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**8**

# ALBA LITERARIA

A HISTORY OF SCOTTISH LITERATURE

Edited and introduced by  
Marco Fazzini

AMOS EDIZIONI

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VALENTINA BOLD

*James Hogg*

James Hogg, 'The Ettrick Shepherd', was born in Ettrickhall in the Scottish Borders, the second of four sons to tenant farmers Margaret Laidlaw and Robert Hogg. Due to his father's bankruptcy, the writer spent only six months at school, and was hired out aged seven to work as a cow herd; by the age of seventeen Hogg was a shepherd. He was fortunate in coming from a family of accomplished singers and storytellers; Hogg's grandfather, Will o' Phaup, transmitted much of his repertoire to his children, Margaret and William Laidlaw. Hogg read widely, too, using the libraries of his employers, the Laidlaws. He stresses an early identification with Scottish writing from Hamilton of Gilbertfield's version of Blind Harry's *The Wallace* (1722) to *The Gentle Shepherd* (1725).<sup>1</sup>

Hogg 'resolved to be a poet' after encountering Burns' work in 1797 and formed a literary society of shepherds. His first publication was a comic poem, 'The Mistakes of a Night', printed anonymously in *The Scots Magazine* of 1794. Hogg's later contributions to the periodicals, including *The Edinburgh Literary Journal*, *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal*, *The Quarterly Journal of Agriculture and Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country*, would be extensive. An early series of letters, too, following Burns' footsteps in trips to the Highlands, was published between 1802 and 1804 in *The Scots Magazine*.<sup>2</sup> Incidentally, during the 1832 visit of Hogg to London – where he was much more appreciated than in Scotland – Hogg brewed punch in Burns' punch bowl during a lavish dinner, on the 25th of January, for over two hundred people.

By 1800 Hogg was working with his father at Ettrickhouse, and in 1801 published the anonymous and popular song *The Patriot Lay of Donald McDonald* (1801). In 1801, too, Hogg's *Scottish*

*Pastorals, Poems, Songs, etc. Mostly written in the dialect of the South* shows him working skilfully within Scottish idioms, particularly in lyric styles. At this time, through the Laidlaws, Hogg's family became involved in Scott's project of collecting for *The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* (1802-1803). Famously, Hogg's mother disliked Scott's ballads: 'they were made for singing an' no for reading – they're nouthier right spell'd nor right setten down'. Scott, who first met Hogg in 1802, assumed the role of quasi-patron although the relationship was, at times, ambivalent.<sup>3</sup> When the lease on Ettrickhouse expired in 1803, Hogg attempted to secure a lease in Harris but lost his savings. He spent a summer in Cumberland and then as a shepherd at Mitchell-Slack in Nithsdale. There, Hogg met Allan Cunningham, and the two writers formed a lasting friendship. In 1807 Hogg began to work as a land agent, and continued to do so, part time, until 1811.

In 1807 Hogg published his second volume of poetry, *The Mountain Bard* (several pieces had been published in journals like *The Scots Magazine*). There is an Ossianic and sentimental flavour to this, with parodic moments. In the same year, Hogg published *The Shepherd's Guide: being a Practical Treatise on the Diseases of Sheep* (1807), which won a prize from the Highland Society. Hogg earned £300 from his publications, and took the farms of Locherben, with Adam Brydon, and Cofardine in Dumfriesshire. By late 1809 he was in debt.

In February 1810 Hogg set off for Edinburgh, intending to write full time. His friend John Grieve (a hatter) offered useful contacts (including Hogg's future brother-in-law James Gray, a teacher at the High School) and Hogg became involved in an Edinburgh debating society, the Forum. On 1 September 1810, Hogg published the first number of a short-lived satirical journal, *The Spy*, drawing on models such as *The Spectator*. While initially it sold well, Hogg offended his audience in issues 3 and 4, and the final issue ran on 24th August 1811. His next poetry collection, *The Forest Minstrel* (1810), presented Hogg as the leading poet of Ettrick, in a Borders version of the Ossianic group. Like Ramsay and Burns, Hogg champions 'national music', shunning 'English songs' and 'Italian tirlie-whirlies' whilst maintaining 'the most scrupulous delicacy'.<sup>4</sup>

In 1813, Hogg made his literary breakthrough with the long narrative poem *The Queen's Wake*. Set on Mary Queen of Scots return to Scotland in 1561, it describes a poetry contest lasting for three nights. The best known items include 'The Witch of Fife', a rollicking account of a witch's night raid to Carlisle, and her husband's capture by the bishop's men. In Hogg's original version the old man was burnt at the stake. Scott, however, persuaded Hogg to save him: the wife rescues the husband and a moral is drawn:

May ever ilke man in the land of Fyfe,  
 Read what drinkeris dree;  
 And nevir curse his puir auld wife,  
 Rychte wicked altho she be.

