

EDITING JAMES HOGG:  
SOME TEXTUAL AND BIBLIOGRAPHICAL  
PROBLEMS IN HOGG'S PROSE WORKS

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### Abstract

James Hogg (1770-1835) was highly regarded as a writer during his lifetime, but after his death his reputation declined. During the nineteenth century Hogg's works were widely available in editions based on collections published shortly after his death by Blackie & Son of Glasgow. These editions were sadly inadequate, in particular with regard to Hogg's prose. They completely omitted several works of great merit -- for example, The Three Perils of Woman; and they printed thoroughly corrupt texts of a number of Hogg's major works -- for example The Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner. In recent years, more reliable editions of a number of Hogg's works have been published. This has encouraged a revival of interest in Hogg, and his reputation has increased substantially. A just estimate of the full range and depth of Hogg's achievement will only become possible, however, once the many remaining textual and bibliographical problems have been solved. The present thesis seeks to make a contribution to the completion of this task by providing a detailed examination of the textual problems presented by a number of Hogg's more important prose works; and by providing an annotated listing of all the surviving texts of Hogg's prose which are of interest to an editor.

### Acknowledgements

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### Previously Published Work

Some parts of this thesis are based on previously published work by the present writer. Chapter II is based on 'The Transmission of the Text of Hogg's Brownie of Bodsbeck', The Bibliothek, 8 (1976), 7-46; and Chapter VIII is based on 'James Hogg's Reminiscences of Sir Walter Scott', The Bibliothek, 11 (1983), 81-92. The concluding section of Chapter IV is based on 'The Suicide's Grave in The Confessions of a Justified Sinner', The Newsletter of the James Hogg Society, 1 (1982), 8-11.

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## Chapter I

### Highland Tours (1802 and 1803)

Hogg produced such a large volume of work, both in poetry and in prose, that it is sometimes difficult to remember that he was well into his thirties before he began to publish regularly. This late start as a writer can be attributed to the circumstances of his childhood and youth. He was born in 1770 in the Scottish Borders, in the upper valley of the Ettrick. During most of his childhood he was employed in farm work of various kinds, and he had very little formal schooling. From 1790 till 1800, when he was in his twenties, Hogg was employed as a shepherd at Blackhouse, a farm in the Yarrow valley not far from his Ettrick birthplace. At Blackhouse he was encouraged to make use of his employer's excellent library, and he also formed a friendship with his employer's son William Laidlaw (later the friend of Scott and the steward of Abbotsford).<sup>1</sup>

This friendship with William Laidlaw brought Hogg into contact with Scott at the period when Scott was collecting material for the third volume of his collection of traditional ballads, Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border (Edinburgh, 1803). Hogg gave Scott enthusiastic help in this task, and thus began a friendship which ended only with the death of Scott thirty years later.

At this stage of his life Hogg made a number of summer journeys into the Highlands. His accounts of two of these journeys, both taking the form of a series of letters to Scott, are the first works we shall consider.

1 Our chief source of knowledge of Hogg's early years is his own autobiographical sketch, 'Memoir of the Author's Life'. The first version of this work appeared in Hogg's The Mountain Bard (Edinburgh, 1807).

1. A Journey Through the Highlands of Scotland, in the Months of July and August 1802, in a Series of Letters to ----, Esq.

Hogg kept a journal in the course of a tour of the Highlands which he made in the summer of 1802, and after he returned home part of his journal was read by Scott. At Scott's suggestion, and with a view to publication, Hogg re-cast his journal in the form of a series of letters to a friend.<sup>2</sup> Six instalments of the letters were published in The Scots Magazine between October 1802 and June 1803, and the sixth instalment leaves Hogg at Dalnacardoch in northern Perthshire, making his way north in the last week of July. This instalment concludes with the promise 'To be Continued', but this promise was not kept. Indeed, Hogg's 1802 Journey was not reprinted until as recently as 1981, when a shortened version of the original Scots Magazine text was published by Byway Books of Hawick.<sup>3</sup>

Clearly, then, Hogg's 1802 Journey has never been published in its entirety. It seems possible, however, that part of the unpublished portion of the 1802 Journey is to be found in the Stirling University Library manuscript, MS 25 box 1 (2). This manuscript, which consists of three notebooks in Hogg's hand, was presented to Stirling University Library in 1979 by Hogg's great-granddaughter Mrs Norah Parr of Wellington, New Zealand.<sup>4</sup>

- 2 This is the sequence of events indicated by Scott's introductory letter (signed 'S.W.') which precedes the first instalment of Hogg's 1802 Journey in The Scots Magazine (vol. 64 (1802), p. 812). See also Hogg's letter to Scott of 10 September [1802], (National Library of Scotland MS 877, f.244).
- 3 James Hogg, Highland Tours, edited by William F. Laughlan (Hawick, 1981). A comparison with the original text shows that considerable omissions and re-arrangements have been made. Hogg's accounts of his Highland journeys of 1802, 1803 and 1804 are included.
- 4 Mrs Parr inherited the notebooks from her father Robert Gilkison, who had previously inherited them from his aunt, Hogg's daughter Mrs M.G. Garden. I am indebted to Mrs Parr for this information. See also Robert Gilkison, James Hogg and his Descendants (Titahi Bay, 1976).

The first of the Stirling notebooks is numbered 'No 4', and the second is inscribed 'No 5 of Journey to the Highlands', apparently in Hogg's hand. The final Stirling notebook is incomplete and unnumbered. Unfortunately, notebooks 1-3 of the series have not survived, and notebook 'No 4' begins in the midst of a narrative, the title of which is not given. This unidentified passage, which takes up the first fifteen pages of notebook 'No 4', is doubtless a continuation of the contents of the missing notebooks 1-3. It is followed, in notebook 'No 4', by Hogg's account of the tour which he made to the Highlands in the summer of 1803, a work which is discussed below. Notebook 'No 5' and the unnumbered Stirling notebook contain a continuation of Hogg's account of his 1803 tour.

It would be natural for Hogg's account of his 1802 tour to precede his account of his 1803 tour in the series of notebooks devoted to his journeys to the Highlands. It therefore seems reasonable to guess that the unidentified passage at the beginning of notebook 'No 4' may in fact be the conclusion of the 1802 Journey. The passage in question takes the form of a series of letters to a friend, and is an account of a journey by Hogg from Glen Avon in the Grampians to Ettrick. The first instalment of the 1802 Journey in The Scots Magazine tells us that Hogg set out from Ettrick on 22 July 1802, while the manuscript passage records his return there 'on the 17<sup>th</sup> of August after about a months absence'.<sup>5</sup> In all the circumstances, it seems reasonable to conclude that this manuscript passage is indeed the final section of the 1802 Journey.

The question remains: how much is missing from Hogg's text between the end of the section printed in The Scots Magazine and the beginning of the surviving manuscript? It seems likely that a good deal of text may be

5 See The Scots Magazine, 64 (1802), 813; and Stirling University Library MS 25 box 1 (2), notebook 1, f.8 verso.

lost, as there are indications that Hogg travelled a considerable distance north from Dalnacardoch before he reached Glen Avon on his return journey to the south. For example, in the last instalment of the 1802 Journey to appear in The Scots Magazine, Hogg writes: 'I ... never more thought of returning, until my horse took up a halt in the interior of Ross-shire'.<sup>6</sup> In order to reach 'the interior of Ross-shire', Hogg must have travelled seventy miles or so north from Dalnacardoch.

Because there is a gap in Hogg's narrative, a future edition will contain only the opening and closing sections of the work. As far as the opening section is concerned, the printed text of The Scots Magazine is the only guide we have to Hogg's intentions, and a future edition must therefore be based on that text. The relevant passages in The Scots Magazine are as follows:

- 1) Vol. 64 (1802), 813-18.
- 2) Vol. 64 (1802), 956-63.
- 3) Vol. 65 (1803), 89-95.
- 4) Vol. 65 (1803), 251-54.
- 5) Vol. 65 (1803), 312-14.
- 6) Vol. 65 (1803), 382-86.

Scott's introductory letter, which is signed 'S.W.', appears in vol. 64, p. 812. It would of course be appropriate to reprint this letter in any future edition.

A future editor will wish to identify and correct, wherever possible, any printer's errors which may appear in the passages listed above. Over-enthusiasm in providing conjectural emendations of this kind can damage a text, and there is a good deal to be said for caution in these matters.

6 The Scots Magazine, 65 (1803), 384. A passage in the surviving manuscript indicates that Hogg's journey took him on 'a course of at least three hundred miles' through the barren hills of the Highlands (see Stirling University Library MS 25 box 1 (2), notebook 1 f.3 recto).

The following suggestions for emendations may however be offered for consideration:

The Scots Magazine, vol. 64

p.813, col.2, l.30, and passim

For 'Etterick' read 'Ettrick'.

Hogg's usual form is 'Ettrick', and this is the form used in the surviving manuscript portion of the 1802 Journey (see the last paragraph of the work in the transcription below).

p.814, col.2, l.42

For 'the Weird Loa' read 'the Weird La'a'.

Compare p.814, col.2, l.47. In Hogg's handwriting, 'o' and 'a' are often difficult to distinguish.

p.816, col.2, l.29

For 'son' read 'grandfather'.

Hogg's only son -- James Robert -- was not born until 1821, and the encounters between Hogg's grandfather Will o' Phaup and the fairies are recorded elsewhere.<sup>7</sup>

p.816, col.2, l.39

For 'Badsbeck' read 'Bodsbeck'.

'Bodsbeck', the correct form of this Border place-name, is used elsewhere by Hogg -- for example, in the title of his novel The Brownie of Bodsbeck. The mistake may have been caused here by the similarity of 'o' and 'a' in Hogg's handwriting.

p.817, col.2, l.49

For 'spawning' read 'speaning'.

To 'spean' is to wean an infant or suckling animal, and July is the

7 See Hogg's 'The Shepherd's Calendar. General Anecdotes', Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, 21 (1827), 442-45.

time for shepherds to spean their lambs. This being so, 'speaning' fits the context; while 'spawning' does not. Perhaps 'spawning' was suggested to the compositor by the mention of the river Tweed in line 48.

p.959, col.1, 1.6

For 'all most all' read 'almost all'.

p.963, col.2, 1.1

For 'he source' read 'the source'.

The Scots Magazine, vol. 65

p.91, col.1, 1.33

For 'seal' read 'zeal'.

p.92, col.1, 1.31

For 'day' read 'way'.

Hogg crosses the Forth with little delay, so he cannot have spent the whole day in dispute with his landlord; 'way' fits the context, and may be the correct reading.

p.312, col.2, 1.24

For 'Ranach' read 'Ranoch'.

The usual form is 'Ranoch': see comment on 'Badsbeck', above.

p.313. col.2, 1.4

For 'you Remembering' read 'you. Remembering'.

Mention should also be made of some other readings which might be thought to require emendation.

The Scots Magazine, vol 64

p.817, col.1, 1.29-30

'muir-fool'

Any temptation to emend to 'muir-fowl' should be resisted. See the

article on 'muir' in The Scottish National Dictionary.

p.818, col.1, 1.5

'curan'

This word is not recorded in The Scottish National Dictionary, and it appears in The Oxford English Dictionary only as an obsolete form of 'currant' (which does not fit the present context). The word should not be emended, however, as it is probably a variant of the Scots 'curn', meaning 'a band or company of persons'.

The Scots Magazine, vol. 65

p.254, col.2, 1.9

'laryx'

This is probably a form of the Scots word 'larich', the larch tree.

We have examined the problems which are presented to the editor by the opening section of Hogg's 1802 Journey.<sup>8</sup> The concluding section remains, and as this part of the Journey has never been published, a text is provided below.

For the concluding section of the 1802 Journey, the only text available to the editor is Hogg's surviving manuscript, Stirling University Library MS 25 box 1 (2), notebook 1 ff.2-9. In the text given below, the manuscript is followed very closely. In Hogg's later prose manuscripts, it is clear that he did not trouble himself greatly about such matters as punctuation, capitalization, and the like -- the 'accidentals' of the text. In the early manuscript we are at present considering there are a few oddities in such

8 I have used the Stirling University Library set of The Scots Magazine. Any emendations adopted in a future edition should of course be listed and discussed in the editor's textual notes.

matters as punctuation and spelling, but nevertheless it is obvious that in this instance Hogg took greater care than usual with the accidentals of his text. The accidentals of the manuscript are therefore followed below, even to the extent of reproducing the manuscript's oddities. The occasional roughnesses which result from this policy are not likely to distract the reader seriously, and any attempt to remove these roughnesses would involve some loss of flavour. Over the years, the corners of some of the pages of the manuscript have been damaged, and as a result some words or parts of words are now missing. An attempt has been made -- by guesswork -- to supply missing words and parts of words, and these guesses appear in the text in square brackets. At some points in his narrative, Hogg inserts a long dash in the text. These long dashes (like the crosses which appear in Hogg's later manuscripts) seem to be intended to indicate breaks between paragraphs. (Hogg no doubt adopted this method of indicating paragraph breaks in order to save paper.) In the text which follows there is a generous sprinkling of words in Scots: for example, 'frush' and 'sowered' in the first paragraph. For such words a Glossary has been provided at the end of the present thesis.

Stirling University Library MS 25 box 1 (2), notebook 1 ff. 2-9.

For some time after leaving the village we had a made road, but like that at Strathconon, we lost it all at once and had nothing but a foot-path. In our way we passed a hill of solid marle, part of it rock-marle, and part of it a frush, calcareous substance resembling sifted lime: the rock marl[e] had exactly the appearance of lime which is sowered and hardened again. My guide informed me, that some experiments had been made, whereby it appeared, that it raised great crops of grass, but did not suit grain so well. What

a treasure this would be in some places; but the all-wise governor of universal nature, hath, in the formation of these islands, taken care to mix advantages and disadvantages so, that one part must always be dependant on another for the produce of each, and none of them to be acquired but by industry and perseverance. This inexhaustable mine is entirely useless about the spot where it is situated; but [a new] road which is still advancing will soon reach it; and even then the benefits which might accrue from such a fund of manure have little chance of being reaped, as all these mountains abound with lime-stone, and no arable country of sufficient extent being near. This river, which in the Gaelic they pronounce Adh-fion, the inhabitants say, received its name from the unfortunate circumstance of Fingal losing his consort there, who was drowned in crossing that impetuous stream. It is the largest tributary that supplies the mighty torrent of the Spey which it joins after a course of thirty miles from its source; running, from the time that it leaves Glenaven, from the Southwest to the North-east; and in this upper part, it runs through a long narrow glen, where there is almost no valley, the banks rising immediately from the side of the river. These are steep; [not] very high; but interspersed with some wild wood, and the black tops of the lofty mountains appearing in the back-ground behind them, it forms altogether a scene beautifully wild. It was on a farm held by the parson of Kirkmichael, that I saw the first green hill in a course of at least three hundred miles, he had some very good sheep of the true linton breed feeding on it.

We now left our foot-path, and turning to the North-west, entered Glenaven by a pass, like all the other highland glens. At the mouth of it there is a linn, over which the water falls from a height of eighteen feet yet over which a number of salmon ascend into the glen; and a great many more are taken at the fall. It is by much the clearest and purest river that I saw in all the highlands of Scotland.

After entering the glen, we saw part of a wood which dissappeared as we advanced. We went a good way past the head of Loch-Aven, and consequently got a [good] general view of the whole glen; and, though I can scarcely tell why, I never saw a scene that I took more pleasure in contemplating. though destitute of the elegance of the scenery in Athol and Bredalbin; and even of the horrid grandeur of Glen-Nevis and Glen-Coe; it hath a gloomy sublimity peculiar to itself, the viewing of which fills the mind with still solemnity: and the stories with which my guide was constantly entertaining me, certainly helped to deepen these impressions on my mind: all of which went to confirm, that it was the continual haunt of different species of the genii, and other phaenomena; there the fairies revel undisturbed; and there the water horse is frequently seen by the solitary wanderer. Although the belief in the existence of this being is firmly established in sundry places in the highlands and islands, yet they seem not at all agreed in their opinions to what class of beings he belongs: they all however agree, that he is [amp]hibous; and that he hath the rare priviledge of turning himself into whatever shape he pleaseth with the greatest ease and dispatch: and that his intents toward the whole human race are evil and dangerous. He told me likewise of a little deformed monster, whose head was larger than its whole body, which was sometimes seen on the tops of these mountains very early in the morning; of so banefull a nature, that it was certain death to come near it, or even to touch the ground where it had passed, unless the sun had first shone upon it.

And, not far from the loch, there is a stone chair of wonderfull efficacy in mitigating the pains of child-bearing, to which many have gone, and taken a seat on it, before their labour approached. Add to all this, that there is no human habitation upon it; but the whole

of that extensive glen lying waste for three quarters of the year. Let any man combine all these ideas at once, and look around him at the wild, black, dismal-looking scenery and laugh if he can. But as I have far exceeded my usual limits I will take my leave.

Yours &c. JH

Dear Sir

After contemplating the rude scenery of Glen-Aven for some time, we returned by the way that we entered. It is a large track of country, appearing to be, at least, ten miles in length, and entirely unoccupied. There are great numbers of cattle however, grazed on it during the summer. In such an extensive range, what a number of excellent wedders might be reared! for although it is cold and stormy to a very great degree, the hills are high around it; and it is very well sheltered by nature; so that if his grace would let a lower pasture farm alongst with it to which they might fly in the event of a great storm taking place, (for so a snow that lyes long frozen on the ground is generally termed through Scotland,) the forest of Glen-Aven might prove a valuable property.

It is certainly the most elevated Glen of the same extent in Scotland: the water of Loch-Aven lying at the amazing height of 1700 feet above the level of the sea, yet the hills are high around it. The famous mountain of Cairngorm forms part of its northern boundary, and rises to the height of 2370 feet above the level of Loch-Aven, so that it is second in height to very few of the mountains in Britain. It is noted for the brilliancy of its pebbles, and it is supposed that all the pebbles that are found in the north are now denominated Cairngorm stones.

On leaving Glen-Aven we rejoined our old track again proceeding up Glen-bilg, and at Loch-Bilg entered Aberdeen-shire. We then went up a water called Glen-Garn, a high stormy like place, the property of Mr Farquharson of Invercauld, ascended a hill by a zigzag path, at the top of which my guide left me; saw a high hill here to the westward called Morvern. I now came down the Brae's of Mar, and in a short time was at the river Dee, over which I was ferried by a young girl, and took up my lodgings in M<sup>r</sup>. Watsons house at the Castletown; and would you believe it sir? I trembled on lighting, for fear that I had heard tell of the dead man.

The large old castle of Brae-Mar, belonging to the earl of Fife, is situated on a curious little eminence, in the middle of a broad level plain, on the south side of the Dee; and on the opposite side, stands the elegant house of Invercauld, a very delightfull spot; surrounded with large plantations of wood of all ages. Mr Farquharson hath a very large property here and in Perthshire; but the rents are far from being proportionate to the extent: he is represented by the country people as a very worthy man. It is remarkable, that all the principal inns on this road belong to him for near an hundred miles which so much surprised an English traveller, that he is said to have used the following expression. "What? Invercauld again? d—n it, I believe that fellow hath got all the highlands of Scotland." Having got but a circumscribed view of Brae-Mar, I can give no proper description of it; but I was informed, that, both at a pass below that, and in Glen-dee, far above it, there are some of the finest scenery in Scotland. There are saw mills in Brae-mar, where a great quantity of excellent timber, floated from the immense forests above, is annually manufactured into planks and deales. These mills employ

a great number of workmen. Many of the inhabitants still profess the Catholick religion, and have a handsome chapel.

From the castletown I ascended the water of Clunie, which is a track of excellent sheep pasture and entered Perthshire by the famous pass of Glenshee, and descended by Glen-beg to the elegant inn of the new Spital where I stopped a day to take a view of the estate of Dalmunzie, the property of Robert Mackintosh esq. Adv,t. It is certainly the best pastoral estate of its size, that ever I traversed either in Scotland or England; yet it was lying quite waste, without a single four-footed animal on it, that could be kept off: nor had it been set in a lease for fifteen years. On the large flats, and sloping declivities in the bottom of the glen, the natural clover and other rich grasses were growing so thick and strong that it was difficult to walk through it; and the mountains were, many of them, green to the tops; or having no more heath than what was desirable to form a compleat sheep range.

There had been once such a number of inhabitants upon it, that their ruinous habitations appeared in clusters like so many villages. The farm of Inveridderie, about two miles below that is lying desolate in the same manner. Mr Makintosh, the proprietor of these lands, is certainly one of the most whimsical charactars in existence, and the occurrences of his life are well worthy the attention of biographers, as they would altogether form a history, more diversified by incidents and reverses of fortune, than ever fell to be related in the life of one private person. Besides, the deep concern that he took in the affairs of both church and state, law and gospel; would form a compleat memorial of the times during his long life. Coming home to Scotland from a long absence in foreign countries, and finding his land overstocked with people; he tore down their houses and chased

them all away: but their curses had fallen heavy on him, for he never hath had the power to let it since; if it were not some parts of it during the summer months to drovers and graziers. On these farms there are at least 400 acres of rich arable land; three valuable mills gone to decay; and 10000 acres of hill pasture.

This district of Glenshee, is in the parish of Kirkmichael in Strath-Arle and shire of Perth; but there is a chapel of ease here, where the parson is obliged to preach once every three weeks or so. On entering this church, as they called it, I was struck with the barbarous appearance that it exhibited. It consisted of one story: Strong old thick walls, and the roof covered with broad flags which were again covered with a green turf. There were two large windows in front, which were quite open, without either frame's or glasses; and that the wind might have a free passage, as the water hath through their brogs, there was a large hole in the roof on the opposite side. And as many of the inhabitants claimed the particular privilege of being buried in the church, and the soil being of a loose gravel, the floor was become literally paved with human bones. Skulls, chaps, rumples, and shanks that had once pertained to gigantic highlanders, were lying thick and threefold; and the ends of many of them were gnawed off by the shepherds's dog's for want of better employment while their masters were hearing sermon: never was Memento mori written in more impressive characters; and that it might have a proper effect, an open grave was standing in the North-West corner of the church: this had been digged the preceding winter, for a lad that had died at some distance, but the weather growing rough, and the waters swoln, they buried him at home, and the grave was suffered to remain to be ready for the next.

This Glenshee is affirmed by the natives to have been the scene of the hunting that terminated in the untimely death of Diarmed, one of the heroes of Ossian, by the treachery of his rival in love. His grave, a large heap of stones, was show'n to me, not far from the church: the well out of which he drank and the hill on which he encountered and overcame the boar still bear his name in the Gaelic language. I must in justice observe here that at this inn of the Spital held by Mr Watson there is the best entertainment on the most reasonable terms of any place that I saw in that country and I would recommend it to gentlemen as a convenient hunting station

The Shee after running about six miles taketh the name of the Black water very applicable to its appearance and after receiving the tribute of the Arle at Cally it joins the Ila near Blair-gowrie. this is a town of very mean appearance there is however a considerable weekly market at it and an excellent inn held by Mr Galway

I next passed through Cupar-Angus a considerable town on the borders of Perthshire and without meeting with any thing remarkable rejoined my old road at Perth and proceeded by the same track that I went to Ettrick where I arrived on the 17<sup>th</sup> of August after about a months absence. Thus have I given you all the particulars of this journey and my general observations which are not yet compleated you shall have bye and bye

In the meantime believe me

Sir your most obliged and faithfull

serv<sup>t</sup>

James Hogg

Ettrick

2. A Journey Through the Western Highlands and Islands of Scotland, on the Months of May, June, July, and August. A.D. 1803

Hogg's manuscript for most of this work survives. 'A Journey through the western Highlands and Islands of Scotland, on the months of May, June, July, and August. A.D. 1803'<sup>9</sup> occupies ff. 11-47 of the Stirling University Library manuscript MS 25 box 1 (2) notebook 1, and the text continues in notebooks 2 and 3 of the same manuscript. The 1803 Journey was not published in Hogg's lifetime, and indeed it did not find its way into print until 1888, when the manuscript was discovered among Hogg's papers by his daughter Mrs M. G. Garden.<sup>10</sup> Following this discovery the 1803 Journey was published in the July 1888 number of The Scottish Review (vol. 12, pp. 1-66), under the title 'Unpublished Letters of James Hogg, the Ettrick Shepherd'. Later in 1888 a reprint in book form was published by Alexander Gardner of Paisley (the publisher of The Scottish Review) under the title A Tour in the Highlands in 1803: A Series of Letters ... Reprinted from 'The Scottish Review'. The only subsequent printing has been the 1981 Hawick edition of Hogg's Highland Tours, discussed above. This edition is based on the earlier printed texts, rather than Hogg's manuscript.

The 1803 Journey occupies the first 66 pages of the July 1888 number of The Scottish Review. The first notebook of the manuscript ends at a point in the text which appears on p.28 of The Scottish Review. The second notebook of the manuscript carries the text on to p.47 of the Review, but unfortunately several pages of the third notebook have been lost since 1888, and the text in the surviving portion appears on pages 55-58 of

9 This is the title given in Hogg's manuscript at the beginning of the text.

10 See The Scottish Review, 12 (1888), 1.

The Scottish Review.

