Scots hack-translators, and at "the Breed of Authors produced in Scotland".

The excessive eulogies of Scots writers, the talk of Home as the Scottish Shakespeare, Wilkie as the Scottish Homer, Kenston, 'our Scotti Butler', Beattie the Scottish Socrates, eulogies that really made mischief and convinced Englishmen that the Scots were incapable of sound impartial criticism, were the work of Scots at home, not in London. No distinction was drawn, however, and that Grainger could write scathingly of Home's plays, Erskine and Bowell write strictures on Mallet's 'Lord Dreghorn' parody 'Douglas' in "The Philosopher's Opera", and Smollett be impartial did not redeem Scots reputation.

Smollett had no pro-Scott obsession.
In his original work, his place is with the English novelists, not Scots. "Rodrick Random" certainly had a Scot as hero, but his creator profits with laborious reasons in excuse of the oddity of the choice. In the rest of his novels, Scots figure no more prominently than English; and his supreme creation for the English novel was not the Scot but the British seaman. In "Humphrey Clinker", part novel, part travel book, he made his only national contribution, for he brought his English travellers into Scotland, and through the argumentative Captain Lismahago vindicated Scotland against some of the traditional sarcasms and charges. He sketched, too, various types of national character and characteristic, discussed these, toured and discussed...
I. Jan: 1757.

2. Adventures of Peregrine Pickle, 1751

3. and with Home and the nation at large, -- the Minions, eg, "Every department civil and military was filled with Minions. Those islanders came over in shoals, and swarmed in the streets of Mexico, where they were easily distinguished by their lank sides, gaunt lantern jaws and long sharp teeth." --

4. -- if Britain yet,
   A Lover boasts of truth and wit,
   To him these grateful lays to send,
   The Monarch's and the Muse's friend,
   And whose fair name in sacred rhymes my voice may give to latest times --
   To strike at once all scandal mute,
   The Goddess found and fix'd on Bute.

5. see previous notes


7. by Dr Douglas,

8. "The forgeries of Hector Boethius, David Chalmers, George Buchanan, Thomas Dempster, Sir John Bruce, Wm Lauder, James Macpherson and John Pinkerton stamp a disgrace upon the national character, which ages of exceptional integrity will be required to remove"

Histor: Essay on Scottish Song.
the Highlends, described national customs at first hand, and so on. But he dexterously kept throughout a via media, retailed jokes at Scots expense, dealt caustically with national failings, and caricatured Scots in abundance. Those caricatures figured in his plays also, for the "Reprisal" farce held the happiest of all Highlander grotesques, Macclesmore and Donald the piper.

It is Smollett's very levelheadedness in this handling of Scotland that most strikes one. If he has his moments of pro-Jacobite glamour over 'Caledonia', and the exiles who "indulge their longing eyes with a prospect of the white cliffs of Albion, which they must never more approach", he also draws one of these very exiles, Macclesmore, in broadest farce, pedantic, heavy-witted, vain, exactly the butt relished by a London audience. If "Humphrey Clinker" holds unprecedented praise of Scotland, there was the counterbalance of "Roderick Random" where Rory and Strap are gullied in London to full English satisfaction. And more biting than any Englishman Smollett satirises actual Scots types, like that voluble old impostor Nicklewhimmen, or draws unflatteringly the actual Scots peasant, "lean, lank, hard-featured, sallow, soiled and shabby".

Whether it was discretion, or profit or justice that dictated this levelheadedness, it is a feature of his criticism as well, as has been said. In political journalism, his "History of an ... tom" makes as free with Bute and Mansfield as with Pitt or Wilkes.

As regards political work, however, the perennial grievance was of Scots pens being used for Government propaganda and for adulation of the ruling Ministers. Undoubtedly Smollett's, Mallet's and Guthrie's were. Mallet was particularly opprobrious, writing flattery of Bute (as in "Truth in Rhyme") at a time when Bute was most hated. Whether his plays had or had not an ulterior motive, they were credited with one, "Elvira's", for instance, "to daub over with panegyric the character of a minister". So Walpole wrote of "Humphrey Clinker" that it was "a party novel, written by that profligate hireling, Smollett, to vindicate the Scots and cry down juries".

One other factor of discredit of the Scot was literary. Three times within fifty years, there were exposures of Scots for literary "fakes", for forgeries. Cruaufurd's "Memoirs" were the first, in the early years of the century. William Leander was the second, and even Johnson was deceived into supplying a preface to his alleged exposure of Milton's borrowings. The third was Bower, proved an impostor in 1757, ten years after his work had appeared. These three cases—end the minor frauds of Hardymute and A.R.'s "Vision", and later of "William and Margaret"—might be added—seem trivial matters, but they were remembered, and undoubtedly influenced opinion when the genuineness of Osian came to be questioned. Johnson, 'caught' once, was deeply suspicious. Ritson calmly deduced from "the distinguished honour which your native country (is Scotland) has acquired by literary imposition upon her neighbours" a national obliquity even in ballad-gathering. The old stigma of "Scotch news", "a Scotch historian" persisted thus in the form of a Scots literary discoverer.
1. written 1757-published 1758
   "I am not enough versed in them to do justice to
   Writers of the most Accomplished Nation in Europe
   the Nation to which, if any one Country is endow-
   with a superior partition of sense, I should be
   inclined to give the preference in that particular",

2. 1758

3 1755.

4 Feb: 1756
The Scot ubiquitous and the Scot clannish, the Scots thruster and the Scots toady, the literatary hireling and the literary impostor—these made a formidable element in English dislike.

At one another, less disreputable. "Is it not strange," wrote Hume in '59, that we should really be the people most distinguished for literature in Europe"—and Hume's "we" was crousely Scottish.

That flaut of his was exceptional, and not the Scots rule; but the knowledge that it could be made was an irritant in England. The Scottish had in such studies as philosophy, aesthetics, and history had to be acknowledged by this decade. The northern Universities were drawing English students in great numbers. The printing press of the Foulis could rival any English press in its choice editions. England felt by now that just as the steadily rising prosperity of the Scottish towns was challenging her trade supremacy, so the developing universities, societies and culture of Aberdeen, Glasgow, Edinburgh were challenging her intellectual and cultural supremacy. That there need be no question of rivalry, competition, challenge was not popularly realised in the south. A jealous nationalism in many quarters there resentcd sans reason the success of this "lesser breed", nor were these quarters all Brab Street ones. Anti-Scot dislike was prominent in men of the standing of Swift and Johnson, or of Warburton and Hurd, as well as of Shebbeare.

One passing sign of it was the sharp criticism made of Walpole's preface to the second volume of his "Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors" in it he had spoken of Scotland as "the most accomplished Nation in Europe"—almost Hume's words. At once he was taxed with insincerity, even by Scots, and sniped at by English critics, Wilkes reviving the punishment four years later by an attack in the "North Briton".

English dislike had its reactions in literature.

The broadside was no longer an effective pillory for the Scot. The comedy and farce, the squib and an occasional novel took its place as a vent for satire, and it is in these that the uncouth Scot is constantly hit off in the years from 1755-58 on.

Three types of Scot were favourite butts. The first was the tutor, now as typical a product of Scotland as the pedlar had been a century before. To satirise him was incidentally to cut at the profession that practically all the Scots writers at one time or another belonged to—Mitchell, Thomson, Mallet, Hume, Smith, Ferguson, Mackpherson. One squib, "The Bear-leaders" described the gawky Scots tutor, "one of the most awkward and ridiculous figures that can be imagined", who "knows no more of life than his pupil". Shebbeare's "Lydia" had dedicated a satiric chapter to "Scotch and Swiss Bear-leaders". Foote presented them in a more sinister light—and a more ridiculous—when he presented Macruthen of his play "The Englishman returned from Paris". Old Crab, before meeting him, guesses he is "some needy Highlander, with the pride of a German Baron, the poverty of a French Marquis, the address of a Swiss Soldier, and the learning of an academy usher". Macruthen's first entry is farcical. He has been robbed of all his possessions. What were they? "Buchanan's History, Lauther against Milton, "
1. Jan 1756
2. Aug 1762
3 Jan 1760
4 1755
and two pound of high-dried Glasgow. He claims a "meaghty alteration for geud" in his pupil, thanks to himself, but on hearing that Crab is executor, proposes that "we contrive to make a houd of the young baronet", to defraud him, in short, of his inheritance. Crab is indignant in attacking this dishonesty. "Maister Crab", begins Acruth en pompously, "I am of a nation-" "Of known honour and integrity. I allow it" is Crab's satiric silencer.

The second butt was the stock one of the Scot unconscious of his accent, and offering himself as teacher of English, as orator, actor or secretary to a minister of state. Murphy's farce, "The Apprentice" shows the 'Spouting Club' being plagued by a Scot who having played "wi muckle applause in Edinburgh in the Reegiceede" insists on giving the company "a touch of Macbeeth". Silenced after two lines of execrable pronunciation, he stumps off "to my friend the bookseller, where I'll translate Cornelius Tacitus or Grotius de Jure Belli".

Foote used almost the same scheme for his thin sketch "The Orators". Here an 'Oratory Professor' calls on Donald Macdonald to give the audience "a proof of your skill". Donald's voluble harangue on the value of oratory to all from "that arch-chiel the Deevál himsel" downwards is of course a preposterous display of broad Scots; and though he declares himself a match for his interruptors "in a fair argumentation", he is finally driven out. The real point of the sketch lay, however, in its caricature of Sheridan, who had been giving lectures on eloquence in Edinburgh in the previous year, and who was said popularly to be 'coach' to Bute. That this feeble topic for fun should have been perennially welcome on the London stage is unaccountable.

Foote, two years before, gave a realistic little curtain-raiser to his comedy "The Minor". He and three friends, calling at a rehearsal, discuss possible characters. Smart offers "a damned fine original—an aunt, just come from the North, with the true Newcastle burr in her throat". On Foote cavilling at this, Canker says "Give us then a national portrait: a Scotchman or an Irishman". Foote strikes a righteous attitude: "If you mean merely the dialect of the two countries, I can't think it either a subject of satire or humour; it is an accidental unhappiness. But affection I take to be the true end comic object", and he cites "If a North Briton, struck with a scheme of reformation, should advance from the banks of the Tweed to teach the English the true pronunciation of their own language, he would, I think, merit your laughter. But if you mean that the blunders of a few peasants, or the partial principles of a single scoundrel are to stand as characteristic marks of a whole country, your pride may produce a laugh, but believe me it is at the expense of your understanding".

Ulterior motives were behind that harangue, however, for Foote had in view the susceptibilities of a Scottish audience—he had extended his tours to Scotland in '59-60—and the Irish one to which this play was first given; and the reference to "a single scoundrel" is a well timed sop to Irish and Scottish opinion outraged the year before by the national caricatures in Macklin's "Love a la Mode".

The third type of Scots butt was as one would expect the Scots surgeon. Shebbeare, in his man-o'-war scenes in "Lydia, or Filial Piety" makes play with an Irish lieutenant, Welsh chaplain, and Scotch surgeon,
Harry Lauderism was typically argumentative, pedantic, and nationally vain, given to quoting Mr Maclaurin or to contending that the Scottish nation had produced more men of genius than any other. Shebbeare caricatures Macpherson goodnaturedly for the most part, even pronouncing against mortality in a case of scalding by hot soup: "I ken ther's na more than what anatomists call the epidermies, cuticle saffskin or the like of that, which has been impregnated with igneous or fiery particles; these may possibly rise into some vesicles of water by the morn; but neither nor the College of Edinburgh shall take upon us to decide that thing without too much precipitation." But he uses the same Lieutenants Frobit as English mouthpiece from time to time to check Macpherson and his national pretensions. Preferring yourselves to all Englishmen even in England itself is the reason why we have taken some little care to examine and expose the methods by which you have attempted to advance yourselves in the opinion of the world. To put Scotland on a level with England as productive of men of learning or genius in arts, sciences, polite literature would be to know nothing of what you are saying.

Here one may interject that the best farcical sketches of Scots of the day were the work not of an English writer but of a Scot, Smollett, and it is a sign of the mental subservience that still characterized northern writers in England that Strap and Maclaymore are cut precisely to the conventional English measurements. The latter, being a Highlander, must strut, chew tobacco, boast his family, and suddenly swear afmah with another on finding "we may be coozens seventeen times removed;" being a Scot he must quote Latin, lay down the law on every topic, speak a pedantic Scots, drink his' tasse' of whisky, and succumb to the flattery of "a nation equally renowned for learning and valour." Strap in the same way is the solemn, simple-hearted and very green young Scot, with a broad accent, a pride in his Latin, and a very easily-choked pike. A card-sharper's blarney about the Scots being "a very brave people--all very well-educated--and for honesty--"makes Strap's eyes swim in tears. What Smollett could and did add to these characteristics was what had hitherto been wanting, the saving grace of abundant realistic detail and idiom. Maclaymore was created to divert the gallery, and there is a cheap Harry Loudershars in his talk of "a bonny lass--in the braes of Lochaber, my yellow-hair'd decry that wont to meet me smang the heather" but in part he is good enough to be a Scott creation. If even the first scene be taken, with Maclaymore's labouring pronunciations on the taking of a small pleasure-boat: "Ye ken in ancient times the victor took the spoils of safety, and in my country to this very day we follow the old practice peculum praedas agere. But then ye must take notice--"or a further Baron Bradwardine touch: "Dissentio--I take instruments in your hand against Captain Champignon, who has incarcerate the English laddy, contrair to the law of nature and nations"--there is a vigour and freshness, even if it is as rough as the Osmigate Scots of the dialogue. "You and I man ha our kail through the rocks" or "he's a Gowk and a gauky to ettie at that," or "I'm nae sko midge but ye might a seen me in your porridge."
1. 1759.
2. Gray's letters.
3. "A Scotchman's Remarks on the Farce of Love a la Mode" London 1760
Smollett and Murphy, Sopote and Seed and the race of lesser farce-writers flew at the small game of unimportant Scots, and their plays aroused no comment. Macklin, however, the Irish player and playwright, whose anti-Scot animus is believed to be a legacy of his schooldays, created a sensation by satirising in "Love a la Mode" "a proud haughty Caledonian knight", and did so with emphasis and a telling command of the ludicrous. Sir Archy MacSarcasm, one of four absurd suitors of an heiress, it described by others as "the common Pasquin of the town; his abominable Scots accent, his grotesque visage almost buried in snuff, the roll of his eyes and twist of his mouth--his manners altogether--something so caricatured risible in it"; "his tongue spares neither sex nor age; his insolence of family and licentiousness of wit--his avarice--his pride--" Sir Archy enters to illustrate unconsciously all these charges. He is a sneering-tongued mischief-maker and fortune-hunter, whose malice is allowed to be a personal vice, but whose other defects are underlined as national. He is made to parade a snobbish pride of family, and obtusely to insult Miss Charlotte the lady he courts.

There is practically no plot in the two acts; Charlotte, besieged by her suitors, finds them withdraw on the report of her poverty, among the first being Sir Archy, all the dukes and dignitaries of the MacSarcasm clan "proceeding my contaminating the blood of MacSarcasm wi' anything sprung frae a hogshead". Yet Sir Archy's part is amusing. It reads well, probably better in one respect than its staging, as the spelling shows the accent was overdone. London relished it hugely, and even George II "is so pleased with the Scotch character, which is no compliment to that nation) that he has sent for a copy of the piece to read".

One caveat has to be made about this group of Scots satires. If the Scot was pilloried, so too were the Irishman and Welshman, but with these distinctions, that the Scots attack was much the most frequent, and was full of recognizable jibes at personalities or recent events. Buff, for example, was already being glanced at, and Smollett, and the Scotch of the Scottish lawyers known in England, Grant, that Scots were apt to see further insults where possibly none were intended. One such, having seen "Love a la Mode" attacked it furiously as "a gross affront to North Britain". Why "impose all the scombreism of the piece upon Scots shoulders?" He saw "covert sneers against the brave Highlanders before Quebec", and a definite mischief-making in the fact that the original play "The Brave Irishman" had the Scots part in it, and that Sir Archy and the malicious misrepresentation of national characteristics had been deliberately added. The Monthly Review took "this simple Scot" to task, and pointed out that every country had been represented by some simpleton or scoundrel. "And why not a North Briton for once at least?". Considering that skits on that race were staged practically every year from 1756-1781 the "for once" is a little ingenuous.
So far only one side of Anglo-Scottish relations has been surveyed, the reverse did. But even at the risk of setting it in a false perspective, this animus against Scotland and the expression of it has to be analysed separately, for though it is not yet at that virulence it was to attain in the sixties, it was already having a potent and distorting influence on Scottish literature.

What of that literature, and its reaction to the impact of this anti-Scott prejudice?

Recall the state of Scottish life after the '45. The rebellion had been in great part a stimulating shock to Lowland Scotland, and valuable to the country as a whole, (in spite of the toll in death, banishment and Highland troubles) in its dynamic after-effects. Its immediate effect had been to quicken national self-consciousness and national life. Edinburgh, which had temporarily gloried in a court, remained the centre of a vigorous Jacobite society, not too depressed after defeat because of the romantic glamour that had so soon surrounded the cause. That defeat had been followed by a coalescence of the nation, sympathy with the Highland persecution making a first strong bond between Highland and Lowland. But such sympathy did not prevent Whig Scotland from exulting over the clearance of the path of progress. With peace assured, and the Highlands finally settled, there was every chance to reform and improve, and to strain after prosperity.

Before mid-century that prosperity was beginning to show, in the Clyde and east coast ports most clearly. Scotland was stimulated by the promise of a commercial future. Industrial progress was already propelling the advance of towns such as Glasgow. In it, and in the other larger towns, a vigorous intellectual life was developing.

That intellectual burgeoning was rooted partly in the earlier revival of the Universities, partly in the conditions of the time. The group of brilliant younger men emerged under the kindliest of circumstances. Times had already been propitious for them. Most of them, Home, dem Smith, Robertson, Carlyle, Ferguson, Hugh Blair, Smollett, Grainger, Blacklock, Wilkie had been born in the intellectual stir of the twenties. They had gleaned the best from the revived Universities, at a time when a remarkable roll-call of Scottish professors could have been made, Monro, Simson and Aitken at Glasgow, Gerard, Blackwell and Fer at Aberdeen, Maclaurin, Monro, Stevenson, Sir John Pringle at Edinburgh.

In matters literary, they had been fired in their University years by the London successes of Thomson and his contemporaries. (Hume's resolution for 1735 included "to regard every object as contemptible except the improvement of my talents in literature". Robertson was heading every common-place book of his from 1735 on "vita sine literis perest", and doggedly practising English through translation.) The '45 came for most of them just before they settled into their adopted professions, and meant a vital enlarging of their experiences and sympathies.
1. 1752.
2. 1752— the year when the building of the Royal Exchange was begun.
3. —from its foundation to the present time. 1753
4. 1754
5. 1755
6. 1756
7. 1757
8. 1758
These younger men influenced and accelerated intellectual progress. Robertson and Carlyle and their contemporaries began to rouse the Church to a more liberal policy and outlook. The Universities felt the influence as those like Adam Smith and Hugh Blair passed back into them as lecturers or professors. Most of all, the intellectual life of the towns benefited. In Glasgow, Aberdeen, Edinburgh similar groups and societies appeared, not merely the earlier narrow cliques of beaux and wits, but a stirring democracy that drew on the rising merchant classes as well as on the professional, and that kept in some touch with town activities. Typical, for example, was Glasgow University that had within its own demesne James Watt in his own workshop, Foulis at his printing press, rooms set apart for an Academy of Design, Wilson helped to begin his type-foundry, and evening lectures given to working men; or as a second example, Edinburgh's Select Society, whose aim was intellectual, but which set itself to promote the arts, manufactures and crafts by the award of annual prizes.

In the stimulus of this, a second Renaissance of letters began. Circumstances were propitious. There was a literary confidence that was new, a confidence born of a variety of causes, the knowledge of success in England and an increasing attention being paid there to Scottish work, the fact that the home Universities were intellectually leading in various studies, and the born clan of the younger group, who drew mentally from both Edinburgh and London. There was no repetition of that turning-south that had stultified the earlier revival. The polarization to London was still strong; it was a seat "in the English Parnassus" towards which Hume fought his way: it was to London that Home took his plays, and Robertson his "History". But three factors militated against these identifying themselves wholly with England, the national self-consciousness evoked by the '45, the English animus, charges of Jacobitism and general holding of the Scot at arm's length, and the fact that Scotland could now offer adequate careers and cultural life.

That last point was of importance. Taking Edinburgh alone, the town employed in or around it Hume and Adam Smith, Robertson and Carlyle, Home and Wilkie and Ferguson, in the University, the Advocates Library or the Church. Its law-courts had Lords-james and -cairs Hales, Wilson and -achinleck, and Wedderburn, Crosbie, Arskine and countless others. Liaisons with London were kept by Sir Gilbert Elliot and Lord Marchmont, Dr Carlyle, Sir Harry Arskine et cetera, and the temper of the capital, as well as its many-sided progress is seen from the advances made yearly, the resurrection of the Philosophical Society, the account of a Scheme for enlarging and improving the city of Edinburgh, "The History of Edinburgh", the foundation of the Select Society, the "Edinburgh Review", the production of "Douglas", the "Edinburgh Magazine"—and so to the years when Smollett could call the town "a hotbed of genius".

What was true of the capital was true on a lesser scale of Glasgow and Aberdeen, both of which had its men of note, its vigorous societies, (Glasgow its Political Economy Club, Aberdeen its Philosophical Society) its newspapers, its printing presses, its literary and mental life.
but it is not pertinent to trace the course of this second "renessance of literature in full. What concerns is rather the line it took, and the curious reaction shown to English feeling.

For the one, the surest guide is the output of the printing presses; for the other, the work and careers of two or three of the most prominent of the Scots writers.

The striking feature in book-publication from the post-Rebellion years to 1764-55, when the work of the younger men begins to bulk, is the strong Scottishness dictating the matter chosen. There was an unusual issue, firstly, of braided Scots. An edition of "The Cherry and the Lice" came out in '46, a miscellany of Ralph's dialect poems, (quite Scottish in sound and spelling) in '47, and in the following year, a similar miscellany of "Poems in the Scottish Dialect", that was made up of ten famous poems, ranging from "Christ's Kirk" and "Robyne and Makyne" to the "Able and Sillie and Sannie Briggs elegies. These came from the Felicia press, which was paying unusual attention to older Scots poetry, printing, for example, old ballads like "Edom o Gordon" in broadsheet, publishing three poems from Watson's Collection as "Three Scots Poems" as well as carrying on the issue of contemporary Doric verse, the tenth edition of "The Gentle Shepherd".

At the same time, dialect verse was coming from the Edinburgh presses. A Complete Collection of all the Poems wrote by that famous and learned poet, Alexander Pennicuik, to which is annexed some curious Poems by other Worthy Hands, Part I appeared about 1750; Nicol's "Adventures" with its preponderance of vernacular elegies, epistles, pastorals and tales in '53.

As nationalist in source was the editing of other Scots poets. Adam Smith prepared for the press an edition of Hamilton of Bangour, which was printed and issued in '46 and '49. Blair was printed in Edinburgh: Robertson of Struan's verse came out as "Poems on Various Subjects and Occasions". Macdonald, the Jacobite bard, brought out his Gaelic poems, and had them burnt as too inflammatory. "It marked a novel attitude to things Highland, however, when poems on "The Proud Fair", "The Song of the Clans" could be published at all in Edinburgh, and have a reprint in Glasgow.

The same trend of self-development is seen in other towns. Aberdeen, which had started an "Aberdeen Journal" in 1746, had Francis Douglas at work from 1750, and printed some of the 'broad Buchan's verse of the two Forbeses. Dumfries had started a town journal too. Edinburgh put out its own History of the Rebellion. It, too, started new literary papers. In 1754 the Edinburgh Review appeared, its aim to serve as critical tribunal for Scots literature by reviewing chiefly the books of value printed in Scotland. Its preface referred candidly to the backwardness of the nation in the previous century, and hopefully to the present promise especially of the Scots printing presses. The Review hoped to incite its readers "to a more eager pursuit of learning, to distinguish themselves, and to do honour to their country." But a letter from Adam Smith in the second volume administered a cold douche to this enthusiasm. "I am afraid you will find it impossible,--while you confine yourselves almost entirely to an account of the books published in Scotland. This country
which is but just beginning to attempt figuring in the learned world, produces as yet no few works of reputation"—His prophecy was too true and that volume was the last.

The Edinburgh Magazine, begun in 1757, had a better fate. William Aud- dinsen managed to carry it on until 1762, and until then it existed as a minor "Scots Magazine". That worthy magazine was flourishing. It showed the same nationalist bent as the printing presses, by inserting from time to time some of the "Evergreen" poems, "The Wife of Auchtermuchty", "The Vision", on one occasion a new Ramsay poem in the vernacular. Stone's modernization of Gavin Douglas's "Description of a May Mornang" found place. Patriotic verses:—"To the Memory of Wallace" and the like, figured in the pages, and after Home's "Douglas" a flock of poems to Caledonia on her rising fame:—

"Thy sons, thine ancient sons, once more arise."

and on her literary genius, "Scotus" marshalling Buchanan, Johnston, Thomson, Blacklock and Home.

The paper drew, from the fifties on, the verse of Blacklock, Falconer, Home, Ogilvie, MacLaurin, Beattie and Meikle, and aired a certain complacency in its native poets.

So as result of those three factors in the relations between Scotland and England, the line of the former's literary development is fundamentally a nationalistic one. It is not narrowly so. However intimately grouped the leading men of the time are in narrow Edinburgh or in a Glasgow not yet full-grown, there was nothing parochial about the chief studies, or the chief interests and enthusiasms. If one takes again Edinburgh's Select Society as microcosm, it was typical in its range of interests, (moral and social philosophy, political economy, literature, education) in its combination of theoretical and practical, (its committee for encouraging craftsmanship of all kinds) it grew into "The Edinburgh Society for Encouraging Arts and Sciences, Manufactures and Agriculture in Scotland") in its democratic membership of advocates, clergy, doctors, country gentlemen, architects, and merchants, and in its high-spirited belief in itself. "The Select Society has grown to be a national concern," wrote Hume. "All the world are ambitious of a place amongst us."

This literary activity, then, is nationalistic without being either narrow or distorted by a sense of inferiority,—two new notes.

Further, the work of the younger men shows an equipoise of interest. On the one hand, Scottish matter—ranging from the old "Ballad to Scots history—suggests itself as subject; on the other English standards of style and taste dictate the treatment.

That was the reception in England of work that came direct from that? Up to this point—and by '58 all the younger men have published vital work, England had exerted the usual influence, set the standards and acclaimed such work as conformed and was acceptable. But 1758-60-61 arbitrary as it may seem to fasten on two years as a psychological turn—point-marked a change in Anglo-Scottish relations that came to affect literature. It can first be illustrated concretely.
Young Smollett, brought up in Wallace country, and writing, it is believed, an early poem on the national hero, took south with him to London a Scottish historical play, "The Regicide, or James I of Scotland, a Tragedy". Its reception is known. It was refused point-blank by London managers. A note of Garrick's survives: "I have a play with me, sent to me by Lord Chesterfield, and wrote by one Smollett. It's a Scotch story—it won't do." The lesson from that, the unacceptability of Scots history as interesting drama-stuff, seems to have been learnt by other London-Scott dramatists. The titles of their plays are witness: "Arminius", "Sampson", "Arsæne", "Rermelius and Aspasia", "Appius", "The Forced Marriage" etcetera.

With Home's "Douglas" comes a new test of London's response to the "matter" of Scotland.

His earlier career as dramatist will be remembered. His first play, "Aris", a laboured-and jejune work of his imitative years, was in the prevailing English fashion. It was taken to London, shown to Oswald, by him to hit, and in spite of this patronage rejected. Lyttleton refused to read it. Garrick to stage it. Home wrote that he had weeded out "some Scottisms or vulgarities, as they were termed"—a significant synonym—but English criticism had remained adverse. "The genius of this nation is really a little gross", he wrote pettishly, "their intellectuals boggy".

Before returning to Scotland, he met Collins. Much has been made of the fact that Home was the direct or indirect inspirer of the unique "Highland Superstitions" ode. Home gained certainly as much from Collins, not only in the direct counsel:

"The native legends of thy land rehearse,
To such adapt thy lyre, and suit thy powerful verse."

but in realizing from his delighted and moved response to the talk of Highland birds and ballads the possible literary value of these. Within the year of his return, he was working at "Douglas", whose basis was a ballad with the Highland setting of Carronside.

But Home was no reckless innovator. Mitchell's attempt at a Highland opera had made him the laughing-stock of London. Only the pseudo-Highland flavoured the romantic gallimaufry of "Douglas". The Douglas name had as romantic an appeal to an English audience as a Scots, thanks to the popularity of the ballad. The rest was left picturesquely vague; Carronside and

Ye woods and wilds, whose melancholy gloom,
Accord with my soul's sadness,
A castle with knights, who repel the Dane or go to the Crusades, a conventionally romantic Lady Barnard or Randoph and her confidante Anna, Here and there the matter of Scotland is woven in however, part of it the genuine, the jewels with the Douglas heart, for instance, mention of John of Aorn, of the Grampian Hills, Laidin's power, Tiviot's pleasant beck, "amazing Bess", and part of it the artificialised Scottish, the Highland caterers described as "a band of fierce Barbarians from the hills", the water-sprite, as "the fairy spirit of the water", Norval's springing by the mysterious hermit of the "deep cave beneath a mountain's brow", the name of Glenalvon, reference to "the hollow glynn".
1. quoted by the English satirist of "Le montagnard Parvenu" in 1763—so probably genuine.

2. Hume's Dedication of his "Four Dissertations" to Home was written Jan 1757, a month after the Edinburgh production, and was sent south. It was suppressed by him in the first 800 copies, but not in the others, and the London papers seized on it.

The play was taken to London in 1755, and once again Home met with refusal! Wire-pulling recommenced. But, on familiar terms with Home, to judge from his intimate little notes, exerted himself with Towns head and with Harrick. Lord Milton introduced Home to the Duke of Argyll. There was checkmate. Home's Scottish circle was indignant at the refusal, and it was with something of a flare of national temper that an Edinburgh production was arranged. The play was fitted out with patriotic flourishes: "Taken from an Ancient Scots Story, and writ by a Gentleman of Scotland"—"Between the Acts—Select Pieces of Old Scots Music"—"; and a prologue comparing Caledonia to 'ths, and presenting Douglas as "the hero of your native land".

The ovation the play received at Edinburgh is evidence of the nation eld heat of the time. It was less the drama that pleased than the fact that a Scots dramatist of quality had emerged. "Whaur's your Wullie Shakespeare," as precisely, Edinburgh's feeling.

The sensational reports that reached London, and Hume's extravagant comparison to Shakespeare "without his unhappy barbarism" made a dangerous introduction to the London performance at last arranged. London critics were only too prepared to decry "this aurora borealis of tragedy, that had so long coruscated over us from the north".

The play was put on at Covent Garden on March 15, (1757). ran for three successive nights, and then, with a break for benefit performances, for other six nights that season. Its reception was mixed. "A most numerous and splendid audience", said the London Chronicle, of the first night, patronised by Royalty. But the same paper showed the drift of opinion on the play. Its reports of the first two nights were full of praise; then came mention of Hume's dedicatory letter to Home with its extravagancies, and a change of tone occurred, an accusation that it had raised "an expectation—which has not been entirely gratified"—which "will explain why Douglas has not been received with the same warmth"—"Well, but not greatly received or followed", was Tate Wilkinson's recollection, and Genest and Murphy agree that it started badly and was spoilt by the obese Barry in a "puckered satin shape" playing the stripping Norval.

The critics varied, but the leading reviews, the Monthly and the Critical censured the play most acidly. Goldsmith, in the former, spoke of its "peculiar disadvantages" in being "obtruded upon us as the consummate picture of perfection and standard of taste", and declared scathingly "Let condour allow this writer mediocrity now; his future productions may probably entitle him to higher applause". Smollett, in the letter, said brusquely "the author of Douglas is as far from Shakespeare and Otway as London is from Edinburgh, or the banks of the Avon from the river Tweed", and dwelt at length on the play's shortcomings in plot, character and diction. He, too, ended on the flattening note of "If the author is careful to improve that genius for dramatic writing which is visible in this essay, we have reason to expect—". Of the lesser critics, one in "Letter to David Hume" on the tragedy of Douglas" carved at an unknown Scots word like 'glynn', and the crating name of Carron, and so on, and vowed that "your national judgment had been run on here, and your critical stocks reduced almost to bankruptcy".