'Kilmeny' is the most highly finished part of *The Wake*. The title character is a composite creation, as enigmatic as the fairy lady of 'Tam Lin' (Child 39), but 'pure as pure could be'. On one level, with its sombre Highland shepherd bard, Drummond of Ern, the poem reworks 'Thomas the Rhymer' (chapter 37). Like Thomas, Kilmeny has emblematic visions. He saw the narrow path of righteousness and broad path of wickedness. Kilmeny sees the 'stream of life' and Scotland's future: the demise of Mary Queen of Scots; the civil wars; the coming of Napoleon. Like Thomas, Kilmeny is seven years in the Otherworld and when she returns, like him, speaks, 'words of wonder, and words of truth'. Christian elements mix with tradition and with the 'land of vision', the metaphysical realm of Kilmeny's self-discovery. Reviews were mixed: *The Edinburgh Review*, for instance, admired 'original genius' but wished Hogg, 'could be persuaded to put a little more thought and matter in it – to make his images a little more select'. However, in terms of Hogg's poetical career, *The Wake* was a significant publication, which won Hogg attention from the *Literati* North and South of the Border (he corresponded with Byron and with Southey, and spent time with Wordsworth in the Lake District in 1814).<sup>5</sup>

In 1815, due to the wishes of the Duchess of Buccleuch (who died in 1814), Hogg was granted the farm of Altrive Lake, on Yarrow, for a nominal rent. In the same year he published *The Pilgrims of the Sun*, dedicated to Byron. The first edition consisted

solely of 'Pilgrims of the Sun' and 'Superstition'. However, from the 1822 *Poetical Works* onwards, in Hogg's lifetime, 'The Pilgrims', 'Connel of Dee' and 'Superstition' appear together, as parts of an extended, and supernatural, narrative. The pilgrim, Mary Lee from Carelha in Yarrow (the site of 'Tam Lin' (Child 39)) is similar to Kilmeny. Accompanied by an angelic 'wight' in a white robe, she makes a celestial journey, realising that all faiths are equally respected by God, and achieving a new understanding of the relatively lowly position the earth holds. Hogg makes use of an eclectic range of sources here, including Dante's *Divina Commedia* (Cary's complete blank verse translation was published in 1814, with parts appearing in 1805 and 1806) and *The Pilgrim's Progress*. There are similarities of outlook, too, to Blake's 'Jerusalem' and perhaps Allan Cunningham – who featured Blake in *Lives of the Most Eminent British Painters, Sculptors and Architects* (1829-1833) – introduced Hogg to the then obscure writer's work. Astronomy, too, fascinated Hogg, and the 1822 edition of *The Pilgrims* includes 'Verses to the Comet of 1811', based on 'Stanzas Addressed to a Comet' in the *Edinburgh Magazine* of 1819 and celebrating 'The Great Comet' of 1811 which was thought to foretell the fall of Napoleon. It is possible, too, that Hogg alludes to the anticipated solar eclipse of 1816. Hogg probably draws, too, on the 1771 edition of *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, using the contemporary theory of plural worlds by analogy. There are traces, too, of the notions of heavenly order expressed in Laplace's *Mécanique Céleste* (1799-1822) and of a Newtonian 'motioned universe'. Another source is *Revelations* 21: 10, where an angel escorts the spirit of St John, 'to a great and high mountain, and shewed me that great city, the holy Jerusalem'. Reactions were mixed. Shrewdly, *The Augustan Review* observed: 'the author is said... to have been a shepherd; and... to possess little learning... he is not classical; but neither is he unlearned'. The *Scots Magazine* admired the 'bolder character' of *The Pilgrims*, but wished Hogg would stick to 'the mythology of his own country'. Later critics have been dismissive. Batho reviews its textual history (Murray's hostility, Byron persuading him to publish) and dismisses *The Pilgrims* as a stylistic 'sampler'. Gifford comments, 'Hogg is no thinker... playing about in other poets' styles, using in turn the manner of Scott, Pope and Milton'. More recently, Gifford acknowl-

edged validity to Nelson Smith's verdict on the 'ambitious' *The Pilgrims*. Groves thinks the poem is an analogy of travel through the realms of Milton, Dryden and Pope.<sup>6</sup>