The Scottish Review does not reproduce the text of the manuscript with faithful accuracy. There are some errors by the printer -- for example, the manuscript's 'sagely observed' (f.12 verso, line 18) becomes 'safely observed' in both the 1888 printed texts (Scottish Review p.2, line 32; A Tour p.6, line 23). There are also a number of bowdlerizations. For example, in one of his numerous comments on agriculture, Hogg writes in the manuscript (f.18):

... when the lambing season commences with them, many of the lambs are in danger of perishing. I proposed, as a remedy for this, the keeping of the males from the ewes for some time after Martinmass, that the season might be farther advanced, and the grass in a more forward state ere the the [sic] ewes began to lamb. They said it kept the lambs too young: but I insisted on the old proverb, that small fishes were better than none.

The whole of the above extract from 'I proposed, as a remedy' onwards is omitted from The Scottish Review (p.6), and from A Tour ... in 1803 (p.13).

Furthermore, the accidentals of Hogg's manuscript are not followed in the printed texts. Thus, in the manuscript, the first sentence of the second paragraph of the work appears as follows:

On the 27<sup>th</sup> of May, I again dressed myself in black; put one shirt and two neckcloths in my pocket; took a staff in my hand, and a shepherd's plaid about me; and left Ettrick on foot, with a view of traversing the West Highlands, at least as far as the Isle of Sky.

In The Scottish Review this sentence becomes:

On the twenty-seventh of May I again dressed myself in black, put one shirt, and two neckcloths in my pocket; took a staff in my hand, and a shepherd's plaid about me, and left Ettrick on foot, with a view of traversing the West Highlands, at least as far as the Isle of Skye.

Variation in accidentals of this kind appears throughout the work.

Clearly, Hogg could have no hand in the various alterations made in the 1888 printings, which appeared more than fifty years after his death. If an editor seeks to follow Hogg's wishes and intentions, therefore, he will disregard the readings of the 1888 printed texts, and will return to Hogg's

manuscript. The manuscript shares the characteristics of the surviving manuscript portion of the 1802 Journey, discussed above. The editorial policy suggested for dealing with the 1802 Journey would therefore be equally appropriate for the 1803 Journey.

A small proportion of the manuscript of the 1803 Journey is now lost. For this section of the text it will be necessary, faute de mieux, to base a new edition on the 1888 printed versions. Of these two versions the Scottish Review printing seems preferable as copy-text, as it is one step nearer the manuscript in the chain of transmission. However, it will also be necessary to consider any variant readings in A Tour ... in 1803, the 1888 text 'reprinted from "The Scottish Review"'. No such variants have been discovered by the present writer. Indeed, a comparison of the two 1888 versions suggests that both may have been printed from the same setting of type, with additional leading being added for the reprint in book form.

To sum up: a new edition of Hogg's 1803 Journey should be based on the manuscript where that survives; and where the manuscript is now lost, a new edition should follow the text of The Scottish Review.

Chapter IIThe Brownie of Bodsbeck

The events of James Hogg's novel The Brownie of Bodsbeck take place in 1685, six years after the Battle of Bothwell Bridge, when the defeated Covenanters were scattered and in hiding. The novel tells how Walter Laidlaw, a Border farmer, gives food and other assistance to a group of half-starving Covenanters, who have taken refuge in the hills of his remote farm of Chapelhope. By doing this, Walter places his own life in danger as a harbourer of rebels, and his troubles are increased when he discovers that there is a general suspicion that his daughter Katharine is dabbling in witchcraft, and that she is in league with the Brownie of Bodsbeck, a deformed supernatural creature who is believed to haunt Chapelhope.

The novel goes on to describe how Graham of Claverhouse leads a party of government troops through the Borders in search of the Covenanters. Many atrocities are committed by Claverhouse and his soldiers. When they come to Chapelhope Walter is taken prisoner and sent to Edinburgh, where, after standing trial, he is set free on bail. Shortly afterwards a change in the political climate of the country brings the persecution to an end, and this not only finally removes Walter from danger, but also allows Katharine to explain to her father that the Brownie is in fact the leader of a group of Covenanters.

The Brownie was first published in 1818 by William Blackwood as part of a collection of prose works by Hogg entitled The Brownie of Bodsbeck; and Other Tales (2 vols, 12<sup>o</sup>). The novel was not republished during Hogg's lifetime, but two years after his death it was included

in the first volume of a six-volume edition of his Tales and Sketches published by Blackie and Son of Glasgow (12<sup>o</sup>, 1837). This edition contains an 'Advertisement' which states that 'the present selection... occupied the attention of the author for several years before his lamented decease. The publication, therefore, though posthumous, may be considered as possessing almost all the value of having received the final corrections of his pen.' The later nineteenth century printings of The Brownie were all based, directly or indirectly, on the 1837 edition.

In addition to the two early printed texts, part of Hogg's manuscript of the novel survives in the Blackwood Papers in the National Library of Scotland (NLS MS 4806). It is the purpose of the present chapter to trace the history of the transmission of the text of The Brownie from the manuscript onwards, and to record the numerous revisions and bowdlerizations that were introduced into the novel at various stages. This process of revision was surprisingly extensive. Indeed, the evidence quoted below suggests that the 1837 text of The Brownie contains no fewer than four distinct layers of unauthorized censorship, quite apart from Hogg's own revisions and emendations.

#### THE MANUSCRIPT

The surviving manuscript of The Brownie is incomplete: the novel consists of seventeen chapters in all, but of these only the first twelve survive in NLS MS 4806. Furthermore, three sections are now missing from the manuscript, even in the first twelve chapters. The first of these gaps covers the end of Chapter 5 and the beginning of Chapter 6, the second covers the end of Chapter 11 and the beginning of Chapter 12, while the third covers the last few lines of

Chapter 12.<sup>1</sup> In all, the manuscript survives for just under two-thirds of the novel.

The manuscript falls into three distinct sections, each of which has its own separate sequence of pagination in Hogg's hand. The first section (which contains Chapters 1-6) differs in some respects from the two later sections (which contain Chapters 7-11 and Chapter 12 respectively). The first section is written in a brownish ink, and has numerous alterations in Hogg's hand in a darker ink — a fact which suggests that it was carefully revised by Hogg after it was originally written. These extensive revisions in a darker ink do not occur in the second and third sections of the manuscript.

On 13 January 1818, shortly before the publication of The Brownie, Hogg wrote as follows to William Blackwood:

I send you a farther portion of the Brownie There is another M.s. copy as long as this which will be to transcribe but I will have it ready in a week or two<sup>2</sup>

Clearly, then, Hogg sent his manuscript to Blackwood in batches, and this explains why the surviving document is in distinct sections, each with its own sequence of pagination. Similarly, it is clear that Hogg produced at least part of the manuscript which was sent to Blackwood by transcribing another, earlier manuscript. Possibly the first section of NLS MS 4806, with its later revisions in a darker ink, is a portion of this original manuscript, while the second and third sections were no doubt produced by the process of transcription which Hogg mentions in his letter to Blackwood.

1 There are errors in the chapter numbering in Hogg's manuscript and in the early editions. The chapter numbers given here refer to the correct numerical sequence.

2 See National Library of Scotland MS 4003, fol.86.

It seems clear that NLS MS 4806 was used as printer's copy for Blackwood's first edition of 1818. This is indicated by various annotations in the manuscript, including, for example, the insertion of a 'B' and a 'K' in ink at the points in the text at which gatherings B and K begin in the first edition.

In the manuscript there is a passage in Chapter 4 which describes an encounter between Jasper, one of Walter Laidlaw's shepherds, and the Queen of the Fairies. This passage contains several alterations in ink in a hand which does not appear to be Hogg's,<sup>3</sup> and these alterations (which are listed in Appendix 1 below) remove all reference to the female sex of the mysterious being with whom the naked Jasper grapples. Apart from this passage, all the numerous ink alterations to the wording of the manuscript appear to be in Hogg's own hand.<sup>4</sup> In addition, a number of deletions have been made in ink, and no doubt most — and perhaps all — of these deletions can be attributed to Hogg.

In addition to the ink alterations in the manuscript, a number of changes in the wording have been made in pencil in a hand which is clearly not Hogg's. Many of these pencil alterations appear to be intended to 'correct' Hogg's language. For example, in Chapter 11 the word 'alongst' (which Hogg uses in letters and in The Confessions of a Justified Sinner)<sup>5</sup> is 'corrected' to the more usual 'along'. A complete list of these pencil alterations is given in Appendix 2 below.

- 3 These alterations are to be found in NLS MS 4806, fol.23. In the hand of the alterations, the word 'of' is formed in a way which is quite unlike Hogg's formation of the word. Similarly, the medial 's' of the alterations is very much shorter and more curved than the long, straight medial 's' which is typical of Hogg.
- 4 See, for example, NLS MS 4806, fol.18 verso, line 7, where the 'them' of the alteration is very similar to the 'them' on the line below.
- 5 For examples of Hogg's use of 'alongst', see his letter to Scott of 1 October 1806 (National Library of Scotland, MS 3875 fol.230), and The Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner, edited by J. Carey (Oxford, 1969), p.253.

As well as these changes in wording, a number of deletions have been made in pencil in the manuscript. For example, in Chapter 1, when Walter's wife Maron is reminding him of their courtship, the following words are firmly deleted in pencil: 'an' there was never ony thing unproper or undecent atween us — at least nought to speak o''. In general, the pencil deletions seem to be intended to tone down Hogg's original text, and in view of the fact that the pencil alterations to the wording of the manuscript are not in Hogg's hand, it seems unlikely that the pencil deletions were made by Hogg himself. A full list of these pencil deletions is given in Appendix 3 below. Appendix 4 below lists a further group of deletions, which have been made in both pencil and ink.

The printer of the first edition followed the alterations and deletions in the manuscript, including those which appear to have been made by someone other than Hogg. As a result, the first edition is at times a somewhat colourless reflection of the text of the manuscript as originally written by the author.

#### THE FIRST EDITION, 1818

The Brownie of Bodsbeck; and Other Tales was published in two volumes by William Blackwood in 1818, and was printed by James Ballantyne & Co. of Edinburgh. Volume 1 contains the first twelve chapters of The Brownie (pp.3-295), as well as Hogg's dedicatory verses 'To the Right Honourable Lady Anne Scott, of Buccleuch' (pp.i-xii). Volume 2 contains the remaining five chapters of The Brownie (pp.3-86), as well as Hogg's short stories 'The Wool-gatherer' (pp.89-228), and 'The Hunt of Eildon' (pp.231-346).

As we have seen, the manuscript of The Brownie received a number of alterations which were not made by Hogg himself, and it was then used as printer's copy for the first edition. The first edition does not follow its copy exactly, however. For example, the compositor seems to have misread Hogg's hand in various instances, and as a result the first edition contains several errors in Border place-names. Thus the manuscript's 'Riskinhope' becomes 'Kirkinhope', and similarly 'the Quave Burn' becomes 'the Quare Burn'.

All the changes between the printer's manuscript copy and the text of the first edition cannot be attributed to misreadings of this kind, however. For example, in Chapter 6 the manuscript has:

Clavers whose fame remains for the most horrible profane  
curser ever heard burst out

In the first edition (I, 124) this becomes:

Clavers, the horrors of whose execrations are yet fresh in  
the memory of our peasants, burst out

Changes of this kind are clearly the result of conscious revision rather than misreading, and were presumably made at the proof stage. However, it should be stressed that there is no clear evidence that Hogg read the proofs of the first edition. He was away from Edinburgh while The Brownie was being printed,<sup>6</sup> and in these circumstances he did not always insist on reading his proofs in person.<sup>7</sup>

6 Hogg's letters show that he was at his Border farm of Altrive Lake while The Brownie was being printed.

7 See for example a letter sent by Hogg from Altrive Lake to William Blackwood, 27 October [?1819]. In this letter Hogg writes of his Jacobite Relics:

There is something to alter in the notes to one of the first songs and the proofs must come to me till that be revised. I hope however that passage is on its way to me by this time and after that the printers must read the proofs themselves or you may do it or any one you like to appoint (National Library of Scotland, MS 4004, fol.152).

See also Hogg's Familiar Anecdotes of Sir Walter Scott, where he writes: He [Scott] once undertook to correct the press for a work of mine "The Three Perils of women" when I was living in the country and when I gave the M.s. to Ballantyne I said "Now you must send the proofs to Sir Walter he is to correct them for me." (Hogg, Memoir of the Author's Life and Familiar Anecdotes of Sir Walter Scott, edited by D.S. Mack (Edinburgh, 1972), p.131.)

The suspicion that Hogg may not have read the proofs of the first edition of The Brownie is strengthened by the fact that he would almost certainly have corrected the errors in Border place-names mentioned above, in even a hurried reading of the proofs. Be that as it may, many of the changes which were made at the proof stage seem to have been made in order to censor Hogg's original text. A good example of this occurs in Chapter 11, when the manuscript has the following words in the Highland-English of one of Claverhouse's troopers, Daniel Roy Macpherson:

... Jaisus to be [sic] your chief; and always proving yourself to pe of the Clan-Mac-Jaisus, for she no pe having one friend at court;

Instead of this the first edition (I,238) has:

... one to pe your chief, or to pe of a clan that has not a friend at court;

The reviser, whoever he was, no doubt regarded Macpherson's reference to Jesus as blasphemous. His alterations, however, completely destroy the significance of the passage as originally written by Hogg.

Appendix 5 below contains a list of the numerous differences between the printer's manuscript copy and the published text of the first edition of The Brownie.

#### THE 1837 TALES AND SKETCHES EDITION

Robert Cadell's 'Magnum Opus' collected edition of Scott's Waverley Novels (published 1829-1832) proved to be an outstanding commercial success, and this encouraged Hogg to attempt to secure the financial future of his family by publishing a similar collected edition of his own prose works. In 1832 Hogg visited London to arrange for the publication of an edition of this kind, but unfortunately his publisher, James Cochrane, became bankrupt after only one volume of

Hogg's projected twelve-volume series of Altrive Tales had appeared. Hogg did not abandon the idea of a collected edition, however, and in February 1833 he entered into negotiations with Blackie & Son of Glasgow with this object in view.<sup>8</sup> On 11 November 1833 Hogg wrote as follows to the Blackie firm:

I send you the Brownie of Bodsbeck for the first vol. of The Winter evening Tales. It is as well corrected as I can manage to do it but I never will confine publishers who have such a stake on a work to any expression of mine who am notorious as a careless writer. I therefore give your corrector of the press whom I know to be a man of genius [sic] and good taste the power and charge to alter what he pleases.<sup>9</sup>

These negotiations eventually bore fruit in 1837, two years after Hogg's death, when Blackie & Son published a six-volume edition of Hogg's Tales and Sketches, printed by George Brookman of Glasgow. The text of The Brownie published in the first volume of this edition follows the first edition very closely in such matters as punctuation and capitalization, and this suggests that the type for the 1837 edition was set up from a copy of the first edition.<sup>10</sup> The Tales and Sketches text is not simply a reprint of the earlier edition, however. Indeed, it introduces some important revisions, including some substantial additions and deletions. Presumably these alterations were marked in manuscript in the copy of the first edition which was sent to the printer of the 1837 Tales and Sketches.

Internal evidence makes it clear that at least some of the new material included in the 1837 text of The Brownie can be attributed to Hogg. This material -- which was no doubt sent to Blackie with the letter of 1833 quoted above -- includes a new introduction to the novel,

8 See National Library of Scotland, MS 807, ff.16-19.

9 National Library of Scotland, MS 807, fol.20.

10 This is confirmed by the fact that in both editions Chapter 7 is wrongly numbered as Chapter 8.

and a new note on the songs which are sung by Walter Laidlaw's servant Nanny. It seems likely, however, that at least some of the revisions in the 1837 text can be attributed to that man of genius and good taste, Blackie's corrector of the press, to whom Hogg had given 'power and charge to alter what he pleases'.

The revisions in the 1837 text of The Brownie are very numerous, and a large proportion of them seem to be intended to censor the language of the first edition. For example, in the first edition (II, 23) Walter exclaims 'He be d — d!', while in 1837 this becomes 'He the wretch!'. Another example which is typical of many of the 1837 revisions occurs in Chapter 1, where, in the first edition (I, 10), we are told that Walter, in an affectionate conversation with Maron

took his wife's hand and squeezed it, while the pupil of his eye expanded like that of a huge mountain ram, when he turns it away from the last ray of the setting sun.

In 1837 this becomes simply:

took his wife's hand and pressed it fervently.

The version of the first edition is somewhat ludicrous, and no doubt the change was made for this reason. However, Hogg's words in the first edition do have a certain vigorous life which is totally absent in the revised version of 1837.

It would be perfectly in accordance with nineteenth-century practice for revisions of this kind to be made by a publisher or his editor, especially in a posthumous edition.<sup>11</sup> An example of this is provided by the two-volume 1865 edition of Hogg's Works, which - like the 1837 Tales and Sketches - was published by Blackie.

11 For a particularly striking example of any early nineteenth-century novel which was extensively revised without the author's consent, see Ian A. Gordon's discussion of Galt's The Last of the Lairds in his John Galt: the Life of a Writer (Edinburgh, 1972), pp. 81-82.

The Rev. Thomas Thomson, the editor of the 1865 Works, tells us in his Preface that in his edition Hogg's prose works 'have been carefully revised, but chiefly for the purposes of a slight occasional pruning and verbal emendation, such as the Author, had he lived, would himself most probably have made'. As part of his 'slight occasional pruning' Thomson completely removed one of the glories of The Brownie, Davie Tait's prayer - presumably on grounds of propriety. In view of all this, it seems most unlikely that Hogg himself was responsible for the 1837 revisions which censor the language of the first edition.

For a list of the changes which were introduced into the text of The Brownie in the 1837 Tales and Sketches, see Appendix 6 below. In this Appendix, asterisks are added to those entries which relate to revisions which can reasonably be attributed to Hogg himself. These entries include notes which discuss the grounds for attributing the revision in question to Hogg.

#### THE TRANSMISSION OF THE TEXT

We have now reached certain conclusions about the processes by which the text of The Brownie of Bodsbeck was transmitted from Hogg's manuscript to the posthumous 1837 Tales and Sketches edition. These conclusions are set out in the following summary:

- 1) MANUSCRIPT.  
(Sent by Hogg to Blackwood in batches, 1817-18.)
- 2) The manuscript was revised before printing:
  - a) by the unknown person who made ink revisions in the passage which describes Jasper's encounter with the Queen of the Fairies:
  - b) by the unknown person who made various revisions in pencil.
- 3) The text was set up in type, and revised (probably not by Hogg) at the proof stage.

- 4) FIRST EDITION (1818).
- 5) In 1833 revisions were marked by Hogg in a copy of the first edition which was then sent to Blackie.  
[Hogg died in 1835.]
- 6) Further revisions were made at the instigation of Blackie & Son.
- 7) TALES AND SKETCHES EDITION (1837).

It seems likely that Hogg was directly involved in only stages 1 and 5 above. In view of this, what text should be adopted in a modern edition of The Brownie ? It seems clear that a modern editor should seek to remove revisions which were not authorized by Hogg, and should seek to produce a text which is in accordance with Hogg's own intentions. With this in mind, in the edition of The Brownie which I edited for publication by Scottish Academic Press (Edinburgh, 1976), I followed the manuscript rather than the first edition where these two texts differ in 'substantives' - that is to say where they differ in wording. For this purpose, I ignored those revisions in the manuscript which appear to have been made by someone other than Hogg, and I followed instead the original, unaltered reading of the manuscript. Similarly, I incorporated into my text a number of the substantive revisions from the 1837 edition, in cases where these revisions can reasonably be attributed to Hogg himself. That is to say, I attempted to return to Hogg's own text of The Brownie of Bodsbeck by removing the four layers of unauthorized revision represented by stages 2, 3 and 6 of the summary above.

#### THE ACCIDENTALS OF THE TEXT

So far in this chapter we have been concerned with 'substantive' variants - variants which affect the wording of the text. We now turn to the question of 'accidentals' - that is to say, to such matters as punctuation, capitalization, italicization and spelling. Hogg's manuscript is lightly, carelessly and inconsistently punctuated,

with frequent use being made of an all-purpose dash. These characteristics of the manuscript are not reproduced in the first edition, which has the heavy and elaborate punctuation which is typical of books of the period. As we have seen, the 1837 Tales and Sketches text closely follows the accidentals of the first edition.

In this situation, what is the modern editor to do about the accidentals of The Brownie ? In view of the inconsistent and slap-dash nature of the accidentals of the manuscript, it seems reasonable to infer that it was Hogg's intention that his punctuation and spelling should be knocked into shape by the printer.<sup>12</sup> If this was so it follows that the modern editor would not be reflecting Hogg's intentions if he painstakingly reproduced every detail of the accidentals of the manuscript.

In view of this, should the editor follow the accidentals of the first edition ? In the case of The Brownie, this solution presents some difficulties, as the accidentals of the first edition are in many ways thoroughly unsatisfactory. For example, the printer of the first edition did not always follow Hogg's spelling in the Highland-English passages of the novel; and elsewhere he sometimes substituted a Scots form for an English one, or vice versa. Similarly, the first edition prints in roman type a number of words which Hogg in the manuscript had underlined for italicization, and in addition there are cases where the punctuation adopted in the first edition clearly distorts Hogg's intentions as revealed by the manuscript. For example in Chapter 12 there is a passage which

12 Scott had a similar attitude to the accidentals of the texts of his novels: see G.A.M. Wood, 'Scott's Continuing Revision: the Printed Texts of Redgauntlet', The Bibliothek, 6 (1973), 121-22.

appears as follows in the first edition:

We have been counted as sheep for the slaughter; we have been killed all the day long; yet hath the Lord forgotten to be gracious, and is his mercy clean gone for ever!

In Hogg's manuscript question marks appear after 'to be gracious' and 'for ever'. It is clear that the removal of these question marks constitutes a departure from Hogg's intentions, especially when we recall the wording of Psalm 77 v.8-9, the source of the words from The Brownie which are quoted above:

Is his mercy clean gone for ever ? doth his promise fail for evermore ? Hath God forgotten to be gracious ? hath he in anger shut up his tender mercies ? Selah.

From all this, then, it appears that the printer of the first edition normalized the accidentals of the manuscript carelessly and, at times, incompetently. As we have seen, Hogg probably did not read the proofs of the first edition of The Brownie, and he therefore had no opportunity to correct the printer's normalization of the accidentals of his text. In view of this the accidentals of the first edition obviously have very limited authority.

What then is the modern editor to do ? It seems clear that the accidentals of the manuscript should not be reproduced, as Hogg intended that they should be knocked into shape by the printer. This task was undertaken by the printer of the first edition as Hogg intended, but in the process the accidentals were knocked out of shape in a number of particular instances. Finally the 1837 edition is of little assistance, as it closely follows the accidentals of the first edition.

Because Hogg did not make clear his detailed intentions with regard to accidentals in any of the early texts of The Brownie, it is not possible to devise an entirely satisfactory method of dealing with the accidentals in a modern edition. Two solutions to this difficulty can be suggested, however: either the modern editor can provide his

own new normalization of the accidentals of the manuscript, or he can provide a corrected and emended version of the accidentals of the first edition. In my Scottish Academic Press edition of the novel I preferred the latter course, largely because the manuscript of The Brownie does not survive for a third of the novel. The text of my edition is therefore based on the accidentals of the first edition. However, where a comparison with the manuscript suggests that the first edition departs from Hogg's intentions in such matters as italicization, spelling and punctuation, I have emended the first edition in the light of the readings of the manuscript. For a complete list of these emendations, see Appendix 7 below.

## APPENDIX 1

This appendix lists alterations made in ink to the text of the manuscript, in a hand which does not appear to be Hogg's. The altered readings were followed in the first printed edition.

NLS MS 4806	ORIGINAL READING	ALTERED READING
f.23a, 1.24	go along with her to	go along to
1.26	all her tempting offers	all these tempting offers
1.27	her countenance changed	the countenance of his visitant changed
1.29	she grappled	The horrible form grappled
f.23b, 1.3	hand from her left-- she still	hand. The enemy still
1.7	to cut of her fingers, that held	to cut off those fingers, which held

## APPENDIX 2

This appendix lists alterations made in pencil to the text of the manuscript, in a hand which is clearly not Hogg's. The altered readings were followed in the first printed edition.

NLS MS 4806	ORIGINAL READING	ALTERED READING
f.3b, 1.15	wicked and benevelent spirit	wicked and malevelent spirit
f.6b, 1.7	Graham of Dundee	Graham viscount of Dundee
f.8a, 1.18	but word was	but information was
f.27a, 1.27	the seeing of his dog frighted-- the	the seeing of his dog frightened-- the
f.27a, 1.30- f.27b, 1.1	he appears frightened [end of f.27a] terrified, for	['frighted' is changed in pencil to 'frightened', and the whole of this word is deleted in pencil.]
f.28a, 1.27	nervish fever	nervous fever
f.28a, 1.28	verging with a dangerous precipice,	verging to a dangerous precipice,
f.28b, 1.12	in her grips--	in her grasp--
f.28b, 1.19	timeous deliverance,	timely deliverance,
f.29b, 1.6	a nervish complaint	a nervous complaint

f.33a, 1.17	was such the scene was quite unbrookable - the three	was such an amusing contrast that the three
f.37b, 1.19	that untimeous hour ?	that untimely hour ?
f.44a 1.8	his ruby lips fell wide open--	his ruby lips were wide open--
f.47b, 1.27	and caused him	and obliged him
f.58a, 1.27	a slight frost rime, and	a slight hoar frost, and
f.64a, 1.23	her mutch	her cap
f.69a, 1.17	alongst with them.	along with them.
f.69b, 1.15	The first of such group who [The words 'of such group' are inserted in ink above the line, in Hogg's hand. The first edition (v.I,p.235, 1.19) has 'The first man of such a group, who'. My Scottish Academic Press edition has 'The first of such a group, who' - that is, I have followed Hogg's original reading, adding 'a' as this is required by the sense, and adding a comma after 'group', as my text follows the accidentals of the first edition.]	The first of such groups who

## APPENDIX 3

This appendix lists deletions made in pencil in the text of the manuscript. Words deleted in pencil are enclosed in square brackets in the list below. The deleted words were not included in the first printed edition.