2. Of two unfinished tragedies found among Home's papers, one was called: "Aïnna, or the Maid of Yarrow", its scene laid on the "cotiche border, at the time of the Cruses of St Louis.

3. 1760
Another, in the preface to a skit on the play, "The Philosopher's Opera," imputed all the eulogies to a cabal, "the influence of a party," and counselled "a stand against that unhappy barbarism which the cabal is endeavouring to establish—geniuses by the courtesy of Scotland alone."

The drama was published in London at the end of March. Six weeks later Sheridan offered it an Irish performance. It ran for three nights but on the third a 'faction' was made up against it, and the run collapsed. It was as amends for this that Sheridan forwarded to Bute a gold medal for his countryman, the author of "Douglas".

It seems, in short, that the play enjoyed a sensational first and second night, much talk in the papers, (very much because of the action against it of the Scots Church) a brief run, and then comparative oblivion until its revival with Mrs Barry as Lady Randolph. From that revival in the seventies, it really dates its popularity. But it undoubtedly lapsed in the stormy sixties, and was not even reprinted, except in the early "Dramatick Works" edition of 1760.

After the performance of "Douglas", Home and his patrons were determined to see "Agis" produced. Garrick, convicted of having misjudged "Douglas", accepted and staged it. It had the advantage of fine acting, of two striking musical effects by Dr Boyse, and the strong—and for the Londoner infuriating—support of Scots patronage and audience.

On that last rock, Home's reputation career as a playwright was destined to be wrecked. "Agis" was put on in February of 1758, and Bute's unpopularity was already great. Bute "dragged the Prince of Wales twice to its performance", said Grainger, thrice, said popular pamphlets, and a fourth appearance was only prevented by newspaper clamour. London resented this national 'log-rolling'. After a run of eleven nights, the play was taken off.

When "The Siege of Aquileia" was performed two years later, anger at the Scottish patronage was still more openly expressed, and a satire, "A Fragment found in the Ruins of Aquileia" satirised Scotland and its crew of poets, from 'Epigoniad' Wilkie, who "draws a cart, a plough a harrow", to Home, represented as toady to Bute:

"With B-e in state I visit Xew; Then damn me, Sir, pray what are you?"

"Another piece was to have been quickened this winter", wrote the satirist of "Le Montagnard Parvenu" in 1765, "but the bard and the Maccenas upon the general prevailing dissatisfaction, thought it not safe to hazard it".

And when Home did risk a staging of a fourth play, "Rivine, or the Fatal Discovery", it will be recalled that he had to do so anonymously—so strong was English animus.
As a second illustration of the literary warplings caused by these international relations, the career of Hume can be cited.

"My love of literary fame, my ruling passion", said Hume of himself, and gave the clue to his career. From his twenties, he devoted himself ardently to the writing of English, and for what that meant, recall Scottie's: "We who live in Scotland are obliged to study English from books like a dead language, which we understand but cannot speak. — I have spent some years in labouring to acquire the art of giving a vernacular cast to the English we write".

His first work, the "Treatise of Human Nature" he took to London, and with the help of Oswald of Dunnikeir had it published there. It was unmarked. He had been introduced to Butler, however, and his next book of essays, recommended by Butler, had a better reception. In 1746 he was in London again. There is no sign of his feeling any anti-Scotch annoyance. He seems most occupied in turning over "my historical projects" Gordon had in the previous year announced himself "engaged on the History of England", and Guthrie's "History of England" had begun issue two years before. Against these he may have measured himself. In 1748, he writes to Oswald: "I have long had an intention, in my riper years, of composing some history".

The success of his "Political Discourses" of 1752 was an encouragement. By that year, his survey of the field of English letters and the bent of his own talents had led to one decision, to undertake the history of England. "There is no post of honour in the English Parnassus more recent than that of history", he writes Clephane. Nine months later: - "The more I advance in my work, the more I am convinced that the History of England has never yet been written".

So he embarked on the major undertaking of his lifetime, and to it "bent up all his powers". The reception, or rather the angry assailing of the first and third volumes of that work is familiar history now. "I thought that I was the only historian that had at once neglected present power, interest and authority, and the cry of popular prejudices. Miserable was my disappointment; I was assailed by one cry of reproach, disapprobation, and even detestation; English, Scots, and Irish, Whig and Tory—patriot and courtier united in their rage against the man who had presumed to shed a generous tear for the fate of Charles I". "What was still more mortifying, the book seemed to sink into oblivion". Of the second volume he wrote: "This performance happened to give less displeasure to the Whigs, and was better received". Of the third: "The clamour against this performance was almost equal to that against the History of the two First Stuarts".

These remarks belong to the embittered period of the "Autobiography", and have to be slightly discounted. But the fact was clear, that as historian his work was attacked and refused. Unwisely his first volume had chosen the reigns of James I and Charles I, and had shown sympathy for the latter king. In an English Tory in this time of Whig virulence that would have been anathema. From a Scot it was felt a brazen and insulting Jacobite flaunt. Hurd condemned as pernicious "his bigotry to the Stuart family". Scot and Jacobite—dangerous combination, and Hume's criteria of "Impartiality and Eloquence" were lost sight of, in the outcry against his opinions.
It was a blow to Hume. He had taken endless pains to make himself the English historian. No reference in any volume betrayed his nationality, no first-hand description even of a historic site he knew. Scotticism had been weeded out by application to Reid and to Mallet. Yet he had been betrayed by the popular charge made against his nation, Jacobitism.

Although he made no attack on England, he showed a touchiness. Before his first volume had been issued he wrote "I may perhaps be in London for good and all in a year or two". A year after it, he declined Millar's offer of the control of a London weekly, and writing to Dr Clephane spoke acidly about "we people in the country, (for such you Londoners esteem our city)"

It had a reflex action in his criticism. From this time on, the value he sets on Scots work is excessively high. In the case of Home's "Douglas" it had already been so, for his friendship with Hume was close. But the vindication of "Douglas" against the London critics, the ascribing to Home of "the true theatrical genius of Shakespeare and Otway, refined from the unhappy barbarism of the one, and the licentiousness of the other", the praise of Wilkie's "Epigoniad", "that wonderful production full of sublimity and genius"—"the second epic poem in our language", the comparison with Milton, and the general scattering of encomiums like "the Scottish Homer", the bouquets to "the people most distinguished for literature in Europe"—these spring part-unconsciously as a rejoinder to English prejudice and censure.

Successive years found his aversion to England gripping his mind almost to obsession, until by the sixties and seventies he had as rooted a dislike for the Englishman as Johnson for the Scot. That belongs to a later chapter, however.

The early careers of Home and Hume are only two instances of the adverse reaction on Scots literature of the international relations. English dislike and prejudices were not potent enough to cripple Scots literature, but it could and did deflect it from the strongly national.
I. "If I had not been in the Highlands of Scotland, I might be of their mind who think the inhabitants of Paris and Versailles the only polite people in the world. It is truly wonderful to see persons of every sex and age, who never travelled beyond the nearest mountain, possess themselves perfectly, perform acts of kindness with an aspect of dignity, and a perfect discernment of what is proper to oblige"—(and further eulogy) written between 1748–1750 (Laing MS)
But a solid proportion of Scottish work, meanwhile, was placidly unaffected by these jarring relations. The new national interests were being further explored and discussed. Instances of that have been given, there was Ferguson praising the Highlander, Home talking of Highland superstitious and bardic lays, and writing a drama based on a Scottish ballad, "Gil Morrice". Gaelic poems were being published; in Struan's volume a translation of a modern Gaelic Lyric, in the Scots Magazine, Stone calling attention to the undiscovered wealth of ancient Gaelic verse, and offering a translation. A year later, young James Macpherson, teaching in the Highlands at Ruthven,

Remote from life and cursed by fate unkind,  
To struggle on the hill with northern wind;  
The hut, the heathy wild, the barren fold,  
The rattling hail, the north-descended cold  
Is all my portion.

is creating "The Hunter", a verse tale based on a three-parts-fictitious Highland history, with a young Highland hero, Donald, warring against the Saxons. It is very dilutely Highland, though the quotation above shows Macpherson drawing from reality for an occasion al picture. His next venture, "The Highlander", begun in the following year, dares a little more. The hero is again a young Highland chieftain, Alpin, fighting like Home's Randolph against Scotland's invaders, in this case the Norwegians. For subsidiary characters, scenes and machinery, however, Macpherson's fertile imagination expands first all Home's hints, draws from his own hearing of Gaelic legend and the like, and then embodies at last the popular pseudo-romantic ideas of the Highlands past and present. Alpin is thus like Norval "brought up in mountains and from councils far". He has fought Highland caterans:

Once Nebuda's chief—  
Swept our mountains with his pilfering band.  
All day they drove our cattle to the sea.  

He has answered the clan summons, one of  
A hundred youths who from the sounding wood  
On tow'ring mountain—  
Ofe the bagpipe's voice.

But Alpin lives in a Highland past, of ancient kings whose palaces rise on heath and mountain, a land of 'sable wood' and aged oaks, caverns, wild sea and whirlwind, peopled by 'plaided warriors', bards, hermits, and "the stalking figures of the dead". The plot is pure Home: the colour a mixture of the actual in name (as 'Kull's sea-girt isle') and the pseudo-antique. Yet Highlands and Highlander are the focus of interest, and so at last these come picturesquely into Scots literature. "The Highlander" was printed in 1758.

None of the other poets were creating work so definitely Scottish. A fashion for landscape-description was eliciting romantic views of the land, however. This had started as early as the thirties, as had in some degree that pseudo-picturesque dressing-up of Scots history. (The work
1. Art of Preserving Health 1744.

2. in Donaldson's Collections.

3. Correspondence of Erskine and Boswell
of Boyce for the one and of Hamilton and Harvey for the other may be cited). But as it continues, the romantic note is increasingly stressed: — Armstrong, for example, singing his native Liddesdale:—

Liddell: till now, except in Doric lays—

Unknown in song; though not a purer stream
Through woods more flowery, more romantic groves
Rolls towards the western main.—

A daring poet here and there emphasizes 'the wild'; magazine poems are headed "The Cave; written in the Highlands of Scotland", or "Solitude; written in a beautiful wild recess near Fort Augustus": But commoner were conventional stanzas about 'Athollia' or 'Taia's silver-branching stream', that Andrew Erskine pillories in satirising the poet who

If he describes some Caledonian scene,
The tall pines flourish in eternal green.
Still wild and savage rise her rugged hills,
Black and discoloured rush her snowed rills.

At the same time, Erskine can write enthusiastically to Boswell from his Western Highland seat of New Tarbat, "from nowhere will you meet with such fine ingredients for poetical description". Obviously, the literary values of Highland scenery were now realised.

Edinburgh's poets were more occupied on purely town topics, but on two interesting lines. Boswell's "Evening Walk in the Abbey Church of Holyrood", Maiple's "On Passing through the Parliament Close of Edinburgh at Midnight" are trying to express the historic glamour of the town, and the latter does so strikingly in some of its lines. In another direction, Erskine's "Town Eclogues", John Maclaurin's and Boswell's verses, slight as they all are, are sketching the town types James had already done the Hogarthian characters, and the "slicht weemen", Hamilton of Bangour the "Assembly fair" and the better company of the taverns. Erskine adds the chairmen, the booksellers and the like—another gain in Scots literary exploration, and a carrying on of a tradition until Ferguson's day.

A glance, lastly, at the prose of the time shows the Scots in general absorbed either in work in moral philosophy or in history, the two familiar Scottish bents. And while Hume is concentrating on producing a "History of England" better than any English writer could achieve, Robertson is confidently at work on a "History of Scotland", intended too for London publication. "A History of Scotland" is no very enticing title, his London publisher, "similar wrote, "a subject in itself so unpopular in this country"—Robertson's was an entire success, chiming beautifully with English opinion, and thus lauded by Chesterfield, "alpole, Arbuthnot, Garrick; in short, "received by the world with such unbounded applause"—that a second edition was called for within a few months of its publication in February 1759!
to be credited, genuine signs of English interest during the fifties are visible.
In 1753 Thomas Warton collected for an Edinburgh firm "The Union; or Select Scottish and English Poems", in which English poems by Warton, Gray, Collins, Mason and Akenside were arranged beside Dunbar's Thistle and the Rose, and two other old Scots poems, "Hardyknute: "The Tears of Scotland", and some minor verse of Smollett and Mallet. The preface prided itself on this novel variety, "the Intermixture of poems both Scotch and English"; "from it we have an opportunity of forming a comparison and estimate of the taste and genius of the two different nations in their poetical compositions". It was an inexplicable venture, the more so from Warton's disguising of himself as a gentleman of "Gerdale". But the scheme, which was in part Warton's, (for the preface has the kernel of his later remarks in his "History of Poetry") was of distinct value, in setting a precedent of "Intermixture", in suggesting the comparison of national genius in literature, and in bringing the older Scots verse to English notice.

The Thistle and the Rose", it must be granted, and "Hardyknute" were introduced a little apologetically. "It is hoped that the ancient Scottish poems will make no disagreeable figure". But some of the leading English literati must have hailed them appreciatively. Warton certainly did, for he wrote of

Hardyknute, a baron bold,
In Scotland's martial days of old

and Hardyknute in English and Scottish orthography was passing through many editions.
The Scots ballads were a growingly strong magnet of interest. Grey, only a few years later, rapturously discovered the original "Gil Morris" of "Douglas". "It is divine". To him, Hardyknute was "the poem which I always admired and still admire". Among the scholars, Francis Fawkes had modernized Gavin Douglas's "Description of May", with the usual praise, "This Description of May is extremely picturesque and elegant, and esteemed by gentlemen whose good taste and learning are inestimable, to be one of the most splendid descriptions of that month that has appeared in print", and with the surprising reception that it ran to a third edition by 1754, when "A Description of Winter" was published.

This English interest in ballad and older Scots verse grew steadily, though its enthusiasts were few in number. It forged a new international link, too, bringing together scholars in the joint work of collecting and editing.

one other sign of attention to Scots literature is the volume which Walpole added to his "Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors", and which he headed "Scots Authors". He admitted "I am not enough versed in them to do justice ---", and certainly the list that followed was miserably incorrect and inadequate. Still, it held mention of "The Evergreen", (though Walpole had evidently never read it) of Drummond, whom he had read, and of five or six authors. Possibly the need to make acceptable in some fashion this meagre list, induced in part the prefatory eulogy of "the most accomplished Nation in Europe".
1. 1760

2. 1760.
To end the record of amity in these years, two other instances might be chosen. Lyttleton, a literary dictator whose words were of consequence, ended his "Dialogues of the Dead" with a sermon in little, addressed to the two nations. This last dialogue, thought by Walpole the finest, was between the Earl of Douglas and the Duke of Argyle.

Douglas is the patriotic Scot, who "adores the Memory of those Patriots who died in asserting the Independence of our Crown", and wonders at the present alliance with England. Argyle points out "the Infinite Benefits that have attended the Union", and speaks glowingly of Scotland's recent progress: "every Image of Rural Wealth"—"such talents in all Branches of Literature". "He is now a bad Scotchman who is not a good Englishman, and he is a bad Englishman who is not a good Scotchman" is the triumphant conclusion.

A similar homily is in the Critical Review's acclamation of "The Principles of Equity" of Lord Kames, then regarded as the leading Scots critic. "It is with real satisfaction we behold the rapid progress our neighbours of North Britain are making to the highest pinnacle of glory in arms and in letters. It increases our satisfaction when we perceive that their generous efforts excite no mean jealousies, no narrow prejudices, to damp the rising spirit of loyalty and learning; and that those very persons who once denied them every kind of merit are now the foremost in twining garlands of ivy and laurel to adorn their temples. Long may this harmony, arising from congenial sentiments, continue. Be it our care to avoid all national attachments, to pay to each the just tribute of his merit."

Excellent moralisers both, but they must have been only too aware of the anti-Scot tempest even then brewing.
CHAPTER 17. The northern Tour; the aesthetic discovery of the Highlands.
1. Evelyn earlier, but Addison popularised its use. He annotated "Tividale" as "a fine romantic situation." S c c t a t o r 74.

2. Feb 1760

3. 1760-63.


6. Letters from the North of Scotland
Great things are done when men and mountains meet"; and to pervert
Blake in a prosaic illustration, one such direct meeting seems at
first sight to have been the needful magic that linked the '45 and
Scott. Before it happened, there was the loathed actuality of the
'45 and England's Highland and Jacobite hatreds; after it, a novel,
Waverley, or The Sixty Years Since," dealing romantically with that
very rebellion, has a wildly enthusiastic reading in England. Between,
Englishmen and Scots mountains meet. The Highlands are settled, are
opened up, are acclaimed 'romantick', and then 'picturesque', rouse Eng-
lish imagination, foster an appetite for romance, and when "the hour
and the man are both come", Scott and his Highland poetry and his
novels emerge. The line of development seems blatantly natural.

It is only on examining the weak point in the causation, namely the
length of time the whole process takes—(for 'romanticks' are flying
in Addison's time, and "The Lady of the Lake" is a hundred years lat-
er)—that the process appears far less direct and simple. If the rough
record of tours, accounts of tours, travel letters, books and pamphlets
about the Highlands, poems and paintings descriptive of them, novels
and plays that mention them is amassed for the period, no steady
cumulative interest is traceable. The fifties spill over with the mat-
ter and mention of the Highlands and the Isles; the sixties are cur-
iously empty but for Ossian. Events that one expects to have a provo-
cative influence on English tours, if not on English literature,—the
publishing of Ossian, for example,—the Thurot raiding of the Isles—
bring little or belated response. There is notable pioneering by Eng-
lishmen in the fifties, when Highland landscape was drawn by one, by
another warmly admired, by a third made the stuff of a novel. The six-
ties show a very poor following-up of that, and the only use of the
Highlands a satiric one. Above all, the romantic and the picturesque
are not the instantaneous magnets to Scotland one might expect.

Poets declared themselves entaptured by wild and melancholy scene,
—Yet let me choose some pine-topt precipice,
Arupt and shaggy,—or some black heath—but they shrank from ungarnished actualities. The romantic was look-
ed for either in the entirely imaginary, "the wild and romantic imag-
Gry of the Castle of Indolence", wrote Warton, or in one or two fashion-
able aspects of landscape, the cascade, the country house at a lake side, the
choicey-planted wood. Mountains were barbarous excrescences that
drove English travellers to shudder like Burt:—"Of all the Views, I
think the most horrid is to look at the Hills from East to West—for
than the eye penetrates for among them; and see more particularly
their stupendous bulk, frightful irregularity, and horrid Glens"; or to
ignore them like Foscoek, who admired and described Loch Lomond, but
was blind to Ben Lomond; to grumble at them like Dr Johnson:—"No can
like the Highlands"; or like Gilpin to re-compose them nearer to his
heart's desire. To find them stirring the traveller's imagination or
sense of beauty is a rare thing until well into the seventies.GRAY
and Foscoek gave an early lead to appreciation, but that appreciation
developed erratically.
And lastly, though Ramsay and Thomson might paint "Caledonia in romantic view", the articulate linking of Scottish scenery with the romantic and poetic was a belated matter. Walpole spoke for English opinion in general, when, on receiving from Conway a poem written in the highlands, he said bluntly:—"Scotland is the last place on earth I should have thought of for turning anybody poet".

Yet when that was written,—in 1746—the travel-exploration of Britain's hill and lake country-movement fraught with such consequences for Scotland and literature, was being urged. "The Gentleman's Magazine" reflects the interest, prints "A Journey up to Cross Fell Mountain", for those "whose genius inclines them to the description of romantic scenes". The following year has a fairly frequent mention of Irish and Welsh tours, and an "Extract of a Journey to Edinburgh". At the close of that year, an "Essay on Travelling in Britain" commended the new taste and pointed out the beauties of lake land scenery. The taste was still rare, even among educated men. In '46, "A Journey thro' Part of England and Scotland" along with the army under the Command of the Duke of Cumberland" was published in London; and this, believed to be by one of the army doctors, gives a sound idea of the ever Englishmen's point of view. He and his fellows dreaded entering Scotland: "We are going into Scotland, but with heavy hearts. They tell us at Berwick what terrible living we shall have there, which I soon after found to be too true". Entering the Highlands was many degrees worse. "We began to ascend these mighty and dreadful Mountains called the Highlands which we always had in view, and which we as often dreaded to ascend". Unluckily the traversing of these was done in a cold spring and wet summer. Some features of the scenery could be appraised with pleasure—"agreeable Irrib Woods", "the most wonderful Cascade", the "Charming Prospect" of Loch Ness, and "the most romantick Winter appearance of a frost-bound Stream". To see "quite a Highland Prospect" from Inverness, "nothing but irregular Mountains and Valleys, and the farther you look they are still larger" was depressing, and the doctor talks morosely of "rusty-looking Rocky Mountains", "a Ridge of most terrible barren woody Mountains", "the most desolate and barren part of the world".

These letters were seemingly welcomed, for there was "so great a Demand for this Work" as to necessitate a reprint in the following year. That suggests some interest in his account or an appreciation of its tone—either reason important. For while he wrote observantly, commenting now on the battle of Prestonpans, now on the looks of Scotswomen, here on developing industries, there on Highland children, he wrote temperately, admiring where he could, and describing the Highlander without animus. The Highlander-phobia was to be less of a barrier to exploration than one could expect.

But dispassionateness was, with three exceptions, the rule from now on. One of the anonymous M. S. of 1750, (Bruce's?) was one, for its tone was that of a 'die-hard' colonial of fifty years ago on some obnoxious 'nigger' problem. During the Roto outbursts of '62 a scurrilous "John English's Travels" was sent out, reviving the Weldon-Kirke type of account. And the third exception was clearly Dr. Johnson.

But apart from these, the Highlands were calmly reviewed.
The travellers who 'introduced' and interpreted wilder Scotland to the south are worth tracing. Their reasons for travel, the bent of their interests, their comments, their questions, their quotations, individual as these naturally are, make a rough record of English taste and its response to the genuinely Scottish.

In Richard Pococke, having travelled in the East, wrote: "I shall not despise even Scotland and the Orkney Isles, where I expect to meet with something curious at least in relation to their customs and manners". As a result, Foreign Secretary to the Royal Society, agreed that the country was "full of curious things", but added prayers for his preservation. In the autumn of 1747, Pocock paid a first visit, going no farther north than Edinburgh, Stirling and Glasgow. The primary lure of the land for him was antiquarian. He studied Camden and Buchanan, Martin and Gordon, before and M'Gill. Primed with these he returned three years later, to tour the Borders, trace the Roman Wall, and decipher inscriptions. The Lowland scenery won his admiration, and he wrote of "a glorious view", "a very beautiful prospect", "a fine vale", "one of the most beautiful spots I ever beheld".

It is significant that the record of his third tour, ten years later, sees a little further in its nature appreciation, "a romantic glen", "a most charming romantic country", just as Smollett in his Roderick RANDOM of the late forties has nothing to say of the Highland surroundings of his hero, but in Humphrey Clinker of the seventies describes Highland scenes with a fluent pen.

With Pococke's second tour (July, 1750) the English investigation of the north in that decade begins. Four or five factors were at work in bringing English travellers into Scotland, or arousing English attention. There were the letters and presence of the officers and regiments stationed at Fort George and Fort Augustus. There was the problem of the development of the Isles. There were the friendly invitations that drew Wilkes and Home to Inverary, Palgrave and Stonehewer to Glamis, and so on. There were the pamphlets and maps of the Isles, the issue of Burns' letters, and the fantastic work of Smollett, the issue of views by Sandby. Lastly, there was the work of the Scots on the Highlands.

Not all of these had any permanent 'opening-up' effects. It is interesting to have Wolfe's comments on Glasgow or Inverness society, or to read the impressions of Captain Barlow of the Buffs, sent to the outer Hebrides to search for arms: "a poor, wretched people, mere Slaves to Violence and Oppression", but they are as slight in value as the poems written from Fort George and Fort Augustus, which invariable began with some such complaint as:-

"From these loud walls, and this ungrateful shore,
From whence the Ruins never sung before."

"Fancy, Child of southern skies,
Averse to sullen region flies."

Similarly, the visits produced verses like Home's to Inverary, or Franklin's Lowland "Joys of Prestonfield, adieu", but only in Palgrave's case was there an important passing-on of interest, and possibly Gray was half-laughing when he replied; "I congratulate you on your new acquaintance with the savage, the rude and the tremendous."
1. 1750. London.
2. 1751.
3. 1754.
4. 2nd edition 1759. Dutch one 1758. German 1760.
But permanent gain came from the books of the early years. In the wake of the Highland and Isles development, the schemes of fishery stations etcetera, Murdoch Mackenzie, expert Oreadian surveyor, put out his "Cures, or a Geographical and Hydrographical Survey of the Orkney and Lewis Islands, in 6 maps". This was reliable work, with finely detailed maps, a brief account of the people, and useful developments suggested. One sequel was a scanty and insignificant "Voyage to Shetland, the Orkneys and the Western Isles of Scotland", a spurious title. A better sequel was the issue at last of the "Letters from a Gentleman in the North of Scotland", Burt's.

These were greeted by the Monthly Review with: "Though no very high entertainment can be expected from any account of the Highlands of Scotland, yet the perusal of these letters has been accompanied with some degree of pleasure". It pointed out that they give "a just idea of the uncultivated inhabitants of the northern part of the island", and that the Highlanders have improved since, "the uncouth savage" now in process of becoming a useful member of society, and with that it quoted a lavish fourteen pages from the letters.

It is regrettable that these were not published at their time of writing (1726-29 and 1736-37) They were excellent reading, became popular enough to reprint (in England, Holland and Germany!) and in spite of the review's warning were accepted by uncritical English readers as a picture of Highland life. Admittedly, a great deal that Burt had to say was still fresh and true to life there, but the "uncouth savage" touches, the accounts of the "abject submission" of clansmen, of the strong belief in witchcraft (he described the Dornoch witch-burning of 1727) must have confirmed English ideas of a state of primitiveness still existent there, a deterrent to the traveller.

The letters may unconsciously have deterred in another fashion, for they convey more vividly than had ever been done, the essential alienness of the Highlander, and his country, and drove that home by the rough illustrations of them and their villages. Burt had no patience with the marvellous, but he had a sharp eye for the peculiar, and gave accounts of a Highland hunt, a chief's retinue, a Bard singing a Highland song, a coronach, cloth-waulking, the Fiery Cross, black-mail, the Gaelic alphabet, a Highland rent-roll, the "Trowze" and "Gael" and the like, and used terms such as sheeling, shelly, bothy, tocher, strath, glen, corrie, thigging, bannock, sheenooles. He had the courage to tilt against established opinions, of Highland laziness and of Highland hospitality, he reverted constantly to the scenery, too, and it is amusing to notice how he is puzzled by the attraction of them, it, an unpermissible taste! I believe I am the first who ever attempted a minute description of my such Mountains" - "a disagreeable Subject", he admits. "The clearer the day, the more rude and offensive they are to the sight". "To cast one's Eye from an Eminence towards a Group of them - the whole of a dismal gloomy brown drawing upon a dirty Purple" was an infelicity, "most of all disagreeable when the Heath is in Bloom". He tries to justify these mountains as pasture land and cloud-busters, but is puzzled that "the Deformity of the Hills - makes the Natives conceive of their naked Straths and Glens as of the most beautiful Objects in Nature", and more puzzled when he finds "I have been well enough pleased to see them again, on my return from England".
1. 1753 3rd edit: London;
2. 1755.
3. A reference in his "Life of John Buncle" to Inver and an inn there, etc: "I have seen them like vi in the Highlands of Scotland"--
4. 1754.
5 1755.
6. 1751
7. 1761
8. 1750-56.
9. 1756-57
11. 1753.
13. Before leaving the country in 1760.
14. c 1760.
15. Runciman's picture of Loch Leven c 1760
meanwhile, a reprint of Martin's St Kilda had been reissued, and here again it has to be deplored that the authority on the Isles was still Martin. The effect of his romantic gallimaufry is seen at its worst in a book of the following year, the eccentric John Amory's "Memoirs of Several Ladies". Amory is not to be taken seriously, one admits, or Martin to be blamed for the extravaganz of Mrs Benlow's voyage to the Western Isles. But Martin had set the outlines of 'Golden Age' simplicities and of strange survivals, and Amory consequently lets his imagination run riot; he and his ladies visit Troda, Lewis, St Kilda, Scalpa and a host of fictitious isles - that-like-to-be-visited. On Troda they found flamingoes and a nunnery; beyond the Flaman Isles a vast rock whose one valley smelt like a spice island, and held the cave of Alvaraz Dourou the Solitary, the lover of Belviders; in Lewis many of the natives were bards, and one centenarian had twenty volumes of her own works; the travellers were 'nature-struck' there with 'the charming horror' of the hills; on the Green Island were caves like vast Gothic cathedrals, a deep romantic glin, the cell of Morchar the Carmelite, and a sorority of illustrious recluse living in 'charming summer vills'; on Scalpa, 'an amazing frightful rock' they had Irish songs sung them. Everywhere existed the life idyllic. 'Their whole life is that simplicity the poets have feigned of golden ages', said Amory, boldly plagiarizing from Martin.

Why Amory, who had travelled in the Highlands, should have spun the crazy pattern of these Memoirs is half-incomprehensible. But were they so fantastic to a public that depended on Martin, and to whom the islands were still not part of the common world?

Amory is of course unique. The usual type of reference in the novel of the time can be seen in two of the same year. Richardson's "Sir Charles Grandison" offers a stereotyped compliment to the nation from Sir Charles himself: "In all the countries I have been in, I never saw finer women than I have seen in Scotland, and in very few nations though six times as large, greater numbers of them..." Shebbeare's "Lydia" at the other extreme has a coarse tale of "a young laird, Sandy Macpherson, and a bonny lassie, Jenny, and a Mess John", that makes one wonder of Scotland made itself-or was made by England - the home of the surviving Fabliau.

The last factor in making a bid for English attention to the Highlands is the work of the Scots on them. Its bulk is fairly large and very varied, when Campbell's "Highland Gentlemen's Magazine", MacDonald's Poems, Stone's translation of Ossianic ballad, Home's "Douglas", Macpherson's "Hunter" and "Highlander" Smollett's Maclaymore and Donald of the "Reprisal" Maitland's "History and Antiquities of Scotland" are recalled; and such diverse matters as the Alan Breck case, Armstrong's analysis of Highland and Lowland music, Joseph MacDonald's collecting of Highland songs, James's painting of the Macleod in his plaid and trews, and that Lowland but hill and loch landscape painting of Macdonald and David Allan.

Yet however large and varied that work drew very little response from England that one can trace. Goldsmith, a medical student at Edinburgh, spent a month in '53 visiting the Highlands, but remarks in his later essays on Highland music, or the greater purity of the 'Celtic' in the
1. Hull's "Select Collection of Letters" 1763

2. "On the Approach of Summer".

3. Scottish Historical Society

4. (though this was in September)
western isles are hardly likely to have come from his own experience. Other notable visitors were Smollett and Grainger, but the latter's true opinion of the Highlands is a mystery, as he could write of "my beloved mountains" and yet of once existing-"I could not call it living" among them. His only expression about them is in conventional verse on "The Rhymer of Pitkeathly Waters", and "An epistle from an Officer at Fort William in Lochaber to Lord L— in London". Spence and Boswell made a journey of curiosity into Scotland in 1755, but as Spence confessed to Shenstone, whom they vainly tried to induce to come with them, "I went from you to Scotland as I fear too many people do, with an expectation of scarce seeing anything there worth seeing". They were pleasantly disappointed to find after "a barren, bleak country" in the south, Edinburgh's "open country, well cultivated, and in a noble view".

As yet, none of these journeys of Englishmen have been undertaken either from aesthetic motives, or from an interest in the Highlands purely. So any aesthetic appreciation of the Highlands in English poetry or a novel or play is in consequence still a novelty. Warton has one reference to

---the soft margot of silver Tay;
Or near thy brook, O sylvan Jed.

but that was a conventional tribute to Thomson.