Hogg constantly sought new models, as can be seen in his parodic and experimental works. The bravura *Poetic Mirror* (1816) is a collection of imitations, including affectionate tributes to Byron and Scott, followed by less respectful parodies of Wordsworth, Hogg himself, Southey and Coleridge, and forthright satire on John Wilson. 'The Gude Grey Katt' pokes fun at Hogg's own style, taking off Hogg's recurrent theme of a virgin's magical flight; it ends with the Katt plunging the cleric who attacks its shape-changing abilities into hell. Although published anonymously, Hogg's unmistakable style meant that the book's authorship was recognised and, wryly, *The British Lady's Magazine* (1816) observed that, 'there possibly never existed, at one time, a set of bards more assailable either by serious or burlesque imitations'. Modern critics are divided on the value of *The Poetic Mirror* though they recognise key items. Gifford dislikes the 'irritating pseudo-Scots' of the 'Gude Grey Katt' and the revelation of the Katt's identity. Groves indicates the importance of 'The Gude Grey Katt' as it 'represents the imagination of James Hogg'. Antony Hasler has described the 'ingenious lies' of the text as crucial to the formation of Hogg's ambivalent creative personae. Certainly it allowed the writer to experiment in a wide range of styles, while infusing the results with his distinctive literary accent. Hogg's highly developed capacity for experimentation, and for self-satire, influenced his later tale of a supernatural journey, 'The Russiadde: A Fragment of an Ancient Epic Poem, supposed to have been written by Gilbert Hume, a Sutor of Selkirk'; this attacks the romantic notion of visionary poet as prophet through satire. Hogg adopts entirely different experimental techniques for *A Queer Book* (1832), reverting to the ballad and lyric forms of his earlier career, and subtly distorting these genres. Peter Garside points out that while 'queer' in English indicates strangeness, in Scots it carries connotations of wittiness and comedy.<sup>7</sup>

Also in 1816, Hogg published his long narrative poem, *Mador of the Moor*. Hogg postures here as a 'nursling of the wild, the Mountain Bard' and 'Nature's simple bard'. Set in the fourteenth

century, *Mador* tells the story of a strong-willed rustic, Ila Moore, who becomes pregnant by an itinerant minstrel, Mador. When she traces her vanished lover, she discovers he is the King of Scotland. They marry and Mador acknowledges his son. *The British Critic* admired its 'dignified simplicity... which Burns himself scarce attained' forgiving 'occasional vulgarities'. Moreover, the reviewer noted similarities with classical literature, while denying the possibility of a Shepherd knowing such material: 'one would really have thought that the Ettrick shepherd had translated Simonides; but there is no plagiarism here, it is the voice of nature'. *The Scots Magazine* admired 'original... thought' and 'Scottish feelings' but thought the success of *The Queen's Wake* had led Hogg beyond 'the limits of his powers'. Later critics, like Thomson, found it morally distasteful. Gifford considers it to be 'in the worst Hogg vein... he repeats the snigger of Ramsay'. Recently, the strong heroine has been praised for questioning gender stereotypes and this judgement has some force, though it neglects folktale precedents like 'Rashiecoat', Scotland's Cinderella (AT 510). Similarly strong female leads feature in the ambitious *Queen Hynde* (1825) which reverses the plot of Fingal into a tale of heroic Irish assistance for the Scots, with Iliadic resonances and similarities to Macpherson's earlier piece, *The Highlander* as well as material from Mallet's *Northern Antiquities* (1770).<sup>8</sup>

From 1817 onward, Hogg was involved in establishing Blackwood's *Edinburgh Magazine*. He contributed a sizeable quantity of prose and poetry to the new journal, including the controversial and satirical 'Translation from an ancient Chaldee Manuscript' – extensively retouched by John Wilson and John Gibson Lockhart – in issue 2 (1817) and the 'Shepherd's Calendar' series which ran from issue 13 (1823) to issue 24 (1828); the latter is a comprehensive survey of the characteristic natural and supernatural experiences in Borders' agricultural life. More damagingly, Hogg was featured in the 'Noctes Ambrosianae' sketches which ran between 1822 and 1835, largely the work of 'Christopher North' (John Wilson). Lockhart's highly condescending description, in Peter's *Letters to His Kinsfolk* (1819), offered a prototype for this image. In August 1821 of Blackwood's, with respect to *The Mountain Bard*, his poetic talents were savagely assaulted; in

December 'Maginn' (Morgan O'Doherty) ridiculed Hogg's supposed alcoholism. But on the other hand, in the February 1819 issue Hogg was compared, as a lesser poet, with Burns and given the title of 'the poet laureate of the Court of Faery'. Just as Burns was seen as natural at the plough but ill-suited to the parlour, though, so the Shepherd is presented as ill mannered, bucktoothed and hirstute: too coarse to fit in with the Maga set. Hogg was aware of being pilloried. In 1825 he defined his feelings for Wilson to Blackwood as: 'a mixture of terror, admiration and jealousy, just such a sentiment as one deil might be supposed to have of another'. The 'Noctes', being widely read, did real damage to Hogg's reputation. As William Tennant sympathetically wrote to Hogg: 'I see you in Blackwood, fighting and reaping a harvest of beautiful black eyes from the fists of Professor John Wilson'.<sup>9</sup>