NLS MS 4806

- f.1b, 1.13 befallen [to] him,
- f.2a 1.14 curate Clerk say"--  
 ["Deil it ye had yer curate Clerk atween your een]  
 ["Dear goodman ye ken that's impossible-- the thing's no]  
 [consistent wi' nature or reason-- if fock will wish]  
 [things to happen to fock they sude wish things]  
 [something farrant an' mack-like"]  
 O Maron! Maron!
- f.2b, 1.22 courtit me [always] i' the howe o' the night yersel [an' there was never ony thing unproper or undecent atween us-- at least nought to speak o' ], an him
- f.4b, 1.21 the deils ain hands; [an' he'll mak a kirk an' a mill o' her or a' the play be play'd.  
 A kirk an' a mill o' her Maron ? -- hout.]  
 "I jeloused
- f.15a, 1.17 d'ye hear me, [od] I'll tye
- f.29b, 1.4 keep [punctually] away

- f.43b, 1.27 a [last] miserable fondness
- f.44b, 1.1 Jock [and he] should be shot
- f.53a, 1.17 the moving cause [and drift] of all this,
- f.57b, 1.6 slow, majestic, and [swaggering] pace.
- f.68a, 1.3 amount, [answering] for her father's appearance at any court to answer

## APPENDIX 4(a)

This appendix lists deletions made in ink and in pencil in the text of the manuscript. In the list below, words deleted in this way are enclosed in square brackets. The deleted words were not included in the first printed edition.

NLS MS 4806

- f.2b, 1.12 leave their beds occassionally by night. She said [that it was better than that their lovers should be obliged to seek them there] ; and that without some mode

Note : Before the main deletion, 'She said' is deleted in pencil only. After the main deletion, 'and' has been deleted in pencil, and 'for' has been inserted above, in pencil, in a hand which does not appear to be Hogg's (compare Hogg's 'for' four lines below). The pencil 'for' has been written over in a darker ink, which appears to match the ink used in the main deletion. In view of the fact that the pencil 'for' is not in Hogg's hand, it seems unlikely that this deletion can be attributed to Hogg. The first edition (I, 8, 1.20) reads: 'leave their beds occasionally by night; for that, without some mode'.

## APPENDIX 4(b)

This appendix lists deletions made in ink (with pencil underlinings), in the text of the manuscript. In the list below, the words underlined in pencil are underlined, while the words deleted in ink are enclosed in square brackets. The readings of the first edition are also given.

NLS MS 4806

FIRST EDITION, Vol.1

- |       |      |   |     |     |  |
|-------|------|---|-----|-----|--|
| f.3a, | 1.18 | was a good man [at <u>bottom</u> ]<br>He took   | 10, | 1.6 | was a good man.<br>He took   |
| f.4b, | 1.11 | O may him that dwalls atween<br>the Sherubeams [and rides<br><u>striddaleg</u> on the whirlywind]!--<br>O Watie | 14, | 1.2 | O, may Him that dwalls<br>atween the Sherubeams<br>be wi' us, and preserve<br>us and guide us, for we<br>are undone creatures!--<br>O, Watie |

[In the manuscript, the deleted words have been replaced, in Hogg's hand, by the following: 'be wi' us an' preserve us an' guide us for we're undone creatures'.]

f.6a, 1.2	the incidents as they [immediately] occurred,	18, 1.2	the incidents as they occurred,
f.6a, 1.6	the extensive [domains] of Chapelhope	18, 1.7	the extensive bounds of Chapelhope

[In the manuscript, 'bounds' is added, in Hogg's hand, above the deleted word.]

Note : There are four ink deletions which are associated with pencil underlinings, and two of these are accompanied by ink revisions in Hogg's hand. It therefore seems reasonable to attribute these four ink deletions to Hogg.

#### APPENDIX 5

This appendix lists the differences in substantives between the printer's manuscript copy (in its revised form), and the published text of the first edition. For accidentals see Appendix 7.

NLS MS 4806		FIRST EDITION, Vol.1	
f.2b, 1.10	practice of misses (for there were no ladies in a farm house in those days) who might	8, 1.18	practice of young women who might
f.3a, 1.10	asperities of our nature,	9, 1.18	asperity of our nature,
f.4a, 1.6	John o' the Mucra	12, 1.11	John o' the Muir,
f.4b, 1.20	to be had an' hopit for!	14, 1.15	to be hoped for;
f.5a, 1.15	on this very	15, 1.13	on that very
f.7b, 1.7	The shepherds were certain, or believed they were certain	22, 1.10	The shepherds knew, or thought they knew,
f.8a, 1.8	they were not slack--	23, 1.20	they were not remiss;
f.9b, 1.17	hearing them or conversing with them	28, 1.6	hearing or conversing with any of that sect.
f.10a, 1.6	Clerk and his tenets both most	28, 1.24	Clerk and his tenets most
f.10a, 1.10	he regretted sore	29, 1.5	he sorely regretted
f.10b, 1.13	these districts,	30, 1.21	those districts,
f.11a, 1.16	not even	32, 1.12	not ever
f.11a, 1.19	for if it had not been the guide	32, 1.16	for, but for him,
f.12a, 1.6	them	34, 1.22	him
f.12a, 1.8	they	35, 1.1	he
f.12a, 1.10	they were	35, 1.4	he had been

f.12a, 1.11	they	35, 1.5	he
f.12a, 1.12	their loss.	35, 1.6	the loss.
f.13a, 1.6	foot,	37, 1.18	feet,
f.13a, 1.7	sure stick	37, 1.19	fine stick
f.13a, 1.22	couring	38, 1.16	coursing
f.13b, 1.20	sture voice	39, 1.22	stern voice,
f.14a, 1.22	labie of his jockey coat	41, 1.11	tabie of his jockey-coat
f.14a, 1.23	frae neath	41, 1.13	frae aneath
f.14b, 1.4	I begoud	41, 1.18	I began
f.15a, 1.11	sweeg of a sword--	43, 1.11	twig of a sword--
f.15b, 1.15	an' as red to [ <u>sic</u> ] for	44, 1.21	an' I grew as red too, for
f.15b, 1.16	saying into mysel;	44, 1.24	saying to mysel,
f.15b, 1.22	uncardinal devil	45, 1.6	incarnate devil
f.16b, 1.12	follow them out	47, 1.4	follow him out
f.17a, 1.18	I'll gie up the last button on my breast"	48, 1.17	I'll gie them the last drap o' my heart's bluid.'
f.18a, 1.17	have not bowed	51, 1.8	have not yet bowed
f.19b, 1.15	the conjunct work	56, 1.14	the conjoint work
f.20a, 1.5	to disturb them.	57, 1.6	to distress them.
f.19b, 1.31	unquestionably refers	57, 1.18	unquestionably refer
f.20a, 1.21	the heath-fowl around him in great numbers at that hour, by	58, 1.20	the heath-fowl around him in great numbers, by
f.20a, 1.23	these moss hags	58, 1.23	those moss-hags
f.22a, 1.5	the nine soldiers that were slain	63, 1.22	the soldiers that were slain,
<p>[When the manuscript was originally written, the number of soldiers in this party was given regularly as 'nine'. The references to this number, however, were later removed -- apparently by Hogg himself. The fact that the 'nine' was allowed to remain in this instance was presumably an oversight on Hogg's part.]</p>			
f.22a, 1.11	go out of doors after sunset, however pressing the occassion might be, and	64, 1.7	go out of doors after sunset, on any account whatever, and
f.23a, 1.30	him off by force he struggled	68, 1.15	him off by force; but he struggled

f.23b, 1.27	in a little while relax,	70, 1.9	in a little relax,
f.24b, 1.13	and give them up	73, 1.12	and to give them up
f.24b, 1.22	eating-- "Dost	73, 1.23	eating, rose up to address him. There was that in his manner which commanded the most intense attention. "Dost
f.25a, 1.10	hell is far too good	75, 1.3	hell is too good
f.25a, 1.26	mercat cross	75, 1.23	Market - cross
f.25b, 1.4	dare to set foot	76, 1.9	dare set foot
f.25b, 1.11	led aside that Walter	76, 1.18	led aside, so that Walter
f.25b, 1.15	likely by his strong	76, 1.24	probably by his strong
f.26a, 1.8	this" said he sighing not recollecting	78, 1.7	this," he said, sighing, not recollecting
f.26a, 1.20	in a natural way,	78, 1.22	in a rational way,
f.26b, 1.15	itinerary pedlar	81, 1.4	itinerant pedlar
f.26b, 1.16	few ever entered	81, 1.5	few entered
f.27a, 1.5	these ten men	82, 1.1	these five men [cf.63,1.22 above]
f.27a, 1.27	the true breed of the shepherd's dog will	83, 1.7	The shepherd's dog of the true breed will
f.27b, 1.3	such being is near	83, 1.15	such beings are near.
f.27b, 1.6	he found them all standing	83, 1.17	he found all the family standing
f.27b, 1.7	said half-a-dozen voices at once--	83, 1.20	said half-a-dozen at once.
f.28a, 1.24	to her bed... He there tried	86, 1.11	to her bed... He then tried
f.29a, 1.2	an erdlich laugh	88, 1.20	an eldrich laugh
f.29a, 1.33	next morning he propose to her to go	90, 1.17	next morning he proposed to her to go
f.29a, 1.35	farmer of Gilmanscleuch.--	90, 1.19	farmer at Gilmanscleuch.
f.29b, 1.11	On that same day	91, 1.10	On the same day,
f.29b, 1.18	performed that she was ordered without	91, 1.20	performed what she was ordered to do without
f.29b, 1.28	<del>threats would induce</del>	92, 1.11	threats could induce

f.30b, 1.4	praying into himself all the way--	94, 1.11	praying fervently all the way.
f.30b, 1.11	comely queen of the Brownie	94, 1.21	comely friend of the Brownie,
f.30b, 1.29	day and she began to dread that she would be <u>obliged</u> to leave her father's house--the corn	95, 1.21	day. The corn
f.31a, 1.10	long crooked peats,	120, 1.7	long crackling peat;
f.31a, 1.26	by the cross cross [sic] of saint Patrick I would go a journey there to see you go trimming thro' heaven	121, 1.2	by the cross of Saint Patrick, I would take a journey there to see you go swimming through Heaven
f.31b, 1.4	beautiful ugly face	121, 1.7	charming face
f.31b, 1.5	vile she brock of a Whig	121, 1.8	vile she whig
f.31b, 1.14	thing that you must	121, 1.18	thing you must
f.31b, 1.21	the bible again into	122, 1.3	the Bible into
f.32a, 1.2	to his companion	122, 1.6	to his companions
f.32b, 1.4	stunk in the Grass-Market"	123, 1.16	swung in the Grass-Market.'
f.32b, 1.6	dialogue in question and answer next	123, 1.17	dialogue next
f.32b, 1.20	will likewise	124, 1.8	must likewise
f.32b, 1.22	Clavers whose fame remains for the most horrible profane curser ever heard burst out	124, 1.10	Clavers, the horrors of whose execrations are yet fresh in the memory of our peasants, burst out
f.33a, 1.12	... swear sense." "G-- d--n you for an old canting, hypocritical ++++" "Ay now that is sense sir-- that is some sense The rage	125, 1.2	... swear sense." The rage
f.33a, 1.17	the old Goodwife	125, 1.4	the goodwife,
f.33a, 1.23	D--n--n am I	125, 1.12	Sacre! am I
f.34a, 1.7	that did not behove	127, 1.8	that it did not behove

f.34a, 1.18	with the greatest impunity,	128, 1.6	with impunity,
f.34a, 1.23	and drawing his fist	128, 1.12	and with his fist,
f.35a, 1.20	ye set Watie loose	130, 1.23	ye let Watie loose
f.38b, 1.1	the Muchrah Cross--	140, 1.11	the Muchrah Craggs.
f.38b, 1.5	a ploy i' the night-time	140, 1.17	a play i' the night-time
f.39a, 1.15	sort of man	142, 1.14	sort of a man
f.40a, 1.7	some rame about him."	144, 1.23	some rhyme about him."
f.40b, 1.3	very gaire on me--	146, 1.7	very sair on me.
f.41a, 1.5	the season somewhat	148, 1.6	the situation of affairs somewhat
f.41a, 1.12	in higher detestation than that of the arch-fiend	148, 1.15	in at least as great detestation as that of the arch-fiend
f.41b, 1.7	made his troopers	149, 1.23	bid his troopers
f.41b, 1.9	and either to destroy the remainder of the victuals or carry it away.	150, 1.3	and either destroy the remainder of the victuals or carry them away.
f.42a, 1.19	hung up to the joist	152, 1.4	hung up to the beam
f.42b, 1.5	feeble and nervish character,	152, 1.18	febleness of character,
f.43b, 1.19	had more of nature in it	156, 1.8	had something more touching in it
f.44a, 1.2	the last burst of affection of which his young heart was ever to partake, the deceased made a	156, 1.18	the affections of his young heart, his brother made a
f.44a, 1.12	toward his brother,	157, 1.6	towards his brother,
f.44b, 1.20	the Brownies put him daft, an' his mither had to come an' tak him away onon a cuddy."	159, 1.2	the Brownie's put him daft, an' his mither had to come an' tak him away upon a cuddy."
f.45a, 1.27	the hardened veterans	160, 1.16	the hundred veterans
f.45b, 1.16	Aigh wow sirs!	161, 1.12	Aigh now, sirs!
f.46b, 1.4	he found there was no redress	163, 1.5	he found that there was no redress

f.46b, 1.7	farm of Riskinhope,	163, 1.9	farms of Kirkinhope,
f.46b, 1.21	for Clerk suspected	164, 1.14	for the clerk suspected
f.47a, 1.4	wild that bounds Drumelzier's [ sic ] land, and that belonging to the Johnstons of Annandale.	165, 1.4	wild, which forms the boundary between Drummelzier [ sic ] and the Johnstons of Annandale.
f.47b, 1.8	had retired carelessly to their dens	167, 1.2	had retired to their dens
f.48a, 1.9	plenty of which remain	168, 1.16	many of which remain
f.48a, 1.10	actually standing looking	168, 1.18	actually looking
f.48a, 1.28	steading of Hopertoudy.	169, 1.22	steading at Hopertoudy.
f.48b, 1.2	men hauled in	170, 1.4	men hunted in
f.48b, 1.18	other deprivations	171, 1.4	other privations;
f.49a, 1.5	all that militated against	172, 1.6	all that militates against
f.49b, 1.7	when the acknowledgement of him would have been certain death to both. They	174, 1.6	when any acknowledgment of connection would have been so fatal to himself. They
f.49b, 1.22	a direct row on the brae,	175, 1.3	a straight line on the brae,
f.52a, 1.14	which the [ sic ] again deposited	183, 1.12	which they again deposited
f.53b, 1.19	had done eggregiously wrong,	188, 1.11	had done wrong,
f.54a, 1.15	order of his general	189, 1.21	order of the general
f.54b, 1.5	interred in	190, 1.20	interred on
f.55a, 1.3	the goings on of the Brownie	192, 1.4	the doings of the Brownie
f.55b, 1.4	on pain of	194, 1.20	upon pain of
f.55b, 1.11	prevent all intrusion should any	195, 1.9	prevent all intrusions, should any
f.55b, 1.15	in about half an hour afterward the	195, 1.14	in about half an hour afterwards, the
f.56a, 1.20	chink in the wall,	197, 1.11	chink of the wall,

f.57a, 1.1	The hour of midnight was now past--	199, 1.24	The hour of midnight was now passed,--
f.57a, 1.3	had for a while been tapping	200, 1.3	had been for a while tapping
f.57a, 1.6	she closed the bible	200, 1.8	she clasped the Bible,
f.57a, 1.13	a flexile timidity,	200, 1.17	a flexible timidity,
f.57a, 1.28	as pen may never	201, 1.13	as you may never
f.57b, 1.5	to be some more	201, 1.22	to be more
f.57b, 1.9	inarticulate mumblings,--	202, 1.4	inarticulate rumblings,--
f.57b, 1.11	fainted clean away.	202, 1.6	fainted away.
f.57b, 1.14	familiar to an empress,	202, 1.10	familiar with an empress,
f.59b, 1.5	dame, and had been	207, 1.14	dame, had been
f.59b, 1.9	his troop	207, 1.19	his troops.
f.59b, 1.9	greed [ <u>sic</u> ] gallayniels.--	207, 1.20	greedy gallayniels--
f.59b, 1.23	sae white as ane's war.	208, 1.14	sae white as they anes war.
f.60a, 1.3	ane will say "Mother!	208, 1.21	ane will sae, 'Mother!
f.60a, 1.18	mutch, or <u>night-bussing</u> as	209, 1.18	mutch, or <u>night-hussing</u> , as
f.60a, 1.23	her voice was like	210, 1.2	her voice like
f.60a, 1.27	some great eventual loss that	210, 1.6	some great calamity that
f.62a, 1.21	but it is a	215, 1.20	but its a
f.62b, 1.12	any apprehension	216, 1.17	any appresion
f.62b, 1.26	hem! but	217, 1.10	hum! but
f.63a, 1.1	but it is	217, 1.11	and it is
f.63a, 1.18	I could stand	218, 1.9	I would stand
f.64a, 1.12	say of thee "died Abner as a fool died? his hands were not bound nor his feet put into fettters." -- Then	221, 1.4	say of thee that thou died like a fool, for thy hands were not bound, nor thy feet put into fettters. Then
f.64a, 1.28	a G. for Glasgow indented ['for Glasgow' is deleted in ink]	222, 1.5	a C.R. indented

f.64b, 1.4	and old Nanny	223, 1.5	and Nanny
f.65b, 1.17	nothing farther to do	226, 1.14	nothing more to do
f.66b, 1.16	about five afternoon he	228, 1.21	about five o'clock in the afternoon, he
f.66b, 1.19	he transacted the same scene	228, 1.24	he acted over the same scene
f.67b, 1.7	their jurisdictions lay	230, 1.17	their jurisdiction lay
f.68b, 1.5	to remain until	233, 1.3	to remain there until
f.68b, 1.10	induce her to come again to	233, 1.9	induce Nanny to come back again to
f.69b, 1.15	The first of such groups who [cf. Appendix 2, above]	235, 1.19	The first man of such a group, who
f.70a, 1.21	I'll pe tahaking	237, 1.12	he'll pe tahaking
f.70b, 1.11	and of Conscience. And do not you pe pragg and poasting of Jaisus to be your chief; and always proving yourself to pe of the Clan-Mac- Jaisus, for she no pe having one friend at court;	238, 1.7	and of conscience and convenants. And do not you pe pragg and poasting of one to pe your chief, or to pe of a clan that has not a friend at court;
f.70b, 1.22	the evidence that you want	238, 1.21	the evidence you want
f.71a, 1.25	--but dinna gar me	264, 1.15	--Dinna gar me
f.72b, 1.28	sin an' satan;	270, 1.13	sin and o' Satan,
f.72b, 1.31	damned spirits	270, 1.16	condemned spirits
f.73b, 1.6	had both been	273, 1.4	had been
f.73b, 1.22	it is a	274, 1.3	it's a
f.73b, 1.24	Dan's bass note too;	274, 1.6	Dan's bass too;
f.74b, 1.15	never was figure more	277, 1.21	never was a figure more
f.75b, 1.14	be as it likes.	282, 1.15	be as it will;
f.75b, 1.25	a poor figure wi' the heart."	283, 1.9	a poor figure wi' the heart by itsel."
f.76a, 1.14	were we to set	284, 1.13	were I to set
f.76a, 1.16	from our heart	284, 1.16	from my heart

f.76a, 1.17	as we are, that	284, 1.17	as I am that
f.76a, 1.19	we think	284, 1.20	I think
f.76a, 1.22	We therefore give that sublime part of it which	284, 1.23	The sublime part of it therefore is given, which
f.77a, 1.6	the slushy bogs	287, 1.21	the plashy bogs
f.77a, 1.18	coped	288, 1.14	caped
f.77a, 1.19	what hae we to be feared for?	288, 1.16	what hae wi' to be feared for?
f.77b, 1.16	it was agreed on all hands	290, 1.16	it was argued on all hands,
		291	[The page of music which faces p.291 in the first edition does not appear in the manuscript.]

## APPENDIX 6

This appendix gives the differences in substantives, and a selection of the differences in accidentals, between the first edition and the 1837 Tales and sketches edition.

Asterisks are added to those 1837 entries which appear to have been the work of Hogg himself.

## FIRST EDITION, Vol.1

## 1837 EDITION

\* 1 - 3 [A new introduction, which is clearly by Hogg, is included in the 1837 edition.]

4, 1.21 as much meat

6, 1.1 as muckle meat

5, 1.6 Quare Burn,

\* 6, 1.9 Quave Burn,

[The novel is set in a district which Hogg knew well, but the first edition makes a number of errors in local place-names. 'Quave Burn' is the correct form of this name, and the 1837 edition restores the reading of Hogg's manuscript.]

5, 1.14 Quare Burn,

\* 6, 1.15 Quave Burn,

7, 1.7 I axt ye gin Kate hadna

7, 1.7 I ask ye gin Kate hasna

8, 1.8 gin she hae been out

7, 1.27 gin she has been out

8, 1.14 turned round towards

7, 1.31 turned towards

- 8, 1.20 leave their beds occasionally by night; for that, without some mode of private wooing, it was well known that no man in the country could possibly procure a wife, for that darkness rendered a promise serious, which passed in open day for a mere joke, or words of course; and at length Maron Linton, with more sagacity
- 7, 1.34 leave their beds occasionally by night; and at length, with more sagacity
- 9, 1.21 they are
- 8, 1.10 these scenes are
- 10, 1.6 He took his wife's hand and squeezed it, while the pupil of his eye expanded like that of a huge mountain ram, when he turns it away from the last ray of the setting sun.
- 8, 1.16 He took his wife's hand and pressed it fervently.
- 11, 1.18 a great hantle--
- 9, 1.1 a great multitude--
- 11, 1.23 your trencher?"  
"I little wot, gudewife; maybe half-a-dizen o' dizens."  
"Half-a-dizen o' dizens, gudeman!-- aye sax dizen o' dizens!--a' the meal girnels
- 9, 1.5 your timber trencher?  
Half-a-dizen o' dizens, gudeman!--a' the meal girnels
- 12, 1.11 John o' the Muir,  
[The 1837 edition restores the reading of the manuscript. 'Muchrah' is the name of a hill near Chapelhope.]
- \* 9, 1.12 John o' the Muchrah,
- 12, 1.16 about the town?"
- 9, 1.16 about this unlucky place?"
- 12, 1.18 to stop the ewes aff the hogg-fence, the wind being eissel-- it was a wee after midnight, an' the moon wasna just gane down-- he was sittin i' the scug o' a bit cleuch-brae, when, or ever he wist, his dog Keilder fell a gurrin' an' gurrin', as he had seen something that he was terrified for-- John took him aneath his plaid, an' held him, thinkin it was some sheep-stealers; but or it was lang
- 9, 1.18 to stop the ewes aff the hogg-fence, but or it was lang
- 14, 1.22 Goodman,
- 10, 1.13 Gudeman,

15, 1.6	other	10, 1.19	ither
15, 1.12	i' my head--	10, 1,23	i' my ain head--
16, 1.22	iota of that she did believe;	11, 1.10	iota of what she did believe;
19, 1.6	The time on which	11, 1.33	The time in which
* 19, 1.23	[Two long paragraphs which appear at this point in the first edition were omitted in 1837. Material from these paragraphs is included in the 1837 introduction (pp.1 - 3). It is clear from internal evidence that this Introduction was written by Hogg himself.]		
22, 1.12	places; and they believed, as well they might, that whole hordes of spirits had taken possession of their remote and solitary dells. They	* 12, 1.14	places. They [This change was made necessary by the omission of the two paragraphs mentioned above.]
23, 1.22	enemies that the poor covenanters had, even though heaven, earth, and hell seemed to have combined against them.	12, 1.38	enemies that the poor covenanters had.
24, 1.20	were broke in upon	13, 1.14	were broken in upon
26, 1.2	Dundee came	13, 1.36	Clavers came
27, 1.9	a part of the fanaticism in religion of the adverse party, for it was the age and the country of fanaticism, and nothing else would take. By that principally	14, 1.20	a part of that fanaticism in religion by which many of the adverse party were distinguished. By this principally
28, 1.7	Nothing earthly could be	14, 1.36	Few things could be
29, 1.21	Clavers (I think it best to denominate him so, as he is always called by that name in the country,) dispatched	15, 1.26	Clavers dispatched
31, 1.1	Kirkinhope	* 16, 1.6	Riskinhope
	[This is another of the first edition's errors in local place names. The 1837 edition restores the reading of the manuscript.]		