The only traveller yet who even kept full notes of his tours with the intention of publishing them was Pococke. His third tour and its record are worth remarking. They show all his interests in Scotland, and as he was a well-read and open-minded tourist, they make a just summary of what in Scotland made any appeal to the cultured gentleman of the day.

The land's main attraction for him was its antiquarian treasure-trove, an inditement in that study having come from that literary forgery, Richard of Cirencester's antiquated map of Roman Britain which had been published in 1757. Consequently his journal and is full of archeological notes, inscriptions, derivations, the examination of old buildings and ruins, and his tour expressly includes Mull, Icolmkill, and Orkney. Then there was the attraction of the main towns, now regarded as worth visiting, for Glasgow was prosperous, Aberdeen "a most agreeable place", and Perth linked with the south by "the finest turnpike road in all Britain". Obvious interest was the historical one: "Macbeth, the Earl of Montrose, Gleneagles "famous for the massacre", the point where the Pretender's standard was set up, the site of Culloden. A lesser interest was the Highlander, but his peculiarities were intriguing. The inhabitants of Ferne I are great natural geniuses, especially for poetry (though excelled by those of Skye); and a letter of Wattin Macpherson reported him "fond to enquire into everything that ascertained and threw light on the second sight". Lastly, there was the attraction of the scenery, which drew him to Loch Lomond, to Inverary, to note "beautiful romantic vales" round Crieff, and to see the famous view from Stirling: "very fine, though much intermixed with heath".

What is markedly missing in Pococke is any appreciation of the wilder scenery, (his ideal is a cultivated champagne with plantations, his favourite view that of valley and lake) and any sign of a literary interest attaching to the country.
He had read or knew of Scougal's classic, of Sougal's book on Mary, Queen of Scots, of Sir George Mackenzie's work and Gilbert Burnet's, and he met the fellow-antiquary, Sir David Dalrymple. But no poetry about Scotland is ever mentioned, and though he travelled through the country from April to September, 1760, when Macpherson's Fragments from the Erse were making their stir, and talked with Dalrymple who had sent them to Walpole, not a remark showed either knowledge of or interest in them.

The Ossian controversy of the sixties is of minor concern in this chapter, except for the obvious question that it raises; if Macpherson's Ossian brought the Highlands into the very stuff of poetry for Continental readers, and if it was received, as it was at first, with great enthusiasm in England, why was there not the seemingly natural consequence of Highland travel? "These mountain monotones", Wordsworth has said, "took the heart of Europe with a new emotion, and prepared it for that passion for mountains which has since possessed it". Yet the only 'travels' that appeared for ten years after were the abusive "John English's Travels through Scotland", that the Monthly Review rightly summed up as: "Of all the dull and stupid trash,--this surely is the dullest and most stupid, as it is also the filthiest and meanest".

To raise the question is to forget several considerations, however. The two obvious ones are the ill-odour of the Scots and so of Scotland during the Bute regime, a matter to be dealt with later, and the deterrence of Highland travel. Those first English tourists to the Highlands were practically all seasoned travellers. Aaron Hill had visited the near East, so too had Foscoke; Defoe had traversed England for years, Pennant Cornwall, Ireland and the Continent. The unseasoned traveller, such as Dodsley and Spence found even the Lowlands hard. The Highlands were popularly held a perilous and exhausting venture. And the Scottish poets gave no lead in 'literary' travel. Before Macpherson was known, Home had been long wishing for a person who could make him acquainted with ancient Highland poetry", but beyond visiting Inverary, Home never traversed the north. After Ossian appeared, home, Blair, Beattie and others hailed it with delight, but the research for originals was left to Macpherson. The barrier of the Gaelic, and that of ignorance of and unwillingness to face the Highlands were equally formidable. Lastly, one has to allow for a fairly slow emergence from so novel an impact, of the traveller of sensibility or of sentiment.

An exceptionally early example of each can be cited. Within five years of the 'Erse Fragments', Gray was in the Highlands, his imagination creating "the sullen countenances of Fingal and all his family" in the wild rock-masses he sees. He was on no deliberate Ossianic pilgrimage, only a prosaic visit to the Thane of Glensa, but the two short tours have a particular value. Gray's mind had already been responding to 'heathenism', as he called it, and the reading of Ossian had wrought a curious imaginative 'release', attuning it to, making it receptive of what the Ossianic country had to give. So the actual contact was an illuminating experience, that drew the first appreciation
that can be called modern, the first literary and romantic response to Highland scenery and glamour.

That may seem an excessive claim for those unpublished jottings he made. In August of '64, he did the 'little tour', Dumfries, the Falls of Clyde, Glasgow, Loch Lomond, Stirling, Edinburgh, Melrose, Berwick, and jotted down phrases, till the more, about what he had seen; Corr Ho Lynn in "a landscape of woods and rocks, worthy the hand of Poussin"; Bonnington Lynn, with above it "a beautiful quiet pastoral scene", Loch Lomond's "exquisite landscape", Hawthornden's romantic situation, Edinburgh Castle's "noble view".

In the following year, he again came to Edinburgh, "not sorry to have seen that most picturesque (at a distance) and most silent (then near) of all capital cities". (The first time a 'picturesque' was bestowed on Edinburgh.) From there Lord Strathmore took him north to Glenis, and the view from it enthralled him. He heard the Highlanders "singing their songs all day long"; in his expeditions he saw a heath "fit for an assembly of witches"; surveyed "that monstrous creature of God, Shehallian", and Ben-y-more that "looks down on the tomb of Fingal". On one occasion, "we walked for miles, partly in fear, partly to admire the beauty of the country. As evening came on, we approached the face of Gillikrankie - Close by it, rises a hill covered with oak, with grottoes masses of rock staring from among their trunks like the sullen countenances of Fingal and all his family, frowning on the little mortals of modern days". Here was a new note in Highland travel.

On his return he is found writing to Beattie on a History of Second Sight, and a History of Witches. He is summing up to friends what the Highlands had been to him: "Since I saw the App's, I have seen nothing sublime till now". "I am returned from Scotland charmed with my expedition; it is of the Highlands I speak; the Lowlands are worth seeing once, but the mountains are ecstatic, and ought to be visited in pilgrimage once a year. None but these monstrous creatures of God know how to join so much beauty with so much horror". The one thing he is not doing, unfortunately, is putting his 'discovery' of the Scottish mountains into any literary form. "What a pity I cannot draw or describe", he wrote, and though the enthusiastic letters quoted above are far more expressive than his want, and show him finding outlet in a poetical prose, he created neither poetry nor prose account to mark this new attitude to the Highlands.

As one of the earliest of the "sentimental travellers" there was the Beattie, Mr. Montagu, touring the Highlands a year after Gray's visit, a devotee of "the Bard - Macpherson", and she and her coterie given to Ossianic rites, ("we had the feast of shells, and drank out of a nautilus to the immortal memory of Ossian") she writes, as one would expect: - "We carry Ossian's Poems with us, as we shall see some of the classic ground". An excited letter is dated from Inverary: - "I have been in Ossian's land" Another deals copiously with a visit to Glencoe. "We entered the Highlands. It is not within the compass of prose, hardly of poetry, to describe the sublime beauties that here opened upon us", but the "vast horrid mountains" are raptly drawn. Edinburgh evokes raptures too. In Holyrood, "I could not help sighing
for the beauteous Mary"; and "The Castle of Edinburgh is a most romantic thing, and brings to one's mind the Castles of Tasso and Aristo, in which giants are lodged and captive knights imprisoned." She had a grip of actualities, however, and after a visit to Glasgow could controvert Churchill and his "Prophecy of Famine." 

That poem recalls what was happening meantime. The literary scuffles over Ossian had become something of an international melee when Wilkes and Churchill began their attacks on Bute and his 'Scotch menace'. The noise of that was deepening for about five years, from 1761-66, and was loud for twenty. During the first period, the obloquy thrown on Scotland checked any general taste for travelling thither. Churchill's picture of the land and race in his "Prophecy of Famine" revived all the old discords.

Far as the eye could reach, no tree was seen,
Earth clad in russet, scorned the lively green.
The plague of locusts they secure defy,
For in three hours, a grasshopper must die.
No living thing, whether its food, feeds there,
But the comeleon who can feed on air.
No birds, except as birds of passage, flew,
No bee was known to hum, no dove to coo.--
Rebellion's spring, which through the country ran,
Furnished with bitter draughts the steady clan.

And Famine, by her children always known,
As proud as poor, here fixed her native throne.

Whether that spirited mockery influenced reasonable men or not, it must have damped any attempt to write romantically of the Highlands or even to recommend travel thither.

Yet never had Scotland held such brilliant society to repay visiting. "At the High Cross of Edinburgh I can take fifty men of genius by the hand", said Jolyt, the French traveller; and Asnes was at Monboddo, Beattie at Aberdeen, Adam Smith at Kirkcaldy, and Glasgow had its Cullen, its Foulis and its Watt, Edinburgh Hume, Home, Robertson, Blair, Ferguson, Wilkie, Carlyle. And since correspondence between these and the intellectual lights of the south was close, and the passing of Scots writers to and from London a familiar thing, there naturally continued a fair amount of English visiting of Scotland.

Smollett made a literary pilgrimage to Edinburgh, Glasgow and the Highlands in 1766, the matter of which he wrote into "Humphrey Clinker", but did not get into print until 1771, when Pennant's tour had forestalled it. If Smollett is expressing his views of his actual travel year, and it is the year after Grey's, then the latter's imaginative response to the Highland was not left unique. For Smollett's travellers have their romantic meditations in Ossian's country. "These are the lonely hills of Morven, where Finial and his heroes enjoyed the same pastime.--I feel an enthusiastic pleasure when I survey the brown heath that Ossian went to tread, and hear the wind whistle through the bending grass", and so on.
The wilder Highland landscape has its first liberal praise. The distant view of mountains is no longer a horror but "like a vast fantastic vision in the clouds. At hand they make a most stupendous appearance of savage nature. All is sublimity, silence and solitude." The view of the Hebrides is "one of the most ravishing in the whole world." At Loch Lomond, "everything here is romantic," and the Loch so claimed superior in beauty to the Swiss and Italian lakes. Even the heather is admired. Only the Highlander is not yet picturesque, though his customs are, and a recital of some of these and of tales of second sight is given. But "the poor Highlanders, seen to disadvantage, since deprived of their ancient garb, and even debar'd the use of their striped stuff—prized by them above all the velvets, brocades and tissues of Europe and Asia", are only objects of pathos.

Smollett pays the Highlands one unusual tribute, a poem, the "Ode to Leven Water." True, Frack had done so a hundred years before, but it was a neglected and negligible affair. Smollett's, reprinted quickly in the magazines, made a new precedent.

It is possible that "Humphrey Clinker", abused by some as a 'party' novel, and attacked by others because he had offered in it what he thought evidence of Osian authenticity, might have done little to commend the Highlands and their exploration, had it not been preceded by the enthusiastic "A Tour in Scotland" by Thomas Pennant. Pennant's motives for visiting the country were mixed, but the chief were scientific and antiquarian. His "Zoology of Great Britain" was to be as extensive in scope as possible. Struck, therefore, with the reflection of having never seen Scotland, I instantly ordered my baggage to be got ready, and in a reasonable time found myself on the banks of the Tweed. At the same time, he was perfectly aware of the probable gain of publishing "a candid account" of Scotland, in years when the Scottish reputation was being blemished about, and desired as his aim "to conciliate the affections of the two nations so wickedly and studiously set at variance!" The latter object, unfortunately, makes his constant eulogies of the north, more than a little suspect.

Whether his readers were suspicious or no, his pages must have come as a revelation to them. Pennant had a natural gift as a writer of travels. Great that he was shallow, over-fluent, uncritical, but he was observant, tolerant, and catholic in his interests. A fertile imagination at once dramatized every historic scene. His pen was as ready on scenery as on people, on trade as on poetry, on past as on present. He hit easily on the expressive phrase: "a deep glen chogged with bushwood", "the black joyless moor of Goldingham." He had a sense of humour. He was well-read, and could quote appositely. In eye for colour noted for the first time the Lap's pellucidness, "like that of brown crystal", or the melancholy green of the picturesque pine. A taste for the picturesque noted views such as that from one of the cliff arches below Dunbar Castle, "a most picturesque view of the Bass Isle, with the sun setting in full splendour." Above all, he had no compunctions in scattering panegyrics, and had as the ethics of that were, it did good in arresting English attention. His public must have been startled by his cries of "stupendous", "majestic", "formidable", "most romantic") and a little be wildered at finding them applied to Scottish scenes.
From the opening pages, Pennant drew Scotland "in romantic view" and most floridly. Edinburgh, for example, is transformed by his sweeping pen; "its boldness and grandeur of situation beyond any I had ever seen", its houses "almost aerial", and with a "look of magnificence"; Arthur's Seat and the Greig are "a romantic and wild scene of broken rocks and vast precipices". In the gardens of Heriot's "the Scotch poets often laid their comedies". Calton Hill is "where—witches and sorcerers in less enlightened times were burnt, and where at festive seasons the gallants held their tilts and tournaments. It was one of these Earl of Murray made the first impression on the susceptible heart of Mary Stuart"—and the tale is told.

That "taste of his quality" holds characteristics of his whole "tour". All his landscapes have an exaggerated 'Gothick' sweep; the entrance to the Highlands is "awfully magnificent"; Balloch has "great cataracts", and "a dorksome charm beneath"; Bog of Geith has "lofty and majestic towers and turrets that storm the air"; on the western coast the tide "rolled in with solemn majesty". Where chance offers, he colours the scenery with romantic episode; the trees of "Loch Leven are "coeval with Mary, under whose shade she may have sat, expecting her escape, at length effected by the enamoured Douglas"; the isles of Loch Lomond were "worthy of the retreat of Armida, and which Rinaldo himself would have quitted with a sigh"; of Fraoch-Eilan, "the Hesperides of the Highlands" he tells a tale "as sung in the Eseel ballads". He makes the fullest romantic use of past history, and even of Highland history, drawing from the recently published "History of the Feuds of the Clan", but is drastically prosaic on all the recent events, the Glencoe Massacre, Rob Roy and the '45. He refers to, and at times quotes what Scots writers were known, printing a poem from the "Delitice Pectorum Scotorum", a verse of "The Bonny Earl o' Moray", two pages of Sir David Lyndsay, for example, and from contemporary writers drawing descriptions or facts, or referring to the work of Urquhart, Robertson of Struan, "Mr Bowdell" and others.

These features of Pennant's record are not so much new, as for the first time given full scope, and that roundly and without excuse. And for the first time, all the controversial topics, such as the nation's backwardness, and its causes and remedies, the niggling details of squalor, the traditional English disgusts and the sarcasms, are deliberately pushed out of the foreground. The result is that an extraordinarily different Scotland is seen to fill the picture.

Pennant was by no means just an unscrupulous romantic. The Scotland he saw was an improving Scotland. He could criticise sharply, such things as the wretched Highland housing, "shocking to humanity", "the disgrace of North Britain", and speak bluntly of indolent and proud Highlanders and their plain women. But these counted less that talk of their "motley dresses", clan war-songs, creaghs, coronachs, belief in the beausies, war-customs; and these details in their turn were given not more importance than accounts of Wade's roads, of emigration, of the beauties of the Highland lakes.

This first tour had occupied most of 1769. In his "Literary Life" he wrote:—"This year was a very active one for me. I had the hardiness to
venture on a journey to the remotest part of North Britain, a country almost as little known to its southern brethren as Kamschatka. I brought home a favourable account of the land. Within a year he had issued his "Tour". Of its reception, he continued: "A candid account of that country was such a novelty, that the impression was instantly bought up, and in the next year, another was printed and as soon sold."

Having tasted success, he planned a more extensive tour, and in preparation circulated in Scotland the list of queries, already issued in England by the Society of Antiquaries, queries topographical, antiquarian, social, agricultural, etc. In August of the same year (1772) he was again in the north, again recording copiously as he made his way towards the Hebrides.

Three notable travellers were already there, Banks, Solander and Lind, visiting the northern and western islands, and making drawings of them. Pennant had a small 'staff' with him, Griffiths to make sketches, Lightfoot for botanical notes, and John Stewart of Killin to help him with the unknown Gaelic; and it is illuminating to find that he packed for the islesmen what a traveller of yesterday might have for the remoter Fiji islands, "rubbers and other trifles".

The Hebrides was the special goal, but he carefully visited the most romantic parts in the Lowlands, wrote of moss-troopers and Johnnie Armstrong, of Helen of Kirkenaoul Lee, and of Bruce and the Comyn. He went on to Glasgow, where he was feted and given the freedom of the city, revisited Loch Lomond, and then set sail for the isles.

Almost at once he turns Fingalian in his references, discovers traditions of the hero in Arran, describes Fingal's Cave. But with that mingles humanitarian discourses on the lot of the present-day islesmen, "a set of people worn down with poverty, their habitations scenes of misery; their inmates lean, withered, dusky and smoke-dried". The picturesque kept "breaking in", however. His great discovery was Staffa. "Compared to this, what are the cathedrals or the palaces built by men?" Fingal's Cave is "the most magnificent scene that has ever been described by travellers".

Skye won no greater admiration from him—he thought the mountains dis-coloured! But the Goolins recall an Ossianic quotation, and the treasures of Dunvegan the story of Flora Macdonald, and that of the MacRimmon pipers. For utility's sake several pages of economic analysis are inserted.

Then came a further sea-voyage along the Sutherland coast, with the reward of a view of Dunlopdie—"a spot equalized by few in picturesque and magnificent scenery", and of "Loch-Turn", with its "Alpine wildness and magnificence". He devotes some pages here to hymning the "sudden change in morals" of the clans of the far north. Their previous state he declares that of banditti, "ab Indians, wild Arabs... now "security and civilization possess every part"; and in describing the lives of great chiefs there, he includes Rob Roy as "another distinguished hero" (Blacksbee, Bottom, how art thou translated?)

The voyage ends in an imaginative flight and an exordium. On the edge of sleep, writes Pennant, he thinks himself again in the Sound of Mull, in that ancient realm of Ossianic heroes, and there appears before him a warrior of "venerable hoariness", Calm. Calm recounts the glories of the past, and contracts the present miseries of his people. The decline
has been due to rapacious landlords. He adjures the absentee chiefs to undertake the reforms so tragically needed.

A second part of the tour now described his crossing of the Highlands from west to east, and a brief coast tour, with a return via Fifeshire, and Edinburgh and the Lowland Abbey towns to the Borders. He is less entertaining here, for fêté in every town, he grew anxious to instruct and to point reform, and reads like Defoe redivivus in consequence.

One invaluable service he did for his English public was to set out a surprising amount of book-knowledge about Scotland. He ransacked most of the previous travellers, Taylor, Franck, Ray, Aaron Hill, Foscoke, and most of the contemporary Gaelic topographers, such as Macpherson, Shaw and Pope. He quoted from Lyndsay, Brehemun, Barbour, Wallace, from Johnstone's Latin poems, from Boyd, Pitcairne, the younger Pennicuik and Ramsay. He knew some of the old ballads, and quoted them. His footnotes and appendices include oils Mss. and Gaelic verse, and articles by modern Scots antiquarians. The English public had this wealth of material given them in accessible form for the first time, and whether light or serious, it was a gain of value. One other gain was the illustration of both Tours' with landscape and interior scenes. For the first volume Sandby's views, which had been published in volume form in '65, were available; for the second the Staffa drawings and those of Moses and Griffiths were used. Side by side with flamboyant landscapes that must have fired English imagination, were instructive proitive drawings of interiors—"a weaver's cottage in Islay".

What Pennant's Tours did for Scotland it is hard to exaggerate. On the one hand, his plain statements about the prosperity of Lowland towns, the rich countryside of Fife, the excellent roads, the substantial reforms drove in on English attention the fact that Scotland was rapidly drawing level with her economically, and in national importance, as well as intellectually. Recognition was thus claimed for a modern Scotland.

On the other hand, the country was given the utmost 'picturesque' and romantic values that it had yet received, and the glamour from ballad, Scottish history and Oriental writing. The panegyric is to us exaggerated, but every phrase was needed to enforce the land's aesthetic claims. Enforced they were. The Monthly Review which had declared twenty years before that "no very high entertainment can be expected from any account of the Highlands of Scotland", wrote of Pennant:—"The perusal of his book is sufficient to excite an earnest desire in his readers to make the same excursion, and we are verily assured that it will produce that effect".

Thus Scotland was launched on the very crest of the picturesque cult. Whether (Scotland) will thank me or not, I cannot say", ran Pennant's own summary, "but for the report I made, and shewing that it might be visited with safety, it has ever since been inondée with southern visitors".

If inondée is excessive, there was certainly an influx. Even before his second tour a contributor to the Gentleman's Magazine was supplying a list of inns as far north as Inverness and Fort George, "for these
1. Dec: 1771
2. Jan: 1772
3. "I cannot but laugh to think of myself roving among the Hebrides at 60."
4. To Mrs Thrale.
Though the fashionable curiosity may lead to visit Scotland. A Scottish contributor to the "Weekly Magazine" makes a similar remark: "It is now the fashion among the English to make a tour into Scotland for some weeks or months, and there is a moral certainty of this fashion increasing, as the foolish prejudices against the country and its inhabitants daily decreases".

After his second tour, practically every year shows the touring of the land by some eminent visitor. General Paoli and his ambassador were there in '73, Dr. Johnson and Boswell in '73. In the same year Percy was "prevailed on" to visit Inverary, "in which we were exceedingly amused indeed" (amused was the fashionable adjective of praise). Astor was meanwhile touring it with an eye to archæological and possible ballad funds. In the following year, Topham of the "Letters from Edinburgh" goes north; in the next the first of the women travel-writers, Mrs. Hankey; in the next the Reverend William Gilpin—and the list can be indefinitely extended. "Scotland seems to be daily so much increasing in consideration with her sister kingdom, that tours to the Highlands and voyages to the isles will possibly become the fashionable routes of our virtuosi and those who travel for mere amusement. Dr. Johnson has led the way; Dr. Johnson has followed; and with such precursors and the sanction of such examples, what man of spirit and curiosity will forebear to explore these remote parts of our island". So went the dicum of 1775.

The "sanction" of Dr. Johnson was precisely the need after Pennant. He undertook the journey to the isles from purely personal motives, a desire so long-rooted "that I scarcely remember how the wish was originally excited". Yet only he could have influenced the discovery-of-the-Highlands movement as he did. Pennant the florid and eulogistic had not been uncritically swallowed in the south, and doubts remained. Had the Highlands any genuine interest and value? Here was London's great sat man of letters exploring them. Was travel safe? Here was an out-end but Londoner, sixty years old, on tour. Had Pennant been partial and pro? Johnson was the supreme Scot-baiter. If he praised, a seal of approval would be set. And though London wits laughed over the tour, as Johnson did himself, the results were awaited with eager interest.

Johnson on Scotland is too tremendous a Continent to survey, though an outline or two is needed to do justice to Johnson on the Highlands and Isles. One has to recall that he was "the great champion of the English prose", that his prejudice against Scots was notorious, that he had become the chief accredited opponent of Macpherson and his Ossian, that he had passed scathing judgments on Scots literati and Scots character that were repeated throughout England and Scotland. He went north not to see Scotland: "Seeing Scotland, London, is only seeing a worse England. It is seeing the flower gradually fade away to the naked stalk"—but to visit the Hebrides, and from his own work and Boswell's account, it was a curious Hebrides of his own imagination that he desired and expected to find. It was one born of Martin, whom he had reared very young, and held an idealised patriarchal life under venerable chiefs, a race of proud independence.
and military ardour, of unique custom and psychic gift, and manners of striking natural simplicity. This was packed in the back of his mind, nor ever admitted except in part. More typical of the average English ideas were his preparations for the tour, the collection of pistols, gunpowder, bullets, and a cudgel, and stores of snuff and tobacco for the aboriginals. Typically English too were the prejudices he bore north and corroborated with delight, beggars, etchings, bed cooking, absence of trees, Scots pettiness, and the meagreness of Scots culture. But from the first, something of Gray's mental experience was repeated. A natural strain of romance in Johnson reasserted itself in actual contact with the land. His first excitements were Lowland ones, Inchcolm, Aberbrothick. The sea-built Sleines Castle "with all the terrific grandeur of the tempestuous Ocean" appealed. Forres was "et classic ground." "Our imaginations were heated." At Nairn, "I first saw peat fires and heard the Drums." Once mountainous country was entered, "upon which perhaps no wheel has ever rolled," his state of mind is inquiring, receptive and obviously moved. The Falls of Foyon scenery "strikes the imagination with all the gloom and grandeur of Siberian solitude." That imaginative impact he tries to minimise by analysis and prosaic reasoning, but he hails them as "the scenes of adventure, stratagems, surprises, and escapes," and the drift of his thought to Prince Charlie's adventures is obvious. Romance, however, is a word he rarely uses of anything other than accepted themes, - one little valley, for example, had "a bank such as a writer of romance might have delighted to feign." The Highlands did not fulfill his romantic expectations. The ancient Highlander he expected to find was gone, with Highland dress and pride "A longer journey than to the Highlands must be taken by him whose curiosity pangs for savage virtues and barbarous virtues grandeur." He kept that suppressed daydream of Highland feudal life, to delight Boswell by talk of buying western isles, and by wearing Highland dress, appreciating pipe music, learning scraps of Erse song, defending the use of Gaelic and the like.

The Isles on the contrary did not fail in their appeal, although they were far different from his conception. His summing-up on leaving them was: "They have not many allurements but to the mere lover of naked nature," but Boswell's account bears out glimpses in his own of his imagination leaping at experiences there. Raasay, Dunvegan, Inch Kenneth, Iona, all exhilarated. At Raasay he heard with delight Erse songs and saw Highland dancing. "Without is the rough ocean and the rocky land, the heaving billows and the howling storm; within is plenty and elegance, beauty and gaiety, the song and the dance. In Raasay if I could have found an Ulysses, I had fancied a Phoenix." The violent contrasts of life there suggested "Gothick romance." "Whatever is imagined in the wildest tale, if giants, dragons, and enchantment be excepted, would be felt by him who, wandering in the mountains without a guide, - should be carried amidst his terror and uncertainty to the hospitality and elegance of Raasay and Dunvegan." And a third time he felt-and set down for English readers-the romantic impact, in Inch Kenneth. "Romance does not often exhibit a scene that strikes the imagination more than this little desert in these depths of Western obscurity." And a fourth at
1. "Journey to the "western Isles" 1775.

2. Boswell's record: "I had brought with me a great bundle of magazines and newspapers in which his Journey was attacked in every mode" 1775.
Iona. "We were now treading that illustrious island which was once the luminous of the Caledonian regions." "That man is little to be envied—whose piety would not grow warmer among the ruins of Iona."

In the Isles that "will in suspension of disbelief occurred, and he listened to arguments for Osiris, and to tales of second sight. Boswell reveals more, Johnson listening to Flora Macdonald's tale of the Pretender's escape, or sleeping ("weel-pleasit") in the bed which he had once occupied. Johnson seeing the wakling of cloth, having the poems of Maclean read to him, and "showing so much of the spirit of a Highlander" as to strut with broadsword and target and blue bonnet. Only at one point, when cooped up by storms, did the Londoner show. "I want to be on the mainland, and go on with existence. This is a waste of life," he told Boswell. The mood was temporary. Ovations in Glasgow and Edinburgh pleasantly ended his tour.

He had already determined to publish his experiences, and these appeared two years later. Their great value apart from those points novel to English readers that have been illustrated—was their provocative ness. His anti-Scott dicta infuriated Scots opinion, of course, and a paper-warfare broke out, which made the whole matter of Scottish standing and Scots custom one for popular discussion. Interest in Scotland roused was always a benefit, and the later travellers like Miss Hanway show that a stimulus had been given. The "Journey" was provocative in more valuable ways, however. It offered a startling contrast to Pennant. The latter had left trails of 'picturesque' glory floating round Highland and Island landscape. Johnson leaves the more realistic one of storm and rain. Yet though not one 'picturesque' is used, the actuality of Johnson's descriptions are arresting, and the very rareness of any flourishes makes these tell. "The whistling of the blast, the fall of the shower, the rush of the cataracts and the roar of the torrent made a nobler chorus of the rough music of nature than it had ever been my chance to hear before.

He differed provocatively from Pennant, too, in his unconscious response to the Isles, and consciously in what they held of peculiar interest, or peculiar romance. For him, the past held glamour, and he expressed the romantic view of that "dying past." The feudal gloomed in his imagination. "I have the old feudal nations," he once said. The broken integrity of a people deprived of their ancient hold of the land, of their dress, their language, he "saw with grief." And the tragedy of that past he allowed to touch the 148 edge of the '45. Here he was diplomatic, but the Ross-shire mountains recalled "the last shelters of national distress," and his tributes to Flora Macdonald, "a name that will be mentioned in history,—mentioned with honour" are warm.

Even had the book not been Johnson's, its mixture of hard fact and romantic crotchet would have arrested English attention. Its sale was slow in its author's estimate, moderately good in Boswell's, for 4000 copies sold very quickly. Quotation from it became current, and there are unusual echoes from it in later novels.

After its publication, the touring of Scotland was definitely approved, and travel-letters reappear as they did in the earlier travel phase of the twenties.
from Edinburgh

Topham's "Letters written in the years 1774-75", and Miss Hanway's "Journey to the Highlands of Scotland" are instances. Topham descents on the country in the Pennant vein:—"Were any man of my acquaintance desirous of seeing the sublime and beautiful in perfection, according to Mr Burke's definition of them, I would bring him into Scotland. — For the sublime I would deliver to him all the naked wildness and extended declamation of the country. — Even the clouds assume a thousand fantastic shapes. Nor am I surprised at the wild imagination of Ossian bodying them forth into beings of his own creation"—

On the topic of Edinburgh he is uncritically eulogistic, and as exaggerated in his scale of description as Pennant. Its views are "uncommonly magnificent", that from the Castle "the most picturesque and beautiful of any that can be found in Europe". He justly pointed out its recent progress, however, from its new buildings to its possession of several of the most ingenious men in Europe. His letters tried to cover every side of town life, and are an irritating mixture of common place and original observation. His sketch of the impoverished Scots student and his "excessive earnestness" rings true, of the peasant's "sociability which charms you" does not. He gives interesting comments on Edinburgh society, on contemporary Scots artists, on deism being the "ruling principle", on the flourishing book-selling trade, on the use of the vernacular in society, and its diminutives—on a hundred little topics of that nature. Facile as these letters are, they make engaging reading, and put English readers au courant with Edinburgh life, as few previous accounts had condescended to do.

Miss Hanway's are much more shallow stuff, tributes to "the Lysium of Scotland" Dalvey, or to Loch Lomond, "one of those rural and romantic spots which the Arcadian swains were poetically supposed to enjoy in the Golden Age". The sentimental traveller was finding Scotland a rich quarry.

Before the full spate of "Tours to the Highlands" comes down in the eighties and nineties, one other traveller's work is worth separate notice, that of the founder of the "picturesque" cult.

Bilpin was comparatively late in visiting Scotland, turning to it only after the south had been thoroughly explored. When he did visit it in '76, the year after Johnson's "Journey" it was with a diverting blue pencilling of his predecessors' raptures. Scotland, he declared, was full of land "entirely in a state of nature", and while pure nature was an excellent thing, the poverty of objects such as woods injured the beauty of the Scots landscapes. He allows that the great simplicity of the scenery is a source of sublimity, but there was great room for "improvement in foregrounds". It was in search of such adornments that he set out and announced for the first time as "picturesque appendages" high land cattle and the Highlander. (His discovery was in that order.)

He surveyed all the recognized beauty spots of the country with a "picturesque" eye, and denied that quality to Edinburgh, allowed Arthur's seat to be only romantic. He had constantly to lament defects of "square lines uncontracted" in some river view, or the "poor composition" of rocky mountains that required "the drapery of a little wood". His own standards are seen in the illustrations he made, where he admits "then I have seen a line out of place, I have a great propensity to correct
1780 1780
2.1780.

it by one that is more picturesque. In consequence his landscapes have a colossal flamboyance, Edinburgh’s North Bridge out-doing any Dragwyn, and his Highlands a romantic dazzle of towering mountains, castle-turrets, and interminable lakes.