In 1818 Hogg published *The Brownie of Bodsbeck; and other Tales*, in two volumes and three parts: 'The Brownie of Bodsbeck', 'The Woolgather' (first published in 1811 as 'The Country Laird') – a tale of romance and rumour – and 'The Hunt of Eildon' which treats real supernatural shape-changing. There is also a dedication piece 'Verses Addressed to the Right Honourable Lady Anne Scott of Buccleuch' (the daughter of the Duke of Buccleuch), which presents Anne as pure and Christian, in the vein of Kilmeny. Later editions break up this set into stand-alone tales, destroying the writer's integrated text and representing it as a more conventional romantic novel by isolating its constituent parts. 'The Brownie' itself is a powerful story, shaped from oral and written sources relating to the late seventeenth century 'Killing Times'. The elusive hero, John Brown, hides out on Chapelhope farm with his broken band of followers. He is based on, and was originally named after, John Balfour of Burlie although the name was changed due to Scott's non-complimentary use of Burlie in *Old Mortality* (1818). The plot revolves around the interpretation of Burlie's presence on the farm as a manifestation of its supernatural 'brownie', and the subsequent persecution of the farmer, Laidlaw, and his family, for sheltering renegade Covenanters. Hogg's sources include written and oral texts, from theological diatribes, to supernatural traditions of the brownie as 'an unearthly thing' and Ettrick legends of the cruel acts practised by Bloody Clavers, John Graham of Claverhouse, and his

royalist troops. *The British Critic*, while admiring the remarkable tales, questioned Hogg's use of Etrick tradition: 'he has given himself no trouble about the truth' and exhibited 'bad taste'.<sup>10</sup> Hogg, however, is engaging in stylistic experimentation here, blending genres from the historical novel after Scott to Gothic-scale horror, love stories and oral story cycles. He returned to the covenanting theme in his later novel, *Tales of the Wars of Montrose* (1835); closely based on oral history this is, perhaps, more mature in its historical attitude, but the storyline is less captivating than that of *The Brownie*.

Hogg's next major project, commissioned by Colonel David Stewart of Garth of the Highland Society of London, was *The Jacobite Relics of Scotland; being the Songs, Airs, and Legends, of the Adherents to the House of Stuart* (1819-1821). This two volume set shows Hogg's empathy with Jacobites, linked to a keen awareness of cultural repression and deprivation in the Highlands. Although the Society had suggested representing the Hanoverians, there are few Whig songs; Hogg attributed the disproportion to Scottish sympathies. The material is arranged chronologically: volume I is songs from before Sherriffmuir (1715); II relates to the 1745 Uprising and its aftermath. Some items were from oral tradition, some from manuscripts, and others from works like Johnson's *Scots Musical Museum* (1787-1803) and Cromek's *Remains of Nithsdale and Galloway Song* (1810). *The Relics*, like the *Minstrelsy*, utilised composite texts and Hogg used his familiarity with oral traditions, verbal and musical, to advantage. He included 'skeletons' of airs, drawing on his knowledge of the violin (like Burns before him) and aided by William Stenhouse (the Edinburgh accountant who would edit the music in later editions of Johnson's *Musical Museum*) and claimed that the airs could be harmonised for piano by 'any composer or professional player'. Appealing to Ossianic interests, as well as the post-Scott enthusiasm for the Highlands, Hogg distinguished Jacobite song from ballads and lyrics as: 'the unmarked effusions of a bold and primitive race'. Although not a fluent Gaelic speaker, Hogg had Highland correspondents like Peter Buchan make prose versions in English, which he then versified. The Jacobites, in this context, become latter-day noble savages (implying Hogg's fitness, perhaps, as the Etrick Shepherd, to

remember their Cause). Most of *The Relics* are traditional, but Hogg could ascribe 'anon' to add interest to his own, modern, material, exploiting his status as an authority on oral tradition, as Donaldson and Batho have observed. Contemporary reactions were mixed. Scott classed *The Relics* as 'a curious book'. Jeffrey, in the *Edinburgh Review*, identified 'absurd principles' in *The Relics* such as 'speculative Jacobitism' – fostering the Cause without risk – and condemned its 'coarse and gross taste'. Nevertheless, *The Relics* left a lasting impression on the Scottish song canon and Hogg helped to rework the Highlander's image from ruffian to heroic soldier and his criteria permeated the subsequent Jacobite canon.<sup>11</sup>