32, 1.12	not ever [The 1837 edition restores the reading of the manuscript.]	* 16, 1.33	not even
33, 1.5	tway meenets	17, 1.7	twa meenets
34, 1.7	"Cot t--n	17, 1.25	"Flast
34, 1.8	said Donald, and ran him through with his bayonet.	17, 1.25	said Donald, and shot him through the body.
35, 1.10	the d--d whining	18, 1.6	the whining
37, 1.18	dog at my feet, [The 1837 edition restores the reading of the manuscript.]	* 19, 1.4	dog at my foot,
38, 1.16	my dog, Reaver, gaun coursing away [The 1837 edition restores the reading of the manuscript.]	* 19, 1.21	my dog, Reaver, gaun couring away
41, 1.11	tabie of his jockey-coat [The 1837 edition restores the reading of the manuscript.]	* 20, 1.31	labbie of his jockey-coat
45, 1.12	down they came down ower	22, 1.25	down they came ower
46, 1.16	the Lord will forgie the rest.' 'If he dinna,' quo' I, 'he's no what I think him.' Then he	23, 1.7	the Lord will forgie the rest.' Then he
46, 1.24	a dab at	23, 1.12	gude at
56, 1.5	and that among others.	27, 1.2	and this among others.
59, 1.3	and lay	28, 1.12	and he lay
69, 1.1	severed a piece of the thumb	32, 1.36	severed the thumb
69, 1.7	Jasper Hay [The 1837 edition restores the reading of the manuscript.]	* 33, 1.2	Jasper Hoy
69, 1.7	a right old age,	33, 1.2	a good old age,
71, 1.4	the time must ere long come, that the kingdoms	33, 1.36	the time must ere long come, when the kingdoms
75, 1.3	for that hell is	35, 1.29	and that hell is
80, 1.2	the very spot where the farm-house of Chapelhope now stands, but it	* 37, 1.26	the very spot where a remnant of an old house still stands about a bow-shot above the new elegant farm-house of Chapelhope, but it

[It seems natural to attribute this piece of local knowledge to Hogg.]

- 82, 1.4 to muse on that he had seen  
 83, 1.14 when he is all unconscious  
 84, 1.14 her brow leaned on both hands.  
 93, 1.13 in eschewing them, save  
 94, 1.11 the Piper-hill  
 96, 1.15 sounding the dispositions of old Nanny.  
 97, 1.19ff.  
 99, 1.5ff.  
 101, 1.5 the muscles of her contracted face and wild unstable eye were unintelligible.  
 101, 1.11 till judging her out of hearing;  
 102, 1.12 Johnston and Lithgow,  
 103, 1.20 fruesome  
 104, 1.1 "D--n the old b--!  
 104, 1.5 hag of h--!  
 105, 1.16
- 38, 1.27 to muse on what he had seen  
 39, 1.13 when he himself is all unconscious  
 39, 1.32 her brow leaning on both hands.  
 43, 1.35 in eschewing evil spirits save  
 \* 44, 1.12 the Papper-hill  
 45, 1.11 sounding the disposition of old Nanny.  
 \* 45, 1.33ff.  
 \* 46, 1.40ff.  
 48, 1.2 the expression of her contracted face and wild unstable eye was unsatisfactory.  
 48, 1.7 till she concluded her to be out of hearing;  
 \* 48, 1.32 Johnston and Lilligow,  
 49, 1.15 gruesome  
 49, 1.19 "Confound the old b--!  
 49, 1.22 hag!  
 \* 50, 1.16
- ['Piper' is used regularly of this hill in the manuscript and in the first edition. Some maps of the area give the form 'Paper Hill', while others give 'Piper Hill'. The change in 1837 forms part of the general revision of local place names in that edition.]
- [A song is sung by old Nanny at this point, and 20 new lines were added in the 1837 edition. The main concern of Blackie's 'corrector of the press' appears to have been to censor and 'correct' the text. He would have had no obvious motive for making an addition of this kind, and it therefore seems reasonable to attribute the new lines to Hogg.]
- [Another song by Nanny appears at this point. Six new lines were added in 1837.]
- [This is a line from one of old Nanny's songs, and it seems reasonable to attribute the change to Hogg, in view of the other revisions, apparently by Hogg, which have been made in the songs in this chapter. There is a gap in the manuscript at this point, and it is therefore not possible to compare the manuscript reading.]
- [A long note on Nanny's songs, which is clearly by Hogg, was inserted at this point in the 1837 edition.]

- 109, 1.4 a d--d whig, by ----. 52, 1.11 a whig, I avow!
- 111, 1.20 a d--d fool, 53, 1.21 a fool,
- 112, 1.20 I wat weel worthy sir, 53, 1.39 I wat weel, were they,  
sir,
- 113, 1.8 Ferriden \* 54, 1.10 Terriden  
[This variant appears in another of old Nanny's songs. This song indicates that a host of Highlanders is about to descend on Chapelhope: 'Terriden' is perhaps Torridon, a district of Wester Ross in the Highlands. Unfortunately there is a gap in the manuscript at this point.]
- 115, 1.11 both the knights 55, 1.10 both the officers
- 118, 1.13 a place called Bald, \* 56, 1.24 a place called Bold,  
[This appears to be another of Hogg's revisions of local place-names, as there is a place called Bold about two miles east of Traquair. There is a gap in the manuscript at this point, but the reading of the first edition may well have been the result of a mis-reading of the manuscript, as it is very difficult to distinguish 'o' and 'a' in Hogg's hand.]
- 119, 1.10 Such were the men 57, 1.1 Such are the men
- 120, 1.22 by Saint G--! \* 57, 1.29 by Saint George and  
the Dragon.  
[I have reached the very tentative conclusion that Hogg may have been responsible for this revision and the one which follows, as Blackie's 'corrector of the press' would have had no obvious motive for introducing elaborations of this kind into the text.]
- 121, 1.13 my dear mistress Grace, \* 58, 1.1 my dear mistress  
Grace and Salvation,
- 131, 1.6 Threats and proffers 62, 1.6 Threats and proffers  
provoked
- 131, 1.10 tenement like "the 62, 1.9 tenement threatening  
baseless fabric of a  
vision," threatening
- 132, 1.11 John Hay, \* 62, 1.27 John Hoy,  
[See above, 33,1.2 (1837 edition).]
- 133, 1.21 Piper Snout, \* 65, 1.26 Fapper Snout,  
[See above, 44,1.12 (1837 edition).]
- 140, 1.11 the Muchrah Crags. \* 66, 1.15 the Muchrah cross.  
[The manuscript has 'Muchrah Cross'. This is another of the 1837 edition's corrections of errors in place-names in the first edition.]

- 140, 1.17 a play i' the night-time \* 66, 1.19 a ploy i' the night-time  
[The 1837 edition corrects an obvious error. The manuscript has 'ploy'.]
- 141, 1.12 for fear o' some grit 66, 1.33 for fear o' some grit  
brainyell of an outbrik; brainyell of an  
and whan outbrik, thinkin it  
some sheepstealer;  
but whan
- 141, 1.22 a drift road-- 67, 1.2 a drove road--
- 144, 1.23 some rhyme about him." \* 68, 1.23 some rhame about him."  
[The 1837 edition corrects an obvious error. The manuscript has 'rame'.]
- 146, 1.18 By G--, if either 69, 1.17 If either
- 149, 1.15 an hundred 70, 1.19 a hundred
- 150, 1.14 a d--d lie 70, 1.34 a lie
- 150, 1.15 to save his stinking life, 70, 1.35 to save his life,
- 154, 1.15 befallen, you shall 72, 1.29 befallen you, you shall
- 157, 1.2 lips were wide open,-- 73, 1.36 lips were wide apart,--
- 158, 1.5 Geordie Skin-him-alive 74, 1.17 Geordie the flesher,  
the flesher,
- 158, 1.13 cleekit out a hantle o' geds 74, 1.23 cleekit a hantle o' geds
- 160, 1.19 "Pe Cot's life, fat 75, 1.26 "Fat
- 162, 1.16 "Cot's curse be t--ning 76, 1.21 "Fat  
you to te everlasting  
teal! fat
- 162, 1.18 the lenoch beg 76, 1.22 the lenamh beg
- 163, 1.10 Kirkinhope, \* 76, 1.32 Riskinhope,  
[See note on first edition 31,1.1, above.]
- 164, 1.7 the curate-clerk \* 77, 1.10 the curate Clerk
- 164, 1.14 for the clerk suspected \* 77, 1.16 for Clerk suspected  
[The printer of the first edition failed to realise that the curate's name was Clerk. The 1837 edition restores the reading of the manuscript in both instances above.]
- 165, 1.5 Drummelzier and the 77, 1.25 Drummelzier's ancient  
property and the

167, 1.13	a steep, nearly perpendicular,	78, 1.30	a steep hill nearly perpendicular,
170, 1.4	men hunted in	79, 1.33	men hurled in
170, 1.8	te Cot t--n'd fwigs	79, 1.36	te fwigs
170, 1.15	a double rash rope.	80, 1.5	a double rush rope.
175, 1.8	carried by	82, 1.12	carried away by
175, 1.24	they never	82, 1.24	the scene never
176, 1.24	Kippelgill, [Here again the 1837 edition corrects a local place-name.]	* 83, 1.5	Keppelgill,
177, 1.23	how he could [The use of italics in the 1837 edition removes an ambiguity.]	83, 1.22	how <u>he</u> could
178, 1.12	"Cot t--n, she no pe liking to schee	83, 1.32	"She no pe liking to see
178, 1.24	to attempt such a dangerous experiment as attempting	84, 1.2	to try such a dangerous experiment as attempting
179, 1.8	"py cot's curse but there is!	84, 1.8	"but there surely is!
179, 1.16	the auld deal,	84, 1.14	the ould deol,
179, 1.21	"Cot t--n, if I	84, 1.18	"How can I
181, 1.14	Cot t--n, if she like	85, 1.11	she does not like
182, 1.16	Kippelgill [This is another instance whre the 1837 edition corrects a local place-name. The manuscript has 'Keppelgill'. The three entries below fall into the same category.]	* 85, 1.31	Keppelgill
184, 1.21	Kennelburn,	* 86, 1.32	Rennelburn,
186, 1.2	Kennelburn--	* 87, 1.17	Rennelburn--
187, 1.12	Kennelburn	* 88, 1.3	Rennelburn
187, 1.14	gnashed his teeth on him	88, 1.5	gnashed his teeth at him
188, 1.8	"I'll be d--d	88, 1.19	"I'll be bound
194, 1.6	spirit from his tabernacle	90, 1.26	spirit from its tabernacle
196, 1.7	words, and placed himself cordially	91, 1.30	weris, placing hi self at the same time cordially



237, 1.23	Cot t--n, do they	111, 1.18	Do they
238, 1.1	as they? or that Cot is not a shentleman, that he would pe falling into such cohmpany? But	111, 1.19	as they? But
238, 1.20	pooh! Cot tamn!"	111, 1.32	pooh!"
239, 1.6	And py Cot, it	111, 1.39	And it
244, 1.4	his plebeian foot,	114, 1.12	his foot,
246, 1.20	Tallo-Lins,	* 115, 1.21	Tallo-Linns,
247, 1.8	Tallo-Lins.	* 115, 1.30	Tallo-Linns.
[These appear to be further examples of the 1837 edition's revision of local place-names.]			
265, 1.15	other! We have been counted as sheep for the slaughter; we have been killed all the day long; yet hath the Lord forgotten to be gracious, and is his mercy clean gone for ever!" "Peace,	124, 1.2	other. "Peace,
266, 1.2	can they forbear?	124, 1.5	can they forbear saying it?
268, 1.2	or I sink	125, 1.3	afore I sink
268, 1.5	I will not set them down as spoke by you.	125, 1.5	I will not set them down in my memory as spoken by you.
270, 1.8	rootit in a good soil, an' will	* 126, 1.4	rootit in a good soil, and sprung frae a seed o' heaven, an' will
270, 1.16	forgie me! It	* 126, 1.11	forgie me, an' help me better out yet. It
272, 1.3	distance." Thus they	* 126, 1.38	distance. Sit down, dear, dear bairn, an' join me in singing a hymn afore we part." [A new song is inserted at this point.] Thus they

[It seems reasonable to attribute this addition, and the two preceding ones, to Hogg himself. Cf note on first edition 97, 1.19 ff., above.]



293, 1.20 far far wrang. I'll rather \* 137, 1.25 far far wrang."  
 say ye ane on that subject  
 that he had made when in  
 a better way o' thinking.  
 It is said that the Englishes  
 sing it in their chapels."

She then attempted one  
 in a bolder and more  
 regular strain, but wanting  
 the simplicity of the former,  
 it failed in having the same  
 effect. As it, however,  
 closed the transactions of  
 that momentous night at  
 Riskinhope, we shall with  
 it close this long chapter.  
 [A song of 32 lines appears  
 in the first edition at this  
 point. It is omitted in the  
 1837 text.]

[I think that this cut should be attributed to Hogg, because  
 the use of 'eccentric' in the 1837 edition seems to me to be  
 characteristic of Hogg. In the 1818 edition the second song  
 appears to have been introduced to rectify the theology of the  
 song which precedes it. Nevertheless the second song is  
 something of an anti-climax, and it was no doubt removed  
 in the 1837 for that reason.]

## Vol.2

3, 1.13 the floods might be \* 138, 1.3 the floods of the  
 restrained from coming earth and the winds of  
 down, and heaven might be  
 restrained in their  
 course; and

[Cf note on first edition vol.1,p.97 1.19 ff., above.]

4, 1.1 and the storms of the air 138, 1.4 and that even the  
 from descending; and that Hermon Law might be  
 even the Piper Hill, or the removed out of its  
 Hermon Law, might be place. He had, therefore,  
 removed out of its place his eye  
 This last, however, was  
 rather a doubtful point  
 to be attained, even by  
 prayer through the best  
 grounded faith, for, saving  
 the places where they  
 already stood, there was  
 no room for them elsewhere  
 in the country. He had,  
 however, his eye

11, 1.14	up nigh to the	141, 1.17	near to the
12, 1.2	John Hay	* 141, 1.26	John Hoy
	[This name appears regularly in the manuscript as 'John Hoy'.]		
12, 1.2	"We must just give it up,	141, 1.26	"We must give it up,
16, 1.3	It came on the	143, 1.15	It took place on the
23, 1.2	G--d d--n the	146, 1.22	Curse the
23, 1.10	on the Chapelhope-flow	146, 1.27	on Chapelhope-flow
23, 1.19	He be d--d!	146, 1.34	He the wretch!
25, 1.23	an' <u>he</u> shook hands wi' me; an' [new page] <u>he</u> shook hands wi' me; an' the	* 147, 1.33	an' <u>he</u> shook hands wi' me; an' the
	[The 1837 edition removes an obvious printer's error.]		
28, 1.4	Py Cot's poy, put	148, 1.33	Py McTavish, More, put
28, 1.14	Teol more, take	149, 1.1	Teol more take
29, 1.21	Lheadles are all Macphersons;	149, 1.23	Lheadles are Macphersons;
31, 1.9	Cot t--n your	150, 1.11	Never mind your
31, 1.13	tere, py Cot!--Poo,	150, 1.14	tere,!--Poo,
43, 1.2	O Lord! O Lord! what	155, 1.29	O what
45, 1.22	bowie-fu' milk.	157, 1.3	bowie-fu' o' milk.
62, 1.10	for any living to know	164, 1.17	for any one to know
62, 1.22	so constructed as to fall to of itself,	164, 1.26	so constructed as to close of itself,
63, 1.14	L--d have a care	164, 1.38	Gudeness have a care
63, 1.19	Holloa!"	165, 1.2	Hollo!"
66, 1.23	his back leaned against	166, 1.20	his back leaning against
70, 1.14	never searched, nor could search	168, 1.6	never searched, or could search
71, 1.10	its first symptoms appearing,	168, 1.22	its first appearing,
72, 1.15	fast posting to the last gaol--	* 169, 1.5	fast posting to the last goal--
	[The 1837 edition removes an obvious printer's error.]		

73, 1.18	cried he, in	169, 1.24	he said, in
75, 1.6	two poor fellows	170, 1.12	two poor men
75, 1.8	"L--d sauf us!"	170, 1.14	"Gudeness guide us!"
78, 1.8	let us hae done wi'	171, 1.30	let us be done wi'
81, 1.10	Laird of Caldwell's.	* 173, 1.5	Laird of Caldwell.
	[This appears to be another example of the 1837 edition correcting an error in a place-name.]		
82, 1.23	he knew not whether.	* 173, 1.28	he knew not whither.
	[The 1837 edition removes an obvious printer's error.]		
84, 1.8	this John was	174, 1.14	this John Brown was
85, 1.4	had left church." And fat Sandy Cunningham,	174, 1.29	had left the church." And Sandy Cunningham,

## APPENDIX 7

This appendix lists the alterations to the accidentals of the first edition which I made in my Scottish Academic Press edition of the novel. Unless otherwise stated, these alterations represent a return to the reading of Hogg's manuscript.

## FIRST EDITION, Vol.1

## EMENDED READING

4, 1.10	recal	recall
	[The second 'l' in the manuscript has been added in pencil. The 1837 edition has 'recall'.]	
4, 1.15	Gudewife	Goodwife
	[Corresponding emendations have been made at first edition vol.I, p.6, 1.15; I, 12, 1; I, 12,7; I, 12, 17; I, 58, 11; I, 164, 10.]	
4, 1.17	and	an'
	[Corresponding emendations have been made at first edition I, 11, 7; I, 13, 13; I, 14, 4 [twice]; I, 15, 15; I, 15, 24; I, 39, 4; I, 50, 21; I, 122, 18; I, 123, 8; I, 133, 4; I, 133, 8; I, 133, 17; I, 138, 4; I, 141, 14; I, 144, 11; I, 153, 18; I, 158, 7 [twice]; I, 158, 11; I, 158, 19; I, 211, 4; I, 212, 12; I, 213, 3; I, 215, 12; I, 224, 1; I, 270, 13; I, 281, 7; I, 281, 12; I, 282, 8; I, 286, 24; I, 287, 9; I, 293, 16.]	
4, 1.20	I'm	I am
4, 1.21	ye	you
5, 1.6	Quare Burn	Quave Burn

5, 1.8	twal	twall
5, 1.9	mumgin	mungin
5, 1.14	Quare Burn	Quave Burn
7, 1.3	gudeman	goodman
	[Corresponding emendations have been made at first edition I, 7, 11; I, 7, 15; I, 7, 19; I, 8, 8; I, 9, 5; I, 11, 6; I, 12, 3; I, 12, 15; I, 14, 12; I, 40, 8; I, 40, 9; I, 47, 17; I, 72, 4; I, 72, 15; I, 72, 23.]	
7, 1.12	Na	Nah
7, 1.18	ye	you
7, 1.21	curate-clerk	curate Clerk
8, 1.1	Canna	Can nae
8, 1.2	far	fer
8, 1.5	canna	can nae
9, 1.7	yoursel	yersel
9, 1.9	dark	derk
10, 1.11	gude	good
	[Corresponding emendations have been made at first edition I, 40, 21; I, 42, 14; I, 44, 2; I, 46, 1; I, 52, 10; I, 71, 18; I, 122, 14; I, 285, 10; I, 287, 16; I, 288, 9.]	
10, 1.13	wi' ye	w' ye
11, 1.1	anither	another
12, 1.1	wot	wat
12, 1.2	dizen o' dizens	dozen of dozens
12, 1.5	let abee	let a be
13, 1.5	Houm	houm
13, 1.10	cam	came
13, 1.13	in	i'
13, 1.14	fore-day	foreday
13, 1.15	tane	taen
14, 1.4	we are	we're
14, 1.13	jaloosed	jeloosed
		jeloosed

14, 1.21	blude	blood
	[Corresponding emendations have been made at first edition I, 15, 20; I, 39, 13; I, 134, 1.]	
18, 1.9	Drummelzier	Drumelzier
	[Corresponding emendations have been made at first edition I, 165, 5; I, 226, 17; I, 226, 19; I, 227, 9; I, 228, 2; I, 230, 10; I, 234, 9; I, 263, 17; II, 15, 3; II, 34, 11.]	
27, 1.18	her concience	her conscience
31, 1.1	Kirkinhope	Riskinhope
33, 1.2	fery	feery
33, 1.4	just	jeest
33, 1.5	meenets	meenents
34, 1.7	t--n	t--mn
35, 1.10	d--d	d--ned
37, 1.9	dark	derk
37, 1.16	screw	skrew
37, 1.17	off	aff
38, 1.3	spark	sperk
38, 1.9	folks	fock's
40, 1.16	folk	fock
42, 1.10	bluid	blood
42, 1.21	pipe-stapple	pipe-stopple
43, 1.7	how o' his neck	howe o' his neck
43, 1.9	with	wi'
43, 1.15	'Now	Now
43, 1.20	tak	take
43, 1.22	lack-a-day, lack-a-day	lak-a-day, lak-a-day
44, 1.3	Ye thought to kill <u>me</u>	<u>Ye</u> thought to kill <u>me</u>
44, 1.4	swords!"	swords!"
	[The rest of this speech is given single quotes in the first edition.]	

44, 1.9	an'	and
44, 1.10	on't truly, we	o't truly! We
44, 1.19	'Od	"Od
	[The first edition's single quotes are clearly an error, and cause an ambiguity.]	
44, 1.21	brek	brik
44, 1.22	hae	have
45, 1.1	ye hae made	ye <u>hae</u> made
45, 1.2	puir	poor
45, 1.12	ower	owr
45, 1.16	it.'	it."
	[Cf 44, 1.19 above.]	
46, 1.8	o'	of
46, 1.11	wi'	with
46, 1.16	forgie	forgive
46, 1.21	o'	of
46, 1.22	oursells	ourselves
47, 1.1	cam	came
47, 1.2	prelacy and heresies	prelacy and hearsays
47, 1.4	nae	no
47, 1.6	warld	world
47, 1.13	an'	and
47, 1.16	lack-a-day, lack-a-day	lak-a-day, lak-a-day
47, 1.22	Lack-a-day! lack-a-day	Lak-a-day! lak-a-day
48, 1.21	plovers	plevers
	[Corresponding emendations have been made at first edition I, 48, 22; I, 49, 1; I 49, 7.]	
51, 1.18	eat them	eat <u>them</u>
52, 1.13	Folk	Fo'k
69, 1.7	Jasper Hay	Jasper Hoy
72, 1.7	o'	of
		maile

80, 1.16	long bank	Long Bank
86, 1.11	sooth	soothe
93, 1.11	dependance	dependence
94, 1.10	on all fours	on all four
119, 1.20	Livingstone	Livingston
120, 1.16	Oho	Oooh
120, 1.21	old	ould
122, 1.17	ne'er	never
130, 1.24	naebody, nor nae soul	nae body, nor nae soul
131, 1.6	vain	vain.
	[In the first edition, a full stop appears to have failed to print at this point.]	
132, 1.11	John Hay	John Hoy
133, 1.8	glooming	gloomin'
133, 1.16	ill-farr'd	illfaurd
133, 1.24	whan	when
134, 1.3	gliff	gloff
134, 1.8	not a foot	no a fit
134, 1.13	Odd	Od
135, 1.1	jurmummed	jernummed
135, 1.10	extrordnar	extrodnar
135, 1.11	folk's	fock's
135, 1.24	extrordnar	extrodnar
137, 1.9	half	haf
137, 1.22	oure	o'er
138, 1.19	aff	off
138, 1.19	snouckin	snoukin
138, 1.23	landin	landin
140, 1.10	oure	owr
141, 1.1	farther	ferther
141, 1.15	<del>close</del>	closs

141, 1.21	traisselled	traisseled
141, 1.22	darna	darena
142, 1.16	wool-buyer	woo - buyer
143, 1.9	great	grit
143, 1.14	oure	owr
144, 1.10	tyrant	tyrran
145, 1.5	'The	The
	[It is clear that the single quotation mark has been added in error in the first edition.]	
146, 1.24	lak-a day	lak-a-day
158, 1.16	skeenzie	skienzie
158, 1.22	warst	worst
160, 1.7	a,'	a',
160, 1.10	ower	o'er
160, 1.22	reason	rheason
161, 1.8	Maron,"	Maron,
	[The quotation marks at this point in the first edition were clearly inserted in error.]	
161, 1.15	puir	poor
161, 1.20	gane	gone
162, 1.6	Watie?	Watie!
162, 1.8	Watie?	Watie!
162, 1.18	think	tink
162, 1.20	you tink, you	you tin't you
	[This comma, which does not appear in the manuscript, obscures the sense of the passage and is clearly superfluous.]	
163, 1.10	Kirkinhope	Riskinhope
164, 1.7	curate-clerk	curate Clerk
164, 1.14	clerk	Clerk
167, 1.8	gallopping	galloping
176, 1.24	Kippelgill	Keppelgill
177, 1.23	how he could	how <u>he</u> could
	[Cf Appendix 6 above.]	