Yet along with these aesthetic eccentricities, Gilpin describes sensibly if over-enthusiastically the "grand style" of Scotland’s mountains, and notes their colourings, appreciates homely details such as fishing-boats, certifies in short, their unique value for the landscape-painter. He accentuates most, however, the wealth of historic romance the land possessed. "Few countries perhaps on the face of the earth, of such narrow dimensions as Scotland, have been the scenes of a greater variety of military events. -- You can hardly ascend any elevated ground, without throwing your eye over the scene of some memorable action." He seizes every chance of decorating his account with imaginative descriptions of such scenes: - Border rivers,"each of which hath run purple to the sea with the blood of our ancestors", Mary, Queen of Scots, Gowrie House, Killiecrankie, "the Caledonian Thermopyle" the retreats of Wallace, even Rob Roy, and Paul Jones are made to add their romance.

But the modernity of that is explained, when the date of Gilpin’s account is remembered. It was not published until 1789, and by then Gilpin could point his remarks on Scots peasant life by the perfect illustrations from Burns’ poems.

After Gilpin, the deluge; but nothing is to be gained by detailing the later travel accounts of Hill or Sullivan, one an Ossianic researcher, the other an impostor taking advantage of the popularity of travel records, or those of the later group still, Knox, Newte, Shaw, Liddel and Grose, Heron, Bettice, Shirne. By the eighties and nineties, the poets, Rogers and Campbell, for example, the painters and engravers, and the novelists are all drawing on the inspiration of the Highlands.

It is that crowning achievement that the work of the first travelers leads. Naturally the praise is not solely theirs, but they focussed in a remarkable way all the passing aesthetic ideas, drew from and popularised the historical and topographical work of the day, made use of the landscape painters, quoted the ballads and the older poetry of Scotland so these came to be better known, made themselves, in short, what might be called a "clearing-house" of Scottish and interests as English interests as they touched the north.

They not only rehabilitated, but they set a high value on Scotland, as seen in the advancing claims made; Gray would place the Highland mountains after the Alps; Smollett finds the lakes superior to any in Switzerland or Italy; Pemont boldly talks of an Alpine wilderness, or a resemblance to the Grande Chartreuse, or finds a spot "perfectly Virgilian. They broadened the scope of appreciation, too, from the waterfall and artificial plantation to the picturesquely ruined castle and islanded loch, and then to the grand style of unadorned blue mountain.

And sometimes led by, sometimes leading that appreciation was the encouraged work of the landscape painters. Sandby publishes a volume of
1. The increasing taste for painting Scottish landscape has not been traced in full. Richard Wilson, who made a reputation with his Welsh mountains from 1760 on, exhibited a Scottish landscape in 1762. George Barrett, a very popular painter, exhibited some Scottish views in 1769-72. In Scotland, meanwhile, "other artists talked meat and drink, but Rungeiman talked landscape".

Thomas Girtin was painting in the Highlands in '96, and J. de Loutherbourg before then had been urged the inspiration from the Highlands, Wales etc for the landscape-painter.

2. 1796-1765.
3. 1769-72.
4. 1771
5. 1771-73.
6 1778
7 1783 on.
8. before 88
9 1796.
Scottish landscapes, Barrett draws views of Scotland, Jacob More exhibits in London his "Gota Lynn" and "Dunbar Castle", both greatly admired by Reynolds, among them uses decoratively Ossianic figures, scenes from Caledonian history, and symbolic drawings of Scotch rivers. In the seventies, Sandby collected all his Scottish work, titling the news with quotations from Pennant, and issued it as "The Virtuosi's Acme". By the eighties, Allan was drawing Scottish scenes and characters; John Clarke making fine etchings, "Adam de Cardonnel trying to preserve from oblivion the ancient remains of Caledonian splendour". His etchings of "The Picturesque Antiquities of Scotland" was through the travellers, too, that the new matter of the historians and the topographers was popularly spread. To take two examples, the "History of the Peats of the Clans" was drawn on by Pennant and Johnson; and Robertson's "History of Scotland" with its portrait of the happy Mary, Queen of Scots, was the quarry for the writers who revelled in romantic history. This romantic "by-product", so to speak, both inspired and took inspiration from the poets with their elegies of Ossian, Queen of Scots, rhapsodies of Loch Leven, and ballads of The Graham, of Sir James the Bruce.

At work of all, the travellers underlined the literary values of Scotland; in small ways by finding Highland customs Homeric or scenes argillian, fancifully 'fairy ground' or a cave at Dunan 'like a fable in The Persian Tales'; in more obvious ways by quoting Scottish ballads and drawing attention to the movement for ballad-gathering that flourished from Percy's Reliques on; in making literary finds of their own, as Pennant did with his sixteenth century poem, "met with at the library at Taymouth"; in quoting Ossian and recreating Ossianic glories that coloured the hills and seascapes of the West; and most liable of all in showing the literary inspiration gained for their creative work. Gray and Johnson wrote a warmer, more imaginative prose under the stimulus, and though Gray's only other activity was a section "Character of the Scotch", Johnson frmed two Latin odes from Yeats. Smollett proved that the Highland tour was excellent matter for novel, and he too rose to poetry. Such led the way to "The Northern Tour", "Poetical Epistle", "Caledonia, a Poem", "The Scottish Village", and similar efforts, that with the Highland character-sketching, Highland novels, both to be mentioned later, were the first results in English literature of this revealing of Scottish scenery and life by the traveller.

Critical review supplies the English code. "It is not a century since the inhabitants of the southern part of this island knew little of their northern neighbours than that they were very poor, very dirty; and if a scattered traveller now and then made his way among rocks and torrents of so wild a country his complaints of the miserable accommodation he was obliged to submit to and the little civilization of the country expressed all desire to be acquainted with a style whose habits and manner of living the pampered Englishman back on the sunny side of the hedge considered as equally remote from a man as those of the inhabitants of Kamschatka or Jeffraria. Circumstances are now altered; the tourist and the tourist-reader have long been familiarly acquainted with the romantic scenery and picturesque ruins of the sister-country, and the lakes of Scotland have been as much celebrated as the banks of the Thames!"
CHAPTER 18. The Bute Period.

a. 1. Bute's career and premiership.
    II. Anti-Scot charges; press attacks; Wilkes, Churchill.
    III. Pro-Scot defence.
    IV. English satire: drama, verse, novel, ballad, bon mot.
    V. Extent, reality and justification of English attack.
    VI. The effect on Scottish literature:
        - on the work of Home, Hume, Macpherson.
    VII. Contrast between the literary discovery of Wales and that of Scotland.
    VIII. Scottish cognizance of English rancour: its influence.
    IX. The 'penalty' for English literature.

b. 1. Amicable side of Anglo-Scottish literary work.
    II. The English critics: the study of ballad etc.
    III. English recognition of Scottish prose and poetry.

2. J.A. Lovat-Fraser's "Earl of Bute".
Hon. Mrs Wortley-"A Prime Minister and his Sons"
Contemporary memoirs, letters, pamphlets, ballads, prints etc.

3. "When you affectedly renounced the name of Englishmen, you were persuaded to pay a very ill-judged compliment to one part of your subjects at the expense of the other". Junius.
The 'Bute Period.

-- when Bute with foreign hand,
Grown wanton with ambition, scourged the land;
When Scots, or slaves to Scotsmen, steer'd the helm,
When peace, inglorious peace, disgraced the realm,
Distrust and general discontent prevailed.--

Dislike of the Scot, a tempest brewing in the fifties, came to a violent climax in the first six years of George III's reign.

The storm-centre was John Stuart, Earl of Bute, who had in English eyes the triple disadvantages—some would have said vices—of being a Scot, of the Stuart race, and with prerogative in his blood and in his opinions. Dislike and libel of him had been evident since first his intimacy with the Princess of Wales and his influence with the Prince were known, that is, since the early fifties. Both were exaggerated by rumour, the first to scandal-point, while his influence in forming the future King's idea of kingship as personal rule, personal grip of the helm were suspected by Whiggism as being used to promote autocratic, feudal government, of the worst Stuart brand.

On George's accession in October, 1760, Bute was recognized as King's favourite, a precarious eminence, and one doubly so for a Scot. The promotion to Privy Councillorship and general go-between for George and Newcastle gave him increased influence, and almost immediately any pro-Scot move, however small, was set down to racial partiality.

George's opening speech to Parliament had said "I glory in the name of Briton! There was outcry: why not Englishman? The name of Cumberland was erased from the liturgy: Bute's "Jacobite" hatred of "The Butcher" must be the cause. "Within a month, popular opinion was strong enough to land openly a Dr. Dempster who preached against "ordained the Jew, sitting at the King's gate"—obvious connotation. Within three months, a squib, "The Scotch Portmanteau opened at York," attacked "our northern brethren—posting to town upon the favour shown to a certain illustrious countryman of theirs, of late much talked of, in order to reap benefit from his present influence and interest." Sirs "montagu put it more tersely: "I hear all the Scotch are gone to town from Peers to Pedlars!"

In March of '61, Bute was made Secretary of State for the Northern Department. A month later, the Duke of Argyle died. "The crown of Scotland too has fallen on Bute's head," was Walpole's satiric comment. By the autumn, Bute and a coterie, more English than Scots, and labelled "the King's friends," were in frank opposition to Pitt and his policy of war against Spain. The King's support of Bute decided the final tussle between the two chiefs. Pitt found his call for war unsupported by the Cabinet, and resigned. In the weeks that followed, Bute enjoyed little triumph; for London rang with cries of "No Scotch rogues! no Butes!" and he had to be protected from mob attacks. His policy of gaining peace by scrupulous or unscrupulous alliance or withdrawal was unpopular, but thanks to his power in the 'inner Cabinet' and with the King, he drove it on. By the spring of '62, Newcastle found his position as Prime Minister untenable, and resigned. In May, Bute was made Prime Minister.
1. "Half a century is not sufficient to eradicate principles confirmed by many centuries" said one of the most temperately-phrased pamphlets, viz, "Political Disquisitions proper for Public Consideration---" 1763.

2. Prussia "basely deserted by the Scottish Prime Minister of England"—Terms of peace that "deserved the contempt of mankind"—these were two charges constantly recurrent in political and popular attack.
"My father was not more abused after twenty years than Lord Bute after twenty days," wrote Walpole from the centre of action.

That abuse, racial, political and personal in its causes, is worth analysis, for it reveals the surviving prejudices that soured Anglo-Scottish relations for the next twenty years.

Which score was the blackest against him, it is hard to say. Satire harped most on his race, and the effects of that. He was a Scot and a Stuart and opposed to Whiggism; the deduction was that he was secretly pro-Jacobite, and lampoons represented Jacobites swarming to Court, and the Pretender thinking warmly his "cousin Bute" for invaluable support. He was a Scot, and had therefore the art of toadying in perfection. He was parvenu, said Whig aristocrats, and advanced through favouritism not ability, thought the Whig commons. He was a Scot, and therefore politically uncorruptible, and it was alleged and believed that he had secured his majorities by enormous bribery. He was a Scot, and therefore 'partial,' and consequently the menace of his fellow-countrymen in office and in literature would grow increasingly dangerous. He was a Scot, and therefore a foreigner, and it was deeply resented that such should occupy the supreme position of Prime Minister.

The dislike had these permanent articulate causes, and some inarticulate. English opinion, for example, was predominantly Whig, and Whiggism had ruled for over fifty years, from 1714-60. That it should be overthrown now and by a Scot of Highland birth, (when Scotland and rebellion was still a familiar connotation) brought to the surface that national uneasiness and suspicion of the race, a legacy in the mind, unreasoned, but still potent. That told. Temporary causes aggravated the dislike. His share in Pitt's fall was held unforgivable by his opponents. His war policy was unpopular. The advance of Scots was laid to his charge, and the adulation of a Mallet

"He holds a man who trained a king to honour
A second only to the Prince he formed"—felt a vice encouraged by him.

These two last points were made much of, and if a rough estimate of Scots in high rank in 1762, and of the position of Scots lawyers and authors, the two most prominent groups, does reveal an exceptional penetration. Sir Gilbert Elliot and James Oswald were Lords of the Treasury, the Lord Chief Justice of England was Lord Mansfield, the Queen's Secretary was Graeme of Gorthay, the Archbishop of York was Hay Drummond, and Douglas was Bishop of Salisbury. Sir Andrew Mitchell was still Ambassador to Berlin. The Commander of the British Forces in Portugal was Lord Loudoun, of those in Canada, General Murray, Lord Collie and Colonel Grant were respectively in command in the "indian Isles and Florida, and in 1763 three other Scots, Murray, Grant and Kelville were gazetted as colonial governors. In the navy Lord Colville and Sir James Douglas were eminent, and Major Monro was making a career in India. In lesser ranks, Scots names abounded, one list of sixteen gazette promotions, it was said, including eleven Stuarts and four Macenzies,—but that sounds a satiric invention by Wilkes.

Two Scots lawyers were distinguished and opprobrious. Mansfield was no without office, but was at the height of his professional fame. He had
2. Churchill's "Gotham" 1764.
attached himself to Bute, and libel suggested the common bond of Jacobite sympathy, a charge perennially raked up against Mansfield.

The other lawyer,

A part, prim, prater of the northern race,
Built in his heart and famine in his face—
was Alexander Wedderburn, returned to Parliament two years before, and uncouth, brusque, thrusting his way to the front.

In literature, the works causing most note were preponderantly those of Scots. Macpherson's "Fragments of Erse Poetry" had been printed in London in April, 1761, and in December his "Fingal." Macpherson had Bute's patronage, and "Fingal" was the success of the year. Home's three tragedies had been published in 1760, and Home awarded a pension. His place was high. Robertson's History was continuing to earn praises, and Bute had had him appointed a King's Chaplain in Scotland, and had written him that the King desired "a History of England by your pen." Hume, in less repute, was publishing in 1761 further volumes of his "History of England," and these and Kames' "Art of Thinking," Falconer's "Shipwreck" ('62), Islay's "Elvira," and "Truth in Rhyme" ('62) were all well in the forefront of English notice.

In art, Scots were prominent. The painter in highest repute at court was Allan Ramsay, who had painted Bute himself in '60. In aristocratic circles Catherine Read was one of the foremost miniature painters, commissioned for royal portraits. Robert Adam, the architect, was busy on important work on Government buildings in London, and on great country houses. Robert Mylne, fellow-Scot, had submitted in '60 the winning design for Blackfriars Bridge, and in spite of outcry, his work was going up.

"Turn where you would, the eye with Scots was caught"—was Churchill's irate summary.

Bute became Prime Minister in May, 1762, and for eleven turbulent months held that post.

From the first he was assailed by abuse. "The administration," wrote Walpole, "lets Lord Bute be abused every day, though he has not had time to do the least wrong." The knowledge that peace negotiations were pending added edge to attack, however, and Wilkes in the "North Briton" found no lack of material for his venomous pen. In November, the preliminary articles of peace were signed, and through November and December these were vehemently debated in Parliament. Ample ground now for attack on Bute, for the discrepancy between the terms offered by Britain and those she was in the strongest of positions to dictate was so glaring as to provoke the cry of treachery and betrayal. In spite of such cry, the general desire of inarticulate England was for peace, and thanks more to that than to Parliamentary oratory or bribery, peace was signed in February.

Bute, though hated more by the Whigs, was now stronger in position, and increased that strength by weeding out of post and preferment members of the Opposition. The outcry that came from that joined itself to a general attack on the Budget, which listed a loan of £7,000,000, and a very little later to that on a measure for levying an excise duty on cider. Bute forced through the measures, but the cider duty united the
1. Satiric prints had the theme:

Tho I am out, it's known for certain,
I prompt em still behind the curtain.

2. On this occasion, he attempted to escape attack by a tour abroad. "I have tried philosophy in vain, my dear Home", he wrote. "I cannot acquire callousit;"

Letter of 1768, July.

3. After his return attacks were as virulent. Townshend in 1771 Parliament openly inveighed against the Princess Dowager's "rule"—and Bute's influence.
Opposition, and he found himself in an untenable position, unsupported by his own cabinet, and unpopular beyond endurance. In April, he described his position as "single in a Cabinet of my own forming; no one in the House of Lords to support me except two peers; both the Secretaries of State silent, and the Lord Chief Justice, whom I brought myself into office voting for me yet speaking against me—the ground I tread upon is hollow." In that month he resigned.

After that a truce in the anti-Scot warfare might have been expected. But Bute continued to enjoy the King's confidence, and that perturbed his intervention was constantly expected or suspected. "The bugbear Scot behind the door cries 'Boh'". Twice his prescription was demanded. On the first occasion, ('65) he retired to the country, but returned in the following year. In '66 it was again demanded, and in the plainest terms insisted that he should never publicly or privately, directly or indirectly take any part in any Crown business. His brother and son-in-law were at the same time dismissed. Bute had lost by then the confidence of the King, but that was not popularly believed, and in the years that followed any advance of his family, as, for example, his brother's appointment as Lord Privy Seal for Scotland in '67, or any chance of his return to power, as Pitt's resignation in '68, was seized on for alarmist attacks against him. The burning of him in effigy, first done in the mid-fifties, and frequent both in England and America during the sixties, continued as late as 1771. Not until his permanent retirement to Hampshire in 1780, the year when Mrs Montagu reports him receiving fifty letters in a day vowing the destruction of his house, could English opinion allow itself to quieten.

The odium felt and expressed about him amazes the reader still by its virulence. In February '61, before his first important office of State had been gained, he wrote: "Most of our best authors are wholly devoted to me"). But before he had well entered the Premiership, the set of the pamphleteers were wholly against him, and for ten years the writing of Smollett, Murphy of "The Auditor", Dalrymple, and Macpherson and the drawing of Hogarth were painfully ineffective against Wilkes, Churchill, "anti-Sejanus", Junius, Shaw and Mason. These and a horde of anonymous "rub Street authors, with an occasional hack-writer of better repute like Almon, kept up a constant volley of satire.

The sharpest came at the beginning. Bute became First Lord of the Treasury at the end of May, 1762, and a pro-Government paper, "The Briton" as then started, with Smollett in charge. Wilkes, already an anonymous opponent of the King's Toryism, launched a week later "The North Briton". It began with the ironical pose of being written by a Scot, delighted at "the planting of a Scotsman at the head of the English treasury", at Scotland's contribution of a mere pittance to the cost of the recent war, at the numbers of Scots in high posts abroad, to list those in England would mean transcribing the Court and City Register. He defends this "grasp at all places of the highest honours and profit", amused only at the contrast with '66, when "the very name of a Scot was grown into hatred and contempt"; now "without having given any proof of a change of sentiments on our parts, we find ourselves are ads, respected and preferred". So to attacks on the rise of Bute, Stanfield and Houdoun, and the acclaim given "Fingal! The seventh num-
The seventh number, a second-sight lampoon, "The Nova Scotia Intelligencer" shows the sweep of anti-Scot attack, for jibes at Bute, Mansfield, Loudoun are followed by those at Home, Lauder, Power, Macpherson and Ramsay. By then the ironical has worn thin, and open attack begins. Bowell's skit on Scotland is resurrected; the Scots "pension-grabbers" are named and satirised; the Scots poets, in particular, derided in "The Poetry Professors" as pressing into England. —

Macpherson leads the flaming van,
Laird of the new Fingalian clan,
While Jacky Home brings up the rear
With new-got pension, neat and clear,
Three hundred English pounds a year,
While sister "eg, our ancient friend,
Sends Maes and Donalds without end.

As soon as the peace negotiations had given Wilkes and his colleague Churchill a handle for serious political attack, levity dropped. The 34th number came out with "a list of real, fair and substantial objections to the administration of this Scot". They were bluntly set out. "The first is that he is a Scot. In spite of all arguments, I am certain that reason could never believe that a Scot was fit to have the management of English affairs. There is something in the very thought which strikes disagreeable even before we are able to account for our disgust. A Scot hath no more right to preferment in England than a Hottentot in Holland; and though from the time that the Stuarts of over-odious memory first mounted the throne the Scots have over-run the land; yet the countenance shown them hath ever been attended with murmurs and discontent. Bute's partiality in the disposal of places is then attacked in full. After it the attack sweeps on to: "Besides the objection which lies against the minister from his being a Scot, from his glaring partiality to that nation and contempt of us; from his connexions with the old enemies of our constitution, and supercilious treatment of the true friends of it, from the doctrines of arbitrary power which seem once more to be walking abroad under his protection, our discontent is well grounded on the late inglorious peace" —

The most flagrantly insolent attack was in the 46th number, and was fore-runner to Bute's resignation. ("I cannot acquire callousity", wrote the tormented Bute to Home) Wilkes launched into a long tirade. The restless and turbulent disposition of the Scottish nation before the union, with their constant attachment to France and declared enmity to England, their repeated perfidies and rebellions since that period, with their servile behaviour in time of need, and overbearing insolence in power have justly rendered the very name of Scot hateful to every true Englishman. The mean arts by which the present minister acquired his power, the long and dark schemes of dissimulation which he ran through for the sake of greatness, with the open and insolent outrages he hath committed since his accession to it, —the little capacity which he hath shown for business, the inglorious peace which he hath patched up, and thereby he hath sacrificed the glory and interests of this country to his own private ambition; his contempt of the English nobles, his gross partiality to his own beggarly countrymen; his virulence against all who will not slavishly comply with his destructive measures — and with merciless stridency he continues to abuse "this proud Scot", "this up-
start Scot", who "lords it uncontrolled over such a nation as this". The number ended with the announcement in large type:—"John, Earl of Bute resigned on the Friday following". All that remained was for Wilkes to congratulate himself on "his opposition to a single, insolent, incapable, despotic minister".

A second government paper, "The Briton", directed by Murphy had been started a week after "The North Briton". The latter drove both it and "the Briton" off the field within two months. Wilkes had by then enlisted the aid of the poet Churchill, who had hitherto satirised only the Scots of the Critical Review, Smollett, and Hamilton, and in flying wedges, Ross the actor, and the Highland clans. As collaborator with Wilkes, his satire became more political and more mordant. In January, '63, at the height of the uproar against Bute's pros of peace, "The Prophecy of Famine, a Scots Pastoral" appeared, the crowning satiric achievement of the period. It had nothing of the angry fury of Wilkes or of the earlier Cleveland. With a polished yet stinging derision, Churchill redrew the familiar satiric outlines of Scotland, barren, and famine-stricken, and the grisly figure of Famine comforting the cowering tatterdemalions of a mountain cave there. England is to be delivered into their clutches.

Their noblest limbs of council will disjoint,
And mocking, new ones of our own appoint.
Devouring war, imprisoned in the North,
 Shall at our call in horrid pomp break forth.—
She offers them the "full promise of a better land".
Hers all the toil, and all the profit ours.

This little eclogue, so skilfully pencilled as to extort admiration as tribute, had as prelude an ironical acknowledgment of what Scotland had given to England:

"Faith without fraud, and Stuarts without end."
and the work of the poets, Home, Ramsay, Macpherson, Melcho.
Thence simple bards by simple prudence taught,
To this wise town by simple patrons brought,
In simple manner, utter simple lays,
And take with simple pensions simple praise.

and a cutting epilogue, an attack on Bute.

Its gay and mocking malice delighted London, and it probably did more to discredit the Scots than the yelping hue and cry of the minor journалиsts and the Grub Street hacks. The volume of sound from these was deafening. Wilkes' "North Briton" had as ally "The Monitor", started in May, '62, and it had given rise to three other new papers. In addition, there were rushed out "John English's Travels through Scotland", "Invincible Reasons for the Earl of Bute's Immediate Resignation", "An Epistle to Lord Bute", "The Minister of State", "A Serious Address to the Vulgar", "An Enquiry how far Lord Bute merits the exalted character given him by the "Briton"", "An Ode to Lord Bute on the Peace", "The Favourite, a political Episode", "The New Highland Adventurer", "Le Montagnard Farven", "A Review of Lord Bute's Administration", "The Royal Favourite, a Poem", "Wishal, an Hyperborean Tale", "The Scots Tragedy", "Serious Thoughts on the ingratitude and injustice of the opposition against Lord Bute" (ironical), "The Blessings of Peace and a Scotch Excise", etc.
1. similar letters by "Britannicus", an occasional tramp of type of "The Appeal of Reason to the People of England" 1763, or ironical poem like "The Menace".

2. first proposal in Edinburgh Weekly Journal 1763

3. Feb 1763

4. Nov: 1763

and others innumerable. Even more popular were the collections of anti-Bute and anti-Scott ballads and satirical prints. Two of these, "The Scots' Scourge, or the British antidote to Caledonian poison", and "The Butian, or Political Register", volumes crammed with broadside stuff of the type of "England's Scotch Friend, by Samuel Mackstuart", "The State Quack", "The Haed of the Boot", "When Scottish oppression reared up its damned head", and, an occasional neat parody, and with fifty crude and often indecent cartoons apiece against the Scots and Bute, had a tremendous sale, and pirated imitations.

On one point, all satirists, major or minor, concurred, that there need be no limits to the vituperation. All sorts of libels were raked up, and presented in forms old and new. Epigram, broadside, open letter, pamphlet, mock ode, parody, allegoric tale, political comedy, even picaresque all were used against the hated "Jack Boot" and his fellow-countrymen.

On the pro-Scott side there is almost nothing to place. The "Briton's" sturdy but dull arguments "that a native of Scotland, whose name is Stuart may for all that be a virtuous man and an able minister" 'cut no ice', nor did the letters that appeared now and then signed "Scotland" and the like, or the earnest "North Briton Extraordinary", ascribed to Boswell. Hogarth drew a venomous portrait of Wilkes; and one of Churchill's, but that was poor rejoinder, in Englishman proposed to make a counter-attack from the north, by a paper "The South Briton", and two numbers of that, the first largely a tirade against Wilkes, appeared. The critical and the Monthly Reviews entered protests against "The Prophecy of Famine", the former acknowledging its merit as a poem but remarking sincerely "we take no pleasure in the cruel sport"; the latter striking a pose of virtuous distress: "What a scurrilous age do we live in! That in the name of common sense, of common decency hath occasioned the literary civil was lately proclaimed?", and after whetting the reader's appetite, quoting liberally from the poem.

Only three essays at retaliation from the Scots side had any force. "Rondo, or the State Jugglers criticized", published on the heels of the "Prophecy" tried to chastise Wilkes and Churchill. It was Audibristic stuff, coarse and only occasionally biting:

"When knowledge, courage, sense, and worth,
Were first defined by South and North"

A second political squib, "Patriotism, a Farce", satirised the same two, and Lord Hardwicke, the last speaking for all in "A Scot in favour, I hate the very name more than I do the devil". Its one amusing jibe is at Wilkes composing a "North Briton" with the aid of his Political Dictionary, where under Scot came Scottish favour, faction, Jacobites, harpies, under Despotic, Power, Highland chiefs, tyranny, Stuart, hated name of Stuart, etc.

The third effort is rather a vindication than a counterattack. The poet Banghorne dedicated an earnest eulogy, "Genius and Valour, a Pastoral Poem", written in honour of a Sister-Kingdom" to the Earl of Bute. For Churchill's frozen landscape he substituted the elegances of "Awek's fair plains", and "Yarrow's banks or groves of Endermey"; for Jockey and Sawney, Amyntor and a chorus of shepherds; and these sing Scotland's valour.

Wisth'd once more by recent heaps of slain,
On Canada's wild hills and Minden's plain.
1. 1761
2. Feb 1764.
3. Feb 1764—but first art written in or before '56
4. ——Scots, a fatal race,
   Whom God in wrath contrived to place
   To scourge our crimes and gall our pride,
   A constant thorn in England's side
   Whom first our greatness to oppose,
   He in his vengeance marked for foes;
   Then more to serve his wrathful ends
   And more to curse or marked for friends"—
5. 1764
6. 1764
7. Sept: 1764.
and traced her literary past,—James I., Dunbar, Henryson, Bellenden, Scott,
Yet still the muse's living sounds pervade
Her ancient scenes of Cladonian shade.
and two modern poets are praised, Thomson and Ogilvie, innocuous choice

How great a novelty it was for an Englishman either to show any knowledge of early Scots poets, or to praise Scots prowess and genius is seen from the reception of the pastoral, summed up in the Critical Review's query whether the poem were really by an Englishman. It was certainly a remarkably courageous poem to have issued then, and deserved for its courage alone the degree Edinburgh University awarded its author. No ulterior motive was apparent, for Bute, its dedicatee, was by then "the setting sun", as the Monthly Review pointed out.

It was not a poem on a popular enough plane, however, to stem the anti-Scot flood of abuse. Two months after it, the "North Briton" came out in volume form, and only the Critical Review, in praising their Justice real hit of the papers challenged their justice and their charges. The volume sold well. Since the prosecution of hit on his 45th North Briton, in which the Treaty of Uxley was called "the most concurred instance of ministerial effrontery", and his arrest without a warrant, he had been regarded as victimized, and his stocks rose in consequence. In the following February he was tried by Mansfield for libel, and the latter, by reserving the question of libel for his own decision secured his conviction. Further sympathy against this 'Scotch persecution' was thus worked up.

Churchill, meanwhile, had jibes at the nation in every poem he wrote. In "The Author" he re-attacked Smollett and Guthrie; in "Gotham", "the Stuarts' tyrant race", and denounced violently the four kings. In "The Ghost" he made his most virulent attack on Scots impostors Campbell and Lauder, on Scots poets, Mallet, Home and Mac herson, on Pater son and Mylne the architects of Blackfriars Bridge, on Mansfield and Bute and all their suspect race.

Those countrymen who from the first,
In tumults and rebellion nursed,
Were they wear the mask of art,
Still love a Stuarts in their heart.

"The Candidate" harped on the old grudge:—
Scot with Scot in damned close intrigues,
Against the commonwealth of letters leagues.

"The Farewell" aired his contempt of 'barren Scotland'. His final poem
"Independence" reverted jeeringly to the "prostituted" bards:—
If fashionable grown and fond of power—
Let them dance fairy-like round Osian's tomb,
Let them forge lies and histories for Hume,
Let them with Hume, the very prince of verse,
Make something like a tragedy in Erse;—
—let them plain things obscure,
With phrases strange, and dialect decreed
By reason never to have passed the Tweed"—
Churchill was dead two months later, and Scotland had lost one of its most telling satirists. He was to the 18th century what Cleveland had
1. Carlyle's "Autobiography".
2. Quoted in Scots Mag: June '63.
4. H. Bleackley's "John Wilkes".
5. See however the charge made in "A Mirror for the Multitude, or Wilkes and his Abettors" Glasgow 1770—that W. "took up the pen of calumny because a certain nobleman of Scots extraction was supposed to be concerned in preventing this worthy gentleman from having a lucrative employment under the government which he had applied for".
6. 1764
been to the 17th, and that in lesser degree Croxland was to the 19th. Comparing his satire with that of Cleveland, he is Pope to the latter's. Dryden, more suave, trusting more to a seething irony and di-sision, without Cleveland's clamorous raging, but with a repressed virulence that was air" more effective. His Scots-phobia was a thing acquired; Scots supremacy, after the stage, was the most fertile field for the satirist with a living to earn. His experience in the literary world confirmed his dislike, however, and led to those gratuitous thrusts of malice, such as greasing his little son in Highland costume, and bidding him say: "Sir, my father hates the Scotch and does it to plague them." The actual stuff of his attacks was not new, but his fertile imagination and gift of phrase tricked them out for new admiration, and the extent of Scots offence, - increased and become more definite since Cleveland's day - gave him his chance as more versatile satirist.

In spite of his malice, there is more laughter behind Churchill's verse, than behind Wilkes' prose. The latter, too, had an acquired phobia. Student friendships with Scots, visits to Inverary, a letter as late as 1758: "I shall certainly do myself the pleasure of spending great part of this summer in Scotland. I love the people for their hospitality and friendship, as much as I admire them for their strong manly sense, erudition and excellent taste. I never was happier than when in Scotland last, and I shall never be so deficient in gratitude not to have the greatest respect for the people and country." - confirms the evidence that only party preference dictated his abuse. One Scot, in a cool but trenchant letter "to the North Briton" hit off his motives. "You have gained more by railing at Scotland for one year, than you would have got by serving England all your life." He would have been the first to admit it, and laughed later with "cattie over" his pretended aversion to Scotland." Yet his satire was poisonous in its effect during the sixties, as a later tracing of its influence on literature shows.