In April 1820 Hogg married his long-standing sweetheart, Margaret Phillips, the younger daughter of a farmer in Annandale, twenty years younger than himself. In 1821 he took a nine year lease on Mount Benger, which caused him some difficulty due to the high level of rent. Although he had turned down an invitation to George IV's coronation (it clashed with St Boswell's fair), in 1822 Hogg published *The Royal Jubilee*, a double-edged tribute to the King on his notorious visit to Edinburgh of that year. A play with songs (probably never performed), this is a patronage request writ large, but it has an uneasiness of tone, especially in its Britishness. Contemporaries found it absurd: 'he is evidently slightly insane through the whole poem'. The *dramatis personae* consists of Scottish types, vying to welcome George to Edinburgh: a Queen of the Fairies with Jacobite sympathies, a Genius of the Ocean, an Ossianic Genius of the Gael, a Covenanting Genius of the West and the Genius of Holyrood. As well as overtones of *Midsummer Night's Dream*, there is a hint of the chaotic *Twelfth Night*, and Shakespeare's fantasy had been performed in Edinburgh in January 1816.<sup>12</sup> Rifts among the subjects are (at least superficially) healed by Archy Campbell, the Highland policeman, but the spirits go off in different directions, suggesting a fragmentated Scottish identity (and perhaps the jostling of the *Literati* for precedence during the actual visit).

Also in 1822, Hogg published the four volume *The Poetical Works of James Hogg* which covers his lyric and ballad-style pieces comprehensively. In the same year, too, he produced *The Three Perils of Man: or, War, Women and Witchcraft*, an often hilarious,

and sometimes supernatural, novel and a splendid example of Hogg's storytelling abilities at their best. As Gifford says: 'The Three Perils of Man represents the burgeoning of his deep interest in that other class of the supernatural, the world of "diablerie" and demonology'. This was followed by a companion novel, *The Three Perils of Woman; or Love, Leasing, and Jealousy, a Series of Domestic Scottish Tales* (1823). This consists of three parts: a section flirting with the style of contemporary novels of manners; a convoluted tale dealing with the deceits in marriage affecting Richard Rickleton, who had appeared in the first part, and a Jacobite tale. This, too, is a fine work, with mixed attitudes towards the natural and supernatural worlds, exemplified by the experiences of the heroine of the first piece, Gatty Bell, who falls into peril during a three-year coma produced by her over-zealous prayers.<sup>13</sup>

Hogg's most complex work, however, is *The Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner* (1824). André Gide drew attention to its religious and moral dimensions, as well as its interest for 'psychologists and artists, and above all surrealists who are so particularly drawn by the demoniac in every shape' and *The Confessions*, undoubtedly, is Hogg's masterpiece.<sup>14</sup> Ambiguity and obfuscation are prevalent throughout this book. There are, for instance, several accounts of the main events: one by its 'editor' – itself in two parts as his narrative and his final comments – one by the 'sinner' of the title, as well as reported eyewitness accounts of central events from possibly unreliable witnesses like Arabella Calvert. The dual narrative undermines the reader's sense of security with the text. Dramatically set in the Old Town of Edinburgh and, at crucial times, on Arthur's Seat, as well as in a resonant Borders' landscape (in physical and moral senses), it starts with an unwilling marriage and ends with murder, spiritual torment, and suicide. There are wonderfully believable character sketches, from the elderly but rapacious laird of Dalcastle, George Colwan, to his humane mistress to his overly precious wife and mother of two boys, the Glasgow Baillie's daughter Raby Orde. Her pompous pastor the Rev Mr Wringhim is possibly the father of the eponymous 'Sinner'.

On one level, this is a tale of unadulterated evil, focussed on a

devil who is, in his shape-changing and seductive form, close to that of oral tradition. Equally, it is a tale of over-blown religious bigotry and the misshaping of the notion of the Elect into the concept of those, beyond Free Will, who can do anything without sinning. Yet again, it can be read as a startlingly modern study of a literally divided self represented, on one hand, by the fratricidal brother Robert Wringhim and his heartier sibling George Colwan, and on another by Wringhim's relationship with the Satanic Gilmartin. Here, for instance, is Wringhim's first encounter with the central figure of Gilmartin (perhaps the devil, perhaps his id, perhaps a Russian exile, or perhaps a figment of the imagination):

I felt a sort of invisible power that drew me towards him, something like the force of enchantment, which I could not resist... That stranger youth and I approached each other in silence, and slowly, with our eyes fixed on each other's eyes... What was my astonishment, on perceiving that he was the same being as myself!... This singular being read my thoughts in my looks, anticipating the very words that I was going to utter.