178, 1.13	honest	honest
178, 1.17	consideration	consideration
179, 1.8	No!	No?
179, 1.8	cot's	Cot's
179, 1.11	scholdiers	scholdiers
179, 1.12	prochin	prochen
179, 1.16	auld	ould
180, 1.14	dha	dhu
180, 1.16	ance	once
180, 1.19	Ilanterach	Ilanteroch
181, 1.12	be	pe
182, 1.16	Kippelgill	Keppelgill
184, 1.21	Kennelburn [Also I, 186, 2; I, 187, 12.]	Rennelburn
189, 1.16	had for sometime	had for some time
190, 1.1	Cot t--n--sh--sh--	Cot t--n----sh--sh--
194, 1.2	management;	management,
196, 1.17	precedure	procedure
199, 1.13	herattention	her attention
200, 1.8	sate still	sat still
201, 1.23	hagard	haggard
201, 1.24	slow majestic [Cf Appendix 3 above, f.57b, 1.6.]	slow, majestic,
205, 1.3	Clark's	Clerk's
209, 1.9	ower	owr
211, 1.23	Lack-a-day	Lack-a-day
212, 1.19	ower	owr
214, 1.21	misapprehend me;	misapprehend me!
217, 1.9	I think, it rins	I think it rins
217, 1.23	o'	of

223, 1.17	hog-fence [Also I, 224, 14; I, 225, 2.]	hogg-fence
224, 1.20	ought	aught
225, 1.2	of	o'
230, 1.4	Fairnilie	Fairnilee
237, 1.15	pwigs	fwigs
238, 1.7	conscience	Conscience
243, 1.12	never head the creature [The obvious printer's error of the first edition was repeated in the 1837 edition. There is a gap in the manuscript at this point.]	never heed the creature
243, 1.12	man,' [The single quotation mark in the first edition is an obvious error.]	man,"
246, 1.20	Tallo-Lins [Also I, 247, 8. Cf Appendix 6, above.]	Tallo-Linns
264, 1.9	were	war
264, 1.9	ower	owr
264, 1.10	were	war
264, 1.12	owre	owr
264, 1.16	ower	owr
265, 1.19	gracious,	gracious?
265, 1.20	ever!	ever?
267, 1.20	Pity me, O dear bairn, pity me!	Pity me! O dear bairn pity me!
267, 1.23	down;	down!
268, 1.1	were	war
268, 1.13	when imagination forms fantasies of its own, of all those who have stood for our civil and religious liberties, who, for the sake of a good conscience, have yielded up all, and sealed their testimony with their blood, not one hair of <u>their</u> heads shall fall to the ground, for their names	when imagination forms fantasies of its own; of all those who have stood for our civil and religious liberties; who for the sake of a good conscience have yielded up all, and sealed their testimony with their blood -- not one hair of <u>their</u> heads shall fall to the ground! for their names

270, 1.14	ower	owr
	[Also I, 280, 7 [twice] .]	
270, 1.18	darna	darena
271, 1.22	warst	worst
272, 1.7	Eldin-hope	Eldinhope
272, 1.15	Yokeburn-head	Yoke Burn head
275, 1.7	weel-faur'd	weel-faurd
275, 1.21	glutton	glutton;
278, 1.24	Than muve	<u>Than</u> muve
280, 1.6	baid	bade
281, 1.1	mauna	maunna
281, 1.22	wot	wat
282, 1.14	serous-like	serious-like
283, 1.12	when	whan
283, 1.23	Revelations	Revelation
285, 1.7	"But	"--but
285, 1.13	puir	poor
	[Also I, 286, 15; I, 287, 2; I, 287,9.]	
286, 1.22	bleating	bleatin
288, 1.6	ower	o'er
288, 1.8	kiver'd	kivered
288, 1.8	ower	owr
288, 1.11	owernight	o'ernight
290, 1.1	Kirky's	Kirko's
293, 1.12	<u>extrodnar</u>	extrodnar
Vol. 2	[The manuscript for this portion of the novel is lost.]	
9, 1.9	toher	to her
	[The reading of the first edition is an obvious printer's error.]	

- 12, 1.2 John Hay John Hoy  
 [This name appears regularly as 'John Hoy' in the surviving parts of the manuscript, and was corrected to 'John Hoy' in the 1837 edition.]
- 28, 1.14 Teol more, take Teol more take  
 [The sense requires that the comma should be removed, and it was removed in the 1837 edition.]
- 36, 1.14 mysel However mysel. However  
 [The addition of a full stop removes an obvious printer's error.]

The St Andrews University Library copies of the first edition and of the 1837 edition were used in the preparation of the above lists. Throughout the present thesis, copies of early editions of Hogg held by Stirling University Library or St Andrews University Library have been used. In books of this period, textual variation is possible between different copies of the same edition.

### Chapter III

#### The Three Perils of Man

The Three Perils of Man; or, War, Women and Witchcraft was first published in 1822, and was reprinted with considerable alterations in Blackie's 1837 edition of Hogg's Tales and Sketches. In his Scottish Academic Press edition of the novel, Douglas Gifford suggests that Hogg was himself responsible for these changes, which were made because of his 'demoralisation' and 'lack of self-confidence' in the face of hostile criticism.<sup>1</sup> Some modifications of this view are suggested in the present chapter.

Hogg's letters suggest that he began to work on The Three Perils of Man towards the end of 1819. Approximately a third of the novel had been completed by the spring of 1820, but work on this project was then laid aside for some months. By May 1821, however, the novel had been completed, and part of the manuscript was sent for consideration to the Edinburgh publishers Oliver and Boyd. Much to Hogg's dismay Oliver and Boyd decided not to proceed, but by October 1821 The Three Perils of Man had been accepted for publication by Longman in London. Printing was in progress during November and December, and the work was eventually published in

1 See James Hogg, The Three Perils of Man, introduction, textual notes and glossary by Douglas Gifford (Edinburgh and London, 1972), p. xvi. Douglas Gifford expresses a similar view in his later book, James Hogg (Edinburgh, 1976), p. 136.

three volumes in 1822.<sup>2</sup>

The novel is set during the reign of Robert II, and the early chapters tell of an attempt by the Scots to dislodge an English garrison from the castle of Roxburgh. Attention then turns to an expedition by some of the Scots to the home of the celebrated wizard Michael Scott; and in the final chapters the story of the siege and the story of the expedition are brought to a conclusion.

Blackie's 1837 edition of Hogg's Tales and Sketches does not include a work entitled The Three Perils of Man, but 'The Siege of Roxburgh', which appears in volume VI pp. 67-274, is in fact a shortened version of the 1822 work. 'The Siege of Roxburgh' reprints the early chapters of The Three Perils of Man -- that is to say the chapters which deal with the siege; it omits the chapters which deal with the expedition to Michael Scott; and its version of the concluding chapters removes the various references to this expedition which appear in the original version.

In the case of The Brownie of Bodsbeck, some of the 1837 revisions appear to be the work of Hogg, and some appear to have been made at the instigation of Blackie & Son. Who, then, was responsible for the metamorphosis of The Three Perils of Man into 'The Siege of Roxburgh'? Some light is shed on the matter by Hogg's letters and reminiscences. For example, in his Memoir of the Author's Life Hogg writes of The Three

2 See Hogg's letters to William Blackwood of 16 November, 30 November and 10 December 1819 (National Library of Scotland MS 4004, ff.156-61); Blackwood's letters to Hogg of 3 and 15 August 1820 (NLS MS 2245, ff. 42-45); Hogg's letters to Blackwood of 10 January 1820 (NLS MS 4005, ff. 148-49), 13 April 1820 (NLS MS 4807, ff. 40-41), and 20 August and 7 October 1820 (NLS MS 4005, ff. 162-65); Hogg's letters to George Boyd of 5 May and 27 June 1821 (NLS MS Acc 5000); Hogg's letter to Sir Walter Scott of 26 June 1821 (NLS MS 3892, ff. 180-81); Hogg's letter to Blackwood of 3 July 1821 (NLS MS 4007, ff. 30-31); Longman's letter to Hogg of 18 October 1821 (Longman Archives part 1, item 101, Letter-book 1820-25, f. 174C); and Hogg's letters to Scott of 16 November and 10 December 1821 (NLS MS 3893, ff. 159-60 and 181-82).

Perils of Man:

Lord preserve us! what a medley I made of it! for I never in my life rewrote a page of prose; and being impatient to get hold of some of Messrs. Longman and Co.'s money or their bills, which were the same, I dashed on, and mixed up with what might have been made one of the best historical tales our country ever produced, such a mass of diablerie as retarded the main story, and rendered the whole perfectly ludicrous.<sup>3</sup>

Similarly, in his Familiar Anecdotes of Sir Walter Scott, Hogg reports Scott's opinion of the novel:

When The Three perils of Man appeared he read me a long lecture on my extravagance in demonology and assured me I had ruined one of the best tales in the world. It is manifest however that the tale had made no ordinary impression on him as he subsequently copied the whole of the main plot into his tale of Castle Dangerous.<sup>4</sup>

Hogg, then, came to feel that the 'diablerie' of the expedition to Michael Scott 'retarded the main story' of The Three Perils of Man. This clearly suggests that Hogg himself may have been responsible for the revisions which delete the diablerie, and thus convert The Three Perils of Man into 'The Siege of Roxburgh'. Support for this conclusion is provided by a letter written by Hogg to William Blackwood on 26 May 1830. At this period Hogg was beginning to lay plans for a collected edition of his work, and he writes that for such an edition 'The Perils of Man which contains some of the best parts and the worst of all my prose works I would divide into seven distinct tales'.<sup>5</sup>

In 1832 Hogg visited London in order to arrange for the publication of a collected edition of his prose to be entitled Altrive Tales. On leaving

3 Hogg, Memoir of the Author's Life and Familiar Anecdotes of Sir Walter Scott, edited by Douglas S. Mack (Edinburgh & London, 1972), p. 55. This section of the Memoir appears to have been written in 1832.

4 Hogg, Memoir and Scott, ed. Mack, p. 108. Hogg's Familiar Anecdotes of Sir Walter Scott were written in 1833.

5 National Library of Scotland MS 4036, ff. 102-03.

London he wrote to his publisher James Cochrane, giving detailed instructions for the contents of the first seven volumes of the proposed series.<sup>6</sup> In this letter, Hogg indicates that 'The Seige of Roxburgh'<sup>7</sup> is to occupy the third volume. In the event, only one volume of Altrive Tales was published, because Cochrane became bankrupt. Nevertheless, Hogg's use in this letter of the title 'The Siege of Roxburgh' is another strong indication that he himself revised The Three Perils of Man, and that his revisions were followed in the text of 'The Siege of Roxburgh' published in Blackie's Tales and Sketches of 1837.

In his letter to Blackwood of 26 May 1830, Hogg indicated that he intended to split The Three Perils of Man into 'seven distinct tales'. This intention was fulfilled, at least in part. The volume of Altrive Tales which did appear contains a short story, 'Marion's Jock', which is reprinted from the portion of The Three Perils of Man devoted to the expedition to Michael Scott. The same quarry also supplied Hogg with the verse tale 'The Three Sisters', published in Fraser's Magazine in 1835.<sup>8</sup> No doubt other tales would have been extracted from The Three Perils of Man if Hogg had lived to see a collected edition of his prose through the press.

It seems clear from all this that by the 1830s Hogg believed that the 'diablerie' of the Michael Scott chapters had spoiled a first-rate historical tale about the siege of Roxburgh castle; and he therefore wished to extract the historical tale from the main body of The Three Perils of Man, and to make use of the 'diablerie' in separate shorter

6 Beinecke Library, Yale: MS Vault Shelves Hogg (letter of 19 March 1832).

7 The spelling 'Seige' in the letter is characteristic of Hogg.

8 See Hogg, Altrive Tales (London, 1832), pp. 164-90 for 'Marion's Jock'; and Hogg, 'The Three Sisters', Fraser's Magazine, 11 (1835), 666-79.

works, thus making up a total of 'seven distinct tales'.

How did Hogg arrive at this figure? In the part of the novel which deals with the expedition to Michael Scott, there is a story-telling contest during which five separate tales are told. The Three Perils of Man therefore falls naturally into seven portions: the story of the siege; the story of the expedition to Michael Scott, with its diablerie; and the five tales told during the story-telling contest (including the tales later reprinted as 'Marion's Jock' and 'The Three Sisters'). These seven portions have no very obvious thematic connection, and as a result The Three Perils of Man (for all its vigour and colour) is somewhat chaotic as far as structure is concerned. In the light of this, Hogg's desire to split the novel into 'seven distinct tales' seems to be a rational decision, which can be understood without resort to Douglas Gifford's view that the revisions in the 1837 text are symptomatic of a debilitating lack of self-confidence which caused Hogg 'to savage The Three Perils of Man' in his later years. Nevertheless the evidence clearly supports Gifford's assumption that Hogg himself was responsible for these revisions. (It may be noted that Douglas Gifford does not present evidence or arguments to support this assumption).<sup>9</sup>

How then should a modern editor approach The Three Perils of Man and the shorter tales derived from it? If the arguments presented above are accepted, then it is clear that the complete, original text of The Three Perils of Man does not represent Hogg's final intentions for the work. Nevertheless the complete novel is a work of genuine literary merit, and an editor could rationally choose to produce an edition which seeks to reflect Hogg's intentions in the early 1820s, rather than his intentions

9 See The Three Perils of Man, ed. Gifford, p. xvi and pp. 465-66; and Gifford, James Hogg, p. 136.

in the early 1830s. The manuscript of The Three Perils of Man does not survive, and the novel was not reprinted during Hogg's lifetime. The first edition, therefore, is our only guide to Hogg's intentions for this text during the early 1820s. In these circumstances an editor of the complete novel will of course base his text on the first edition -- and this is the course followed by Douglas Gifford. Naturally, Gifford's edition of 1972 also seeks to correct obvious errors made by the printers of the 1822 text.<sup>10</sup> This is an entirely reasonable procedure, and gives a text which presents the novel as conceived and written by Hogg.

As an alternative, an editor might wish to provide a series of texts which would present Hogg's final intention -- which was to divide the novel into 'seven distinct tales'. In order to examine how this might be done, we shall now consider the seven tales in turn, beginning with 'The Siege of Roxburgh'.

The textual differences between 'The Siege of Roxburgh' of 1837 and The Three Perils of Man of 1822 are listed and discussed in Douglas Gifford's edition of the novel (pp. 465-66). For the most part, the variants are deletions designed to remove the 'diablerie' of the expedition to Michael Scott; but, as Gifford puts it, there are also 'occasional attempts to bowdlerise and similarly modify the original'. Gifford also points out that 'in several places Hogg's spelling has been interfered with' in the 1837 version. On the whole, however, the 1837 text follows the general pattern of the accidentals of the original 1822 version; and it therefore seems likely that the printer of 'The Siege of Roxburgh' worked from a marked copy of the first edition of The Three Perils of Man.

10 For these corrections, see The Three Perils of Man, ed. Gifford, pp. 465-66.

In these circumstances, what strategy should be adopted by an editor of 'The Siege of Roxburgh'? The evidence we have examined suggests that Hogg was responsible for the major cuts which cause 'The Siege of Roxburgh' to be only a third of the length of The Three Perils of Man. As with The Brownie of Bodsbeck, however, the changes to Hogg's spelling and the attempts to bowdlerise the 1837 text may well have been produced at the instigation of Blackie & Son. It would seem reasonable, therefore, for an editor of 'The Siege of Roxburgh' to follow those cuts and changes in wording in the 1837 text which he attributes to Hogg; but to reject those cuts and changes in wording which he attributes to Blackie & Son.<sup>11</sup>

This, then, suggests a strategy for the substantives of the text. What of the accidentals? The variants in accidentals between the 1822 and 1837 texts are of a kind which a printer would be likely to introduce in setting a new edition; and it would therefore be reasonable to follow the accidentals of the earlier text, as it is a step nearer Hogg's manuscript in the chain of transmission. In other words, an editor of 'The Siege of Roxburgh' should use the first edition of The Three Perils of Man as his copy text; he should attempt to correct any printer's errors in the first edition; and he should incorporate into his text the very substantial cuts and other changes (including the change in title) which appear to have been made by Hogg for the collected edition eventually published as the 1837 Tales and Sketches.

What, then, of the six other tales which Hogg intended to extract from The Three Perils of Man? 'Marion's Jock' appeared in Altrive Tales, the attempted collected edition of 1832 which did not proceed beyond a single volume because of the bankruptcy of the publisher, James Cochrane of

11 One substantial cut which may be the work of Blackie is listed by Gifford as appearing in his edition at p. 432 line 11 (see The Three Perils of Man, ed. Gifford, p. 466).

London. This story, which occupies pp. 164-90 of Altrive Tales, corresponds to the story entitled 'Laird of Peatstacknowe's Tale' which occupies vol. II pp. 188-224 of the first edition of The Three Perils of Man, where it forms part of the story-telling contest. The Altrive Tales version omits from the first paragraph an aside in which the narrator refers to the situation in the novel:

(I wish we had sic things here, even though we had to fight for them!)

In addition, the Altrive Tales text makes a number of minor changes, of a kind that might be expected to appear in a somewhat careless reprinting. Some of these changes are clearly errors: for example, 'goodman' and 'goodwife' in The Three Perils of Man frequently become 'good man' and 'good wife' in Altrive Tales. As with 'The Siege of Roxburgh', therefore, it would seem sensible for an editor of 'Marion's Jock' to use the first edition of The Three Perils of Man as his copy text; and to follow any changes in the later version which appear to be the work of the author, rather than the publisher or printer. In 'Marion's Jock' only two changes appear to be authorial: the change in the title of the story, and the deletion of the aside in the first paragraph.

Like 'Marion's Jock', 'The Three Sisters' is one of the tales from the story-telling contest in The Three Perils of Man. It is the final tale of the contest, and occupies vol. III pp. 41-81 of the first edition. In the novel it is entitled 'The Poet's Tale'; and, appropriately enough, the rhythms of blank verse are recognisable in the story, even although it is printed as prose. When Hogg decided to republish the tale out of its context in the novel, there was no longer anything to be gained from printing it in prose form. 'The Three Sisters' therefore appears as a poem in blank verse in the June 1835 number of Fraser's Magazine (vol. 11, pp. 666-79).

Apart from the change from prose to verse, a number of revisions were

made to the words of the text for the Fraser's Magazine printing. This process may be illustrated by quoting a short extract from each version.

From The Three Perils of Man (1822):

Once on a time, in that sweet northern land called Otholine, the heathen Hongar landed, and o'er-ran city and dale. The rampart and the flood in vain withstood his might. Even to the base of the unconquered Grampians did he wend with fire and sword; and all who would not kneel, and sacrifice to his strange northern gods, he tortured to the death. (III, 44.)

From Fraser's Magazine, 11 (1835), p. 667:

Once on a time, in that sweet northern land  
Called Otholine, the heathen Hongar landed,  
And laid waste city, church, and fruitful dale --  
The rampart and the flood in vain withstood him:  
Even to the base of the unconquered Grampians  
He bare with fire and sword. Destruction groaned  
Behind his host, and trembling dread before;  
And all who would not kneel and sacrifice  
To his strange northern gods, he put to death.

Some of the revisions in wording are quite substantial -- but in essence 'The Three Sisters' is 'The Poet's Tale' re-cast in blank verse. When he was submitting the work to Fraser's, Hogg no doubt found it convenient to produce a new manuscript in verse form; and no doubt the revisions were made at that stage. The manuscript does not survive, and 'The Three Sisters' has never been reprinted since it first appeared in Fraser's. It would therefore be natural for an editor of the poem to follow the 1835 Fraser's text.

Hogg proposed to divide The Three Perils of Man into 'seven distinct tales' -- but because a collected edition of his work was not published during his lifetime, he was able to arrange for the publication of only three of the seven ('The Siege of Roxburgh', 'Marion's Jock' and 'The Three Sisters'). In these circumstances, how might an editor set about providing texts of the remaining four tales? Three of the four would be the remaining tales in the story-telling contest in The Three Perils of

Man: 'The Friar's Tale', 'Charlie Scott's Tale', and 'Tam Craik's Tale'. In these cases, the editor could simply reprint the stories from the first edition of the novel.

The seventh and last of Hogg's 'seven distinct tales' was presumably the story of the expedition to Michael Scott; that is to say, what remains of the novel after 'The Siege of Roxburgh' and the story-telling contest have been extracted. This portion of the novel could be printed as a separate story under a suitable title chosen by the editor: 'The Castle of Aikwood', perhaps, from the name of Michael Scott's residence. For such a project, the editor would clearly have to follow the text of the appropriate portion of the first edition of The Three Perils of Man. Naturally enough, there would be some awkward transitions in the narrative in a text extracted in this way from the main novel. Only the author himself could solve this problem satisfactorily; but an editor might ameliorate it by means of judicious linking notes.

The strategy outlined above would enable an editor to present The Three Perils of Man as 'seven distinct tales', in accordance with Hogg's final intentions. This would usefully complement Douglas Gifford's existing edition, which presents the work as originally conceived and written by Hogg.

#### Chapter IV

##### The Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner

The Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner, now generally regarded as Hogg's masterpiece, was published anonymously in London by Longman in one volume in 1824. It has been suggested that in 1828 the novel was reissued with a cancel titlepage, under the title The Suicide's Grave. However, all attempts to trace a surviving copy of the 1828 reissue have so far proved unsuccessful.<sup>1</sup> The novel's next appearance in print was in Blackie's 1837 collection of Hogg's Tales and Sketches, where it is given the title The Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Fanatic.<sup>2</sup>

It appears that Hogg's manuscript of the novel was still in the possession of his family in the 1890s,<sup>3</sup> but unfortunately it can no longer be traced. The present generation of Hogg's descendants can throw no light on the matter, but members of the family are aware that some Hogg manuscripts from their collection have been lost or destroyed since the 1890s.

In all the circumstances, it is clear that the two surviving texts relevant to an editor of the Confessions are the first edition of 1824 and the Tales and Sketches edition of 1837. In his 1969 Oxford University

1 For a discussion of the putative 1828 reissue, see Hogg, The Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner, edited by John Carey (London, 1969), p.xxvi.

2 The novel is included in volume V of Tales and Sketches.

3 See 'The Suicide's Grave', an article by Hogg's daughter Mrs M. G. Garden, The Athenaeum, no. 3551 (16 November 1895), p. 681.

Press edition of the novel, John Carey describes the revisions made for

Tales and Sketches:

In all, 113 passages are chopped out of the Confessions, varying in length from one or two words to several pages. Three principles dictate the revision: bowdlerization, tinkering with the structure, and theological timidity. The first accounts for the disappearance of anything approaching profanity, and of the 'bagnio' visited by George and his friends which becomes 'another tavern'. The damage here is relatively slight, though the erasure of Gil-Martin's 'I'll have your soul, sir' and 'Ah, hell has it!' decidedly simplifies George's death scene. The second disposes of the John Barnet episode, the Auchtermuchty story, and the intervention of Hogg himself at the novel's end. The third discards references to the infallibility of the elect, empties the Wringhims's and Gil-Martin's speeches of serious theological content, and deprives Robert of his prayers, unshaken faith, and assurance of justification. The doctrinal and psychological hinges of the work are thus patiently unscrewed. Though the first edition did give offence -- Longmans refused Hogg's next work on the grounds that his last 'had been found fault with in some very material points' -- it is hard to believe that, even in old age, Hogg would have countenanced this vandalism, and the result is worthless whether he did or not.<sup>4</sup>

Carey, then, finds it hard to believe that the 'vandalism' of the 1837 revisions was Hogg's work. Douglas Gifford, on the other hand, assumes that Hogg was responsible. In his James Hogg (1976), Gifford writes:

Hogg was increasingly in these last ten years to demean his own novels. He disparaged The Three Perils of Man, cutting out all the superb folk-lore and diablerie for the 1837 collection; he savaged The Justified Sinner, removing the Auchtermuchty stories and shortening the religious debates; and did not include many excellent later stories of the supernatural or the fantastic.<sup>5</sup>

How far, then, was Hogg responsible for the revisions to The Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner which appeared in the posthumous Tales and Sketches of 1837? Our examination of The Brownie of Bodsbeck suggested that some of the Tales and Sketches revisions to the text of that novel were probably the work of Hogg -- but that most of the

4 Confessions, ed. Carey, pp. xxvi-xxvii.

5 Douglas Gifford, James Hogg (Edinburgh, 1976), p. 187.

revisions were probably made at the instigation of the publishers, Blackie & Son. Similarly, in the case of The Three Perils of Man it appears that Hogg was responsible for the main thrust of the 1837 revisions, but that some of the alterations were probably the work of that 'man of genius and good taste', Blackie's 'corrector of the press'. As John Carey points out, many of the 1837 revisions to the Confessions seem to have been made because of 'theological timidity', and a desire to bowdlerize. This, of course, is exactly the kind of change made by Blackie's corrector to the 1837 version of The Brownie of Bodsbeck; and it seems reasonable to attribute changes of this kind in the 1837 Confessions to the publishers rather than the author.<sup>6</sup>

Carey writes that in the 1837 Confessions 'three principles dictate the revision: bowdlerization, tinkering with the structure, and theological timidity'. We have considered the bowdlerization and the theological timidity: is it possible that Hogg was responsible for the 'tinkering with the structure'? In the passage quoted above, Carey tells us that what he has in mind here is the removal of 'the John Barnet episode, the Auchtermuchty story, and the intervention of Hogg himself at the novel's end'. It will be convenient to consider these three major deletions in turn.