The "North Briton" was silenced, the 45th number burnt by the hangman, (that worthy grumbling that he would rather hang twenty North Britons than burn one!) Churchill was dead. Yet the tide of anti-Scott satire swept on. Macklin presented in Dublin in that year the most mordant stage attack on the Scot that had yet been made, "The True-born Scotchman," later produced in London as "The Man of the World". Sir Pertinax MacSycophant, Sir Partinax MacSycophant, "is part of an exposure of the self-seeking, unprincipled, place-hunting Scot." Amiable reclusibility of aspect, a modest cadence of body, and a conciliating cooperation of the whole man - this, Sir, is that I never once omitted for these five and thirty years - let who would be minister." He recalls his own rise in Parliament: "Sir, I bowed and watched and hearkened and ran about - and dangled upon the then great man till I got intill the vay bowels of his confidence, - and then, Sir, I wriggled and wrought and wriggled - hes - I got my snack of the clothing, the foraging, the contracts, the lottery tickets, etc., at the political bonuses - and was nae that bowing to some purpose?" This course he recommends to his honest son, Charles, whose scruples over conscience and patriotism provoke his father to condemn the one as "an unparliamentary word", the other as vulgar intemperance. His own
Lady Catheri e Goldstream.

2. Lady Lochiel

3. 1770.

4. 1785-66.

5. Shaw's was one of the quoted epigrams against Bute:

The Power of Women, Exemplified in Lord B—

Undone by women, faithful records tell,
That heroes perished, and what monarchs fell;
From fame, from fortune, and from glory hurled,
Charles lost a crown and Anthony a world.
B-te, B-te, alone by female influence reigns
And holds a nation and their——— in chains.
for political methods are illustrated; a sergeant "A little flattery, mix with the finesse of a gilded promise, and a quantum sufficit of the surm pulseable"; for electioneers, twenty guineas for a periwig, a hat-"Caw this a bribe? ainly generosity on the one side and gratitude on the other".

Sir Pertonax and his "short system of worldly counsel", and his monologues of self-exposure are the play. The romance plot of Charles and his scandal-attacked Constantia brings in another Scots character, Lady Rodolpha Lumberecourt, a coarse, stupid and loud-tongued snob, given to talk of "aw the Canaille", and to hymn Edinburgh's reflecions of "collops, haggis, and a guid swig of whisky punch". She was a type imitated frequently in later plays, in Foote's "Maid of Bath"; in "The Nabob" and in "The Trip to Portsmouth" for instance.

Macklin, like Wilkes and Churchill, had already found anti-Scot satire a profitable concern. His "Love a la Mode" had run so well, that Garrick tried to secure it, and a pirate company eventually took it round the provinces. The True-born Scotchman was a success in Dublin, but it was too outspoken to take to London then. Not till '79 did Macklin try to have it licensed, but he failed. The play was "seasoned too highly respecting venality", after appeals and some cuts the comedy was produced at the end of the season '81, and Kirkman vouches for it being "represented very often the ensuing season to great houses".

Macklin, as a centenarian was still repeating his success as Sir Pertonax. The relish for satire of the Scot was never lost.

In verse, Churchill's lead against the Scots poets and critics was followed by Cuthbert Shaw in his poem "The Race". Here were derided "the Eremites of the critic race", "Tremendous Hamilton" and his Grub Street band,

From Glasgow, Edinburgh, Aberdeen,
A troop of lairds wi scraps of Latin hung,
Who came to teach John Bull his mother tongue.
Poor John! who must not judge what he read,
But wait for sentence from these sons of Tweed.-

Armstrong and Snell, Smollett, who
To reach thy temple, honour'd Fame, he cry'd,
Where, where's an avenue I have not tried?-

Macpherson,-

Array'd in brogues and Caledonian plaid—
each was in turn the butt for Shaw's wit, such as it was. The poem was popular enough to run to a second edition within a year. Shortly after its issue came a reprint of "The North Briton". Its author was still abroad, but his sentence of outlawry expired in the following year,—the year when Stuart Mackenzie, Bute's brother, became Lord Privy Seal for Scotland, and anti-Scotinus launched attacks on Bute as "a man who had neither abilities nor personal interests nor even personal courage—a notorious coward, skulking under a petticoat, to make a great nation the prey of his avarice and ambition". By '68 Wilkes was head ing again the popular anti-Bute clamour that broke out on Pitt's resignation. Wilkesite mobs stoned Bute's house. In the suppression of rioting in St George's Fields, a Scots soldier unluckily killed an Englishman. Immediately there was furious anti-Scot shouting in the press. A second reprint of the "North Briton" was called for.
In this unlucky fashion, no year brought truce to attack on the northern nation, and relations between the two countries continued to be inimical.

When Bute was abroad in 1770, Mansfield drew popular odium on himself by his decisions as regards libels, and by his arbitrary rulings in the Wilkes trials. He was suspected openly of being a more dangerous supporter of 'prerogative' exerted through the law, than even Bute. His opposition to the repeal of the Stamp Act gave further ground for this. In two cases he supported unpopular religious denominations, a Roman Catholic prosecution, and one of a dissenter Evans. Further, though he had convicted Wilkes in spite of the flaw of an arrest sans warrant, he himself saw to it that in 'ilkes' absence that flaw was amended. The latter naturally raised the profitable cry that Mansfield was playing fast and loose with the English laws. That accusation was repeated by 'Junius' in 1770, when Mansfield made his disliked ruling on libels. Junius summed up his offences in three letters, numbers 51, 65, 68, accusing him of partiality in two cases where the criminals were Scots, and in general impugning both his legal and ministerial record. 'I see through your whole life one uniform plan, to enlarge the power of the Crown at the expense of the liberty of the subject'. Even Walpole, an early admirer, wrote now of his 'daring attempts—to stifle the liberty of the press'.

Mansfield's odium in Whig quarters increased during the American War, as did that of the Scots peers, for all believed firmly in a coercive policy; and in religious quarters his support of the Roman Catholic relief Bill was anathema. He conducted the Douglas case, and was attacked for his part; he tried Lord George Gordon, and in the riots that ensued his house was sacked and burnt. Not till his retirement from politics in '84 did he cease to arouse English antipathies.

These individual cases and personal factors are not too trivial to be reckoned, for they bulked large in popular opinion. In one unfortunate respect, one may add, Bute, Mansfield and Boughborough were alike, in a personal unattractiveness of manner. Bute was haughty and cold outside his own group, and inadaptable in his touch with the English peers in general; Mansfield was urbane but reserved and aloof, and Boughborough "a coarse dog". And so bitter was general feeling that charges once made were rarely dropped. Sir Gilbert Elliot, for example was never forgiven for his ten-year-old son's Army commission, and that counted against him in the seventies, when he and Mansfield were two of the King's most confidential advisers.

None of the Scots men of letters living in London were popular, or escaped satire, and none ascended themselves among English poets as them son had done. Boswell was the happiest in his position, and yet few were more constantly twitted. Sir John Pringle, made President of the Royal Society in 1772, had his share of jibes, and Sir John Dalrymple brought a last muster of anti-Scott pamphlets by the issue of his 'Memoirs' in '73. He wrote too favourably of James I for Whig tastes, and exposed the St Germain's intrigues of some of the great Whig families. A howl of execration went up. As Walpole wrote: "It has reopened all the mouths of clamour"; and he added—"The 'Heroic Epistle' arrived in the critical minute to furnish clamour with quotations".

This last was the satiric "Heroic Epistle to Sir William Chambers",
1. Feb 1774
2. May 1776
3. 1777
4. 1778.
5. 1773
issued anonymously in February, '73, but known now to be by Walpole's friend, Mason. It was an amusing skit on Chambers' new craze for Chinese landscape-gardening, but its chief sting was in the incidental satire of Hume, Home, Bute, "Mac-Oseian", Mallet and Mansfield. This was so well received, running into fifteen editions within two years, that Mason continued the sport in "An Heroic Postscript", which had hits at "Mac-Homer" again, and at Pringle; an "Ode to Mr Pinchbeck, by Malcolm McGregor" (a slant at Mallet) which satirises Macpherson and Dalrymple; an "Epistle to Mr Shebbeare", again jibing at Mansfield, Dalrymple, and "the wretched Scot" generally; and an "Imitation of Horace", which attacked Macpherson in passing. Mason's satires were light but keen, and Hume and Mansfield, Pringle and Macpherson are made to feel their shrewdness, Hume's "see-saw Sceptic scruples", Mansfield's "Hang the knife without a jury", Pringle's weakening in Newton's chair, "wonders how the devil he came there", Macpherson's "geblabbing of base"—all were popularly quoted. But Mason's jibes are mild in comparison with the virulent prose and letters that Walpole added. The latter, from being an early champion of the Scots, and inclined to boast of his connection with the Campbell family, had now become the most bitter of opponents. He makes remonstrances on all the Scots writers; Hume "pensioned by George III whether for writing for the Stuarts or against Religion is uncertain"; Mansfield's "Invertacity to the inestimable mode of Trial by Juries will be known as long as his name is recorded. Nothing, but his cowardice preserved him from being as criminal as Jeffries"; Dalrymple and Macpherson are "assassins—pensioners of Lord Bute and Lord Mansfield, debauched from the pay of booksellers, and handed down from the pillory to wage war on the Laws and Common Sense". Even the Adams brothers have their buildings "delphi attacked as a monument of their bad taste", and the government lottery in aid, "a notorious Cheat". But such remonstrance was now growing exceptional. Mason's verse was entertaining enough for even Scots to enjoy, as many enjoyed "Love a la Mode", and one other satirist has a cool and temperate delicacy, far more effective than Walpole's angry hatred. This was the anonymous author who on the peg of a Dalrymple remark that the genius of nations depends on the national food, strung an ironical "Essay on the Hand of Producing Moral Effects from Physical Causes".

Its sallies ranged from those against Hume, "by whose writings the hypocrisy of religion is effaced from the clergy north of Tweed", to ironical repudiations of the Scot-haters' charges; a Scot partial to his own race? it is almost impossible to keep a Scot in his own country; Scots inseparably attached to the Stuart family? "rebellion hath been the principle and practice of the Scottish nation for two thousand years; and so forth. Its main proposal was the erection of colleges on the Border, where all Scots immigrants were to be schooled to become indistinguishable from Englishmen, and when these "nobility, lairds, gentry, practitioners in physic and surgery, authors, pedlars, gardeners" had lost their native accent, their passage south was to be permitted. The deduction was obvious.

Meanwhile the major stage comedies were using the Scot as comic matter almost ad nauseam. The actor and farce-writer, Foote, had twice taken companies on tour into Scotland, and there had probably acquired the accent
1. 1762
2 1765
3. 1771
4. 1772
5. 1766
6. 1768
7. 1776
8. 1752
9. 1753
10. 1768
11. 1772
12. 1772
13. written 1771 but rejected later
14 and 15. 1763
16. 1764
17. or The World as it goes 1771.
18 Dr Dodd.
and 'gags' for those Scottish parts in later comedies, for Donald Mcgregor in that skit on Sheridan and the Select Society, "The Orators," for example, for Dolly's part in "The Commissary," Dolly posing as a broad-speaking Scots heiress, the 140th lineal descendant from -- the Earl of Glendower, for Lady Catherine Coldstream in "The Maid of Bath" whose father was so unsavoury as to gang out with Charley in the '45. Two types become familiar, the uncoth Scots heiresses, or coarse-tongued Scots dowagers, seen in the plays quoted, in Lady Lochiel of the "Trip to Portsmouth," and in Ainsley's "New Bath Guide" -- Lady Pandora Macscurvy; and the Scots doctor, revived, again from seventeenth century days but in coarse realistic vein, as Johnny Macpherson in "The Devil upon two Sticks," and David Macchoof in "The Spleen of Islington Spa." Neither sketch is more than rough force, a collection of familiar sar¬camses, in Macpherson's case at Scots clannishness and poverty, and Universities with Chairs at "sex pond British a year," in Macchoof's at not¬trums called "The Universal Remedy," the "Grand Specifick," curative for "what diseases - you think the most popular."

Nothing in dialect was still regarded as a bright joke, and so the lingo passing as such was used often in prologues and epilogues, as in "The Constant Lovers," "The Englishman in Paris," "False Delicacy," "The Jabob," Colman's "Occasional Prelude," and even Goldsmith intended an epilogue to "She Stoops to Conquer," in which Miss Yetley was to make a bid for Scots applause in a Scots di tity:

---

Give me my bonny Scot that travels fra the Tweed,--
There are the chiel! Oh, ah, I well discern,
The smiling looks of each bewitching bairn!---

The novel, finally, added its satiric quota.

Bute inspired short picaresque tales, some not much more than political skits such as "Gisbal, an Hyperborean Tale," a Biblical parody, and "Le Montegnand Parvenu; or The New Highland Adventurer in England," whose subtitle, "His accidental Rise from Obscurity, His Wearing Progress to Power," etc. shows its drift. "Written in the spirit of pure Billingsgate" was the verdict of the Monthly Review on more than one of these, and the same can be said of larger efforts, "The True-born Scot" of '64 and "The Rise and Surprising Advantages of Donald MacGregor," the latter of these having as central figure an unscrupulous City broker, but ending in an overt attack on Bute.

The bluntest satire by a novelist of any reputable standing was that of Freyssac de Vergy's "The Scotchman," a prose "Man of the World," in it the self-seeking unprincipled Scot, McIntosh, instructs his son in the arts of advancement. "I have told you the power of gold and not spoke of those of a noble assurance; as you are a Scotchman I thought it me needless. Fortune, which gave riches to England, endowed us with a natural unblushing physiognomy and a philosophic insensibility for affronts. We easily creep into the first places of their government, and by obeying implicitly, right or wrong, the ministerial mandates, possess the advantages they were born to enjoy" -- so as late as 81 Bute sets the model for villain. Dodd's Joseph Dockalb, of "The Sisters" is a Scot, starving "amidst the black mountains" until brought to London where "his race seldom failed of good encouragement there." By his "supple insinuating ways" he becomes valet to "that great Scotch nobleman, the corrupt Lord ----". His villainous machinations are then retailed, and Dodd sees to it that he ends on the gallows.
1. Paralleled by the popular jibe that "the isle of contributed £3/9d to the revenue, subject to deductions"

2. Fitzmaurice's Shelleburne.

3. Smollett, in his "Continuation of the History of England" vol. 2, 1766, analyses "the common grudge against the Scot, felt by the English, and ends "in a word the English people looked upon them with a evil eye, as interlopers in commerce and competition for reputation. It was not without murmuring they had seen them aspire to the first offices in the law, the army and the navy; but they were exasperated to find a Scot at the head of the English Treasury, and the chief administration of the Kingdom in his hands.

Writers in the opposition revived and retailed with peculiar virulence all the calumnies ancient and modern that ever had been uttered against the Scottish nation; some of them so gross and absurd that they could not possibly obtain credit except among the very dregs of the public. They enlarged upon their craft, dissimulation, deceit and national partiality. They demonstrated the danger of acquiescing under the government of a North Briton, a Stuart. These reinforced with feigned circumstances and forged lists of North Britons gratified with pensions, appointed to places or promoted in the service; till at length the populace were incensed and impelled even to the verge of insurrection"
For twenty years, then, from 1760-1780, satire against the Scot flows practically uninterruptedly, in verse, in pamphlet, on the stage and in the novel.

It is not a mere pandemonium of "aw the Canaille". In society these twenty years were the great age of the anti-Scot bon mot. Examples of these scarcely stand being listed and annotated in cold blood. The best are in Boswell's pages, and record Wilkes and Johnson, Garrick and Goldsmith at their wit's best, on "the noblest prospect from Scotland", on "the immense booty which hurst carried off by the complete plunder of seven Scotch isles: he re-embarked with 3/6", on "it is not so much to be lamented that Old England is lost, as that the Scotch have found it", or Foote's "The Irish take us all in, and the Scots turn us all out".

It was also the period of the most acid sayings against the Scots, as witness Walpole's "What a nation is Scotland, in every reign engendering traitors to the State, and false and pernicious to the kings that favour it most"; Shelburne's "I can scarce conceive a Scotchman capable of liberality and capable of impartiality"; "a sad set of innate, cold-hearted, impudent rogues"; Admiral Boscawen's dictum that the Scots were good soles but "bad upper leather", Johnson's that all Scotland had been sunk in barbarism before the Union, their tables were as coarse as the feasts of Esquimaux, and their houses filthy as the cottages of cottentots". Even the King came to write "I doubt all Scots", and Johnson expressed the same in fifty different ways.

There was a reprint of old satires such as Weldon's and Cleveland's, and the raking up of old charges of selling Charles I, for instance-and of old nicknames, like Sawney. English opinion was heated enough to take seriously, and to listen in Parliament to, talk of the boycotting of Scots as foreigners. The Duke of Bedford argued on that ground the ineligibility of Porrester as Speaker of the House of Commons, and Walpole similarly opposed Sir Gilbert Elliot's candidature.

Not since Civil War days had there been such a shouting by London mobs of anti-Scot slogans, or such an issue of satiric prints. Nor was this feeling confined to London. Humphrey Clinker's party found "from Doncaster northwards all the windows of all the inns are scrawled with doggerel rhymes in abuse of the Scotch nation". Lismahago's comment was that a collection of these, under the title of "The Glazier's Triumph over Sawney the Scot" "was be a vara agreeable offering to the patriots of London and Westminster".

So far only the adverse side of international relations has been traced, and neither the co-operative work, the Southern encouragements, or the full list of pro-Scot tributes given; and it may be argued that it is unwise to consider in isolation this adverse side, as putting it out of perspective, and crediting it with a seriousness that much of the satire was never meant to be given.

On the score of seriousness, one concession has to be made. Wilkes, it is said was asked by Lord Sheffield why he hated Bute. "Hate him? No such thing! I had no dislike to him as a man, and I thought him a good minister, but it was my game to attack and abuse him". (If that was so,
the break with his Scots friends, and the two attempts of "cots to kill him made the game a costly one. In Churchill's case, the dressing of his younger "to plague the Scotch" has a childish teasing malice about it, not a serious one. And no one can read Johnson with out the conviction that Scot-baiting was an intellectual sport with him, and contempt for the Scot innate, but not hatred...as in earlier years, too, many paradised a dislike of the Scot affectedly, as mark of a mental superiority to people branded by "a ferocious and disson ant pronunciation, a most inaccurate and vicious phraseology, — manners most offensively different". Yet if a part-acquittal on the grounds of pose or party-necessity can be made now, was it evident then? Did Scots take the satire as jest, and disregard it? That case can hardly be made. No man had a sharper sense of humour than Hume, and none shows more the keen hurt of that satire. Scotland knew of it, was sensitive to it, and flinched over it. That stammered apology of Boswell's, on first meeting Dr Johnson, "I do indeed come from Scotland, but I cannot help it!, was not made as an ingratiating jest; the year was '63, and Johnson's prejudice, like London's, a thing notorious. And while Boswell eventually ceased to feel kept at arm's length by that prejudice, other Scots did not, for Boswell tells of the dinner of "eminent Scotch literati" he had arranged for Johnson in '66, (the year when his anti-Scot bias "appeared remarkably strong") and at it Robertson, Blair, Douglas and the others "hardly opened their lips".

Any northerner less of a "burr" than Boswell, could never have endured so unresentfully the anti-Scot atmosphere of London's literary circles. Johnson, Goldsmith, Garrick, Wilkes, Mason, Walpole were all men who counted in society, and these seized every chance of twitting the Scots. Wilkes' reasons have been given. Goldsmith had like Johnson a born "imperfect sympathy", for as early as his student days in Edinburgh he had grumbled at "this unfruitful country", "the same dismal landscape", and "a Scotchman is one of the proudest things alive". Literary work later brought him foul of Smollett and the Critical Review. His critiques of Scots books were generally adverse, a civil and patronising damning, and his "Citizen of the World" has its skit on "Scotch news". Two of his poems, "The Haunch of Venison", and "Retaliation" satirise Macpherson:-

Macpherson write Bombast and call it a style—

And Scots literary impostors:-

New Landers and Bowers the Tweed shall cross over,—

—And Scotchman meet Scotchman and cheat in the dark—

And in Johnson's circle, some of the best of the sallies against the race were his.

Johnson's own dislike defies analysis, for it is self-contradictory and crotchety. Like Clarendon, he felt it to his honour to attack; "this he used to vindicate as a duty", said Reynolds. Boswell suggested various reasons: Johnson accepted them all. "Old Mr Sheridan says it was because they sold Charles I?". "Then, Sir, old Mr Sheridan has found out a very good reason". Boswell's final summary was: "If he was particularly prejudiced against the Scots, it was because they were
more in his way; because he thought their success in England rather
exceeded the due proportion of their real merit; and because he could
not but see in them that nationality which I believe no liberal-minded
Scotchman will deny". Johnson's own dicta bears that out. "You
know, Sir, that no Scotchman publishes a book or has a play brought
upon the stage but there are five hundred people ready to applaud
him"; and he criticised Bute for his "undue partiality to Scotchmen",
although he had subscribed a flattering poem to Mallet's "Truth in
Rhyme", and had received a pension.

His gruff contempt for the race as a whole, for the country, its learning,
its men of letters, (with a few exceptions, Buchanan, Ruddiman etc)
ofset by a particularly hearty dislike of others) its religion and
its culture existed side by side, however, with a liking for the com-
pany of Boswell, (no more thorough Scot in London) and the encourage-
ment of him in all kinds of patriotic work (a history of the '45, one
of James IV and what not,) a respect for the Scots booksellers he
dealt with, Millar and Strahan, and for the five Scots amanuenses of
his Dictionary, a friendship and liking for Ramsay, Mickle, Beattie and
others, a romantic admiration for the Highland chief of the past and
for the Erse language, a romantic conception of the Hebrides. Yet he
allowed no praise of Scotland to pass unscathed in his presence
and led any sarcastic rallies with infinite gusto.

As for the others, Mason, Walpole and the minions, dislike of Scotland
acquired from various sources, the hatred of rule by "the King's Friends",
the conviction that Scotch predominance was fatal to the English con-
stitution, since "Scots ever intoxicated with the slavish doctrines of
the absolute, independent and unlimited power of the crown", the
Scottish support of a coercive policy towards America, the unpopular
legal rulings of Mansfield, the challenge to English literary stand-
ards of the enthusiastic praising of "Douglas", "Ossian" and the rest,
the religious discredit of Deism and of "atheist Hume", and the char-
ge of impostor levelled at Macpherson.

One question obtrudes itself, that can only be partly answered here,
and partly when the reactions in Scots literature are dealt with.
How far was the Scots abuse deserved?
Briefly, the obloquy of Bute was indefensible. He had less influence
over the King than was then believed, and made no fatal use of pre-
rogative. That rule by the "King's Friends" was pernicious undoubted-
ly, but these friends were neither all Scots nor Jacobite-tainted.
His pensioning of Scots writers was a fact, and despicable where it
was done, as in Robertson's case, to gain his pen ("I have laid the
foundations for gaining Robertson by employing him for the King in
writing the History of England") or as in Mallet's as reward of gross
flattery. But as excuse it might be recalled that pensions also went
to Sheridan and Johnson, and by past Prime Ministers had never been
awarded with any impecunious integrity. Boswell's naive remark on Sher-
dian's pension—"Johnson" should have recollected that Mr Sheridan
taught pronunciation to Mr Alexander Wedderburne whose sister was
married to Sir Harry Erskine, an intimate friend of Lord Bute, who was
the favourite of the King; and surely the most outrageous Whig will
not maintain that whatever ought to be the principle in the disposal
of offices, a pension ought never to be granted from any bias of cou-
nection".
may, as regards the last phrase, have been the ruling of the times. The outcry against Mansfield was almost entirely indefensible too, and in spite of Walpole's jibe he has never been placed beside Jeffries.

The accusation of clannishness and national partiality is, on the other hand, true. Bute's intimacy with Macpherson, Home, Wedderburne, Elliot, and through these with Ramsay and the Adam brothers, the close grouping of the Scots in Edinburgh and the consequent continuation of those links in London, the constant signs of Scot advancing Scot, Home having Ferguson appointed tutor to Bute's sons, Hume securing for Smollett the respite of a post abroad, Bute creating a new Scots office for Robertson, Hamilton employing Smollett on his "Critical Review" are all signs of it. At Court, Bute appointed a Scot King's Physician; Ramsay and not Reynolds was the Court painter, Oswald and not Arne the Queen's Musician. On his retirement, pensions and posts went to six of his relatives, and to three Scots colleagues, and Home for one solicited his Campvere sinecure even after the £300 pension, and was granted it.

The military promotion of Scots was also a fact, but a natural consequence of Scots regiments being put to the fullest use in the wars abroad, given costly enterprises, and so the rewards of preferment. And the presence of Scots in high office was undeniable, but with the exception of Macpherson there is no proof of undeserved advance, or of scandalous "misfits". The clamour came from England's basis of calculation, that as Scotland paid only 1/40th of the national taxes, it ought to have only that proportion of the nation's offices. But "it would surely be illiberal to maintain that they have not an equal title with the natives of any other part of his Majesty's dominions" was the Scots standpoint.

Individual successes, as Mylne's winning of the Blackfriar's Bridge work or the Adam brothers undertaking the Delphi buildings, employing Scots workmen, and being helped out of financial straits by a government lottery—all topics that roused angry talk in London—were wrongly imputed to national partiality.

Where the English had chief and ample ground for dislike, was in the tone of Scots in London, especially towards English preferment. As concrete illustration, recall Boswell's admiring description of how the rough-voiced and 'pushing' Alexander Wedderburn of Edinburgh became Lord Loughborough of London; the whole account grates, and particularly so Boswell's triumphant comment: "This remarkable instance of successful parts and assiduity—affords animating encouragement to other gentlemen of North Britain to try their fortunes in the southern part of the island, where they may hope to gratify their utmost ambition."

That note, and the one so prominent in Hume, Smollett, Boswell of a national complacency, understandable from the Scots side as a healthy 'young' election over first success, but from the English side upstart and smug, must have been exasperating for English nerves; so, too, the seeming arrogance of Scots criticism, half of it defence of an inferiority legacy. It leaves one unsurprised that satire should have flourished, thriven, and directed itself against Scots advance.
1. 1760
2. Murphy
3. Geneest
3. 1777.
4. 1784. (young Montgomery of Glendarlock’s Towers, and a similar mother and son discovery)
The fact needs no labouring that any Scotch poet intimate with or pensioned by Bute shared the latter's unpopularity, and found his work badly received in consequence by Whig critics and anti-Scott London.

Home was one such. Bute's patronage was not the main cause for the bad reception of "Douglas" in London in '57, the over-praise of Scotch critics, the unsuitable casting and other factors contributed. But Home's silence during the 'roaring sixties' is significant. He attempted to stage nothing between "The Siege of Aquileia" in 1760, which had been followed by satiric brickbats like "A Fragment found in the Ruins of Aquileia", and "The Fatal Discovery", staged anonymously in 1769, and failing as soon as its author was known. Carlyle's story, borne out by a letter of Home, of the latter venture was that Garrick had been justly alarmed at the jealousy and dislike which prevailed at that time against Lord Bute and the Scotch, and had advised him to change the title of "Divine" into that of "The Fatal Discovery", and had provided a student of Oxford as the author, and wished Home of all things to remain concealed.—John too soon discovered the secret, and though the play survived its nine nights, yet the house evidently slackened after the town heard that John was the author.

Admittedly, had any other Scot been the author of "Divine", it would still have failed, for one residue of the Ossian controversy was that anything branded as 'Erse' was discredited, and "Divine", based obviously on Ossian was greeted at once as "a truly Erse performance" and derided.

Home wrote no more plays, and it was distinctly an error in tact of Voltaire to introduce his "L'Ecossaise" to England as "par L. Hume". Home's dramatic talent was not exhausted; "Divine" is far better than "Agis" or "The Siege", and though it is beneath "Douglas", is looser, windier and lacks strength of plot, it is full of the new inspiration from Ossian. He revels in Ossianic backgrounds, and in the seascapes, bardic lays, songs of death, invocations to "ghosts of my kinsmen slain". The language is even more strikingly simple than in "Douglas":—

Wither'd like the leaf
Of autumn is my beauty. Now I stand
On the dim threshold of the house of darkness—

Given encouragement, Home, who had been the first to respond to Macpherson's verse, might have been the first to bring its inspiration to the English stage. The adverse weight of anti-Scott feeling ruined that one cost of the sixties.

"Douglas", after being "almost forgotten", "Not acted fourteen years", was revived by the fine acting of Mrs Barry at the beginning of the seventies, and started its career of popularity. While she and Mrs Siddons played in it, everything but the play was forgotten, and when Sheridan burlesqued its plot in "The Critic" he made no mention of the author. By then plays obviously influenced by it begin to appear, Hannah More's "Percy", Cumberland's "The Carmelite" and so on. But the gap of twenty years between original and imitation is significant.
Home was repaid for this frustration as dramatist by pension and government appointment, and no sign of resentment came from the Lothian farm to which he retired.

Hume suffered far more, in work "discouraged out of existence," in career, in reputation and in mental bias. Part of that has already been described. After the reception given to his last volume of the "History of England," Hume had realised that party politics and national antagonisms had wrecked his hopes of fame as a great historian. He had been in London for five months of '61, felt the anti-Scot rancour, heard of the Duke of Bedford ordering his son not to read the History, and other rankling little instances of Whig enmity. He wrote bitterly to Millar: "I shall certainly continue my History, but in this state of affairs I suppose your people of rank and quality would throw the door in my face because I am a Scotsman." In that year he had "in a manner abjured all literary occupations" (Hume, who had for thirty years sought the 'English Parnassus!' and accepted the Secretaryship to Lord Hertford.)

Again anti-Scot animus interfered. Wilkes caused trouble by printing a letter in the London Evening Post, representing Hertford's embassy as "totally of Scotch complexion." Later, Hertford, on his appointment as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, promised Hume the Secretaryship. "A splendid fortune awaits me" wrote Hume. Three weeks after, he reports: "On his (i.e. Hertford's) arrival at London, he found the cry so loud against the promotion of Scotsmen that he was obliged to give it up! Before that blow, Hume had already been contrasting the captious notice given his work in England, with the respect and admiration of France.

As early as '63 he wrote that he would stay in Paris: "I feel little inclined to the factious barbarians of London." It was not a matter of personal pique. Hume resented London's failure to recognise Scots work other than his own, and averred that London taste was "decayed and depraved." Sometimes personal grudge blended with that. "I do not believe there is one Englishman in fifty, who, if he heard I had broke my neck tonight would be sorry. Some, because I am not a Whig; some, because I am not a Christian; and all because I am a Scotsman." His correspondent, Sir Gilbert Elliot, had spoken of being an Englishman. "Can you seriously talk of my continuing an Englishman? Do they not treat with derision our pretensions to that name, and with hatred our just pretensions to surpass and govern them?"

In the following year he wrote: "The rage and prejudice of parties frighten me, and above all this rage against the Scots, which is so dishonourable and indeed so infamous to the English nation. We hear that it increases every day without the least appearance of provocation on our part. It had frequently made me resolve never in my life to set foot on English ground." From that point onwards, Hume was convinced that national animus debarred his ever gaining further preferment, or a reception for his work in England. One letter said "My ambition was always moderate, and confined entirely to modest Letters. But it has been my misfortune to write in the Language of the most stupid and factious Barbarians in the World, and it is long since I have renounced all desire of their approbation".

His tirades against the English grew more rapid through '68, '69, '70 and '72. "I hope to see a Public Bankruptcy, the total Revolt of America the Expulsion of the English from the East Indies, the diminution of
London to less than half—I hope also that some hundreds of Patriots will make their exit at Tyburn". "Some signal and ruinous Convulsion was his wish for "that pernicious people". He lost all sense of proportion where literary matters were concerned, inveighed furiously against Adam Smith, for instance, for publishing his "Wealth of Nations" in London."How can you so much as entertain a thought of publishing a book full of reason, sense and learning to those wicked and abandoned madmen?' When called on to suggest a continuator for his own History, he named four Scots."As to any Englishman, that Nation is so sunk in Stupidity and Barbarism and Faction that you may as well think of Lapland for an Author" He assured Gibbon, that "your countrymen, for almost a whole generation have given themselves up to faction, and have totally neglected all polite letters.I no longer expect any valuable production ever to come from them".