The novel is at once structurally sophisticated, at times hugely humorous and at others genuinely terrifying; a *tour de force* which is at once original and distinctively Scottish, with echoes of 'Tam O' Shanter' as well as of oral traditions. There are possible debts, too, to Hoffman's *Die Elixiere des Teufels* which was translated by R.P. Gillies and published in the same month as the *Confessions* in this translation, in June 1824. Hogg, though, goes far beyond his models. As Gifford says: 'in suspending his account of these moral actions between two bases of judgement Hogg has expressed a situation still of crucial importance and confusion... in a story which still never fails to create unease and wonder'.<sup>15</sup>

Other notable work includes *A Border Garland* (1819), which has a chapbook flavour, and includes a series of fine lyrics about natural and supernatural love which are often set, here, to Hogg's own melodies, indicating an unusual ability to explore traditional conventions and innovate in music as well as in words (even Burns, as far as is known, did not regularly make his own tunes). The 1831 *Songs* selection includes items from previous collections, anthologies and periodicals. The tone is overwhelmingly lyric and pastoral, with many lugubrious items as well as humorous pieces. Hogg's songs, too, have been set by composers including

Beethoven and Haydn and recorded, more recently, by the McCalmans on *The Ettrick Shepherd* (1980).<sup>16</sup> *Familiar Anecdotes of Sir Walter Scott* (published in New York and England as *The Domestic Manners and Private Life of Sir Walter Scott* in 1834) is an entertaining and humorous account which is highly revealing of the two writers' ambivalent relationship. *A Series of Lay Sermons on Good Principles and Good Breeding* was also published in 1834. Here Hogg postures as a country gentleman; offering (often tongue-in-cheek) advice to his family and friends.

Hogg was long stereotyped as merely 'the Ettrick Shepherd': a poetical genius with no intellectual depth. Bowdelerised Victorian editions, such as that by Thomas Thomson, prevented his work from being critically assessed but, more recently, Hogg's work has undergone a thorough reassessment. George Saintsbury was among the earliest to recognise the *Confessions* worth (although he suspected John Gibson Lockhart was the author). Works like George Douglas' *James Hogg* (1899) and Edith Batho's *The Ettrick Shepherd* (1927) began a considered re-evaluation of Hogg's work, and T.E. Welby's unexpurgated edition of *The Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner* (1927) made possible André Gide's influential preface to the 1947 edition of the *Confessions*. John Carey's 1969 edition of the *Confessions* continued Hogg's re-evaluation. The critical work of Douglas Gifford, David Groves and Douglas Mack, along with respectful modern editions such as those of the Stirling/South Carolina Research Edition of the *Collected Works of James Hogg* have allowed Hogg to finally achieve his rightful status as an innovative Scottish writer of international rank.<sup>17</sup>

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Autobiographical information on Hogg is drawn from 'Memoir of the Author's Life', first published in James Hogg, *The Mountain Bard; consisting of Ballads and Songs, founded on Facts and Legendary Tales*, Edinburgh: A. Constable, 1807, revised in the expanded edition, Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1821, and expanded for *Altrive Tales*, London: J. Cochrane and Co., 1832, with additional material from

Hogg's 'Reminiscences of Former Days. My First Interview with Allan Cunningham', *The Edinburgh Literary Journal*, vol. 1, 1828-1829, pp. 374-375 and 'Reminiscences of Former Days: My First Interview with Sir Walter Scott', *The Edinburgh Literary Journal*, vol. 2, 1829, pp. 51-52. These show Hogg's developing literary persona: see Silvia Mergenthal, *James Hogg: Selbstbild und Bild*, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1989. On Hogg's family see E.E. Petrie, 'Odd Characters: Traditional Informants in James Hogg's Family', *Scottish Literary Journal*, vol. 110, 1983, pp. 30-41 and 'Further Particulars in the Life of the Ettrick Shepherd', *The Scots Magazine*, vol. 67, 1805, pp. 501-503. See also Mrs. [Mary Gray] Garden, *Memorials of James Hogg: The Ettrick Shepherd*, Paisley: A. Gardner, 1885, and George Douglas, *James Hogg*, Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier, 1899. Modern critical biographies include Edith Batho, *The Ettrick Shepherd* (1927), rpt, New York: Greenwood Press, 1969; Louis Simpson, *James Hogg: A Critical Study*, Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1962; Douglas Gifford, *James Hogg*, Edinburgh: The Ramsay Head Press, 1976; and David Groves, *James Hogg: The Growth of a Writer*, Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1988. See too the journal *Studies in Hogg and his World*. A.L. Strout's *The Life and Letters of James Hogg*, Lubbock, Texas: Texas Tech. Press, 1946, appeared as the first volume of a projected two; the edited letters will shortly appear in the Stirling/South Carolina edition of the *Complete Works of James Hogg*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, edited by Gillian Hughes.