The John Barnet episode (which occupies pages 101-107 of John Carey's edition of the novel) is devoted largely to an explicit and uninhibited discussion of the possibility that Robert Wringhim, the Justified Sinner, may be an illegitimate child. This is exactly the sort of thing likely to worry Blackie's corrector of the press; and it would therefore seem entirely reasonable to attribute this long deletion to him.

6 For a complete list of the revisions made in the 1837 version of the Confessions, see Elliot Crawford, Textual Variants Between the 1824 and the 1837 Editions of James Hogg's 'The Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner' (unpublished undergraduate dissertation E.174, University of Stirling, 1976).

The Auchtermuchty story (pages 198-203 in John Carey's edition), like the John Barnet episode, is simply chopped out of the text. This makes for a particularly awkward transition in the 1837 text at the point at which the Auchtermuchty story has been removed (Tales and Sketches, V, 167): the first sentence after the break refers to Robin Ruthven, a character in the Auchtermuchty story -- and of course this reference can make no sense to a reader of the 1837 version, who has not had an opportunity to read about Robin's exploits in Auchtermuchty. This kind of crude deletion with no attempt at linking is typical of the efforts of Blackie's corrector to render Hogg's prose innocuous and bland:<sup>7</sup> presumably the Auchtermuchty story was cut because it is the most explicit and unambiguous expression of the diabolic and the supernatural in the novel.

The desire of Blackie's corrector to achieve blandness is probably also the reason for the removal of Hogg's intervention at the end of the novel in the rather disconcerting guise of a surly Border shepherd who attempts to hinder and frustrate the Editor's visit to Wringhim's grave. Blackie & Son would doubtless have preferred a more seemly portrait of the author whose works they were publishing. This episode occupies pages 246-249 in John Carey's edition.

It seems clear, therefore, that all the revisions in the 1837 Confessions can reasonably be attributed to Blackie's corrector of the press. This sets the 1837 Confessions apart from the 1837 versions of The Brownie of Bodsbeck and The Three Perils of Man, because Hogg's hand can be detected in at least some of the revisions to these novels. This is not really surprising, however, as Hogg's letters indicate that he

7 Compare the deletions attributed to Blackie's corrector in Chapter II Appendix 6, above.

had particular reasons for revising The Brownie of Bodsbeck and The Three Perils of Man. In his final years, Hogg entered into negotiations with Blackie & Son with a view to the publication of a collected edition: and in November 1833 he sent a revised version of The Brownie for inclusion in the first volume of the proposed collection (see p. 26, above). Similarly, Hogg came to believe that The Three Perils of Man would benefit from being split into 'seven distinct tales' -- and he made some progress towards achieving this during his last years (see pp. 69-76, above). Hogg's letters do not show him expressing any comparable desire to revise the Confessions: indeed, it might be argued that one of his letters suggests that he was not responsible for the 1837 revisions to that novel.

In 1832 Hogg wrote to his London publisher James Cochrane, giving details of the works to be included in the first seven volumes of Altrive Tales, a proposed collection of Hogg's prose of which only one volume appeared because of Cochrane's bankruptcy.<sup>8</sup> This letter indicates that 'The Seige of Roxburgh' is to occupy the third volume -- and this use by Hogg of the 1837 title is one of our strongest indications that he had a hand in revising The Three Perils of Man. However, Hogg's letter to Cochrane goes on to indicate that 'The Confessions of a Sinner' is to appear in the sixth volume of the proposed collected edition. In the 1837 Tales and Sketches the novel is given the theologically innocuous title 'The Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Fanatic'; and Hogg's use in his letter to Cochrane of a shortened version of the title of the first edition may be taken as an indication that he was not involved in the 1837 revisions to this novel.

If Hogg had no hand in the 1837 revisions to the Confessions, then it

8 Hogg's letter (Beinecke Library, Yale: MS Vault Shelves Hogg) is dated 19 March 1832.

follows that an editor should ignore the Tales and Sketches version of the Confessions, and base his text on the first edition of 1824. This is the course followed by John Carey in his Oxford University Press edition, and by John Wain in his recent Penguin edition (published 1983). Naturally, both editors seek to correct obvious errors made by the printer in the first edition. John Carey gives a list of his emendations (p. xxviii), but John Wain simply states in his 'Note on the Text' that some changes have been made. Both editors use single quotation marks for direct speech, in accordance with the usual modern practice. The first edition, however, uses double quotation marks, as was normal at that period. This is a small point: but the change to the modern convention does not bring any discernible advantage, and involves some slight loss of period flavour.

There is one further question with regard to the Confessions that remains to be considered. The August 1823 number of Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine contains a contribution by Hogg entitled 'A Scots Mummy. To Sir Christopher North' (volume 14, pp. 188-90). Most of this article is incorporated into the concluding pages of the 1824 first edition of the Confessions. What is the relationship between the article and the novel? The generally accepted view is well expressed by John Wain in his Penguin edition (pp. 7-8). Wain writes that Hogg's article in Blackwood's in 1823

was presumably intended as an advertising device to draw attention to the short novel which Hogg was to publish the following year, The Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner. If he could associate his weird story with local history, readers would look out for it ... but beyond the immediate advantage lay the more purely artistic goal of anchoring the strange, unearthly fable with solid chunks of the here-and-now and the there-and-then.

Evidence has recently come to light, however, which suggests that some modification of this view is required.

Hogg's article in the August 1823 number of Blackwood's takes the form of a letter to Christopher North, the fictional personage reputed to be the editor of the magazine. The letter describes the recent opening of an old grave of a suicide on the top of a high hill near Altrive, Hogg's farm in the Borders; and in the novel the Editor, armed with Hogg's published letter, visits the grave, opens it, and finds in it (along with the body) Robert Wringhim's private memoirs and confessions. John Carey, in the notes of his edition of the novel (p.261), indicates that 'a 2 ft. x 1 ft. slab, rather like a grave-stone' can still be seen on the summit of Fall Law, one of the two hills mentioned in the novel as the site of the grave. The new evidence which has recently come to light with regard to the suicide's grave is contained in a document which forms part of the collection of papers presented by Hogg's descendants to the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. The document<sup>9</sup> is an undated fragment of a letter, signed 'W<sup>m</sup> Amos'. The first paragraph of the letter reads as follows:

from him was after your sisters death (Miss Hogg) whose death he seemed to feel very much. Last of all was a notice of his death in the Scotman [sic] Newspaper

'Miss Hogg' must be Janet Phillips ('Jessie') Hogg (1823-1891), the only one of Hogg's daughters to die unmarried. The 'he' mentioned in this paragraph is probably Hogg's only son, James Robert Hogg (1821-1894). This suggests a date for the letter around 1894 or 1895, and the addressee would appear to be Mrs M. G. Garden (1831-1911), the youngest of Hogg's children, and the only one alive after 1894. William Amos can probably be identified with the 'Willie Amos' mentioned by Hogg in a letter to his

9 Alexander Turnbull Library MS Papers 42 item 88.

son of 18 January 1832: 'I give you the charge of the three odd manuells [sic] which I have sent. You are to give one of them to Willie Amos one of them to Jane Sibbald and the third to the neighbour scholar which you like best'.<sup>10</sup> If this identification is correct, it would appear that Amos, in the letter which follows, looks back as an old man to events which took place in his early youth. The occasion for his letter to Mrs Garden was presumably provided by the edition of the Confessions published by J. Shiells & Co. in 1895 under the title The Suicide's Grave. The letter continues as follows:

The Suicide's grave was no myth, but a reality which I have visited several times. The poor unfortunate whose name I never heard I believe was a poor Tramp & was found hanging by the neck on a small hay rick not higher than his own height. It was said that the then shepherd of Heartleap found him & when he first got a sight of him he thought there were two people, but as he got nearer & nearer the second vanished away to a shadow -- the place where the body was found was on the farm of Altrive & about half a mile from my fathers house. The people of the district at least some of them affirmed that the second person seen by the hay rick was none else but the Deil him- [end of line] himsel', & as I have before stated that Jamie Fletcher did not believe in the existence of such an individual

The grave is quite three miles distant from where the body was found, but not at altho' within about half a mile from where three Lairds lands meet (the usual place at that time for burying persons who took away their own life). The Lairds whose lands met a little beyond the grave was the Duke of Buccleuch Lord Napier & the Laird of Riskinhope which when I first knew it belonged to a M<sup>r</sup> Pott

It was surmised that the party who carried the body in the darkness of the night had been too long in starting & that the Sun was about to rise & as it was the custom to bury Suicides when the Sun was down -- the grave was dug in haste about three feet deep, & the body interred at once -- Another reason might be inferred the way to where these Lairds lands met was steep & uphill, & perhaps the burial party thought they had gone quite far enough. The grave is on Berrybush farm --

I knew William Shiel very well, who was shepherd in Berrybush -- he & a neighbour shepherd were the first that disturbed the Suicide, they kept his bonnet (a Tam o' Shanter) they also found a small toothed comb & a pocket knife. The ground being of a

10 Letter owned by James Marshall, Esq., Broadsea, Fraserburgh.

black mossy character the body was not quite decayed away, but when it got in contact with the fresh air it hastened its decomposition Your father having heard what had been done, went up a few days afterwards. William Shiel accompanied him to the grave & had it dug up again, but there were little to be seen & only a piece of the coat neck, so Willie Shiel gave your father the bonnet also -- What became of the bonnet I dont know, but probably it might be put in some Museum in Edin<sup>r</sup>

Yours very truly

W<sup>m</sup> Amos

In Hogg's 1823 letter to Blackwood's the two shepherds who dig up the grave are William Shiel and W. Sword; and we are told (p. 190) that 'these young men meeting with another shepherd afterwards, his curiosity was so much excited, that they went and digged up the curious remains a second time'. The letter from Amos suggests that this unnamed third shepherd was in fact Hogg himself; and that Hogg's letter to Blackwood's is probably a reasonably accurate account of events which did in fact take place in the summer of 1823. Amos mentions a local tradition that the suicide, in hanging himself, was accompanied by the Devil -- and perhaps this evocative story, together with the 'curious remains', provided the spark which fired Hogg's imagination, and started him off on the process of writing the Confessions.

In his Penguin edition, John Wain writes (p. 8) that Hogg's letter to Blackwood's 'is reproduced almost in its entirety in the closing pages of the novel'; and in the Oxford edition, John Carey writes (p. 261) that 'Hogg reprints his own letter, with some omissions, from Blackwood's'. The omissions are in fact fairly extensive, running to approximately nine hundred words. In the omitted passages,<sup>11</sup> Hogg addresses Christopher North in a somewhat bantering tone, and declares that he is responding to North's requests for articles on 'the phenomena of nature' by sending

11 See Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, 15 (1823) page 188 column 1 and column 2 lines 1-28; page 190 column 1 lines 5-18; and page 190 column 2 lines 40-60.

an account of the recent opening of a suicide's grave in the Borders, and of the remarkable state of preservation of the body in the grave. These paragraphs omitted from the novel seem to fit in very well with Amos's claim that the opening of the grave was a real event of the summer of 1823. In these circumstances, a future editor of the novel might well wish to consider printing the omitted paragraphs (and the letter from Amos) in an Appendix. Readers of the novel would no doubt welcome such an Appendix for the light it would throw on the genesis of Hogg's masterpiece.

## Chapter V

### Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine and The Shepherd's Calendar

Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine was founded in 1817 by the Edinburgh publisher William Blackwood, whose rival Archibald Constable was already the publisher of the influential Edinburgh Review. The politics of The Edinburgh Review were decidedly Whig, and Blackwood was decidedly a Tory. There were therefore political as well as professional reasons for founding the new magazine. Blackwood's consistently championed the cause of the landed gentry, and its interests lay with agriculture and rural affairs, as opposed to industry and urban affairs. The magazine soon established itself as one of the leading British periodicals, its success being based in part on the boisterous, witty and scurrilous enthusiasm with which it attacked its enemies (and sometimes its friends). When his magazine was founded Blackwood had been involved in publishing The Queen's Wake, a poem which had done much to establish Hogg's reputation as one of the leading writers of the day.<sup>1</sup> This association made it natural for Hogg to become a contributor to Blackwood's - and the links were strengthened by Hogg's strong interest in rural matters, and by his connection with Tory circles through his friendship with Scott.

Many of Hogg's articles for Blackwood's appeared under the

1 For an account of William Blackwood's involvement in publishing The Queen's Wake, see Edith C. Batho, The Ettrick Shepherd (Cambridge, 1927), p.69.

series title 'The Shepherd's Calendar', and these articles (in keeping with the magazine's general interest in rural affairs) contain stories and anecdotes illustrating the characteristic features of life in the sheep-farming districts of the Borders. Some of the articles contain Hogg's reminiscences about his own experiences as a Border shepherd and farmer. Most of them, however, are short stories in which Hogg attempts to re-create on paper the manner and the content of the traditional oral tales which he had been used to hearing in the long dark winter evenings during his childhood and youth in Ettrick Forest.

This was an enterprise near to Hogg's heart, and the spirit in which he undertook it is reminiscent of Burns's dedicated efforts a generation earlier to collect and re-create the corpus of traditional Scottish song. By 1825 several 'Shepherd's Calendar' articles had appeared in Blackwood's, and in the September of that year Hogg set out to make arrangements for the republication of the articles in book form. In a letter to Blackwood of 1 September (National Library of Scotland MS 4014, ff.289-90) Hogg writes:

Although in the throng of my harvest as well as the moor sports I will be in town next week if possibly I can, or next again at all events But should I miss Mr Rees [of Hogg's London publishers Longman] tell him that I am going to publish two small works about Martinmass about 7/6 each "The Shepherd's Calender" also "Some passages in the lives of eminent men" and he must send the paper for both on the instant You and he agree about what share you are to have

Hogg's The Three Perils of Woman (1823) and The Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner (1824) had both been unsuccessful as far as sales were concerned. Both had

been published by Longman, and in 1825 that publisher proved to be unwilling to undertake another work by Hogg. Blackwood, however, mentions the possibility of an edition of Hogg's tales in a letter to Hogg of 24 June 1826:

I returned from London beginning of last week ... Your Nephew breakfasted with me one morning. He is quite well and seems to like London. M<sup>r</sup> Lockhart has a very high opinion of his abilities. I had a good deal of conversation with them both about your Tales. M<sup>r</sup> L. thinks you should put them into your Nephew's hands, and allow him to go over the whole, making such corrections and alterations as might appear to be necessary. In this way M<sup>r</sup> L. thinks they would be greatly improved as Robert in his opinion possesses much tact and good taste. I spoke to Robert on the subject and he would have no objection to undertake the task if you yourself wished it. (National Library of Scotland MS Acc. 5643, vol. B6, pp.229-30)

This was a period of financial difficulty for Hogg, mainly because he was attempting to run the large farm of Mount Benger without sufficient capital. As a result we find him writing to Blackwood on 12 September 1826:

I am exceedingly ill set by reason of a few hundred pounds of debt ... I therefore wish that at all events you and Davis would publish an edition of my Scottish tales revised in four close printed volumes and the Shepherd's Callender in two. There could be no risk in losing at 1000 copies as I should be satisfied with a moiety of the profits or an acknowledgement to the probable amount. I should like above all things that my nephew Rob<sup>t</sup> took the charge of the edition but there are many large curtailments that I only can manage but if you think it would answer better to have it printed in London that can easily be managed (National Library of Scotland MS 4017, ff.139-40)

Blackwood's reply of 23 September is more cautious than his letter of 24 June had been:

I wish much it were in my power to assist you by getting speedily forward an edition of your Tales. I still think that an edition in a cheap form revised and altered as we talked of, assisted by your Nephew would answer very well. Every thing however is so dull and I have such heavy demands upon me that I cannot well venture upon much just now, but I hope in a very short time things will get better. At present there is such a stagnation as I have never seen since I have been in business. (National Library of Scotland MS Acc. 5643, vol. B6, pp.385-87)

Blackwood's concern about the state of the trade had some substance: 1826, after all, was the year which saw the crash of Constable & Co., and the ruin of Sir Walter Scott. Hogg's own financial problems remained, however, and in a letter to Blackwood of 5 July 1827 he writes 'You must I think publish the shepherd's callander in two vols at Martinmass I could get common conditions elsewhere but the truth is no body should or can publish it but yourself' (National Library of Scotland MS 4019, ff.193-94).

In his reply of 14 July Blackwood writes 'I think the Calendar will do as a separate publication, and when you come to town we will have some talk about it. You know I must publish it' (National Library of Scotland MS Acc. 5643, vol. B7, p. 182). Naturally enough, Blackwood did not wish another publisher to bring out a book containing the contributions to Blackwood's Magazine of the start of the 'Noctes Ambrosianae'.

This did not necessarily mean that he was eager to publish the book himself, however; and Hogg writes in a letter which appears to date from August 1827 'Pray do not neglect the Calander this time but bring it out the first work of the kind this season You may safely trust Robert with the selection and arrangement for being quite convinced of its success he is most anxious about its excellence' (National Library of Scotland MS 4719, f.193).

In another letter to Blackwood which appears to date from the autumn of 1827 Hogg writes:

I really wish you would set about publishing The Shepherd's Callander in two vols I am sure you venture on many worse speculations, and then we would see how it came on before we ventured on an edition of all the tales revised. Robert will take the whole charge of arrangement and correction guided by your advice and it is full time it were begun (Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS. Autogr. b.3, f.109)

In a letter to Blackwood of 21 December 1827 Hogg complains 'I hear no accounts of the publication or printing' of The Shepherd's Calendar (National Library of Scotland MS 4007, ff.48-49). In his reply of 29 December 1827 Blackwood writes in a postscript 'Next week or the following I will have got through all my end of the year confusion, and Robert and I will go over together the whole of the intended publication' (National Library of Scotland MS 2245, ff.110-01). Hogg responds in a letter of 5 January 1828:

You must not on any account hesitate on publishing the Shepherd's Calendar. There is an absolute necessity exclusive of all other concerns for the collecting of these varied pictures and details of pastoral life I must have them brought into some tangible form by one means or another else my conscience will not be at rest (National Library of Scotland MS 4021, ff.271-72)

By this time Hogg's nephew Robert had returned to Scotland from London: and in a letter of 26 January 1828 Blackwood writes to Hogg:

I expected ere this to have had time to have gone over The Shepherd's Calendar along with your Nephew. But the end & beginning of a year have thrown so much upon my hands and Maga has further occupied me so much that I have not had a moment's leisure. Next week however I expect to be able to devote an afternoon and have Robert out at Newington with me (National Library of Scotland MS Acc. 5643, vol. B7, pp.398-400)

Hogg had first suggested a collected edition of The Shepherd's Calendar to Blackwood in September 1825, and since then progress towards publication had been painfully slow. In a letter of 12 February 1828, however, Hogg writes to Blackwood as follows:

My dear sir

I have got a long letter from Robert with a specimen of the printing of the Calendar. I think the page rather crowded but leave that to your better taste But I would never think of making only one vol I would far rather you made three which might reduce the number of the other tales somewhat. Of all things in the world I hate a dumpy vol of that size and would rather were there only 400 pages instead of 560 make two vols, the expense of publishing is the same, the price better, and the circulating librarians purchase double the number because they get double the

price for perusal, and they will be almost the sole purchasers of the work... Robert... is at full liberty to prune as he likes and arrange as he likes (National Library of Scotland MS 4021, ff.275-76)

Several months later, on 11 October 1828, Blackwood assures Hogg 'As to the Shepherd's Calendar the printing is positively to begin on Monday' (National Library of Scotland MS Acc. 5643, vol. B8, pp.71-73). After a further four months had elapsed, Hogg writes to Blackwood on 9 February 1829:

Is the Shepherd's Calander ever to see the light? or is it fairly to be strangled in the birth once more. I never hear a word of it nor know I in the least what progress you are making but sure am I it might have been published long ago. (National Library of Scotland MS 4719, f.153)

The end was at last approaching, however, and Blackwood writes on 28 February 1829:

I at last send you The Shepherd's Calendar and I hope you will be pleased with the way in which your Nephew has arranged and corrected the whole. I left it entirely to himself. I shall publish on Monday. I have shipped copies for London, and I have written and sent presents to a number of friends there who I hope will make some exertion for it (National Library of Scotland MS Acc. 5643, vol. B8, pp.219-20)

It is clear from all this that Hogg placed a high value on The Shepherd's Calendar, and was anxious to see it published in book form. Blackwood was less enthusiastic, however, and publication took place only after long delays. Furthermore, extensive revisions were thought to be necessary, and these revisions were entrusted to Hogg's nephew Robert, working under Blackwood's direction. Why were these revisions thought to be necessary, and why was the task of revision entrusted to Robert Hogg rather than the author? A clue is given by an admonition to Hogg contained in a letter of 28 May 1828 from Thomas Pringle, editor of the annual Friendship's Offering. Pringle writes:

But now, in regard to the Poem you have sent me... It is full of wild originality & bold striking imagery -- but altogether it seems to me too strange & droll, & "high kilted" for the

very "gentle" publication now under my charge: were it for a Magazine or some such work I should not feel so particular but for these "douce" & delicate publications the annuals I think it rather inappropriate... I think it ought to be a rule (& I endeavour to make it one so far as I am concerned) to admit not a single expression which would call up a blush in the Cheek of the most delicate female if reading aloud to a mixt company.  
(National Library of Scotland MS 4021, ff.122-23)

Blackwood and Robert Hogg shared Pringle's nervousness about what they called Hogg's 'indelicacy', and some of the revisions made to The Shepherd's Calendar seem designed to ensure that Hogg's book could not offend even the most prudish of readers.

In many stories the revisions were very extensive. For example, in Hogg's superb short story 'Mary Burnet' the cuts made by Robert Hogg and William Blackwood for the 1829 republication<sup>2</sup> amount in total to almost two thousand words. Another story, 'Tibby Hyslop's Dream', may be taken as a representative example of the revisions by Robert Hogg and William Blackwood, and it is illuminating to examine in detail the differences between the original Blackwood's text and the revised version of 1829. These variants are therefore listed in the Appendix to the present chapter.

In addition to the variants in words listed in the Appendix, there are a few variants in spelling, punctuation and the like -- but for the most part the accidentals of The Shepherd's Calendar text follow those of Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, and it seems likely that The Shepherd's Calendar was printed from a marked copy of Blackwood's.

As will be seen from the Appendix, Robert Hogg's extensive revisions to 'Tibby Hyslop's Dream' remove or tone down references to Gilbert Forret's sexual pursuit of Tibby; remove or tone down the indications that

2 The Shepherd's Calendar (2 volumes, 1829) was published by William Blackwood in Edinburgh and T. Cadell in London.

Douglas Hervey has supernatural communication with Heaven; and 'correct' and 'refine' Hogg's language. After its appearance in The Shepherd's Calendar of 1829, 'Tibby Hyslop's Dream' was not reprinted until after Hogg's death; and all the posthumous nineteenth-century printings follow the revised 1829 version, rather than the original Blackwood's text. As is so frequently the case, Hogg's manuscript for 'Tibby Hyslop's Dream' does not survive.

How, then, should an editor deal with 'Tibby Hyslop's Dream'? It seems clear that Hogg did not have any hand in the revisions which appear in the 1829 text: the letters quoted above indicate that these revisions were the work of Robert Hogg, working under Blackwood's direction. Manifestly, therefore, the editor will wish to return to Hogg's original version of Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine. It will also be desirable to attempt to correct any errors by the printer which can be detected in Blackwood's. There is one such instance in 'Tibby Hyslop's Dream':

Blackwood's 674(ii), 1.52 bargain?' Emendation: bargain?"

It will be remembered that in Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine 'Tibby Hyslop's Dream' has a somewhat convoluted title: 'The Shepherd's Calendar. Dreams and Apparitions. -- Part II. Containing Tibby Hyslop's Dream, and the Sequel.' This is typical of the titles given to the 'Shepherd's Calendar' stories in the magazine, and Hogg recognised that these titles would be rather cumbersome if they were retained when the series was reprinted in book form. In a letter to Blackwood of 12 February 1828, therefore, he agreed that Robert Hogg should 'leave out the classes and give every tale a kind of appropriate name for every tale must be

distinct either as a chapter or Tale with a beginning and an end' (National Library of Scotland MS 4021, f. 175). 'Tibby Hyslop's Dream' is the title which appears in The Shepherd's Calendar of 1829, and in the light of Hogg's letter an editor will probably wish to adopt this title. 'The classes', however, are of some interest, and in a new edition an editor might well wish to print the original Blackwood's title in brackets below the main title at the head of the text.

A number of 'Shepherd's Calendar' stories have the same textual history as 'Tibby Hyslop's Dream', and require a similar editorial policy. These stories are listed below. The titles are taken from The Shepherd's Calendar of 1829, and the Blackwood's titles -- 'the classes' -- are added in brackets.