It was a fact that during the seventies there was a barren patch in English literature, but it was not penetrating and critical survey that dictated Hume's evaluation. In his power of critical, as well as of creative work, the sixties had exacted their penalty.

But the chief poet affected by-after first affecting—English abuse was clearly Macpherson. Here anti-Scott animus, seizing on the facts of work distinctly Scottish, intimacy with Bute, Scots praise, Government post and pension combined to distort the reception of his work. Thus a first inflowing of Celtic spirit, artificial abstract was as was its Ossian expression, was turned away, and the whole Celtic movement was retarded by discredit it.

It was the most ironical mishap that the first presentation of ancient Gaelic poetry, even in sham form, should have been made at a time when the decaying of things Scottish and Highland was rampant in England. Macdonald's previous praise of the Celtic tongue, Stone's translation in the Scots Magazine were almost certainly missed by English men of letters, and even Macpherson's "Highlander", hybrid between the patriotic verse of the day, and the later "Ossian" was never referred to by English critics. The "Fragnents" came as entire novelty.

Their first launching was wary. Before any publication was arranged, Delrympie sent specimens south to Walpole for his opinion, and asked him to show them to Gray, as "a likely person to be charmed". Walpole reported two months later that "Mr Mason, my Lord Lyttleton and one or two others whose taste the world allows, are in love with them your Erse elegies; I cannot say in general they are so much admired". But Gray was "an enthusiast about these poems", and "Gray alone is worth satisfying".

So the first Edinburgh edition came out two months later: "Fragnents of Ancient Poetry, collected in the Highlands of Scotland, and tranlated from the Gaelic or Erse Language". The Gentleman's Magazine printed then two fragments, the Annual Register three. Opinion was from the first divided. Gray's letters show him keenly enthusiastic: "I am so charmed—" "full of nature and noble wild imagination"—"I am gone mad about them"—"I was so struck, so ecstatic with their infinite beauty"—"This man is the very Damon of Poetry, or he has lighted on a treasure hid for ages. The Welch Poets are also coming to light."—"Obiously a quick firing of the Celtic train of interest had begun here.
On the other hand Walpole was sceptic both as to authenticity;—"I could wish too that the authenticity had been more largely stated", and as to their being parts of a heroic poem,"nothing to me can be more unlike"; and the magazines had little further mention of them. So the two camps of sceptics and enthusiasts formed. But interest was common to both. A second edition had been published almost immediately after the first in Edinburgh, and in August, Dodsley reprinted the volume in London, the Gentleman's Magazine drawing attention to that by two quotations from it. The sale of the booklet went well, and was the cause of a reprint in October. But Gray then wrote—"few admire them, and almost all take them for fictions".

In that month Bute came into power on the accession of George III. The Fragments dropped out of interest during that autumn and winter, when feeling ran so high that on one occasion the London Exchange was placarded "No Scotch Minister". In the following February, Derrick published the first of his versifyings, and in April when Macpherson was in London negotiating the publication of "Fingal", Dodsley reprinted the Fragments once more. "Fingal" provoked the same division of opinion, but more talk. "I cannot believe them genuine", wrote Walpole. "What! preserved unadulterated by savages dispersed among mountains and so often driven from their mans, so wasted by war, civil and foreign!" "For me", wrote Gray, "I admire nothing but Fingal—yet I remain still in doubt—though inclined to believe them genuine. The same split was seen in the Reviews. The Critic was enthusiastic. The Annual Register wrote of "these inestimable relics of the genuine spirit of poetry, recovered from the obscurity of barbarism, the rust of fifteen hundred years, and the last breath of a dying language". (A critique thought to be Burke's) The Monthly Review refused to allow it "excessive admiration", or comparison with Homer or Virgil. "It looks like the statue of a dwarf beside the colossal Apollo of Rhodes". But the magazines gave quotations from it, and Boswell in London averred "Fingal has been very warmly received". A burlesque "Three Beautiful and Important Passages omitted—" had come out, but that was offset by admiring versifications.

In June, the North Briton started. Up to this point, there had been no personal satire of Macpherson, and little stress put by the sceptics on the Scottish-ness of the work. From the opening number of the paper, "Fingal" was swept into the current of Scots obloquy. "Some choice wits here have thrown aside Shakespeare and taken up Fingal, charmed with the variety of character and the richness of imagery". When the autumn brought the first scholastic attacks on the genuineness, Mr. Warner's in September and in November the articles in the Journal des Scavans, Churchill sharpened his pen, and in the Poetry Professors began the real derision of Macpherson.

What is Fingal but genuine Erse,
Which all sublime sonorous flows
Like Arveyc's thoughts in drunken prose
Hail Scotland, Hail, to thee belong
All pow'r's, but most the pow'r's of Song,
Whether the rude, unpolished Erse,
Stalk in the buckram Prose or Verse——
An anonymous piece of scurrility, "Gisbal, an Hyperborean Tale, translate from the Fragments of Ossian, the Son of Fingal" appeared. The stocks of Ossian began to sink.
3 1763.
4 "Ossian's Hymn to the Sun" and "An Epilogue in the Manner of Ossian" 1765-66
5. versified Carthon, "The Death of Cuchullin, and Dar-thula" 1769
6; translation of the 1st book of Temora into Latin 1769
7 Fingal in heroic verse—Ewan Cam ron. 1777.
8 Death of Artho—Death of Fraoch—1769
9 see later notes for later Ossianic verse
In January of '63, Hugh Blair published his admiring "Critical Dissertation", in which he praised the Ossianic poems for their tenderness and sublimity, "the Poetry of the Heart". Again the Reviews were at variance, and Foote's jibe ran round the town that "the booksellers ought to allow a great discount to the purchasers as the notes required such a stretch of credit". Any effect Blair's defence might have had was part counteracted by Churchill's "Prophecy of Famine" of the same month, which jeered at "great Macpherson", and "That old, new, epic pastoral Fingal"

Ossian, sublimest, simplest bard of all, Whom English infidels Macpherson call.

Two months later Macpherson gave himself into the hands of the enemy. In the Fingal preface he acknowledged covertly "the generosity of a certain noble person". His "Temora", an "Ancient Epic Poem" appeared openly inscribed to Bute, "in Obedience to whose Commands they were translated".

"Temora" was received with a fairly general ridicule in London. Sir John dropped into silence. Skits like "Fingal Reclaimed" shot out. Party faction had its teeth in the poet. Stukely made one appeal against the two epics being denied a reading "by such a prejudice as party once before". The plea was useless. Hume passed through London in September, and wrote: - "I often hear them rejected with disdain and indignation as a palpable and impudent forgery" Talk of originals only inspired further jeering, as Churchill's last tilt:

Inspired by Truth, our critics go, To track Fingal in Highland snow; And form their own and others' creed, From manuscripts they cannot read.

Macpherson attempted no more Ossian. Bute bestowed a pension and a colonial secretaryship, and Macpherson disappeared from London ken for five years.

The denial of authenticity would not alone have stultified Macpherson's work. The matter could be neither proved nor disproved, and it was an element in English irritation that that should be so. But the suspicion of national partiality forcing the admiration of the work, of a Scotch conspiracy in national falsehood, as Johnson bluntly put it, and of the knowledge that Macpherson was a protege of Bute, and advance beyond his merits both in position and intimacy, these combined to wreck the poet's literary standing.

Equally clear sign of the power of London's dislike is the fact that no imitation of value came from English pens until the worst period of satire had passed. Foreign Poets and scholars eulogised Ossian. Cesarotti published an Italian version in '63, a German version in prose appeared in '64, and in poetry in '68. France was agog over the work, and Voltaire had to laugh over Scots enthusiasm in one of his Dialogues of the Dictionnaire '64, where he caricatured a Scot in hot defence of Ossian against a Florentine scholar and an Oxford Professor. In Scotland, Baker staged his "Rise of Ossian", and Michael Bruce, Godfrey of Islay, Robert Macfarlane, Ewan Cameron, and later Halt, Ogilvie and Richardson were all working over Ossian material.

Against that enthusiastic activity abroad and in the north, England had
In January of '63, Bligh published his admiring "Critical Dissertation" in which he praised the Ossianic poems for their tenderness and sublimity, "The Poetry of the Heart". Again the booksellers were at variance. And now the note that had been peddled of the "Ossian" fantasy was found to require a stretch of credit. Any effect it might have had was swept away by Churchill's "Prophecy of Lamia" of the same month, which jeered at "great Mr. Ossian" and "That old, new, opio, passionata, ductile".

2. 1779
3 1780
4 1780
5 1780
6 1781
three

after a long silence, the slight operatic versions performed, one seven years later, one twenty years later, the earliest of these, "Oithons" being promptly denounced by the Monthly Review as "an absurd mixture of the sublime and silly". The fate of Home's "Rivine" has been described. Baker mocked at its heroes, 

Who never yet had being,
Or, being, wore no breeches—

and reported that it ran its nine nights "without reputation, and it is said, with very inconsiderable emolument to the author". That trail of derision attached itself in England to all that Macpherson subsequently published under his own name. He issued a translation of the Iliad, and London jested over his parading Homer in a plaid and kilt. Mason was typical in "Pray (in the name of critical astonishment) what can be Macpherson's translation of Homer? Has he Fingalised? has he Tamora-ised him? Homer a la Erse must be a curiosity with a vengeance" Walpole declared that he refused to read "Homer travestied".

But the trouble over Macpherson's Ossian had barely begun. A new preface that the poet supplied to the 1773 edition, and the outrageous assertions of Johnson's "Journey to the Western Isles" on 'national conspiracies', 'insolence', 'stubborn audacity', 'guilt' opened a bitter and more strident controversy, that embroiled English and Scottish poets and scholars for the next thirty years.

It began with the famous interchange of letters between Johnson and Macpherson, and widened as irate Scots scholars leapt to the defence of Gaelic and Ossian. One good service was done, in that the whole field of Gaelic letters, past and present, so far as it was known, was brought to the notice of the English public. MacNicol, for example, in his "Remarks on Dr. Johnson's "Journey--" pointed out where Gaelic MSS could be seen, and cited the bard MacVurich and the living poet MacIntyre.

Clark, the Bedenoch surveyor, published "The Works of the Caledonian Bards", a collection of long and short poems in Oscianic style. J. A. Sullivan's "Observations on a Tour"--"included "a new Erse fragment", (both Tour and poem were exposed as fakes) Smith of Campbeltown issued an ambitious work on "Gaelic Antiquities", to which he added "an examination of the authenticity of Ossian, and a collection of ancient Gaelic poems". And Finerton in the preface to his "Ancient Scottish Tragic Ballads" sang Ossian's praises: "We shall always admire a Homer, an Ossian, a Shakespeare". The Review for 1773 converted to belief in Ossian, the Critical to disbelief.

Shaw, meanwhile, led the opposition with his "Inquiry into the Authenticity of Poems ascribed to Ossian", and when this was attacked by Clark of Edinburgh, Johnson came to Shaw's aid in retaliation. Percy, to embroil matters further, began an acrid correspondence with Blair and Ferguson, accusing them of having deliberately deceived him about the Ossian discoveries on his visit to Edinburgh in 1763. English research in the Highlands had begun, and TF Hill, who had been seeking Gaelic MSS there in 1780, contributed the results to the Gentleman's Magazine in 1783. His conclusion was that Macpherson had compiled his Ossian from undeniable Gaelic verse, but that his tamperings amounted to a mutilation of the originals.
1. 1769
2. 1786
3. 1772.
4. 1785.
5. 6. Parry's Ancient British Music 1742
7. Essay on Pope 1756
8. July 1761
With this conclusion, the controversy might have ceased, but unluckily Pinkerton had now become convinced that nine-tenths of Ossian was Macpherson, and in the process of this conversion, had also disagreed violently with Macpherson's glorification of the earliest Celtic civilization in his "Introduction to the History of Great Britain". So a fresh basis of controversy was made, Pinkerton airing a strong anti-Celt prejudice in his preface to "Ancient Scottish Poems", and finding the support of Whittaker in his "General History of the Britons asserted". They at once provoked opposition, and the decade was marked by acrid writing on the Celtic question, and a good deal of anti-Celt satire, the whole distorting and discrediting the Celtic movement. But for the anti-Scot animus of Johnson, the anti-Celt animus, and the root of much of both is in dislike of Macpherson and his work, that Celtic movement would not have suffered as it did.

The last glimpse one sees of Macpherson in literary affairs is his standing for the Laureateship. A typical English comment was the inclusion in a volume of parodies: "Probationary Odes for the Laureateship" of two "in the True Ossianic Sublimity", purporting to be by Macpherson. The laureateship, it need not be added, was not won by him. For twenty years, he had been silent as a poet, and for most of them had been derided as a poet-impostor.

The best gauge of the warping influence of anti-Scot feeling in this period is to be had in the contrast between the discovery-of-Wales movement, if one may label it so, and that of Scotland.

Until mid-century, the developing interest in both countries had run on similar lines: the satiric "Trips to North Wales" and the like dying out, the investigation of Welsh antiquities beginning; an early nature poet, Dyer, paralleling the influence of Thomson; a "Welsh Opera" following the lead of the "Scots Opera"; similar discovery of ancient Welsh airs chiming with the Highland music cult.

The fifties brought a similar veering-round of antiquarian and aesthetic attention to the two countries. Druids and bards were equally 'located' in Anglesey or the Hebrides. Warton's famous declaration that "the mention of places remarkably romantic, the supposed habitation of Druids, bards, wizards, is far more pleasing to the imagination than the obvious introduction of Cam and Isis" gave critical backing to poems of Wales and Scotland. Definitely 'romantic' poetry of Wales emerged first, with Gray's "Bard", and though Sandby had been drawing Scottish mountains in the fifties, his first great Institution mountain scene was of Snowdon and the Bard, exhibited in '61.

In that year a letter of Percy's to the antiquarian Evan Evans has an interesting comparison of the point at which each country was: "I have never met with one native of Wales who could give me any satisfactory account of the literary productions of his own country, or seemed to have bestowed any attention on its language and antiquities. Not so the Scots; they are everywhere recommending the antiquities of their country to public notice, vindicating its history, setting off its poetry, and by dint of constant attention to their grand national concern have prevailed so far as to have the proper jargon they speak to
be considered the most proper language for our pastoral poetry. Our most polite ladies affect to lisp out "Scottish airs; and in the Senate itself, whatever relates to the Scottish nation is always mentioned with peculiar respect. Far from blaming this attention to the Scotch, I think it is much to their credit—and he deplores the fact that the Welsh "have not shewn the same respect to the peculiarities of their own country".

Percy overstated the case. Gray had already written "The Welsh poets are also coming to light," and he had seen a discourse on them. The researches of Evan Evans and the Morrises brought MSS and verse into notice. Unfortunately the discredit of Ossian retarded the acceptance of early verse of any kind. Percy had to postpone for three years, from '61 to '64 the publication of his "Five Pieces of Ossianic Poetry translated from the Icelandic Language", and then prefaced it with "It would be as vain to deny, as it is impolitic perhaps to mention that this attempt"—was a sequel to the Erse Fragments. Similarly, Evan Evans' "Some Specimens of the Poetry of the ancient Welsh Bards, translated into English", planned and gathered before Ossian appeared was kept back until 1764.

Early Welsh literature was published, however, and accepted seriously. The touring of the country was led by Pococke, Pennant, Gilpin, Johnson and the last thirty years of the century had their deluge of travel accounts, as Scotland had. But no acid controversies or national antagonisms warped the relations between England and Wales, and consequently one finds novelists, dramatists and the writers of heroic poems drawing freely and interestingly on Welsh matter. Even in the travel records of Pennant, Craddock, Warner there is a greater quoting of poetry about Wales, and reference to ancient and modern writers on Welsh history. The novel and the drama hold a greater variety in character sketches, a drawing of serious and romantic types for instance, only scantily ventured in Scotland's case. Four types of Welsh novel can be differentiated as being written in the latter half of the century, the picaresque adventure tale, the pseudo-historical, the romantic and the novel of Welsh character. Instances of the four can be found in Scots novels, not neither so early nor in such number.

Where the response to Welsh inspiration was direct, and untroubled and dispassionate, that to Scottish was wary and often prejudiced, and had constantly a strain of 'pro' and 'con' distorting its treatment of matters Scottish, a note of apology or defence that continues to be seen as late as Scott. The use of Scots themes was consequently retarded.
1. Almon's Review of Lord Bute's Administration 1763
2. North Briton Extraordinary
3. 1769
Apart from the signal instances quoted of the Anglo-Scottish rancour affecting literature, the knowledge of English antipathy affected directly the course of literature in Scotland.

It is unquestionable that that antipathy was felt and silently resent-ed in the north. London's accusations were bruited about, and the stigmas of being a nation Jacobite, disaffected, venal, self-seeking, uncultured, free-thinking. They have always been marked for a factious disposition, and the concomitants of slavery, rebellion and revenge", said London pamphlets. The House of Commons was reassured by Townshend that "the Scots were not all free-thinkers". Boswell reported to his fellow-countrymen that "the epithet Scottish is now hardly ever to be met with in South Britain, except as conveying an idea of the highest reproach".

Affairs in Parliament underlined for Scots onlookers the English animus, by small matters such as the city of Canterbury's appeal to its members to procure a law forbidding any Scot from representing an English borough, and by large ones, such as the English refusal to extend the Militia Bill to Scotland, even when Scottish opinion was almost unanimous for it. The effort to gain such extension had been made three times, in '60, '62, and '76, and was frustrated every time.

After the second attempt of '62, Scotland felt itself affronted, insulted, and Scottish opinion was furious. It was the year of the Wilkes attacks, when English satire was at its most pungent. Edinburgh was smitten over London's laughter at Sheridan instructing the Select Society in the speaking of English. There was a rapid and indignant gathering of forces, that made a turning-point in social and literary development in the north.

A new society was formed, the Poker Club, whose title suggested its purpose, to stir up the country. Carlyle described its membership of the literati and country gentlemen "warm in their resentment" over the Militia refusal, and over "the invincibly drawn line drawn between Scotland and England". For thirty years the Poker Club flourished, and made a brilliant centre of Scots intellectual life. It had no rabbidly nationalistic effect on literature, led no back-to-the-dialect movement, but it expressed the national 'stiffening' that was the result of English antagonism; it concentrated in Edinburgh the best wits, who would otherwise have been lost to England or to wholly English literature; and it thus gave Scots literature a national focus. It is not too much to claim that hence came Ferguson and Burns. Could these have won recognition, had the literary centre of the country been as to-day London?

The reaction on literature of this mobilizing of national feelings was that Scots poetry and drama reflected the same trend, and took in consequence three directions.

English repudiation of Ossian gave impetus to the first, a cult of Os-sianic verse. That had begun in the wake of the "Fragments", and Donaldson's
I. c. 1762-66
2 1783
3. 1786 and 1890
4 1760
1764
6. 1773
"Collection of Original Poems" issued in Edinburgh in '60 and '62 had already its "Rhyno and Alpin", "Adella", "Morna", "Fragment of an Irish Poem" and various versifications. Baker's "Muse of Ossian", with its nine Ossianic characters and chorus of bards was put on the Edinburgh stage, and John Tait, Professor Richardson, and Michael Bruce carried on the vogue in poems like "Nathos and Darthula", "Oscar's Ghost", "The Weal of Divine", "The Death of Eira", "The Cave of Morar", "Ossian's Hymn to the Sun", while M'Naghten a little later composed "Ossianic Choruses". In poems rhapsodizing over the nation's bards or history, Ossian was given prominent place, as in Tait's "Bards of Scotland", or Michael Bruce's "The Last Day".

On Morven's coast
A race of heroes and of bards arise,
The mighty Fingal and his mighty son
Who launched the spear and touched the tuneful harp.

Devotees to the versifying of Ossian and to the further gathering of Gaelic verse were Wodrow, Cameron, Clark, Smith, to name only some. Joseph MacDonald's collection of Highland songs, published as "A Collection of Highland Vocal Airs" included specimens of ancient music to which ancient poems were chanted, and among them was "Ossian's soliloquy on the death of all his contemporary heroes". The magazines were well-supplied with minor Ossian-cum-Douglas dilutions. In the eighties, when the controversies had been "revived with so much ardour", a small spate of Ossianic heroic poems and dramas occurred, with Macdonald's "Minvela" and "Velina", and plays such as "Malvina", and "Darthula", and by these London had the same type of dramatic poems.

The second bent of Scottish literature was an equally natural one, since nationalism had been fired again. There was a vogue for poems on Scots history and heroes, and for pseudo-historical, pseudo-romantic "Caledonian" subjects. In drama, for example, Scottish history was now boldly dealt with, as in Wilson's "Earl of Douglas", and MacArthur's "Duke of Rothesay". Henry MacKenzie created an excitement in Edinburgh, rivaling that over "Douglas", by his "Prince of Tunes", whose prologue was spoken by the "Genius of Scotland". Here the synthesis of romantic Scotland was complete:

"Amidst a wild romantic scene, the Genius advances to solemn music:

There yonder distant hills majestic rise,
And bare their snowy bosoms to the skies,
In sacred solitude I love to dwell,
While the big torrent foams around my cell;
Genius of Scotland! there aloft I stand,
And view the growing glories of the land.

Twas there the son of Fingal tow' red along,
And midst his mountains rolled the flood of song;
Twas there the heroes of that song arose,
And Roman eagles found unvanquished foes;--
The rugged cliff, the barren desert smiled,
For I and loose-rob'd Freedom walk'd the wild.--
1. 1771
2. 1778
3. 1775
4. 1763.

5. Almack, by name Macaul, came to London as valet to the Duke of Hamilton, but opening his famous Pall-Mall gaming club in 1762, changed his name to Mac Almack.

6. 1775—earlier version 1769—
And Scotland is now identified, by Scots writers at least, with romantic mountain scenery, with Osian and a romantic early civilization. A modern glory is claimed too:

Late as I marked, with fond maternal eyes,
On every side my laurel'd sons arise,
Deeds, else forgot, that grace'd the distant age,
I saw immortal in the Scottish page:
In Scotland, trimmed, the lamp of Wisdom blaze,
And heard her song that sounds to future days:
Twas mine the meed of Honour to bestow,
And weave the wreath that crowns the deathless brow—

In verse, there was a flourishing of titles like "The Caledonian Harp", "Caledonia, a Poem", "The Caledoniad", "The Caledonians"; the first of these by Colvill, and in the vein of Macpherson's "Highlander", the last his too, and a hymning of Scots leaders and troops in the American War. "Caledonia" was anonymous and novel, a verse record of a Highland tour, with descriptions of Highland scenery, and evocations of The mighty deeds of great Fingal, mild king Of Morven's stormy hills and Selma's towns Heroes renowned in Caledonian song And Osian's lays. —

Drakine, in the "Emigrant" had already expressed the nation's sympathy with the Highlander being forced overseas. "Caledonia" lamented the loss of the "Celtic Carb", and appealed for Highland "fostering", interesting sign of an increasing feeling for the Highlander, that one might call a romantic humanitarianism.

Two poets, Mickle and Bruce, turn to national themes. Mickle was ill-judged enough to submit his "Mary, Queen of Scots, an Elegy" for Lyttelton's criticism, and was refused it, "because I wholly disapprove the subject: Poetry should not consecrate what history must condemn".

Mickle was then in London, where he had in the self-protective manner of Murray, Millan, Mallet, Almack, Macklin changed the Scottish form of his name to escape the national odium and his poem, a thing fine in parts, remained unpublished for ten years, its author touching no further Scots subject for another ten.

Michael Bruce, a quiet dweller on his home hillside, was equally drawn to the romantic description of historic scenes, and his "Loch Leven" widens its prospect from

-- high Loch Leven Castle, famous once,
Th' abode of heroes of the Bruce's line--

to a national landscape:—

nothern Grampius lifts
His hoary head, bending beneath a load
Of everlasting snow. 'er southern fields,
I see the Cheviot hills, the ancient bounds
Of two contending kingdoms. There in flight
Brave Percy and the gallant Douglas bled—

His "The Last Day" has a eulogy of
Scotia's chiefs—
Her generous Wallace and her gallant Bruce—

a trend that other poets show, as in "The Bruicida, an Epic Poem".

One further side of the Caledonian cult was the issue of collections of poetry, under such titles as "The Caledoniad", "The Caledonian Muse", these a product to be reverted to later.
1. Interview by Amicus—reported in "The Bee" 1791
2. 1763-64
3. Lady Anne Barnard c. 1770
4. John Elliot. c. 1767
5. John Skinner—the latter in Ruddiman's Weekly Mag. 1776
6. Broadside 1771
7. 1779.
8. The letter accompanying the poetry was condescending in tone.
10. Burns' debt to Ross is acknowledged in a letter to Skinner on "our true brother, Ross of Lochlee"—"Ross the poet, of his muse Scotia, from whom, by the by, I took the idea of Coila".
The third branching-out of Scots poetry was one not at first visibly encouraged in the capital. "It is the duty of a poet to write like a gentleman," said Adam Smith, and condemned Allan Ramsay and his dialect out of hand. Among many of the Edinburgh literati, with their infinite pains over an English accent, and a style free from the "vulgarisms" of Scots idiom, the vernacular was out of favour. "The Gentle Shepherd" continued of course to be reprinted and admired, Boswell, with a wild courage, even offering to teach Johnson to understand it,—an offer refused. But the two volumes of Donaldson's collection, compiled from the best verse of the "Scotch Gentlemen" then writing, had not a single poem in dialect. The literary magazines actually shunned it; the "Edinburgh Museum, or North British Magazine" publishing articles on and extracts from writers of 16th century Scotland, and Ossianic verse and prose, but no vernacular; and Ruddiman's "Weekly Magazine" printing an example not more than once in a hundred numbers, until 1771. The dialect kept its place in the native song, however, as it did in the speech of aristocratic elder, and a clear joy in its verse or its dooconess is in "Auld Robin Gray", "The Flowers o' the Forest", "The Levie wi' the Crookit Horn", "Jullochgorum", "There's Nea Luck about the House", "Lewie Gordon" and countless others. (A great period of the Scottish song, this, Jacobite romance and the cult of the old ballad and song acting as stimuli.) But for verse proper, it was eyed condescendingly. "Alkie issued a little group of fables in '68, the last, "The Hare and the Partin" a vernacular exercise,—"to give a true specimen of the Scotch dialect"—obviously regarded as something of a museum piece. In the same year, the "Aberdeen Journal" published an excellent standard-Hebbie poem as an admiring tribute to Alexander Ross's "Helenore", just appearing. Surprisingly, this was found to be Beattie's, but the enthusiasm of the verses and the praise of Ross was denied by a frigidly critical note to Blacklock. In it, after disapproving of Ross's Aberdeen dialect, "so licentious, I mean it is so different from that of the south country, which is acknowledged the standard of broad Scotch", he says: —"I wrote some verses in the dialect.—Having never before attempted to write anything in this way I thought I could not have done it.—I fear I have exhausted my whole stock of Scottish words in these few lines". The ironic comment on this affectation is that he thus introduced a poet, destined to inspire from the vernacular word that was to live long after his own "Minstrel" was disregarded. For with Ross, the Doric came to life again:

Come, Scotia, thou that anes upon a day,  
Gael'd Allen Ramsay's hungry heart-strings play,  
The merriest sangs that ever yet were sung—  
is his invocation, and Scotia bids him  
Speak my ain lead, 'tis guaced auld Scots I mean,  
Your soudland gnaps I count not worth a preen;  
We've words a-fouth, we well can ca' our ain  
The fae them sair my bairns now refrain—

"Helenore or the Fortunate Shepherdess" was a "Gentle Shepherd" of the Aberdeenshire countryside, its villains Highland caterans, its Helenore and Bydby and their tale an idealised romancing, but drawn from a homely village life, and with the "Tam o' Shanter" colour of
of witches and "little foukies". It was a s artificial in plot as "The Gentle Shepherd", and yet as instinct as at with a spirit Scots, vital and genuine. Partly it was due to that faithfulness of 'cottage-kitchen detail', that Dutch school brushwork that has something in common with Scots vernacular verse, partly to those vignettes of "rugged braes", and "unwroughty heather hills". One remembers best the interiors, the sheel of the elderin day' with its 'colour heather bed', Bydby's dream of

--- the gatherin' that was on the green
Of little foukies clad in green and blue-
and those Kilmeny touches of
--- evening's falling down,
Hill-heads were red, and hows were eery grown.-
Partly it was due to the pith of the Doric. As Beattie claimed:
--- O' my fags,
Ye've set auld Scotia on her legs.

Since Allan's death, naebody cared
For anes to speer how Scotia fared,
Nor plack nor thristled turner wared
To quench her drouth,
For frae the cottar to the laird,
We a' rin South.

Yet

Our country leed is far frae barren.
Tis even right pithy and auld farren.--

These lines were reprinted in Edinburgh in Ruddiman's "Weekly Magazine" in September 1768, and two months later, Ferguson was in the capital and writing. Within four years, the same Magazine had begun the printing of his dialect poems, and a triumphant resurgence of the vernacular followed.

In conclusion and summarizing one note might be added.

That literature suffers from any prejudice or anger, be it personal or social or national is a platitude.

In the foregoing paragraphs, the reaction in Scots literature of the Bute period alienation has been roughly suggested.

English literature paid a certain penalty for those international jarrings too.

It was during these troubled twenty years that Scots made unique contributions to English literature, and any gain from those of Hume, Home and Macpherson was practically rejected for the time being.

"Hume", Professor Elton has said, "must be honoured as the first writer in England to conceive, however imperfectly, the idea of a national history" No such honour was paid him in his own day, however highly a few individual Englishmen, such as Gibbons, seemed to him.
The work of Home and Macpherson, artificial as much of it was, held
a new spirit, a new matter and a new language.
Home's "Douglas" might have done at once for the drama what Kallet's
"William and Margaret" had done for the lyric. In spirit it had the
new pseudo-romantic melancholy and mystery, an element found already
in poetry in Thomson and Blair, with its unique infusion of the simplic-
ity and the tragic darkening that Home, I believe, drew sheerly from
Scots ballad. That folk-ballad potency was the marrow of the play, for
from ballad came the stuff of the plot, the romantic tang of "Douglas"
and ancient feud, of "The Wood", (the old Greenwood), the echoes in:-
How many mothers shall bewail their sons?
How many widows weep their husbands slain!
Ye dames of Denmark even for you I feel,
Who sitting sadly on the sea-beat shore
Long look for lords that never shall return!
and the telling simplicity in
Red came the river down; and loud and oft,
The angry spirit of the water shrieked.-
Douglas afforded, too, as new romantic field and matter half-Scottish
the fit, - or at least plausible-setting for mysterious hermits and
ladies of a wood-darkened, solitary Stirlingshire castle, and for an
arms-loving youth of a Highland life.

Yet how much of what Home peculiarly offered was allowed to influence
English drama in the dissonant years?

Macpherson's contribution was more unusual, and if that seems reason
for its having no rapid influence on English literature, it can be
argued that the very novelty of Ossian struck on English attention
more sharply than "Douglas" did.
English literature had amused itself with the Lapland and the Per-
sian, and was still intrigued by the Druidic and the Scandinavian.
Macpherson averred that here was the ancient genius of the Celtic,
"the genuine remains of ancient Scottish poetry". Its matter was en-
tirely new, this dying civilization of warriors and bards, of strange
customs and beliefs; its time-setting new; and its landscape strik-
ingly so, for though it was in precisely the melancholy and wild spir-
it of Thomson, Blair and Home, its features are unique and the emo-
tional stress laid on their value. English readers had their imaginat-
ions assailed by dark heath and blue-gray mist, the dusky wind, the
hill of deer, the island of blue waves, and Albion's windy hills, and
by unknown similes, "tall as the stag of Morven", and "When Lochlin
falls away like a stream after wind".
And Ossian offered a new strain of sentiment, the tender, the rhapsod-
ic, as Macpherson styled it, "the genuine language of the heart"; and
that in a cadenced prose claimed by its author as "without any of
those affected ornaments of phraseology" Most novel of all was his
blending of the fey, the 'otherworld', with both landscape and life.
Gray felt it at once, quoting excitedly:
Ghosts ride on the tempest to-night,
Their songs are of other worlds.