<sup>2</sup> See Gillian Hughes, 'James Hogg's Fiction and the Periodicals', unpublished PhD thesis (University of Edinburgh, 1981). The 'Tours' are reprinted in James Hogg, *Higland Tours: The Ettrick Shepherd's Travels in the Scottish Highlands and Western Isles in 1802, 1803 and 1804*, edited by W.F. Laughlan, Hawick, Roxburghshire: Byways, 1981.

<sup>3</sup> Hogg's comments about Burns are not in his 1807 or 1821 'Memoirs' but are in the 1832 version, p. 11ff. See James Hogg, *Scottish Pastorals: Poems, Songs, etc. Mostly Written in the Dialect of the South, 1801*, edited by Elaine Petrie, Stirling: Stirling University Press, 1988. See Valentina Bold, '"Neither right spelt nor right setten down": Child, Scott and the Hogg family ballads', in Ted Cowan ed., *The Ballad in Scottish History*, East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2000, pp. 116-141.

<sup>4</sup> James Hogg, *The Forest Minstrel*, Edinburgh and London: A. Constable and Co., 1810, pp. vii-ix.

<sup>5</sup> See Douglas Gifford, *op. cit.*, p. 43. 'The Queen's Wake', review, *The Edinburgh Review*, vol. 24, 1814-1815, p. 62.

<sup>6</sup> James Hogg, *The Pilgrims of the Sun: A Poem*, London: Murray, 1815. 'Connel of Dee' first appeared in James Hogg, *Winter Evening Tales*, 2 vols., Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1820, II, pp. 204-222. *The Poetical Works of James Hogg*, 4 vols., Edinburgh: A. Constable and Co., 1822, includes 'The Pilgrims of the Sun' along with 'The Haunted Glen', 'The Field of Waterloo', 'Connel of Dee' and 'Superstition', all vol. II, pp. 1-127, 179-228, 281-323, 115-149 and 151-166. See James Hogg, 'Stanzas addressed to a Comet', *Edinburgh Magazine*, vol. 5, July 1819, p. 30. See Gary W. Kronk, *Cometography*, vol. 2, unpublished, 1996, quoted HYPERLINK <http://comets.amsmeteors.org/comets/1811.html>; and HYPERLINK <http://comets.amsmeteors.org/educate/comintro.html>; R.J.M. Olson et al., 'The 1816 Solar Eclipse and Comet 1811 in John Linnell's Astronomical Album', *Journal for the History of Astronomy*, vol. 23, 1992, pp. 121-133. 'The Pilgrims of the Sun', review, *The Augustan Review*, vol. 1, May 1815, pp. 30-31. 'The Pilgrims of the Sun', review, *The Scots Magazine*, vol. 16, Dec 1814, pp. 930, 932. Edith Batho, *op. cit.*, pp. 75-76, 144-146. Douglas Gifford, *op. cit.*, p. 62; Douglas Gifford, 'James Hogg by Nelson Smith... James Hogg at Home by Norah Parr... James Hogg "Highland Tours"', edited by William F. Laughlan', review, *Scottish Literary Journal*, supplement, no. 17, Winter 1982, pp. 84-89. Nelson Smith, *James Hogg*, Boston: Twayne, 1980, p. 133. David Groves, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-60.

<sup>7</sup> On the textual history, see Hogg's 'Memoir of the Author's Life', in *The Mountain Bard*, Edinburgh: A. Constable, 1821, pp. lvii-lx. James Hogg, *The Poetic Mirror*, London and Edinburgh: Longman; Ballantyne, 1816. David Groves ed., *James Hogg: Poetic Mirrors*, Scottish Studies 11, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1990: this is the 1816 *Poetic Mirror* and the 'New Poetic Mirror', published in the *Edinburgh Literary Journal* (1829-1831). 'The Poetic Mirror', review, *The British Lady's Magazine*, vol. 4, 1816, pp. 381-387. Douglas Gifford, *James Hogg*, cit., pp. 47-48; David Groves, *James Hogg* (1988), cit., p. 77; A.J. Hasler, 'Ingenious Lies: The Poetic Mirror in Context', *Papers given at the Second James Hogg Society Conference, Edinburgh (1985)*, edited by Gillian Hughes, Aberdeen: Association for Scottish Literary Studies, 1988, pp. 79-96. James Hogg, 'The Russiadde', in *The Poetical Works*, 4 vols., Edinburgh and London: Constable; Hurst, Robison & Co., 1822, III, pp. 295-359. See reviews cited, *James Hogg: A Queer Book*, 1832, edited by P.D. Garside, The Stirling/South Carolina Research Edition of the *Collected Works of James Hogg*, 3, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1995, pp. xi-xii.