1. Rob Dodds (The Shepherd's Calendar. Class Second. Deaths Judgments, and Providences.)

Printed in Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, 13 (March 1823), 311-20; and in The Shepherd's Calendar (Edinburgh, 1829), I, 1-32. The following possible emendations to the Blackwood's text are suggested for consideration:

<u>Blackwood's</u>	<u>Emendation</u>
312 (ii), 1.38 popped of before	popped off before
312 (ii), 1.50 kail-yard.	kail-yard."
312 (ii), 1.51 what's that your saying to	what's that you're saying to

2. Mr Adamson of Laverhope (The Shepherd's Calendar. Class Second. Deaths, Judgments, and Providences.)

Printed in Blackwood's, 13 (June 1823), 629-40; and in The Shepherd's Calendar (1829), I, 33-68.

<u>Blackwood's</u>	<u>Emendation</u>
630 (i), 1.47 rackless	sackless
632 (i), 1.41 word,	ward,
635 (i), 1.51 early!	gurly!
<del>638 (i), 1.13 an' it's</del>	"an' it's
639 (ii), 1.26 1804, It	1804. It

3. Window Wat's Courtship (The Shepherd's Calendar. Class V. The Lasses.)  
Printed in Blackwood's, 15 (March 1824), 296-304 and 17 (February 1825)  
180-86; and in The Shepherd's Calendar (1829), II, 1-48.

<u>Blackwood's</u>	<u>Emendation</u>
302 (i), 1.32 eiry."	eiry.'
303 (ii), 1.12 "Not	"'Not

4. Sheep (The Shepherd's Calendar. General Anecdotes.)  
Printed in Blackwood's (with 'Prayers' and 'Odd Characters', listed  
below), 21 (April 1827), 434-36; and in The Shepherd's Calendar  
(1829), II, 185-92.

<u>Blackwood's</u>	<u>Emendation</u>
435 (i), 1.18 stupid and actionless creatures	stupid and fusionless creatures

5. Prayers (The Shepherd's Calendar. General Anecdotes.)  
Printed in Blackwood's, 21 (April 1827), 436-39; and in  
The Shepherd's Calendar (1829), II, 193-204.

6. Odd Characters (The Shepherd's Calendar. General Anecdotes.)  
Printed in Blackwood's, 21 (April 1827), 440-48; and in  
The Shepherd's Calendar (1829), II, 205-29.

<u>Blackwood's</u>	<u>Emendation</u>
441 (i), 1.42 one of those Moffat houses, [Cf. 440 (i), 1.19-20: Many a hard bouse he had about Moffat,]	one of those Moffat bouses,
441 (ii), 1.7 --One plash more, quo' Will o' Phaup;" but all was silent! "Scots ground! quo' Will o' Phaup--a man drown'd, an' me here!"	--One plash more," quo Will o' Phaup; but all was silent! "Scots ground!" quo' Will o' Phaup--"a man drown'd, an' me here!"
445 (ii), 1.56 "The mair fool are ye, quo' Jock Amos to the minister."	"The mair fool are ye," quo' Jock Amos to the minister.

[Hogg normally gives a very incomplete indication of  
quotation marks in his manuscripts.]

446 (i), 1.53 Liston. Linton.

7. George Dobson's Expedition to Hell (The Shepherd's Calendar. Dreams and Apparitions.)

Printed in Blackwood's (with 'The Souters of Selkirk', listed below), 21 (May 1827), 549-54; and in The Shepherd's Calendar (1829), I, 131-47.

8. The Souters of Selkirk (The Shepherd's Calendar. Dreams and Apparitions.)

Printed in Blackwood's, 21 (May 1827), 554-62; and in The Shepherd's Calendar (1829), I, 148-75.

Blackwood's

554 (i), 1.29 is called "a bien bachelor, or a chap that was gayan weel to leeve."

Emendation

is called "a bien bachelor," or "a chap that was gayan weel to leeve."

555 (ii), 1.4 money," says George. We

money," says George. "We

9. Tibby Hyslop's Dream (The Shepherd's Calendar. Dreams and Apparitions. Part II.)

Printed in Blackwood's, 21 (June 1827), 664-76; and in The Shepherd's Calendar (1829), I, 212-46.

Blackwood's

674 (ii), 1.52 bargain?'

Emendation

bargain?"

10. The Laird of Wineholm (The Shepherd's Calendar. Dreams and Apparitions, containing Smithy Cracks, &c. Part III.)

Printed in Blackwood's, 22 (July 1827), 64-73; and in The Shepherd's Calendar (1829), I, 311-41.

Blackwood's

68 (ii), 1.48 is, it seem, risen

69 (i), 1.39 saget ongue

70 (ii), 1.44 Everything that happened was more extraordinary than the last;

Emendation

is, it seems, risen

sage tongue

Every thing that happened was more extraordinary than the last;

[Hogg's manuscripts usually have 'every thing', not 'everything'; ~~and Hogg's~~ usual form clearly fits the context here.]

72 (i), 1.61 hell, sir.' hell, sir.'"

11. The Laird of Cassway (The Shepherd's Calendar. Dreams and Apparitions. -- Part IV.)

Printed in Blackwood's, 22 (August 1827), 173-85; and in The Shepherd's Calendar (1829), I, 176-211.

Blackwood's

174 (i), 1.38 ' 'Complished gentleman!

Emendation

" 'Complished gentleman!

12. Mary Burnet (The Shepherd's Calendar. Class IX. Fairies, Brownies, and Witches.)

Printed in Blackwood's, 23 (February 1828), 214-27; and in The Shepherd's Calendar (1829), I, 247-84.

Blackwood's

217 (i), 1.6 Jane affirmed

Emendation

Jean affirmed

13. The Witches of Traquair (The Shepherd's Calendar. Class IX. Fairies, Deils, and Witches.)

Printed in Blackwood's, 23 (April 1828), 509-19; and in The Shepherd's Calendar (1829), II, 150-84.

14. The Brownie of the Black Hags

Printed in Blackwood's, 24 (October 1828), 489-96; and in The Shepherd's Calendar (1829), I, 285-310.

[Although not given a 'Shepherd's Calendar' title in Blackwood's, this story belongs naturally with the present group.]

We have suggested that an editor could deal with all the stories listed above by basing his text on the Blackwood's printing, and by making any emendations which seem to be required in order to correct obvious errors by the printer. In addition to this main group, a further seven stories appeared in The Shepherd's Calendar of 1829. These stories are listed below under their 1829 titles, and the editorial problems which they present are discussed in turn. The stories are listed in the order in which they appear in the 1829 collection.

## 1. 'The Prodigal Son'

This story occupies pages 69-111 of the first volume of the 1829 edition of The Shepherd's Calendar -- and the standard bibliographies of Hogg indicate that this was its first appearance in print.<sup>3</sup> In fact, however, the story had already been published in 1821, in The Edinburgh Magazine, and Literary Miscellany; a new series of The Scots Magazine. This journal, published by William Blackwood's rival Archibald Constable, had changed its title from The Scots Magazine around the time of the foundation of Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine. Hogg's story appeared in two instalments in volume 9 of The Edinburgh Magazine. The first instalment occupies pages 219-25 of the number for September 1821, and is given the title 'Pictures of Country Life. No. I. Old Isaac'; while the second instalment occupies pages 443-52 of the number for November 1821, and is given the title 'Pictures of Country Life. No. II. Continued from p. 219'. Both instalments appeared anonymously in the magazine: and this may be the reason why they have been overlooked by Hogg's bibliographers.

The relationship between Hogg and William Blackwood did not always run smoothly -- and 1821 saw some particularly acrimonious disputes between the two men.<sup>4</sup> As a result, no contributions by Hogg appeared in the pages of Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine during that year; and indeed no articles in 'The Shepherd's Calendar' series appeared in Blackwood's between the number for May 1819 and the number for March 1823. In these

3 See, for example, Batho, The Ettrick Shepherd, pp. 183-221.

4 See the letters exchanged by Hogg and Blackwood at this period: for example, Hogg's letter to Blackwood of 2 June 1821 (National Library of Scotland MS 4007, ff. 26-27; and Blackwood's reply of 6 June 1821 (National Library of Scotland MS Acc. 5643, vol. A2, pp. 176-78).

circumstances it seems reasonable to regard 'Pictures of Country Life' as a continuation of 'The Shepherd's Calendar' series under a new title in a rival magazine: and this view is confirmed by the inclusion of 'The Prodigal Son' in the 1829 collection.

How, then, does 'Old Isaac', published in 1821, compare with the 1829 text? A comparison of the two versions shows that fairly extensive revisions have been made for the later printing -- and that the revisions are similar to those made by Robert Hogg at Blackwood's instigation in the stories discussed above. The desire to tone down and polish Hogg's prose, so evident in the 1829 revisions to 'Tibby Hyslop's Dream' and the other stories from Blackwood's, can also be detected in the following examples from 'The Prodigal Son':

'Old Isaac' (1821)

a little girl, one of the  
family, who had been away  
meeting the carrier for some  
medicines, and who

(p. 221, col. 2)

where the religion of Jesus  
was never mentioned, but with  
scorn and ridicule;

(p. 444, col. 1)

'The Prodigal Son' (1829)

a little girl, one of the  
family, who had been away  
meeting the carrier to procure  
some medicines, and who

(p. 75)

where religion was never  
mentioned but with ridicule;

(p. 89)

In all the circumstances, it seems natural to conclude that 'The Prodigal Son' of the 1829 edition of The Shepherd's Calendar is Robert Hogg's revision of his uncle's story 'Old Isaac', first published in 1821 in The Edinburgh Magazine.

If this conclusion is accepted, an editor will clearly wish to follow

James Hogg's own version of the story, rather than Robert Hogg's. As the manuscript has not survived, an editor will therefore base his text on the 1821 printing in The Edinburgh Magazine. Naturally, an editor will also wish to correct any evident errors by the printer of The Edinburgh Magazine, and the following possible emendations are suggested for consideration:

<u>The Edinburgh Magazine</u>	<u>Emendation</u>
221 (ii), 1.22    lost to its master's fold. It behoveth not a faithful shepherd to suffer,-- and yet	lost to its master's fold. It behoveth not a faithful shepherd to suffer this,--and yet
223 (i), 1.45    suffice?" Alas! he is not himself," said	suffice?" "Alas! he is not himself," said
223 (i), 1.56    charge.	charge."
224 (i), 1.31    --how shall appear before thee?"	--how shall he appear before thee?"
445 (i), 1.60    "Why," daughter Matty, poorly enough,	"Why, daughter Matty, poorly enough,
449 (ii), 1.42    said Gawin	said Isaac
451 (ii), 1.17    but was the cantiest crack o' the Kaim-law.	but was the cantiest crack o' the Kaim-law.

[A 'crock' is an old ewe which has ceased bearing: and this fits the context.]

The title of the story remains to be considered. It appears that Hogg was not involved in the 1829 revisions; and this suggests that the 1829 title, 'The Prodigal Son', with its religious overtones, was the work of his nephew Robert. An editor, therefore, will probably wish to return to Hogg's original title of 1821. In the 1821 version, 'Old Isaac' seems to be the title of this particular story, while 'Pictures of Country Life' appears to be a series title. This could be conveyed in a new edition by printing the story under the title 'Old Isaac (Pictures of Country Life. Nos. I and II)'.

## 2. 'The School of Misfortune'

During 1810 and 1811, when he was attempting to establish himself as a literary man in Edinburgh, Hogg produced an essay-periodical entitled The Spy. This work was modelled on such celebrated eighteenth-century essay-periodicals as The Spectator of Addison and Steele, Dr Johnson's The Rambler, and Henry Mackenzie's The Lounger. Number 29 of The Spy appeared on Saturday 16 March 1811, and most of this number is devoted to an untitled article by Hogg. When The Spy ceased publication, a titlepage and table of contents were printed for binding with runs of the periodical; and in the table of contents the untitled article in number 29 is described as 'On the Folly of Anger and Impatience under Misfortunes--Several Living Characters Contrasted--Tale of Old Gregory and his Daughter'. The article begins with a series of moral reflections, and concludes with an anecdote illustrating the ideas discussed in the opening paragraphs.

This article in The Spy number 29 was the progenitor of an article

in the December 1821 number of The Edinburgh Magazine, in which Hogg continued the series inaugurated earlier that year with 'Old Isaac'. Like 'Old Isaac', the December article was published anonymously, and has been overlooked by Hogg's bibliographers. It is entitled 'Pictures of Country Life. No. III. Continued from p. 452. The School of Misfortune'. The article occupies pages 583-89 of volume 9 of The Edinburgh Magazine (which is also volume 88 of The Scots Magazine, in the periodical's original series of volume numbers). In The Edinburgh Magazine's version of 'The School of Misfortune', the opening paragraphs of moral reflection are reproduced (with minor alterations) from the article in The Spy, but an entirely new illustrative anecdote replaces the original anecdote of the 1811 version.

After its appearance in The Edinburgh Magazine, the next publication of 'The School of Misfortune' was in the 1829 edition of The Shepherd's Calendar, in which it occupies pages 112-30 of the first volume. This version has the same concluding anecdote as the text of The Edinburgh Magazine.

Because of the change in the concluding anecdote, it would be reasonable to say that the work we are considering exists in two quite distinct versions -- that of The Spy; and that of The Edinburgh Magazine and The Shepherd's Calendar. As the differences in content are substantial, it would be appropriate for both versions to be included in a complete edition of Hogg's works. In such an edition, the original 1811 version would be included in the section of the edition devoted to The Spy; while the later version would be included in the section devoted to The Shepherd's Calendar.

How should an editor of the later version approach his task? A comparison of the 1821 and 1829 texts shows that the latter has been

fairly extensively revised. The order of the opening, reflective paragraphs has been changed -- presumably in an attempt to improve the logical sequence of the ideas; and, in addition, there are examples of the 1829 edition's usual attempts to polish and refine Hogg's prose. It seems natural to see the hand of Robert Hogg in these changes, and an editor will therefore wish to disregard the 1829 revisions and return to the text of The Edinburgh Magazine. One emendation may be suggested in order to correct what appears to be an error by the printer of The Edinburgh Magazine: this emendation would involve the substitution of 'his other friends' for 'his other friend's' (see the bottom line of vol. 9, p. 588 col. 2).

Some comment on the title of the story is also required. The sensible course would appear to be the one recommended above for 'Old Isaac'. In the present case, this would produce the title 'The School of Misfortune (Pictures of Country Life. No. III)'

### 3. 'A Strange Secret'

The number of Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine for June 1828 contains a short story by Hogg entitled 'A Strange Secret. Related in a Letter from the Ettrick Shepherd'. The story occupies pages 822-26 of volume 23 of Blackwood's, and tells how a servant, through no fault of his own, gains some insight into a dark and dangerous family secret of his aristocratic employers. The story as it stands is complete and self-contained, but the mystery which is partly uncovered is not fully explained, and the final paragraph indicates that a further instalment may be

published in due course. This paragraph reads:

Having twice met with the Bishop, and been exceedingly happy with him, I wrote to him on the instant, requesting some explanation of the curious story related by Henderson. I am almost certain he will not withhold it; and if it be of such a nature as to suit publicity, I shall send it you as soon as it arrives.

Mount Benger, May 10th.

In the event the story was not continued in Blackwood's -- but an expanded version, in which the mystery of the strange secret is fully explained, was published in the following year in The Shepherd's Calendar. This version of the story occupies pages 49-107 of the second volume of the 1829 collection, and is given the title 'A Strange Secret'. Pages 49-63 cover the same ground as the Blackwood's article of June 1828, but the remainder of the 1829 text is entirely new material.

A comparison of the Blackwood's text with the corresponding passage in The Shepherd's Calendar shows that numerous revisions have been made. For example, the following paragraph appears in Blackwood's (p. 823, col. 2):

At length, all at once, I heard a piercing shriek, which was followed by low stifled moanings. "L--d J----s, they are murdering a bairn, an' what will I do!" said I to myself, sobbing till my heart was like to burst. And finding that I was just going to lose my senses, as well as my hold, and fall from the tree, I descended with all expedition, and straightway ran and hid myself in below the bank of the burn behind the house, that thereby I might drown the cries of the suffering innocent, and secure myself from a fall.

In the 1829 text this becomes (p. 54):

At length, all at once, I heard a piercing shriek, which was followed by low stifled moanings. "They are murdering a bairn, and what will I do!" said I to myself, sobbing till

my heart was like to burst. And finding that I was just upon the point of losing my senses, as well as my hold, and falling from the tree, I descended with all expedition, and straightway ran and hid myself under the bank of the burn behind the house, that thereby I might avoid hearing the cries of the suffering innocent, and secure myself from a fall.

Here once again the 1829 revisions seem designed to tone down and polish Hogg's prose; and once again it seems likely that these revisions were the work of Robert Hogg.

How then should an editor approach this story? Hogg's manuscript does not survive, and the editor must therefore turn his attention to the two early printings. Clearly, a text that seeks to follow Hogg's own intentions will discard revisions attributed to his nephew; and the editor will therefore follow the Blackwood's text for that part of the story published in the magazine. For the remainder of the story, however, it will be necessary faute de mieux to follow The Shepherd's Calendar of 1829.

It is clear that the final paragraph of the Blackwood's version, quoted above, was written with publication in the magazine specifically in mind. The continuation of the story in The Shepherd's Calendar is designed (perhaps by Hogg himself) to follow on smoothly from the end of the penultimate paragraph of the section of the story printed in Blackwood's. Because of this, an editor will probably wish to follow the Blackwood's text to the end of its penultimate paragraph; and then turn to The Shepherd's Calendar. The final Blackwood's paragraph could then be quoted by the editor as part of his annotation of the story.

In order to correct what appear to be errors by the printer, the following emendations may be suggested:

Blackwood's

822 (i), 1.38

unca rumpus

Emendation

unco rumpus

Blackwood's

822 (ii), 1.8 on the speat.  
 824 (ii), 1.10 she was baptized in,  
 824 (ii), 1.38 a bichel o' baby-  
 clouts?

Emendation

on the seat.  
 he was baptized in,  
 a pickle o' baby-clouts?

The Shepherd's Calendar

vol. 2, p.90 1.13 Cowan,'

Cowan,"

## 4. 'The Marvellous Doctor'

'The Marvellous Doctor' was first published in the September 1827 number of Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine (vol. 22, pp. 349-61); and it was reprinted under the same title in The Shepherd's Calendar of 1829 (vol. 2, pp. 108-49). The story seems to have caused some alarm to William Blackwood, who wrote about it to Hogg as follows on 25 May 1827:

I have laughed prodigiously at your Doctor, but the fun I fear is too strong for delicate folks to tolerate. I shall however keep him safe and if I find that I cannot venture to give it a place I will return it carefully to you. (National Library of Scotland MS Acc. 5643, vol. B7, pp. 128A-130)

Hogg writes in his reply of 28 May:

I should be very sorry to have The Marvellous Doctor rejected as I am sure it will afford great amusement to many of your readers ... But as I never pretend to depend on my own taste in matters of modern delicacy if you have any suspicions on that head send the M.S. to Robert merely mentioning the division or divisions of the narrative about which you are scrupulous and you may depend on him that his slight alterations will completely obliterate any appearance of indelicacy Mr Lockhart has given me the same hint over and over again and in some instances I have found it fully verified. (National Library of Scotland MS 4019, ff. 191-92)

Blackwood took up this suggestion, writing to Hogg on 30 June 1827 that 'The Wonderful Doctor contains much that is excellent, but it will require pruning which your Nephew and I will manage' (National Library of Scotland MS Acc. 5643, vol. B7, pp. 173-74). By 25 August 1827 Blackwood was in a position to tell Hogg:

By the N<sup>o</sup> which I send with this you will see that your Nephew has managed very judiciously with the Marvellous Doctor. I approve entirely of the omissions he has made for it would have been quite impossible to have printed Aunty Cricky &c. Even as it now is John Cay and some of our squeamish friends will rather be startled with your bold pictures. However there is quite enough of good stuff in it to please generally. (National Library of Scotland MS Acc. 5643, vol. B7, pp. 261-62)

'The Marvellous Doctor' is the only story printed in The Shepherd's Calendar which appears (from the evidence of letters exchanged by Hogg and Blackwood) to have been expurgated even before its appearance in Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine. This was no doubt because it tells of the ludicrous adventures caused by the discovery of a love potion -- a theme giving ample scope for what Blackwood calls 'strong' humour. Unfortunately Hogg's manuscript does not appear to have survived, and the narrative of 'Aunty Cricky &c' therefore would seem to be lost beyond recall.

A comparison of the Blackwood's version with that of the 1829 collection shows that the usual revisions have been made, including the removal of 'indelicacies' which had slipped through Robert Hogg's net when he was preparing the story for publication in the magazine. The revisions also -- as usual -- seek to polish Hogg's prose and to make it less informal. The following example illustrates the nature of the revisions:

## BLACKWOOD'S

356 (i), 1.56      Thinks I to myself,  
                   my pretty Countess, could I get  
                   a quiet squirt at your auburn  
                   locks, or any part of your dear  
                   self, I should make you not so  
                   haughty. I waited

## THE SHEPHERD'S CALENDAR

132, 1.20      --thinking to myself,  
                   My pretty Countess, before  
                   you and I part, your  
                   haughtiness shall be  
                   wonderfully abated!--I  
                   waited

It seems clear, then, that Robert Hogg revised 'The Marvellous Doctor' before its publication in Blackwood's in 1827, and then revised it again before its publication in The Shepherd's Calendar in 1829. Presumably the second revision was deemed necessary because what would pass muster in a magazine would not necessarily be thought acceptable in the more formal and prestigious context of publication in a book.

Be that as it may, an editor of 'The Marvellous Doctor' will wish to follow the Blackwood's text, which is clearly closer to Hogg's lost manuscript than any other surviving text of the story. One emendation to the Blackwood's text may be suggested in order to remove an error by the printer: in the last line of page 357 column 2, a semi-colon should be added after 'case'.

Although it is included in the 1829 collection, 'The Marvellous Doctor' was not listed as part of 'The Shepherd's Calendar' when it appeared in Blackwood's. Furthermore, the letters exchanged by Hogg and Blackwood in 1827 do not suggest that the story was written as part of that series.<sup>5</sup> An editor would no doubt wish to point this out as part of his annotation, even if he were to decide to print the story with the other works contained

<sup>5</sup> See, for example, National Library of Scotland MS Acc. 5643, vol. B7, pp. 128A-130.

in The Shepherd's Calendar of 1829.

5. 'Nancy Chisholm'

The 'Advertisement' which follows the titlepage of the first volume of the 1829 edition of The Shepherd's Calendar states:

The greater number of the Tales contained in these volumes appeared originally in BLACKWOOD'S EDINBURGH MAGAZINE. They have been revised with care; and to complete the Collection, several Tales hitherto unpublished have been added.

This is something of an overstatement: 'Nancy Chisholm' is in fact the only previously unpublished tale in the 1829 collection (although only part of 'A Strange Secret' had previously been published, while 'The Prodigal Son' and 'The School of Misfortune' were reprinted from The Edinburgh Magazine rather than Blackwood's). As Hogg's manuscript does not survive, it will be necessary for an editor of 'Nancy Chisholm' to follow the text which appears in the second volume of The Shepherd's Calendar of 1829 (pp. 230-53) -- even although this text no doubt has the usual 1829 revisions by Robert Hogg. The 1829 text of 'Nancy Chisholm' does not contain any manifest errors by the printer, and therefore it is unnecessary to suggest any emendations.

6. 'Snow-storms'

This sketch of Border life appears under the above title in the second volume of The Shepherd's Calendar of 1829 (pp. 254-92). The 1829 publication

was the fourth time the sketch had appeared in print, and in addition Hogg's manuscript survives among the Blackwood Papers at the National Library of Scotland as part of MS 4808. For 'Snow-storms', therefore, it will be necessary to consider no fewer than five texts produced during Hogg's lifetime.

The first publication of the work was in 1819, in the April and May numbers of volume 5 of Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine. The April instalment (which occupies pp. 75-81) has the title 'The Shepherd's Calendar. Storms'; while the May instalment (pp. 210-16) is given the title 'The Shepherd's Calendar. (Continued from p. 75.)'. It seems clear that Hogg's manuscript in the Blackwood Papers was written in 1819 with publication in Blackwood's in mind: like the Blackwood's text, the manuscript is divided into two instalments -- and in the manuscript, Hogg dates the first instalment 'April 15<sup>th</sup> 1819', and the second instalment 'April 14<sup>th</sup> 1819'.

After publication in Blackwood's the work next appeared in Hogg's collection Winter Evening Tales, published in two volumes in 1820 by the Edinburgh firm Oliver and Boyd. In this collection it occupies pages 152-180 of the second volume. The first edition of Winter Evening Tales sold very well, and the publishers were able to write to Hogg as follows on 24 October 1820:

Now, my friend, the Tales are nearly all sold off, and we wish, by return of post, to get your terms for a second edition of 1000 Copies (National Library of Scotland MS 2245, ff. 50-51)

The second edition duly appeared in two volumes in 1821; and 'The Shepherd's Calendar. Storms' again occupies pages 152-180 of the second volume.