(II is noticeable that the eerie is felt as Scottish and distinctly
so. Gray compared these Ossian lines with a passage in Thomson, and
Macon annotates that it recalled to him Home's "angry spirit of the water." The full tradition of the supernatural in Scott's poets was not realised, Pennicuik, Ramsay, Thomson, the poet of "Albania," Kallet, Neston--(later Ross, Beattie, Burns, Hogg--) but Macpherson's work has drawn attention.

And by side-reference Ossian suggested the new romantic field, the Highlands. The epics dealt, of course, with a remote past, and a civilization long since vanished. But proofs and notes turned the reader to the present Highlands, where "innumerable traditions remain to this day," where ancient and picturesque customs still survived, "in the north of Scotland till very lately," or "in a small tribe still subsisting in the North.

In these ways, Ossian was a unique revelation,
--" the primal flight
Of the poetic ecstasy
Into the land of mystery."

It need not be repeated that, excepting the first raptures of Gray, Shenstone, Burke, Mrs Montagu, which led to no creative activity, the English imagination showed no impregnation by Ossian for a matter of twenty years.
1. "I sought for merit, wherever it was to be found; it is my boast that I was the first minister who looked for it and found it in the mountains of the north. I called it forth and drew into your service a hardy and intrepid race of men—" so to a eulogy of the Highland troops.

Speech in Parliament 1766.

2. Percy
3. 1765
4. 1769
5. 1781
6. 1783
7. letter of April 1770—project much earlier.
Though the topic was the use of Highland regiments, these phrases are rung down, to one's surprise, in 1766, and by Pitt. They serve as a reminder that England in the late 18th century had its admirers of Scotland, its temperate critics, its 'fair-play' defenders. Where literature was concerned Warton's editing of "The Union", Walpole's "Cata
logue" preface, Langhorne's "Genius and Valour" all evince a friendly appreciation of Scottish achievement.

Mutual interests linking Scots and English writers are now too num-
erous to trace, but three are worth singling out, the vogue for ballad
research, and the study of the older literature generally, and the publish-
ing ventures of the Foulis brothers.

Ballad-collection made an invaluable liaison. English and Scots schol-
ars hobnobbed in letter and visit, collaborated over printing, and lost
the sense of national distinction in warm enthusiasm or in equally warm débile. The enthusiasts were not above national prejudice: Percy for example had no liking for the Scots and "their grand national con-
cern", and Ritson loathed the race. But the ballads were what mattered.

In gathering and annotating the Scots ones for his "Aelicues", he had
the aid of Sir David Dalrymple, John MacGowan and John Davidson, and he wrote appreciatively of "the beautiful Scottish poems with which this little miscellany is enriched", and of the "romantic wildness" of the
ancient northern ballads. His selection had more than some twenty-
five ballads and modern Tea-Table Miscellany songs, and the years that
follow show this field of Scots poetry being explored by scholars from
of the north and of the south. Percy planned a second volume of "Alic-
iques" and set on foot requests for "those fine old Scottish Songs and
Ballads"; Paton, Dalrymple, Robertson and others sent matter south.
At the same time Scots were busy on ventures of their own, which in the
turn drew English attention north. Dalrymple issued a selection of the old "Godly and Spiritual Songs", sending Percy a copy, and
edited a better selection of the Bannatyne MSS. Herd brought out a first volume of "Ancient and Modern Scottish Songs", and asked for
Percy's advice in further work. Paton, in close touch with Percy from
'66 on, secured for him the loan of the Bannatyne MS, and filled up
gaps in his collection of Scots books. Pinkerton, gathering "Scottish
pieces", offered Dodsley a collection of these, and on refusal, found
Nichols willing, and published his "Scottish Tragic Ballads" and "Sel-
ect Scottish Ballads". He planned then the writing of a history of
Scots poetry, "for Dr Warton's sideview of it is by no means satisf-
factory".

Ungrateful reference to the first English attempt to deal com-
petently with the history of Scots literature. Gray had earlier nurs-
ed the idea of a history of English literature, which would have an
introductory chapter on the "Poetry of the Gallic and Celtic nations,
or
1. Two vols: 1778 and 1781

2. In Copyright fight, claim made that Glasgow "produced the finest edition of the Greek and Latin classics ever the world saw, and both there and at Edinburgh the best English authors were printed with the greatest Elegance and Correctness."


4. "What all the world now allows the best modern history"—Walpole—the least fulsome of his eulogies

5. Letter of 1778
as far back as it can be traced", and later mention of "Gawen Douglas, Lyndesay, Bellenden, Dunbar". Warton at first had not meant to deal with Scottish poetry in his History, but "when I consider the close and national connection between England and Scotland in the progress of manners and literature, I am sensible I should be guilty of a partial and defective representation of the poetry of the former, was I to omit in my series a few Scottish writers, who have adorned the present period with a degree of sentiment and spirit, a command of phraseology and a fertility of imagination not to be found in any poet since Chaucer and Lydgate". Consequently Barbour and Blind Harry Dunbar and Lyndesay are represented and quoted fairly liberally. Warton's knowledge is scanty, and he has to deplore that "even the bare lives of the vernacular poets were never yet written with tolerable care, and at present known only from the meagre outlines of Dempster and Mackenzie". But he suggestively threw in a comparison of the Scottish national genius, and its "philosophical and speculative cast", gave a hint that a well-executed history of Scots poetry from the 13th century would be a valuable accession to the general literary history of Britain, and above all, set the precedent of including Scotland in any history of English literature.

One service Scotland could do in return was done by the Foulis brothers, in their fine printing of English poets. For ten years now, their press had had an international reputation. Lord Hardwicke, acknowledging a copy of their Cicero in 1750 wrote: "It does honour to ye Scotch press, here they now print the most beautifully of any country in Europe. The copyright quarrels of '44, '45, '46 etc had driven the firm to specialise in the printing of the classics, but editions of English poets and authors had been undertaken, and even Scots ballads in broadside. In '47 Beattie suggested to Gray that an edition of the latter's verse should be issued by the Foulises under Beattie's supervision, and this was consented to. Gray was delighted with the result. "It is indeed a most beautiful edition, and must certainly do credit to me and me". An equally fine edition of Milton followed.

So Scotland's printing reputation was established.

But high quality in the work of the Scottish press, important as it was in the cultural claim that the north was now making, was a minor matter compared with the credit being won by four or five of the leading writers.

If the work of these poets previously cited had a mixed, and on the whole adverse reception in the south, that of Robertson, Beattie, Adam Smith and Ferguson had a most favourable one. Reasons for that are obvious. Robertson's 'History of Scotland' ran counter to no party feeling; Beattie's "Essay on Truth" was that delightfully popular thing, a counterblast to a fellow-Scott, and that the Infidel Hume; and his work and Adam Smith's was put out in the more friendly years of the seventies. With the one exception, too, of Robertson, for whom Bute revived a sinecure of 'Historiographer of Scotland' none were too closely allied with Bute, and all remained chiefly beyond the Tweed. Their work could therefore be criticised temporarily and justly. In every case, English praise was warm. Robertson had famous plaudits from Walpole, Heriburt, Chesterfield and later from Voltaire and Gibbon. "Je me
1. 1765.

2. "uncommon strains of eloquence"—not one single idiom of his country—"

3. 1759.

4. 1776.

5. By then, political economy the "science de la mode" in Europe, and Scottish work in it naturally brought the country's reputation to a pitch.

6. 1760.
joins a l'Europe pour vous estimer", wrote Voltaire... to its practical success, it ran to fourteen editions in some thirty years. The sermons of Dr Hugh Blair were another popular success, that redeemed his earlier lectures on Ossian. Ferguson's "Essay on the History of Civil Society" had high appreciation from Chesterfield and Gray, and the English 'dictators', and Gray's surprise that it had no Scottisisms is a reminder that that appreciation depended on the fact that the Scots writers were achieving by now a prose unprovincial and admirable.

Adam Smith's two main works, his "Theory of Moral Sentiments", and his "Wealth of Nations" won still greater admiration. The former was hailed at once as remarkable, Burke reviewing it most favourably in the Annual Register, and Hume in fun, reporting Lyttleton as saying, "Robertson Smith and Bower are the glories of English literature". "The Wealth of Nations", though little helped with review notices had a very rapid circulation, and brought Smith an international reputation.

The greatest popular success in England, however, was won by Beattie's writings. From the first, his verse and prose had ovations. His correctly 'elegant' "Original Poems and Translations" led the Monthly Review to claim that "since Mr Gray no poet of more harmonious numbers, more pleasing imagination, more spiritual expressing" had appeared. Five years later, his friendship with Gray began, and by then Mrs Montagu was off his admirers. The inspiration of Percy's "Reliquies" and its prefatory essay led to his "Minstrel", and in 1770 and '71 he leapt to being the most acclaimed author in England by issuing his "Essay on Truth", and the first part of "The Minstrel". Praise was overwhelming. "I never stole a book but one", the King told Beattie, apropos of his "Essay", and that was yours. I stole it from the Caern to give it to Lord Hertford to read". Chatham thought it 'the best book written these thirty years'. And that all the world ought to read it. The University of Oxford adopted it as a textbook--bathectic conclusion.

"The Minstrel" was more popular still. Lyttleton read it "with rapture". Gray, Mrs Montagu, Johnson, Reynolds, Garrick, Burton, Mason--the list is much longer-expressed an admiration that now seems incredible, were there not the proof of countless editions, of Beattie's triumphal ovations in London, of honours awarded such as the King's pension, the honorary degree of Oxford and the like.

It is a curious phenomenon, this success of "The Minstrel" in England. Where Home and Kepherson had failed to stamp Scotland romantic for the reading public, Beattie had an instant success. He began where Thomson had ceased, with romantic nature, and only very mildly, very innocously piped the Scottish note. Edwin

On Scotia's mountains fed his little flock
It was "the north country", "Scotia's hills", "the uplands", that nurtured "the fond romantic youth", and made "romantic visionsawn on Edwin's soul". Beattie designated in that fashion the Scottish border lands, regarded pleasantly now as the scene of Percy and Douglas romance, and he drew all the romantic artificerities of 'haunted stream', "wildly murmuring wind", setting moons that hung "O'er the dark and melancholy deep", "hoary sages" living in "flowery nooks" and belles at

2. Letter of 1770

3. 1762 later editions 64, 69 etc.

4. "I have always looked up with respect the most sincere respect towards the northern part of our island, whither taste and philosophy seemed to have retired from the smoke and hurry of this immense capital"—Letter of Apr. 1776
chant "the old heroic ditty". Fostered in such a setting on "Gothic tale or song or fable old", Edwin becomes the "visionary boy" who would dream.

Of graves and corpses pale and ghosts—
or in sleep see "Tall warriors and long-robed minstrels". But Beattie forced neither the Scotch nor the romantic note too much, even though the general ballad interest might have carried that off. Aesthetic sensibility, not romance, was the keynote for Edwin, and the poem was quoted more frequently for its "influences of nature" passages and its suavely phrased aphorisms. His landscape description, however, was part real as well as artificial. Beattie had a genuine liking for his Aberdeenshire sea and hill and distant mountain; "the scenery of a mountainous country, the ocean and the sky"—"had charms in my eyes even when I was a schoolboy", he wrote, and the setting of "The Minstrel" has its "blue main and mountain grey", its great clouds that

— from the Atlantic wave

High-towering, sail along the horizon blue—
as well as the natural touches of the village scene, "grey linnets on the hill", "the whistling ploughman stalks afield", "the partridge bursts away on whirling wings". He was conventional enough in his phrases about hill and sea—a happy adjective is his utmost—but the prominence he gives both is novel. It caught English attention. Gray wrote: "Your ideas are new and borrowed from a mountainous country, the only one that can furnish truly picturesque scenery". England, printing times without number, "The Minstrel" and Falconer's "Shipwreck", seemed to have accepted at last one contribution, the drawing of mountain and sea scapes.

In following the careers of all these writers, the personal friendliness shown them by the critics—though Johnson and Walpole are noted exceptions—is worth remark. An instance or two illustrates. Gibbon and Burke set high value on Scots work, the former like Pitt "above all local prejudices" in being friends with Mallet and Macpherson, and in admiring unrestrainedly the work of Robertson and Hume; "When I ventured to assume the character of Historian, the first, the most natural, but at the same time the most ambitious wish I entertained was to deserve the approbation of Mr Robertson and Mr Hume". "The praise which has ever been the most flattering to my ear is to find my name associated with the names of Robertson and Hume".

With such a pro-Scot leaning in English circles, with the respect accruing from admired work, and with the romantic attraction being linked with Scotland by tour accounts, and by Scots poetry, there began tentatively some English efforts at presenting the Scot or matter. Scottish more sympathetically. The stage and the novel were the natural channels. A final chapter will add some of the developments there.
CHAPTER 19. English Literature and 'the Matter of Scotland'.

I. Political relations in the 70's and 80's.
II. Scottish exploration, literary, topographical, aesthetic.
III. The Scots Press and English magazines.
IV. Ferguson and Burns: their reception in England.
V. Foreign drama, and its use of Scots theme.
VI. English drama: the Scot in romantic comedy.
VII. Scotland in the English novel.
VIII. Scotland in English verse.
IX. Postscript.


3. and lesser satires such as "The Favourite", '78 "An Ode addressed to the Scotch Junto", ('78) and "Scotch Modesty Displayed", 1779.


5. op such remarks as "To make a Scotchman Prime Minister was most impolitic, and an insult to the English. But as so wild a scheme will never be repeated, it is unnecessary to hold it out to due detestation".
The last quarter of the century were without any dangerous political or social discords between the two nations; but that cautious claim is as much as can be made. The English magazines, true if petty reflectors of the public opinion of the day, show few years without some wrangle, some outburst of 'national reflections'. "The precipitate and violent counsels of the Scots, joined to the treacherous conduct of certain Americans---have brought this nation to the brink of ruin," the Scots are at present proving the truth of their national character, the blackest perfidy and savageness", wrote one English patriot in '77. A Scot complains that "According to them Scotch councils, a Scotch junto, and secret influence have all along directed the master-springs of government, insomuch that the present Ministry are represented as so many puppets actuated solely by the will of Lord Bute, Lord Mansfield and Alexander Wedderburn."

The newspapers ran heated Scotland-versus-England controversies with untiring regularity. "An Englishman" who had been fashionably touring Scotland, asserted: "It is the people—the weed of that part of the island which displeases every Englishman", and charged the Scots with an "avowed hatred of the English", and a born knavishness. "An old Scotch shepherd who has never been five miles from his birth-place will bilk the vilest sharper or horse-courier in England". "An Unprejudiced Englishman" replied. In the late seventies renewed outcry about Scottish place-holding was made. "The newspapers were full of complaints", said the Gentleman's Magazine. (At that time Walpole was writing his virulent annotations on Mason's satires.) Another outburst against Scots critics cursed those "meagre Sawneys" who

---cross the Tweed and Spey,

Trained to the quill or ministerial dirk,

Faction's obsequious servants of all work,

Who from no task, how base soever shrink:

Butchers in blood and libellers in ink.

A tactless "Conciliator", reviewing international relations in '86, thought that "though the animosity against the Scotch be now again considerably abated, yet some sparks remain", and in an endeavour to put out these sparks, which he defined as the charges against the race of poverty, the itch, selfishness, Toryism or rather Courtism, and Nationality,—his own order—refanned then to a blaze again.

And in years when politics ceased to vex, the book-selling disputes, some unlucky Scots book, such as Dalrymple's "Memoirs" or Boswell's Tour to the Hebrides, some thesis or claim of that stormy petrel Pin kerton, an exposure of Hardyknut or of an original for Mallet's "William and Margaret", a defence of Mary, Queen of Scots, or of the 'Caledonian antiquities' would revive a sharp fleer of antagonism in English quarters somewhere.

Yet the importance of these discords need not exaggerate their importance. The unchallengeable fact is that the day of vicious international
1. 1771
2. 1771
3. 1771
4. 1771-1773
5. 1773.
6. 1772
7. 8. first undertaken in 68-73; second in 74-83.
9. 1773
10. 1773
11. 1773
12. 1777.
13. 1778
14. 1780.
15. 1780
16. 1780
17. 1780
18. 1783
19. 1785
20. & 6, 83, 85, 85, 85.
ranceours was now past. There might be cries of "Tory Scot", but politi
ces had ceased to be a file of nationalist guerilla warfare. If satire could still talk of "meagre Sawneys", there was a distinct in
terest in them and their country. As the Edinburgh Magazine wrote so
ridiculously: We are not a little surprised to find that it has become so
fashionable among the English to describe a country which they affec
to such much to "despair".

The bitterness of Scots tone, and the Edinburgh Magazine's remark
is one of many similar— is understandable. The taunts of Wilkes and
the "patriots" had been endured for a decade. For another, the gall-
ingly superior criticisms of English visitors, such as Johnson, Top-
ham, Sullivan appeared and irritated. "Lo, the poor Indian" was an un-
pleasant role to be given.

But in so far as that irritation and bitterness spurred the north to
more independent and national literary work, the result was ex-
cellent. Half the use of Scottish scene and character in the English
novel and drama and verse tale in these last twenty-five years would
never have been made without the lead of Scottish work, informative
and creative.

A rough outline of that work is a necessary preface to a review of
English literature's dealings with Scotland.

How far one wants to know, were Scots drawing Scots characters, high-
land and lowland, creating native landscapes and scenes in words and
on canvas, educating English opinion in the country's historic and
literary past, stimulating further travel through Scotland, seeking
out and appraising old Scots songs and ballads?

Taking the Highlands as one focus-point, the bare listing of what
was being put out at the height of the furs period of the seventies
and eighties tells its tale. Each year, almost without exception,
has something of mark; More's exhibition of Scots landscapes at the
London exhibition of the Incorporated Society of Artists, Smollett's
"Humphrey Clinker" and its Highland scenes, Colvill's "Caledonian
Heroine", Macinven's "Ossian" decorations for Sir John Clerk, and Fer-
gusson's admiration:

O could my Muse--

Like thee could make the awe-struck world admire
An Ossian's fancy or a Fingal's fire.

Beattie's description of the Highland character, (at first only in
lette form) and of Highland music, the poem-collecting of Dr Hector
Maclean and of Dr Kennedy, Buskine's "Emigrant", Foulis's publica-
tion of accounts of the Western Isles, Mackenzie's "Prince of Tunic" pro-
logue, Ogilvie's romantic tale of "Rona", Clark's "Works of the Caledon-
ian Bard", the "History of the Feuds of the Cland, with a collection
of Gaelic songs, the "Warrior's Exile", a pro-Jacobite tale, and "Marr-
riage of Ival" with its Scott-like ring, Smith's "Gaelic Antiquities
and Poems", and Lothian's similar collection, Peter Macdonald's "Col-
lection of Highland Vocal Airs", Mackintosh's "Collection of Gaelic
Proverbs and Familiar Phrases", the volumes of original Gaelic verse
by Ronald Macdonald, Peter Stuart, Alexander and Margaret Cameron,
1. 1785
2. 1785
3. 1786
4. 1787
5. 1788
6. 1788
7. 1788
8. 1792
9. 1794
10. 1794
11. 1791
12. 1793 on
13. 1795
14. 1796.
15. 1773-74
16. 1786 on.
17. and his "Hallowe'en. Glasgow 1783.
18. 1788.
19. 1749 and 1752
20. 1766 21. 1774
22. 1779
23. 1778
24. 1777
25. 1777.
26. 1775
27. 1775
28. 1767 published.
29. see previous notes
30. 1770
31. 1775
32. 1785
and Angus Campbell, Brown's "Rhapsody on the Highlanders," Moore's delightful sketch of Duncan Targe in "Zeluco," the "Collection of Ancient and Modern Gaelic Poems," Dr. Smith's originals for his own gatherings, Cardonnel's "Picturesque Antiquities of Scotland," and Anox's "Picturesque Scenery of Scotland," the volume "Scotland Illustrated," which included the Highlands and Islands, Macnab's "Scenery," and his "Illustrations of the Highlands and Islands," and that list is only illustrative, not definitive.

Synchronous with that work was the supreme drawing of Lowland Scottish life and character by Ferguson and Burns. It is not pertinent here to sketch their work. The two poets, it need only be said, drew immortally the Scots character, cotter life and town life, country custom and town roistering, present-day characters, and poets of the past. They set down for the first time the humanity of the wayside Scot, his hearth-circle, religion, loves, his pleasures in drinking and 'daffin', above all his heartfelt affection for his own country, his own soil.

Dialect was a barrier to much English gain from that revelation, however, as it was to vernacular tales like Hayne's "Siller Gun", or drama like Shiel's "Jamie and Bess". Southern readers preferred the pseudo romantic pictures of Balfour's "Minstrel", or the elegancies of "Ogilvie", "Richardson", "Riddell", "Macdonald". Still, one stream of genuine Lowland spirit reached the south, for the Scots song continued more popular than ever, as witness the issue and reprints of Vauxhall and Mary's "Concerts" and "Songsters", and collections such as "The Charmer", that Johnson "read a great deal in" in Skye, "The Scots Blackbird", "The Scots Minstrel", "The Scots Nightingale", "The Flowers o' the Forest" was reprinted in the Gentleman's Magazine, "Tullochgorum", Skinner's sparkling and infectious ditty was an instant success when Miss Catley began her "figuring away with it at Covent Garden". "There's nae Luck about the House" was a "Fav'rite Scots song sung at Kameleigh"—as were many others of northern birth.

In the same period, Daniel Dow was publishing his "Ancient Scots Music for the Violin", and his own reels; James Aird his "Selection of Scots Dances for the Fife", and Johnson at work on his "Scots Musical Museum". By the publication date of the last, George Thomson had begun his life's work of collecting Scots melodies, and, gaining Burns' help, had a first set of twenty-five "fine airs" ready for print in '93.

The last and important side of this research was the scholarly publication of ancient ballad and poetry of the land, a movement already referred to. Beginning with a reprint of Arnot's "Evergreen" in '61, and a "Choice Collection" drawn from the Evergreen and Watson in '66, there had followed "Her's two volumes of "Ancient and Modern Scots Songs", "Haldane's "Specimens of---Godly and Spiritual Songs"" and his editing of seventy-five "Ancient Scottish Poems" from the Bannatyne MS.

"The Caledonian", a three volume collection of poor contemporary poems, some excellent classic verse, Ferguson and "Essays", and fifty of the ... "A Select Collection of Scots Poems chiefly in
1. 1781
2. and "Selsot Scottish Ballads" 1783
3. 1785.
4. 1792.
5. 1769 on
6. 1773-76.
the broad Buchans Dialect", Pinkerton's "Scottish Tragic Ballads", "Ancient Scottish Poems never before in Print", (from the "Maitland MS"), and a three volume "Scottish Poems reprinted from Scarce Editions". English critics might ignore or touch only flippantly, as the Critical Review did, on a collection like the "Godly and Spiritual Songs", but the volumes of Pinkerton always provoked a noisy exasperation in some quarter, that called attention to his finds or theories, false or genuine.

England's real "popular educators" in matters Scottish were not how ever these books so much as the newspapers and literary magazines of the north. The numbers of these had increased strikingly since the beginning of the seventies. In twelve years, for example, from 1783-95, twenty new Scottish papers were started, and it is significant that the Edinburgh Magazine, which led off, should be strongly nationalistic. Before the close of the century another fifteen to twenty had been launched.

Their work, fribbling as much of it seems, was of real value. They drew and circulated Scottish writing and information of all kinds. Two examples will illustrate. Audeman's "Weekly Magazine", which encouraged dialect verse, printed Beattie's tribute to Helenore, and added the praises of readers; drew then Ferguson's first dialect poems, and encouraged those by printing Doric verses of appreciation, printed later Skinner's "Tullichgorum", and one of his epistles. It published good modern Scots verse, such as Smollett's "Ode to Seven Water", and extracts from "The Minstrel", an occasional Gaelic poem, and some of the good modern imitations of old ballad, such as Forbes "Battle of Corichie" and Bruce's "Sir James the Rose". On the informative side, it printed at the outset of the touring vogue several useful letters from Scots, suggesting routes and "circuits", emps, histories, memoirs etc and later suggesting needed reforms in travelling.-

The "Edinburgh Magazine and Review", more scholarly in scope, published articles on and portraits of eminent Scots, Buchanan, Knox, Pitcairne, Arbuthnot and others, supplied "Quotations of Scots Literature", published older verse and prose, such as Gervin Douglas, the letters and poetry of James I, Drummond's "Polomen-Middinie", Robert Fruill's Diary, Baillie's letters and Journals. It ignored contemporary dialect verse, but reviewed and quoted Beattie, Smollett, and William Richardson, and it stimulated antiquarian interest in Scotland by regular articles on the subject. These and lesser papers made in general an appreciative forum for Scottish work, and relished a national flavour, as in Tait's "Bards of Scotland" or "Riding of the Poets", which records Scots authors, and spread such fashions as those romantic semi-historical musings over Roslin or Loch Leven which English papers so often copied.

The actual circulation of these northern papers in England was never very large, and Gilbert Stuart of the Edinburgh Magazine found that the rock on which his venture split. But the English magazines helped themselves liberally from them. Here an old poem, a work on the Caledonian controversy, an antiquarian find were felt to have an English appeal, the London papers would copy it, and it is surprising to find the Monthly Review welcoming a reprint of "The Evergreen" and quoting "Robyn
and Makynie", or reviewing the Gaelic work of Dr Smith or John Clark; the Gentlemen's Magazine quoting the "Gude and Godly Balladh" of The Hunt is up", or an old poem of Alexander Boyd's; the Critical Review dealing with Sir John Sinclair's "Observations on the Scottish Dialect", or reprinting with enthusiasm the first "Review of the Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh" which held the Highland Superstitions Ode of Collins. One other subject was well 'featured' in all the reviews, namely the Highland tours, and with this service that even the critiques of the books show the Highlands being considered more and more temperately and intelligently, the psychological differences between Highland and Lowland character being discussed, as at the time Moore was sketching it comically in his characters of Largie and Bucheman, the romantic side of the '45 conceded, (and the Critical Review reprints from the "Lounger" the story of a Highland chief hunted after Culloden, and saved by his faithful retainer), and the Highlander himself praised, as when Booker's "The Highlanders" is applauded as "an eulogium on a brave, virtuous-and distressed people".

In one respect, the English papers fell short, but understandably so, the dialect of Ferguson and Burns was "disgusting", and this text debarred any liberal recognition of Ferguson's verse, and diluted the praise given Burns. Neither the Gentlemen's Magazine, nor the Critical Review nor the Annual Register made any mention of the former's 1774 volume, although it was entered among the book advertisements. The Monthly Review was facetious: "Mr Ferguson's Muse appears in the different characters of a Lady of Quality, and a Scottish 'oggy'. In the former, she is sometimes tolerably graceful, but take her upon the whole, and she is more in nature than she is lilting o'er the Lea". Only English verses of his are recked as illustration.

Burns' Kilmarnock volume appeared in July of '56, and a belated five months later the Monthly Review published its criticism. It picked its way gingerly over the rough'plain stance' of the contents, found "simple strains artless and unadorned", "the native feelings of the heart", always nervous, sometimes inelegant often natural, simple and sublime", here and there "a strain of delicate tenderness". But "we must regret these poems are written in some measure in an unknown tongue" - besides they abound with allusions to the modes of life, opinions and ideas of the people in a remote corner of the east country". So while hazarding a quotation from the "Gutter's Saturday Night", the wording is English "to render it less disgusting to our readers south of the Tweed". None of Burns' numerous verse was held fit to quote as none was "sufficiently intelligible to our English readers". In conclusion, the reviewer points out that "the modern ear will be somewhat disgusted with the measure of many of the pieces", and begs the poet to remedy this defect.

The Critical Review cautiously waited until the following year, when two impressions of the Edinburgh edition had marked the poet as successful, it praised then, and warmly, "this true and uncultivated genius" "We must admire the generous enthusiasm of his untutored muse; and bestow the tribute of just applause on one whose name will be transmitted to posterity with honour", but like the Monthly it deplored the use of dialect. (In justice, however, the anti-dialect strictures
1. Charlotte Smith's "Young Philosopher" Moore's "Edward"
2. 1760
3. c 1772
4. 1774
5. "Sir Wm Wallace of Elderslie; or the Siege of Dumbarton Castle", 1780
of the Scots critics themselves must be recalled. Even after Ferguson's brilliant verse, Dugald Stewart could cavil at "our uncouth and degraded dialect", Scottie over that "to write in the vulgar broad Scotch, and yet to write seriously is now impossible", and Mackenzie moderate the striking praise of Burns in "The Lounger" by deploring the barrier of the language.

It is the rarest thing, therefore, to find quotation of either Ferguson or Burns in the English literary magazines. "While the Scots paper, with one exception, printed the dialect and English poems of the former, the major English magazines had no quotation beyond a scanty English verse or two, and no edition other than the Edinburgh, re-sold in London by Murray. As for Burns, the European Magazine and London Review quoted one of his English poems in 1787, the annual Register two of his veinacular, the Critical dispensed with any quotation for its critique, and the Gentleman's Magazine had no mention till much later. It goes without saying that the poet was read in England: the 1787 third edition was issued in London: the Critical Review's brief reference to the '98 edition, "Poems chiefly in the Scottish Dialect" was "to all who can feel and understand poetry, these pleasing productions have been long familiar". Occasionally an English novel made use of quotation, or a travel account such as Wilpin's. But as factors in inspiring English pictures of Lowland life, Burns and Ferguson were intellectual.

An interesting lead for England in the use of Scottish character and incident as a strand in romantic drama came from abroad.

Voltaire, who, if the Universal History published in 1757 be his, had already written up the '45 Rebellion as a heroic and romantic affair, issued a play "Le Cafe ou l'Ecosaisse, traduite de l'Anglais de Mr. Hume par Jérôme Carre." It was fathered on Rome, presumably because the heroine Amelia was Scottish, daughter of Sir William Douglas, exiled for his adherence to the Stuart cause; and a slight but effective use is made of that long-lost parent's dangers in London. The elder Colman produced a version of this in '67, found acceptable enough on the London stage.

A later French play, "Amelie et le Monrose" also dealt romantically with Scottish history, and was acted with success in Paris, but there is no sign of its being presented in England, although it was shown to critics there. One Italian play, however, hailed by the Gentleman's Magazine as "one of the best regular tragedies which Italy has produced during this century", was fashioned out of Scots history, romance and Osianesque "Walsei, L'Eroce Scozzese". It had Wallace as its hero, the 'Royal Palace of Edinburch' as setting, and a certain boshwerk of Scots history. But Atena, the heroine, is pure romance, Carinsel and Selma Osianic, and the manners a romantic fantasy of Osianic and mediæval. It ends with Wallace, mortally wounded in battle being carried in on the shields of soldiers, to utter dying speeches about "Scozia".

It evoked the Wallace play in London, however, and Jackson's drama, staged in Edinburgh was probably nationalist in origin.
1 Jan: 1772.

2. These would include Sir Archy MacSareasm, Lady Cath: Goldstream, Johnny Mac herson, MacClaymore, Gibby—all recently on the stage.
The first serious attempt to give a Scot a leading and presentable role was made by Richard Cumberland, in his "Fashionable Lover, or The Faithful Highlander". Its genesis is doubtful; Cumberland explained it later as a prime effort in his didactic writing of comedy. "I looked into society for the purpose of discovering such as were the victims of its national, professional or religious prejudices; in short for those suffering characters who stood in need of advocacy; and out of these I meditated to select and form heroes for my future dramas, of which I would study to make such favourable and reconciliatory delineations as might incline the spectators to look upon them with pity, and receive them into their good opinion and esteem". But elsewhere the idea was said to have come from a merry meeting at the British Coffee House, Cumberland told he should create a North Briton, the dramatist protecting him "should be perfectly to seek for the dialect, Fitzherbert pooh-poohing that-"If you bring a Roman on the stage you don't make him speak Latin", and Foote crying-"And if you don't make him wear breeches, Garrick will be much obliged to you!"

In spite of that flippancy, Cumberland worked out his drama painstakingly, framed his North Briton on a Highland servant known to him, took his dialect "from the Scotch characters of the stage", "endowed him with a good heart, and sent him to seek his fortune".