<sup>8</sup> 'Mador of the Moor', review Art. VII., *The British Critic*, vol. 7, 1817, pp. 97-100. 'Mador of the Moor', review, *The Scots Magazine*, vol. 78, June 1816, pp. 448-452. James Hogg, *The Works of the Ettrick Shepherd*, 2 vols., edited by Thomas Thomson, new edition, London: Blackie and Son, 1865, I, pp. 104-105. Douglas Gifford, *James Hogg*, cit., p. 6. J.E. Barcus, 'When beauty gives command, all mankind must obey!': Gender Roles in Hogg's Mador of the Moor', *Studies in Hogg and his World*, no. 6, 1995, pp. 33-49. James Hogg, *Queen Hynde: A Poem, in Six Books*, London and Edinburgh: Longman; Blackwood, 1825. James Macpherson, *The Highlander*, Edinburgh: Ruddiman, 1758.

<sup>9</sup> The 'Noctes Ambrosianae' sketches are collected in John Wilson ed., *Noctes Ambrosianae*, 4 vols., Edinburgh: Blackwood & Sons, 1863, and reprinted as *Tavern Sages: Selections from the Noctes Ambrosianae*, edited by J.H. Alexander, Aberdeen: Association for Scottish Literary Studies, 1992. J.G. Lockhart, *Peter's Letters to His Kinsfolk*, 1819, reprinted and edited by William Ruddick, Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1977. See 'Autograph Poems, Letters, etc. James Hogg', NLS MS 2245, f. 150.

<sup>10</sup> *The British Critic*, vol. X, October 1818, p. 418.

<sup>11</sup> On Hogg's sources and techniques see 'Small Collections', NLS MS 3925 and *Jacobite Relics*, passim. See William Donaldson, *The Jacobite Song*, Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1988, pp. 100-107. Edith Batho, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-43. *Scott Letters*, VI, 1819-1821, p. 69; 'The Jacobite Relics of Scotland, being the Songs, Airs, and legends, of the Adherents to the House of Stuart. Collected and Illustrated by James Hogg, Author of the Queen's Wake, etc.', VIII, pp. 444. 'Edinburgh 1819', review Art VII, *Edinburgh Review*, vol. 34, August 1820, pp. 148-149.

<sup>12</sup> See James Hogg, *The Royal Jubilee*, 1822, edited by Valentina Bold, facsimile, and Valentina Bold, 'The Royal Jubilee: James Hogg and the House of Hanover', *Studies in Hogg and his World*, V, 1994, pp. 102-151 and pp. 1-19. September 1822, 'Hogg's Royal Jubilee, etc.', Blackwood's *Edinburgh Magazine*, p. 349. See the *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, January 4 and 11, 1816.

<sup>13</sup> Douglas Gifford, *James Hogg*, cit., p. 102; see Valentina Bold 'Traditional Narrative Elements in The Three Perils of Woman', *Studies in Hogg and his World*, III, 1992, pp. 42-56.

<sup>14</sup> André Gide, 'Introduction', in James Hogg, *The Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner*, London: Cresset Press, 1947, p. ix.

<sup>15</sup> Douglas Gifford, *James Hogg*, cit., p. 181.

<sup>16</sup> The McCalmans, *The Ettrick Shepherd*, London: Greenwich Village, 1980, GVR 209.

<sup>17</sup> See *The Works of the Ettrick Shepherd*, edited by Thomas Thomson, 2 vols., London: Blackie and Son, 1865. *The Collected Essays and Papers of George Saintsbury, 1875-1920*, London and Toronto: J.M. Dent & Sons, I, 1923, pp. 26, 31, 42. George Douglas, *James Hogg*, Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier, 1899; Edith Batho, *The Ettrick Shepherd* (1927), reprinted New York: Greenwood Press, 1969. James Hogg, *The Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner*, edited by T.E. Welby, London: A.M. Philpot, 1924; André Gide, 'Introduction' to James Hogg, *The Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner*, translated by Dorothy Bussy, London: Cresset Press, 1947. James Hogg, *The Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner*, edited by John Carey, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969. Valentina Bold, *Nature's Making: James Hogg and the Autodidacts*, East Linton: Tuckwell, 2004.