Colin Macleod, the faithful Highlander, was an extraordinary creation. His role was, in essence, only Gibby's, the well-meaning retained who embroils the action by a mistake, but eventually sets matters right again. But Cumberland, with amazing astuteness, worked into the part the defects that a London audience insisted were typical of a Scot, and balanced these by the virtues that were grudgingly admitted typical too. For example, Colin, as steward to Lord Abberville, is given to "preach up a little needful economy" on every occasion. He is clanish to a degree, so much so that the tragic mistake of the play is due to his entrusting Miss Aubrey to an unknown Mrs Mackintosh, a woman of the worst fame, but chosen by the unwitting Colin for her name's sake: -"the Mackintoshes and Macleods are aw of the same blood; -had we searched aw the town we could na find a better". He is argumentative and cantankerous over every national topic, be it Scots superiority in speaking English or in bagpipe music; and he has the democratic, impulsive brazen, vice of "answering back" to his master.

On the other hand, Colin is made a figure to respect, by his loyalty to his master's interests, his kindliness to the distressed Miss Aubrey, his quick offence at being called 'rascal' by Lord Abberville, and his untainted generosity to his own kin. These redeeming virtues are touched in with not too moralising a tone, though it is Colin himself who states solemnly that "there is not a nation of the terrestrial globe who have more love and charity for another", and in clumsy soliloquy tells that he has given away his "ameart little byass of money" to "Jamie MacGregor and Sawney MacNab, and the twa braw lads o Kintreddin, wi' old Charlie MacDougall, my mother's first husband's second cousin" - "I had been na true Scot an I cou'd na sce a countryman a gude laft upon occasion".

After being cast adrift by Abberville, and left to talk of laying his bones "amongst my kindred in the Isle of Skye", the close of the play...
finds him pardoned and winning the thanks of all, while Mortimer the
hero delivers the moral with unctuous! In this poor Highlander the
force of prejudice has some plea because he is a clown; but you, a
citizen that should be of the world, should know better than to join
the cry with those whose charity, like the limitation of a brief, stops
short at Berwick, and never circulates beyond the Tweed. By heaven, I'd
rather weed out one such unmanly prejudice from the hearts of my coun-
trymen, than add another index to their Empire".
It is illuminating to trace London's reception of this. There was a
first suspicion and bewilderment. "This piece some thought to have been
written for some political view, as the Scotch are in a manner defi-
ced at the expense of the English", wrote the Whitehall Even ng Jot
"The Town and Country Magazine" called it outright "a fulsome compli-
ment to the Scotch at the expense of the English". The "London Review"
said rudely: "We cannot help expressing our admiration of the author's
hardiness in making a Scotchman generous. The prejudices of the time
deny them that virtue". The "St James Chronicle" plunged boldly: "The
introduction of a Scotch character with his national peculiarities
and the reconciling light in which he was put by the artful and judi-
cious contrivance of the author, is an Attempt that does Honour to
his Heart and to the Stage by restoring it to its noblest Uses"
Whether the novelty, or the note of 'uplift' condemned it—and it was
certainly not the dialect, which was a poor mixture, pidgin-Scots with
'gadzooks' and 'ecods!—the play after some alterations was moderately
well-received. But Murray reports "it died in a short time, and has
remained since quietly inurned"
In the same year, an innocuous little play by O'Brien, "The Duel", lar-
gely a French translation, made something of the same romantic use as
L'Ecossoise of the Jacobite Rebellion. Melville, a banker, is a Scots
Earl of Sinclair, who had dropped his title, changed his name, and fled
to England. But this is kept as merely a side-issue of the play, and
the only Scots character underlined as such is Lady Margaret Sinclair,
a farcical dowager.
So after Cumberland's vicarious effort, the sentimental comedy of the
time ignores Scottish matter for another twenty years.
Only in two indirect ways, a flavour of it insinuates itself.
An elopement to Gretna Green, the first, was a romantic or a satiric
thread in a number of plots.
Cold Scotland's now the only land for love,
For Scotland ho-
cried Cupid in Whitehead's "Trip to Scotland"; and Goldsmith's "Good-
Natured Man", Henrick's "The Widowed Wife" and the anonymous "Nerd to
the Wise" were some of the many comedies that debated the advice or
took it.
Again a prime necessity in both romantic comedy and novel was a ro-
mantic name for the hero, and for both hero and heroine the suggest-
on of aristocratic birth and ancient line. The Scots peerage, real
or imaginary,—English knowledge had faint dividing line—was the per-
fetl quarry. Lord Seaton, Lady Lochiel, Sir John Murray, Sir James Ill-
ict, Sir William Douglas, Lord Glenmore, Lady Murray, Lord Hume, Lord Mel-
ville—these and countless variations adorn the lists of "Dramatis
Personae". And in the novel it was possible to add—my father, whose
name was Lenox, was the son of a Scotch nobleman", or "she was the
1. 1785.
2. 1795
3. Colman's "Occasional Prelude" 1772.
4. Reed's "Register Office" 1761
5. G.A.Stevens "The Trip to Portsmouth" 1772-73
7. Pilon's "Siege of Gibraltar" 1779.
8. Pilon's "Humours of an Election" 1780
   (incidentally a political satire of the Scot)
11. 1795
12. 1786.
daughter of a Scotch captain of ancient lineage". Whether these two side influences made Scots matter more acceptable, the late eighties and the nineties saw an occasional creation of a Scottish character. Macaulay's "Fashionable Levities" introduced the hero, Douglas, "disguised in a shabby Highland dress", posing as Alexander MacClassic, the heroine's Scots tutor, but after some farcical scenes, he revealed himself as "a soldier—my name Douglas—my fortune a competence—my country Scotland!" A closing peroration on the union of Douglas and Clara: "the inhabitants of countries united by nature and policy should take every opportunity of strengthening the connexion—I see you all think as I do" reveals a didactic motive, however.

That was evident in another comedy, Holcroft's "The Deserted Daughter", modelled, the author admits, on Cumberland's "Fashionable Lover", in which he had acted. Here the villainous father, a scoundrel, has cast off his daughter Joanna, and her only and devoted supporter is Donald, a warm-hearted, hasty-tongued Scot. The play is a poor one; Donald's part static, and his vocabulary only a passable concoction. ("In the black devil glower at me, I see tell't ye my mind. I care nae for yer cankered girns —") It had no success, and Holcroft imputed that to the part of Donald, a part he later excised and replaced by a Yorkshireman's.

No, the Scot in romantic comedy was a failure, what English audiences enjoyed was the caricature, the buffoon part. There was no lack of forces and musical forces that held as "plum" some Scots grotesque; a 'Scotch author' who has written "a tragi-comedy of the doth and banishment of Marcus Tullius Cicero"; a Scots pedlar, "a man o' nce sma' leer", who having been told "ye maun een pikcile i' your ain poke nuke", she come south "to be a Latin secretary till a minister o' state"; a Laird of Lochiel and his lady chaffering over rooms with an English landlord, and boasting "an aught-story house" and "a bra view frae the Luckenbooths to the Wether Bow" in Edinburgh; a Scots Munchhausen, MacFable, full of tales of Rubis or the Grand Mogul, and in tent on selling his fictitious travels; a Scots sergeant, instructing a fellow-soldier in the arts of life—"Ye have nae kind of aconomy, nae forecast; you dinna heed the proverb, clap your hand twice to yer bonnet for aince to yer pouch"; a Scots, "rear-orotorical preceptor", MacRhetorick, coaching a Parliamentary novice; the familiar domineering snob, Lady Sinclair, whose vade-mecum was "The Becracy of Scotland", and who was "ready to ha' expatied at large up the minutise of the faulmerty"; and a novel professional type, a Scots portrait-painter, Craig Campbell, whose mind is "above filthy lucre", and whose constant boast is "I am a Campbell!". (He is exposed as a nameless Jones.)

Some of these were musical forces, and introduced an occasional "Scots song." "A Trip to Portsmouth", for example, had one good vernacular ditty sung by the Laird's sister, Hatty. But it was more common to find artificial—Scots songs being sung, as in Benson's "Love and Money, or the Fair Caldonian", or English ones as in the absurd farce "The Highland Scot" that O'Keefe concocted, with its "Lairds of Gl and Kauy", and its MacGilpins and Moggies.

An intelligent but erratic interest cropped up here and there, however, in matters Scottish for the London stage. Two important little developments
1. Genest.
2. Genest.
3. 1777, 1781, 1785, 1790.
4. Vanderstop's preface.
5. before 1763.
6. 1789
7. 1792.
8. 1801.
9. Lady M. W. Montagu's preface
10. 1777
11. 1778.
12. 1779.
13. 1768-86-91-92 respectively.
14. 1786.
for instance, date from the year '74. Macklin, reviving "Macbeth", ventured to dress himself and the subsidiary Scots characters in Highland dress. Indeed as it was in Macklin's case, "a clumsy old man who looked more like a Scotch piper", it established an admirable precedent.

In the same season, the "Gentle Shepherd" was brought to Drury Lane. This too set a precedent, for not only was there later a Scots company playing it at the Haymarket, but Englished versions were played and printed. Vanderstreet's, Tickell's, Ward's, Margaret Turner's—always, it may be remarked, with some comment on its unintelligibility unless so translated:

Its Beauties yet too partially have shone,
Its latent Charms obscure'd to English view,
The Scottish Language understood by few.

Lastly, two Scots topics found a doubtful hearing in drama. Mary, queen of Scots inspired a little succession of plays,—as she did poems and novels. The Duke of Wharton wrote one such, now non-existent, and Lady Mary Wortley Montagu its preface; Henry St John a second, Mrs Beverell a third, and Scottish writers further examples, as Graham. These were very much in the conventional romantic vein, with a sympathy for Mary's fate carefully toned down by the moral note of Vain, useless blessings with ill-conduct joined.

Scottish history other than that was barely touched. Hannah More's Parsley has only the weakest of ballad-flavours, and its scene is Northumberland, its heroines Lavinia and Birtha. Cumberland's "Battle of Hastings" introduced a Scottish seer, Duncan, who recalls Philips' Wizard of the Hills, but the part was left a negligible one. A Miss Dobert attempted a tragedy, Malcolm III, whose theme was How Scotland's King, heroic, generous, brave, To England's princess bowed a willing slave.

and a Scots King and nobles, the setting of Edinburgh, and Scots CELLOLOGYS MAGAZINES. But the play had no plot, and its romantic "arias" and "Alarick", its Norwegian villains, and King Edward "descending in the form of an angel" give an idea of its valuelessness. The other subject-matter, the Ossianic, was used mostly in opera, and its appearance there has been referred to, "Oitho", "Oscar", and "Salvin", "Comala". Style and theme lent themselves to "recitativo" and choruses of bards. The shortest and simplest efforts were the happiest. "Oscar and Malvina" or The Hall of Fingal", the most ambitious, was an object of ridicule with its absurd mixture of kings and pedlars, clan living "on the top of Ben Lomond", rustic sports held in stubble fields before Fingal Castle, and disguised Ossianic chiefs who sing ditties, such as "I am a Jolly, Gay Peder".

De la Pêl's "Captives", that set Ossianic five-act tragedy on the ordinary not the operatic stage, met sharper ridicule, and less deservedly, for its chief defects were only length and heaviness, and the author's predilection for toms. It had "Morven in Caledonia" as setting, and made great play with Lochlin and Morven. It was laughed off the stage however. "The captives were set at liberty last night amid roars of laughter", wrote Kemble to Malone.
1. "Celestina" 1791
2. "The Young Philosopher". 1798
3. "Ethelinde, or the Recusant of the Lake" 1790
4. "Marchmont" 1796.
5. "Wanderings of Warwick". 1794.
6. "Young Philosopher".
7. Mrs Inchbald's "A Simple Story". 1791.
8. Dr Dodd's "The Sisters". 1781.
Possibly ridicule was a main deterrent in keeping the Scots hero and heroine out of the serious drama of the day. The novel and poem that had only the battery of the Review critics to face were bolder in making use of Scottish matter. They did so in what seems at first a promising variety of ways.

Take stock of the novel in these last three decades of the century, and one finds characters and tales and settings figuring in the romantic novelette of contemporary times, in the artless' tale and the 'Gothick', in picaresque stories strung with realistic sketches, in novels of political satire, and in the pseudo-historical romance. That misleadingly suggests a liberal use. In reality, each type of novel has only a handful of tentative scrollings.

The sentimental novel held most. Here, as has been said, the Scots peerage, real and imaginary, was in high request. Tales revelled in a Lord Home, a Duke of Aberdeen, Marquis of Lenox, or Earl of Glencairn, and in innumerable Lieutenants Douglas and Captains Gordon. Even more effect were the fanciful 'Thane of Lanark', a genuine Caledonian Chief, Lord Staffa of Gross Bow Castle in Kirkcudbright, Glencorrin of 'the castled tower of Glencorrin in Sutherland', Sir Wallace Islay, laird of a small clan in the county of Caithness', the 'bard of MurrayIV, possessor of 'a magnificent castle in one of the most remote parts of Scotland', 'Lord Eglinton of a castle of gothic splendour and melancholy magnificence'. Similarly, women characters were named 'the Countess of Selville', 'Lady Lindsay', Caroline Huntly, Mrs Elphinstone, the 'ladie of Kilbrodie'; and heroines poor but virtuous traced descent from 'a impoverished Scotch earl', or 'a family more famed for antiquity than onulence', or even 'ranked kings among her ancestors'.

Concoctors of tales in this style were mostly women, Charlotte Smith, the two 'ees and the author of the 'Memoirs of a Scots Heiress'. One thing they had in common, an entire ignorance of actual Scotland, but that was felt little drawback as readers were equally ignorant. Directeet padding, or half a dozen details borrowed from Scotland, Johnson tided them over most difficulties. Thus Mrs Smith sends her Celestine to Skye, where 'she could now wander for whole days alone amid the wild solitude, listening only to the rush of the oastart and the sullen waves of the ocean'. Her Mrs Glenmorris elopes to 'a stone fortress in Sutherland, its base beaten by the waves of the German Ocean', and here enjoys 'the wild romantic solitude' until carried off to the Abbey of Kilbrodie. Her Ethelindie has as hero 'an adonis of the north', young Montgomery, whose kin suffered at Culloden, and whose family was impoverished by the '45 (Similarly her 'Marchmont' was of Jacobite stock, out in the '15 and '45.) She sends her Colonel Warwick to reside in Edinburgh for a spell of retrenchment, and vaguely suggests his contact with writers there.

And for Scottish incident, anything was yet plausible, from romantic visits to Iona and the mysterious 'doggings' of Highlanders, to the siege of a castle by kidnapping beacomers, (the latter supported by citing the case of Paul Jones' descents) It was a particularly adaptable country for the needs of sentimental fiction. 'In a lonely country on the borders of Scotland, a single house by the side of a dreary heath was the residence of the once gay, volatile Miss Milner'; or 'Born of poor parents, who brought him up hardly amidst the bleak mountains,
1. Harriet Lee's "The Young Lady's Tale" in "Canterbury Tales".

2. Eliz: Helme. 1794

3. By a Young Lady 1798.

4. 1783

5. published anonymously 1789.

6. 1794.
making the snow his pillow, and the star-bespangled sky his canopy" had full romantic flavour, and either hero or villain could urge "a
Scottish expedition", an elopement to "retire Green.

The 'artless tale' found it equally suitable. Emily, daughter of Sir
Edward Green, feeling that the Marquis of Morven will never aspire to
her, goes to live in "a Scottish cot" on his estate, dressing in "a
plaid jacket", and passing as Marian, foster-daughter of old Donald.

"Duncan and Peggy; a Scottish Tale", and "The Rock; or Alfred and
Anna, a Scottish Tale" made similar play with simple rustic life and its
virtues, and relied for realism on the occasional mention of a "plaid
robe" or a peat fire.

The 'Gothick tale' went further, and it and the pseudo-historical ro-
mance, when they chose to use Scotland, crammed their pages with a het-
erogeneous mixture of romantic details, drawn uncritically from Ossian
Macbeth, Fennell, Gilpin or any other, with a gay disregard for anachron-
isms or historical decency. The pioneers were Sophia Lee, whose "Recess"
centring on the love of "airy, Queen of Scots and Norfolk, has some
surface scenes at the Scottish court, and incidents such as the land-
ing on a northern island, and being taken to Dornock's (sic) Castle and
its heir; and Mrs Adelcliffe, whose "Castles of Athlin and Dunbayne,
A Highland Story" belonged to no recognizable period in Scots his-
try, and created a bizarre Highland scene. On the north-east coast
of Scotland, in the most romantic part of the Highlands, stood the Cas-
tle of Athlin, the beginning of the "an edifice built on the summit of a rock
whose base was in the sea". Here dwelt Osbert, the Earl of Athlin, who
"loved to wander among the romantic scenes of the Highlands, where
the wild variety of nature inspired him with all the enthusiasm of
his favourite art. (poetry) He delighted in the terrible and the grand"
Nearby was Baron Malcolm of Dunbayne, "a neighbouring chief, proud,
oppressive and revengeful, still residing in all the pomp of feudal
greatness". So a tale is spun with a warp of sentimental landscapes
and characters, "Elysian vales", and heaths "of wide desolation", mysteri-
ous ladies who from Gothic apartments sing songs to the lute, and
"manly young Highlander" who is found to be son of Baroness Malcolm,
and a woof of clan battles, martial exercises and the besieging of
castles. At first, a Scottish colouring is conscientiously dabbed in,
by clan broils, the daughter of Castle Athlin dressed "as a Highland
lass" performing a Scotch dance, a passing reference to second sight,
but that gradually is dropped, clan become "the FitzHenrys", and in
the last pages "the company now adjourned to the drawing-room!"
Surprisingly enough, there are no Ossianic tales. "Fingal, King of Mor-
ven, a Knight Errant" is only a controversial pamphlet, arguing that
Fingal belongs to "the epic romantic or epic Gallic muse".

Half a dozen tales, subtitled "Historical", or "Founded on Historical
Facts" blended very much the same mixture with one or two loose chap-
ters of history, or the use of a historical name. Henry Siddon's "Wil-
liam Wallace, or the Highland Hero" equips that character with a roman-
tically persecuted mother, and sentimental idylls in his own youth,
introduces subsidiary characters such as the Ossianic Conon, and Maria
who follows her lover in the garb of a young Highlander, and only
with a struggle reverts to history, writing it up in the vein of Wal-
ce's defiance: "When Edward ceases to entertain the sentiments of
1. 1796.
2. anon 1796.
3. By the author of Cicely 1797.
4. By a Lady of Quality 1799.
a tyrant, then will the friends of "allace desist to act like men". John Palmer's "Haunted Cavern, a Caledonian Tale", relegated history to a single chapter, and a tale of Richard of York soliciting the aid of the Scottish king against Henry VI. But "Donald of the Isles" is taken as villain, as Earl of Glencairn as hero. In the wild and barren county of Aberdeenshire, within a league of the sea-shore, and on the summit of a lofty hill, stood a Gothic castle, the tale begins, and one expects the worst, the gallimathias of ruffian, haunted caverns, mysterious parchments, hermit, skeletons and dungeons that follow. Scottish 'colour' is practically non-existent, except that Donald of the Isles "had all that ferocity in his countenance which marks the Caledonians."

Other historical tales, so-called, imitated the lead of Siddons or Palmer. "The Memoirs of the Ancient House of Clarendon" dealt with Border warfare, the invasion of the Baron of Clarendon's Castle by Malcolm, son of the Earl of Salerno, "chief of a Scottish clan". "Edmund of the Forest, an Historical Novel" laid its scene in the reign of James III, and introduced ghosts and caverns, and witch scenes obviously purloined from Macbeth. "Battleridge, an Historical Tale, Founded on Facts" purports to belong to "the close of Cromwell's usurpation", but is contemporaneous, according to Earls of Staffa, and Hanes of Lenark. It includes "Idare, an ancient true Scottish History" of the time of Kenneth II, a tale of "the great Dalzell, Thane of Lenark, and the vile Macree, Thane of Dumfritton", which attempts some antiquarian touches about 'hermen' and 'Lochaber Axes', but unluckily sets the Bass Rock "in the midst of Loch Leven."

That last slip is the measure of these tales so far as any reality about Scotland is concerned. The country was a romantic vacuum, in which the author places his pleasure in the squanderings of chronicle history, or "Macbeth" incident, and his conceptions of clans and feudal chiefs, or of Gothic landscapes of wild heath, pines and ruined abbeys, he may have.

Was there, then, no attempt at the realistic sketch of contemporary character or life?

For that, only the two Scots, Smollett and Moore, have anything of value. Moore's sketch of Duncan Targe and George Buchanan, though they are done in broad outline, and with well-worn jokes, are lively and actual, have honest Doric, and hit off the Highland and Lowland types with fidelity. Each has his typical career retailed, Duncan born in the Highlands, following his chief through the '45, and "in unshaken fidelity" sharing his flight and exile, until service in the Highland regiment is open to him; Buchanan, born and educated among "Whigs of Covenanting descent", and, since his father desired "to see his son George shake his head in a pulpit", gaining a University education, and finally a tutorship. Each has his countryside's foibles, targe, his inveighings against the Union, descantings on genealogy, passionate defence of Queen Mary, and singing of "the songs of Lochaber"; Buchanan his complaisant distastes on his nation and all its superiors, his outraged repudiation of Queen Mary's virtues, his remarks on "black popists" and foreign church services, and his pawky replies to English jibes.
1. 1759
2. 1772.
3. 1756-66
4. 1781.
5. 1788
6. see also small things like the "Scotsman"s Tale" in the Canterbury Tales of the two Lees eg-his bristling at being called an Englishman.

7. 1754
8. 1774.
9. 1779
10. 1786
11. 1764
12. 1781

14. 1783
15. 1788
16. 1787.
17. 1797.
18. 1789:
19. 1791.
20. 1774
21. 1789

19 a "William and Ellen", a tale, deals with the Helen of Kirkconnel Lea story. 1796.
Nothing like that was done by an English writer. Prosaic actuality can be found in William Stephens' "Castle-Builders, a Political Novel" where he gives one chapter to his business experiences in Scotland, as employee on York Building Company Work in the Highlands. Here and there a very slight sketch occurs, a Mr Selkirk, a Scots schoolmaster in "Graves Spiritual Quixote", a Martin Murdoch, pedlar and mathematician in Mary's "Life of John Buncle", or Robert Bage introduces a young Scots doctor, Dr Gordon, into his "Mount Kenneth", or a weather-beaten old Highland sea-captain, Captain Patrick Islay, into his "James Wallace". But these were either mere outlines, or in the set mould of rough Scot, with a mouthful of Latin tags and fabliau tales. The picturesque promise more, but the tally is dis heartening. "The Scotch Marine, or Memoirs of the Life of Celestine", "Scotch Parents, or the Case of John Ramble", "The Unfortunate Caledonian in England", "The adventures of George Maitland", all hurry their heroes out of 'North Britain', the events of the first belonging mostly to New England, and of the third to England and impressed life in the navy.

The political satires base themselves in London, the hero of "The Rise and Surprising Adventures of Donald McGregor" a London stock-jobber, Bockelb of "The Sisters" a London pimp, Dungravan, the "imprudent tool of power" of "Edmund and Eleonora", a political agent. And all of them were drawn with too much satiric animus to have any connection with truth or humour.

The English poetry of the same period shows roughly the same shallow exploration of Scottish topics, most often in pseudo-romantic vein. Beattie was the chief model, but names and occasionally settings were suggested by Ossian. Hence tales in verse like "Velina", which tells of the love of Arven for Velina, daughter of Morquhard, or "Alcan and Selvina", based on the second book of Finnal, "The Hermit's Tale" by Sophia Lee, which creates a Minstrel-esque shepherd youth warring against Highland cattle:

Wash'd by the rolling streams of Tay,
Near Cowrie's fertile lands.—

"The Harp, a Legendary Tale", of Col, bard of the Isles of Bara and Mora,
of a Highland pastoral by Mrs West, that is pure Martin and Collins in quatrains;—

Thus I met the procession of death,
It past'd me in shadowy glare.
Slow it mov'd to the valley beneath,
Then melted illusive in air.—

The Lowlands and Borders are little handled, except in Joseph Benson's "Battle of Flodden Field", a copy of Chevy Chace style and language, and that curious medley by Richard Hole—"Arthur, or the Northern Enchantment", a poetical romance. In it Arthurian, Scandinavian and Ossianic legend are swept together, the scene changing from Nebud's Isle to Carlisle and to Finlimmon, and Arthur placed among Ossianic Cynisls and Ivars, and the Norwegian Bacon and Skene. From Gray and his "Horace Fragments" came 'fatal sisters', and from Thomson and Macpherson "gloom congenial", and harpings and bards. The result is fantastic.
1. 1786
2. 1787
3. 1788
4. 1789
5. 1790
6. 1792.
Descriptive verse turned occasionally to the north for subject. One poem described "Loch Lomond" in twenty pages of blank verse, padding itself out with description of a thunderstorm, an address on Ossian, and a eulogy of the writers linked with the district. The Rev. L. Booker’s "The Highlanders" was a long humanitarian versifying of a Government report on the Arbrides, which had stated:—"Upon the whole, the Highlands of Scotland, some few estates excepted, are the seats of oppression, poverty, anguish and wild despair; exciting the pity of every traveller, while the virtues of the inhabitants attract his admiration." Booker accordingly descents on the hard life of the Highlanders there, - These Highland Warriors, whose immortal sires

Wield Ossian's Muse of Fire-

and on their virtues in war abroad, as testified by Chatham and Wolfe.

The same 'sensibility' impelled Mrs Cowley's "Scottish Village". A Pitcairne Green, a village in a country "which had never seen", is made convenient peg for musings in the style of Gray and of Beattie, evocations of mountains, and of the grotto of a bard with second sight, an outlining of the nation's progress since the Union, and a final rhapsody on geniuses the little village might produce, - another Thomson or Blair, a Mansfield, Brokine or Loughborough, a second Hume, - but not an infidel! - another Robertson.

Romantic-historical topics are meagrely exploited, except for that of Mary, Queen of Scots, who drew perennial verse. Sargent’s "Vision of Mary, Queen of Scots" titled itself a "Historic Ode", and showed the now popular taste for the northern supernatural, in its "Spirit of the Isles", from "Orkney's stormy Steep". Rogers, the poet, on his first travels in Scotland when the poem appeared, had been writing too of the Scottish supernatural, in his "Ode to Superstition":

O'er shadowy Scotia's desert coast,
The Sisters sail in dusky state,
And wreath in clouds, in tempest toss,
Weave the airy web of fate.

While the lone shepherd near the shipless main,
Sees o'er her hills advance the long-drawn funeral train.

But that picture, and one of "Scotia's Queen" in his "Pleasures of Poetry" were as yet Rogers' only contribution to literature about Scotland.

In this scattered fashion, English poets dallied in Scottish topics, but with no first-hand knowledge, no sign of accumulating interest, and none of genuine inspiration.
It comes with a shock, then, to remember, that in the years when Mrs Cowley was dropping a tear of sensibility over an unknown Fitzosborne green, and Booker over the Highlanders, when Mr. Smith was drawing her villainous Sir Athur Croft and her lord Dornock with their threats of carrying off heroines to Scotland, and Mrs Aisdeiffe writing her 'Highland Story' with its clans of Fitzhenrys and Highland warriors called Edgar Osbert Walter Scott, a youth in his teens, was cooped up in a sickroom battenning on these very romances, and dreaming tales of his own—a shock, because the difference between even the best of this 18th century fiction and Scott's "Waverley" is the whole difference between the artificial and the real, the insipid and the racy, the vacuous and the intelligent.

And as the end of the century is reached, and the tally of English literature about Scotland made up, it is against Scott's work that one can best measure how far English literature has yet discovered Scotland.

Five to ten years later, Scott has given poetry Border lay, historical poem, Highland romance, in the "Lady of the Lake", "Marmion", "The Lady of the Lake". Fourteen to twenty years later, he gave the novel Jacobite romance, Highland history, and an amazing range of Gaelic types, Lowland history and a galaxy of its religious, and historical, its serious and its comic characters, for "Waverley", "Old Mortality", "Rob Roy", "The Black Dwarf", "The Heart of Midlothian", "The Legend of Montrose", "The Bride of Lammermoor" have been written.

Against that, the 18th century has to enter the plea of 'nothing', 'not yet', 'not entirely!'--.

Some achievements are there, and have been mentioned in the chapters just ended.

Some beginnings are there.

The Scots ballad is known, collected and admired, and thanks to it the realisation of Border romance is stirring. In verse an occasional "Flodden Field" or "The Graham" appears; in fiction, the earlier stuff like "The Pleasant and Delightful History of the Renowned Northern Worthy, Johnny Armstrong" is superseded by tales of romantic Border warfare round "Chiviot's Fort", or the Earl of Balmanno's stronghold.

With the ballad's popularity goes that of the Scots song, and something of its influence is in the 'rustic tale' of the "Duncan and Peggy" type. The Jacobite songs are still taboo, however, in many English quarters, and dangerous to collect, the Critical Review, for example, censuring Ritson's inclusion of them: "By the preservation of all the Jacobite songs, the editor has evinced his fondness for their principles. We select as antidote--"

The use of Jacobite incident involves risk still, and political bias sets a 'thus far and no farther' limitation. A family attachment to the cause, ruin through participation in the '15 or '45, is as far as a novelist may go. But the humanitarian propaganda about the Highlander, and the Ossein literature have together made him a figure of possible romance. His wild landscape, (any spring or summer beauties are ignored) his solitude, his clan attachment to his chief, (a system
wrecked, but not realised as such), his picturesqueness of garb and music, (restored to him since the eighties), and tradition of arms and of bardic poetry, romantic blend—are all part now of the English literary consciousness. English novelists have not yet corrected or "scaled" these details by any personal knowledge. (though just as the century closed Mrs Smith, in some reform of her literary ways, worked up her long tale of Mrs Glenmorris’s adventures in Scotland with details taken from Johnson’s and Pennant’s Tours among Highland feudal life, dress, houses, superstitions, proverbs and the like.) Nor have they brought to their craft any sense time sense, any grip of race psychology, or any humour. But a highly-coloured, flamboyant picture, entitled 'Highland life' is in English minds, and only an exasperated reviewer points out from time to time that the details are garbled, that "the Highland Hero" must be the work of a school-boy who ought to have been better employed", or that his pleasure in "The Castles of Athlin and Dunbayne", "would have been more unabashed had our author preserved better the manners and customs of the Highlands. He seems to be unacquainted with both",

One Scottish character is now accepted by the English romantic imagination, Mary, Queen of Scots. The century had battled over her; in the twenties the reprint of Buchanan’s "Detection" and Scottish repudiations had led to research and pamphlets by Jebb and Anderson, to novelettes by Mrs Heywood and anonymous writers, and a batch of translations from the French; the fifties saw renewed historical work by Goodal, and by Robertson, which inspired poems by Boyse, Mickie, Bruce and a drama by Wharton; the eighties found Tytler busy on his "Historical Enquiry", and Gilbert Stuart and John Whitaker hot in defence of her, and a further group of plays about her, that make interesting use of the Scots songs, and in which Mrs Siddons triumphed as the Queen. English prejudice has released her, as it has the Highlander, and if the reviews are to be trusted, the end of the century finds Scotland in general being absolved by English opinion from the traditional charges. The controversial and the apologetic note are in less evidence. The intimidation of national rancour and of political attack has practically ceased.

"Droon oot the hale hypothech, dicht the sklate,—
Start a’ thing owre again.—

was the need for the new century. But where themes for serious literature about Scotland were concerned, the English skate had always been and still is only too empty. A glance at Scott’s work again, and the juiciness and shallowness of English work is evident. Here is there yet any sound historical knowledge among the novelists, any psychological study of national character, any knowledge of Gaelic, any appreciation of race 'humours', any pen dispassionate enough to draw a Highland rascal as realistically as a Highland gentleman, a Scots sower as truthfully as a barefoot Scots heroine, and to present still-debatable periods of Jacobite or religious warfare with justice to opposing sides? As the age ends, Maria Edgeworth is busy on "Castle Rackrent", with its immortal Irish pictures, and Scott’s dreaming "a tale of chivalry, which was to be in the style of the Castle of Otranto, with plenty of Border characters and supernatural incident". But English work reveals an interest in Scotland, a romantic conception of it, ventures in romantic tale and verse, but as yet no sure literature of value,