After Winter Evening Tales, publication in The Shepherd's Calendar followed in 1829. What, then, is the relationship between the five texts of 'Snow-storms' produced during Hogg's lifetime? The relationship between the manuscript and the first printing in Blackwood's is of particular interest, as this is the only work from the 'Shepherd's Calendar' series for which the manuscript survives. How closely, then, does the magazine text follow the manuscript? As far as differences in words are concerned, the following variants are to be found:

MANUSCRIPT	BLACKWOOD'S
f. 2(r), 1.15      belonging to Sir James Montgomery Bart. became a common	75 (ii), 1.44      belonging to Sir James Montgomery, became a common
f. 2(v), 1.6        Bessy my dow, how gaes the auld sang now? Gin ye'll gie me the words I'll sing't to you.	76 (i), 1.12        Bessy, my dow, how gaes the auld sang?
f. 2(v), 1.13       any thing further	76 (i), 1.19        any thing farther
f. 3(r), 1.5        They asked at Watie,	76 (i), 1.46        They asked Wattie,
f. 3(v), 1.16       The daily sense so naturally impressed	76 (ii), 1.35       The daily feeling naturally impressed
f. 4(r), 1.18       Wo to him that would weaken the bonds which true Christianity inculcates!	77 (i), 1.17        Woe to him that would weaken the bonds with which true Christianity connects us with Heaven and with each other.
f. 4(r), 1.29       the numbers of sheep	77 (i), 1.33        the number of sheep
f. 4(v), 1.15       waters, burns, and ravines by the	77 (i), 1.55        waters, burns, and lakes, by the

## MANUSCRIPT

- f. 5(v), 1.25 the more was I  
impressed by the belief that  
some mischief was a brewing;
- f. 5(v), 1.31 a place called The  
Hope House
- f. 6(r), 1.5 the top of height  
called
- f. 6(r), 1.28 he would assist We  
had
- f. 6(r), 1.30 I sat chatting till
- f. 6(r), 1.32 habitation of The  
Black Douglasses
- f. 6(v), 1.8 toward the north
- f. 6(v), 1.22 exposed to two  
gathered winds as they are called
- f. 6(v), 1.26 I felt the house  
trembling to its foundations.
- f. 7(v), 1.6 all in one lot but a  
long way distant and the lot of  
most value of any on the farm
- f. 8(v), 1.29 impede us still  
further
- f. 9(v), 1.12 where I judged the  
water should be
- f. 9(v), 1.15 I was terribly  
astonished and

## BLACKWOOD'S

- 78 (i), 1.29 the more was I  
impressed that some mischief  
was a brewing;
- 78 (i), 1.37 a place named the  
Hope-house,
- 78 (i), 1.46 the top of the  
height called
- 78 (ii), 1.17 he would assist  
me. We had
- 78 (ii), 1.19 I sat chattering  
till
- 78 (ii), 1.22 habitation of the  
Black Danglasses
- 78 (ii), 1.34 towards the north,
- 78 (ii), 1.53 exposed to two or  
three gathered winds, as they  
are called
- 78 (ii), 1.59 I felt the house  
trembling to its foundation.
- 79 (i), 1.60 all in one lot,  
but a long way distant, and the  
most valuable lot of any on  
the farm,
- 80 (i), 1.59 impede us still  
farther,
- 81 (i), 1.3 where I thought the  
water should be,
- 81 (i), 1.7 I was greatly  
astonished, and

MANUSCRIPT		BLACKWOOD'S
f. 9(v), 1.36	and trees and trees of no great	81 (ii), 1.11 and trees of no great
f. 10(r), 1.1	They flourished abroad	81 (ii), 1.14 I thought they flourished abroad,
f. 10(r), 1.4	may the eye of shepherd	81 (ii), 1.17 may the eye of a shepherd
f. 10(r), 1.8	H.	81 (ii), 1.23 JAMES HOGG.
f. 10(r), 1.9	Charles' Street	81 (ii), 1.24 Eltrive,
f. 12(r), 1.17	There having been thus 340 of my flock	211 (ii), 1.23 There having been 340 of my flock
f. 12(v), 1.5	the head or horns of one appearing,	211 (ii), 1.45 the head or horns of stragglers appearing,
f. 12(v), 1.27	thirty holes all marked	212 (i), 1.13 thirty holes marked
f. 14(r), 1.4	about the marriage;	212 (ii), 1.36 about their marriage;
f. 14(r), 1.15	a position against which	212 (ii), 1.59 a practice against which
f. 14(r), 1.23	continuing to walk when	212 (ii), 1.60 continuing to walk and converse when
f. 14(v), 1.12	seized on the vitals	213 (i), 1.21 seized momentarily on the vitals
f. 15(r), 1.19	heard of in Britain before;	213 (ii), 1.7 heard of among us before;
f. 16(v), 1.1	or a' the play be played,	214 (i), 1.44 ere a' the play be played,
f. 16(v), 1.14	to waste the country	214 (i), 1.62 to waste the land.

## MANUSCRIPT

## BLACKWOOD'S

- f. 16(v), 1.18 against a number  
of individuals;
- f. 16(v), 1.20 and in that case as  
well as the latter one, legal  
proceedings were meditated, and  
attempted; but lucky it was for  
the shepherds that they signed no  
reference, for such
- f. 16(v), 1.24 was held that it would
- f. 18(r), 1.6 sayin that there was
- f. 18(r), 1.19 nights wark! Think  
ye did
- f. 18(v), 1.21 those whelming
- 214 (ii), 1.6 against these few  
individuals;
- 214 (ii), 1.8 for in that case,  
as well as the latter one,  
legal proceedings, it is said,  
were meditated, and attempted;  
but lucky it was for the  
shepherds that they agreed to  
no reference, for such
- 214 (ii), 1.14 was held, that it  
is likely it would have fared  
very ill with them; at all  
events, it would
- 215 (i), 1.59 saying there was
- 215 (ii), 1.15 night's wark! What  
thought ye it was that cried?"  
"I didna ken what it was, it  
cried just like a plover."  
"Did the callans look as they  
war fear'd when they heard it?"  
"They lookit gay an' queer."  
"What did they say?"  
"Ane cried, 'What is that?'  
an' another said, 'What can it  
mean.' 'Hout,' quo Jamie  
Fletcher, 'it's just some bit  
stray bird that has lost  
itsel.' 'I dinna ken,' quo  
your Will, 'I dinna like it  
unco weel.'  
"Think ye, did
- 216 (i), 1.7 these whelming

It appears, then, that there are several differences in words between Hogg's manuscript of 'Storms' and the text in Blackwood's printed from that manuscript. The differences, however, are not overwhelmingly numerous, and many of them are comparatively trivial: 'these' for 'those', and 'farther' for 'further', for example. Indeed, some of the differences seem to be caused by simple errors by the printer -- as when he misread Hogg's reference to that famous family the Black Douglasses as 'the Black Danglasses' (Blackwood's, 78 (ii), 1.22). All in all, most of the differences between the two texts could reasonably be attributed to inaccuracy by the compositor, or to minor tinkering by William Blackwood's proof corrector.

At least one change cannot be explained in this way, however. The extensive passage inserted in Blackwood's at p. 215 (col. ii, line 15) is clearly more than minor tinkering. Indeed, this passage is very much in Hogg's manner -- and it is tempting to speculate that he may have made this change himself at the proof stage. This seems the more likely as he appears to have been in Edinburgh (rather than at his Border farm of Altrive) during the spring of 1819, the period when 'Storms' was being printed for publication in Blackwood's. In a letter of 8 March 1819, Hogg writes to John M'Diarmid of Dumfries:

I must just be considered as a common subscriber direct the paper to 6 Charles' Street Edin. until further orders for I think it is likely I will be here till nearly midsummer where I hope to see you when you visit Edin. (Hornel Library, Broughton House, Kirkcudbright, S 20)

If Hogg made one change at the proof stage, he may have made others; and it is tempting to see his hand at work in the small number of revisions of

any real significance -- for example, those listed above at Blackwood's 77 (i), 1.17 and 214 (ii), 1.14. All in all, it would be fair to say that the Blackwood's printing is a reasonably accurate rendering of the words of Hogg's text. This is reassuring, as we have to rely on the Blackwood's text for most of the stories in The Shepherd's Calendar.

We have considered the manuscript and the first printed text of 'Storms'. What of the three later printings that appeared during Hogg's lifetime? The first of these was the first edition of Winter Evening Tales, published in 1820. This version follows the Blackwood's text very closely -- even to the extent of repeating the error about 'the Black Danglasses'. In following Blackwood's, the printer of Winter Evening Tales makes a few minute changes -- as when 'lying all abroad' (Blackwood's 211 (ii), 1.49) becomes 'all lying abroad'. However, it would be fair to say that there are no changes of any real significance.

Hogg's letters indicate that he made some revisions to Winter Evening Tales when the second edition came to be printed. In a letter to Oliver and Boyd of 6 November 1820 he writes 'Do not begin to print the second edition of the Tales till I send you a copy for I will go over them all again with a strick correcting eye'. Hogg follows this up in his letter to Oliver and Boyd of 20 November 1820, in which he writes:

I send you in a corrected copy of the first vol. of the tales in which you will find many alterations Let the most scrupulous now find fault if they can In the second vol. I have found nothing worth while therefore you may go on with them both together <sup>6</sup>

'Storms' appears in the second volume, in which Hogg found 'nothing worth while'; and a comparison of the texts of 'Storms' in the two editions of

6 Both these letters are to be found in National Library of Scotland MS Acc. 5000, Special Correspondence Box, Oliver & Boyd Papers.

Winter Evening Tales confirms that here his 'strick correcting eye' has not been at work. Differences are very few and insignificant, and those that are present can be attributed with confidence to the printer.<sup>7</sup>

The next printing of 'Storms' came in the 1829 edition of The Shepherd's Calendar. Here the title is altered to 'Snow-storms', and a number of other changes are made. These changes are of the kind made regularly in the 1829 collection; and here as elsewhere it seems reasonable to attribute the 1829 revisions to Hogg's nephew Robert.

Works from The Shepherd's Calendar are normally reprinted from the 1829 collection without any significant alteration in the posthumous 1837 edition of Hogg's Tales and Sketches. This usual pattern does not wholly apply in the case of 'Snow-storms', however. In Tales and Sketches this work is not printed in volumes 3 and 4 along with other items from The Shepherd's Calendar; instead, it is printed in volume 2 with other works from Winter Evening Tales. The Tales and Sketches version, like that of Winter Evening Tales, has 'all lying abroad' instead of the reading of Blackwood's, 'lying all abroad' (see p. 117, above). This agreement and other similar correspondences suggest that the Tales and Sketches text of 'Storms' was reprinted from Winter Evening Tales rather than Blackwood's or The Shepherd's Calendar. As with other works in the 'Shepherd's Calendar' series, the Tales and Sketches text contains only insignificant departures from the text it reprints -- and these departures from the original can be attributed with confidence to the printer.

It seems, then, that an editor of 'Storms' can concentrate on the manuscript and on the first printing in Blackwood's, as the variants in the other early printed texts appear to be the work of the printer, or, in

7 The error about 'the Black Danglasses' is corrected; but the self-evident correction to 'the Black Douglasses' could easily have been made without reference to Hogg.

the case of The Shepherd's Calendar of 1829, of Robert Hogg. As far as the words of the text are concerned, it will be necessary for the editor to decide which of the variant readings listed above (pp. 112-15) reflect alterations made by the author himself at the proof stage. It is fairly clear that the passage inserted at Blackwood's 215 (ii), 1.15 should be attributed to Hogg; and a cautious editor would probably add that passage, but make no other alteration to the words of the manuscript in the light of the readings of Blackwood's. A more adventurous editor might come to the conclusion that Hogg would be likely to alter more than one passage in reading the proofs; and such an editor might therefore wish to follow the changes made at Blackwood's 76 (i), 1.12; 77 (i), 1.17; 211 (ii), 1.45; 214 (ii), 1.8; and 215 (ii), 1.15.

An editor will also have to consider the accidentals of his text. This is by no means a simple question, because Blackwood's and the manuscript show a very large number of differences in punctuation, spelling, capitalization and the like. Thus the Blackwood's text of 'Storms' has the heavy and elaborate punctuation typical of printed texts of the period, while the manuscript is lightly punctuated -- as is usual with all Hogg's manuscripts except the earliest ones.

Should an editor base his text on the accidentals of the manuscript, or on the accidentals of Blackwood's? In order to illustrate the issues involved, the accidentals of the two versions of the following paragraph from 'Storms' may be compared.

MANUSCRIPT (f. 7(v) - f. 8(r))

BLACKWOOD'S (p. 79, col. ii)

We soon got into an eddying  
wind that was altogether insufferable,  
and at the same time we were

We soon got into an eddying  
wind that was altogether insufferable,  
and, at the same time, we were

MANUSCRIPT (f. 7(v) - f. 8(r))

struggling among snow so deep,  
 that our progress in the way we  
 purposed going, was indeed very  
 equivocal, for we had by this  
 time lost all idea of East  
 West North or South. Still we  
 were as busy as men determined  
 on a business could be and  
 persevered on we knew not  
 whither sometimes rolling over  
 the snow and sometimes weltering  
 in it to the chin. The following  
 instance of our successful  
 exertions marks our progress to  
 a tittle. There was an inclosure  
 around the house to the Westward  
 which we denominated the Park as  
 is customary in Scotland. When  
 we went away we calculated that  
 it was two hours until day --  
 the park did not extend above 300  
 yards and we were still engaged  
 in that Park when day light  
 appeared.

BLACKWOOD'S (p. 79, col. ii)

struggling among snow so deep,  
 that our progress in the way we  
 purposed going was indeed very  
 equivocal, for we had, by this  
 time, lost all idea of east,  
 west, north, or south. Still we  
 were as busy as men determined  
 on a business could be, and  
 persevered on we knew not  
 whither, sometimes rolling over  
 the snow, and sometimes weltering  
 in it to the chin. The following  
 instance of our successful  
 exertions marks our progress to  
 a tittle. There was an inclosure  
 around the house to the westward  
 which we denominated the park, as  
 is customary in Scotland. When  
 we went away we calculated that  
 it was two hours until day --  
 the park did not extend above 300  
 yards -- and we were still engaged  
 in that park when day light  
 appeared.

In the paragraph quoted above the words are the same in the manuscript  
 and in Blackwood's; but there are approximately twenty differences in

accidentals. In its variation in accidentals, this paragraph is typical of the text as a whole.

The evidence we have examined suggests that Hogg read the proofs of 'Storms' before the article's publication in Blackwood's. This being so, it might be argued that, in reading the proofs, he gave his general approval to the accidentals of the Blackwood's text. However, Hogg does not seem to have read the proofs with meticulous attention to detail -- he missed the obvious error about 'the Black Danglasses', for example, and he also missed the misreading of 'position' as 'practice' at Blackwood's 212 (ii), 1.59 -- a change which, read in its context, makes the printed text convey a meaning entirely different from that of the manuscript. It is therefore to be doubted that we can safely conclude that Hogg gave his approval to every comma and semi-colon in the Blackwood's text.

A comparison of the two versions of the paragraph quoted above shows that the additional punctuation inserted in Blackwood's obscures something of the flow and movement of Hogg's writing, as revealed by the much freer punctuation of the manuscript. This suggests that an editor would do well to base the accidentals of his text on the manuscript, rather than Blackwood's.

This is not to suggest that the accidentals of the manuscript must be reproduced exactly as they stand. In the paragraph quoted above, for example, it is clear that Hogg in the manuscript forgot to add a full stop at the end of the penultimate sentence: and it would be mere pedantry for an editor to reproduce obvious blunders and slips of the pen of this kind. Full stops should therefore be added where sentences end without punctuation of any kind, but where a sentence break is indicated by the fact that the next sentence begins with a capital letter. In addition, the following emendations may also be suggested, with a view to correcting

evident blunders and slips of the pen in the manuscript:

MANUSCRIPT		EMENDATION
f. 1(r), 1.11	tradionally	traditionally
f. 1(r), 1.17	<u>the year Forty</u> these	<u>the year Forty</u> -- these
f. 1(v), 1.5	never once abated the ground	never once abated -- the ground
f. 3(r), 1.17	their heads?" and	their heads? and
f. 4(v), 1.28	3 hores, 2 men, 1 women, 45 dogs,	3 horses, 2 men, 1 woman, 45 dogs,
f. 5(r), 1.9	shepherds (,of whom	shepherds, (of whom
f. 6(r), 1.5	to the top of height called The Black	to the top of a height called The Black
f. 6(r), 1.24	he had done he had left	he had done -- he had left
f. 9(r), 1.19	expected a few hours before there were 100 ewes	expected a few hours before -- there were 100 ewes
f. 9(v), 1.11	be quite impassible at length I came	be quite impassible -- at length I came
f. 9(v), 1.27	in this painful trance at length	in this painful trance -- at length
f. 9(v), 1.35	they were trees that I saw and trees and trees of no great	they were trees that I saw and trees of no great
f. 14(v), 1.12	prdigious	prodigious
f. 16(r), 1.29	law's law's	law's

It seems reasonable, then, to correct obvious blunders in the manuscript -- but if the process of tidying up Hogg's text were to be taken too far, something of the character and flavour of the manuscript would be lost. For this reason, there is a strong case for retaining Hogg's few idiosyncratic spellings -- 'percieved', 'heideous' (for hideous), and the like.

The following policy for a new edition of 'Storms' may therefore be suggested. An editor should base his text on Hogg's manuscript; but he should adopt alterations to the words of the text from the Blackwood's printing, where he believes that the change in question was made by Hogg himself in reading the proofs; and an editor should also alter the words or accidentals of the manuscript where this is necessary in order to remove an obvious blunder or slip of the pen.

#### 7. 'The Shepherd's Dog'

This sketch is included under the above title in the second volume of The Shepherd's Calendar of 1829 (pp. 293-326). The 1829 text brings together two articles by Hogg which had previously appeared in Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine. The first of these, 'Further Anecdotes of the Shepherd's Dog', appeared in Blackwood's, 2 (March 1818), 621-26, and was written in response to a previous contribution by another writer. The second article followed six years later in Blackwood's, 15 (February 1824), 177-83. Entitled 'The Shepherd's Calendar. Class IV. Dogs', this was the fourth of Hogg's articles in Blackwood's to appear under the 'Shepherd's Calendar' series title.

In the 1829 text, Robert Hogg prints these two articles as a single

chapter; he makes his usual deletions and revisions to his uncle's text; and he provides a brief introductory summary of the anecdote published in Blackwood's which had called forth the first of Hogg's articles. A modern editor of The Shepherd's Calendar would no doubt wish to reprint Hogg's two Blackwood's articles rather than Robert Hogg's 1829 conflation and revision. Admittedly the first appeared in the magazine in 1818 and the 'Shepherd's Calendar' series was not begun until 1819, but Hogg's second article (which is given a 'Shepherd's Calendar' title) was clearly intended as a continuation of the first -- a continuation which, Hogg writes, 'I promised long ago' (p. 177). As part of his annotation, an editor would doubtless wish to provide a summary of the contribution to Blackwood's which prompted Hogg to write his 'Further Anecdotes' of 1818. Entitled 'Sagacity of a Shepherd's Dog', and signed 'M.', this appeared in the January 1818 number of Blackwood's (pp. 417-21).

Hogg's two articles in Blackwood's on dogs seem to have been printed and proof-read with care, and it is therefore unnecessary to suggest any emendations.

In all, fifteen contributions by Hogg appeared in Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine under the series title 'The Shepherd's Calendar'. These contributions appeared between 1819 and 1828; most of the fifteen appeared as separate items, but some appeared together in the same number of the magazine.

All these fifteen contributions to Blackwood's were included in The Shepherd's Calendar of 1829, which also contained one previously unpublished work, and two stories which had previously appeared in The Edinburgh Magazine rather than Blackwood's. In addition, the 1829 collection

reprinted four articles which had appeared in Blackwood's, but not under the 'Shepherd's Calendar' series title; and one of these ('A Strange Secret') was considerably expanded in 1829.

In his 'Shepherd's Calendar' stories, Hogg seeks to capture on paper something of the manner and the content of traditional oral storytelling — but much of the vitality and vigorous informality of his writing was corrected away by Robert Hogg for the 1829 publication. With the exception of 'Storms', noted above, subsequent reprintings of the stories up till 1982 have followed the comparatively stilted text of 1829. However, for most of the stories it is possible to produce a text free from Robert Hogg's revisions -- in the case of 'Storms' by returning to the manuscript, and in other cases by returning to the original magazine printing. The present writer's edition of Selected Stories and Sketches by Hogg (Edinburgh, 1982) contains texts of this kind for six works from The Shepherd's Calendar: 'Storms', 'Mr Adamson of Laverhope', 'George Dobson's Expedition to Hell', 'Tibby Hyslop's Dream', 'Mary Burnet', and 'The Brownie of the Black Haggs'.

When read in their original versions, free from Robert Hogg's revisions, the stories in The Shepherd's Calendar emerge as a collection of considerable interest and merit. A complete edition of the collection, along the lines recommended above, would therefore be desirable. In such an edition, all the works in the 1829 collection would be included, but not necessarily in the order in which they appear in the 1829 volumes. The 1829 order was presumably the work of Robert Hogg, rather than of Hogg himself: and an editor might therefore prefer to adopt a chronological order.

## APPENDIX

This Appendix lists the variant readings in words which are to be found in the two versions of 'Tibby Hyslop's Dream' published during Hogg's lifetime. The story was first published in Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine for June 1827 (vol. 21, pp. 664-76) under the title 'The Shepherd's Calendar. Dreams and Apparitions. -- Part II. Containing Tibby Hyslop's Dream, and the Sequel'; and it was republished as 'Chapter VIII. Tibby Hyslop's Dream' in Hogg's The Shepherd's Calendar, 2 vols (Edinburgh and London, 1829), I, 212-46.

## BLACKWOOD'S

(The roman numerals in brackets are column numbers)

BLACKWOOD'S	THE SHEPHERD'S CALENDAR
664 (i), 1.8     In a wee cottage	212, 1.6     In a cottage
664 (i), 1.14    this singular prophetic tale relates. Tibby was represented to me as a good and sincere Christian,	212, 1.10    this singular tale relates. Tibby was represented to me as being a good Christian,
664 (ii), 1.7     there was scarcely one in the whole country who was so thoroughly	213, 1.3     there was scarcely one in the whole country so thoroughly
664 (ii), 1.23    Her mother was married to a sergeant	213, 1.14    Her mother married a sergeant
665 (i), 1.3     from thence nobody knew where;	213, 1.16    from thence nobody knew whither;
665 (i), 1.5     Before their departure, however, they left Tibby,	213, 1.18    On their departure, they left Tibby,
665 (i), 1.9     with that grandmother was she brought up to read her Bible, card and spin, and work at all kinds of country labour	213, 1.21    with that grandmother was she brought up, and taught to read her Bible, to card, spin, and work at all kinds of country labour

## BLACKWOOD'S

665 (i), 1.16 but an elder sister,  
named Douglas, lived also with  
her, and with these two

665 (i), 1.23 to be byre-woman

665 (ii), 1.1 Tibby had then

665 (ii), 1.6 her mother and aunty,

665 (ii), 1.23 my bairn," said  
Jane.

"Ay, but wha on Monanday's morn has seen  
The gerse and the dew-cup growing green,  
Where a married man and a maid had been?"

said old aunty Douglas; but she  
spoke always in riddles and  
mysteries, and there was no more  
of it. But the truth was, that Mr  
Forret was notorious in his  
neighbourhood for the debauching  
of young and pretty girls,

665 (i), 1.37 them; and perceiving  
Tibby so comely, and at the same  
time so simple, he judged her a  
fine prey, hired her at nearly  
double wages,

665 (i), 1.43 So home Tibby went to  
her service, and being a pliable,  
diligent creature, she was beloved  
by all about the town. Her master  
attended much about the byre,  
commended her

665 (i), 1.56 to it. Mr Forret  
was much from home, kept much  
company, and had few opportunities  
of meeting with his pretty  
dairymaid privately; and the fewer,

## THE SHEPHERD'S CALENDAR

213, 1.26 with whom lived her  
elder sister, named Douglas:  
and with these two

214, 1.4 to be a byre-woman

214, 1.5 Tibby ha then

214, 1.9 her mother and aunt,

214, 1.21 my bairn," said Jane.

The truth was, that Mr Forret  
was notorious for debauching  
young and pretty girls,

214, 1.26 them. Perceiving Tibby  
so comely, and at the same time  
so simple, he hired her at  
nearly double wages,

215, 1.3 Tibby went home to her  
service, and being a pliable,  
diligent creature, she was  
beloved by all. Her master  
commended her

215, 1.11 to it. A whole year

## BLACKWOOD'S

## THE SHEPHERD'S CALENDAR

that between the stable and  
byres there was only a half  
wall.

In short, a whole year

665 (ii), 1.33 Tibby; still he was  
quite convinced that it was a  
matter which might be accomplished  
with perfect ease, and would lead  
to a very pleasant diversity in a  
farmer's monotonous life. With  
this laudable prospect, when the  
Candlemas fair came round again, he  
hired Tibby to remain another year,  
still on the former

665 (ii), 1.49 before you and I part,  
if I get my will, it would

665 (ii), 1.59 the kindest man that  
ever the Almighty made.

666 (i), 1.5 yonder, and the Almighty  
will bestow a blessing on you for  
this, sir; and they will gie you  
their blessing, an' I sall bestow  
my poor blessing on you too, sir."

"Well, I'll rather have that  
than all the rest. Come, bestow  
it, then. Nay, I see I must take it,  
after all."

So saying, he kissed her. Tibby  
neither blushed nor proffered  
refusal, because it was the way  
that the saints of old saluted one  
another; and away she went with the  
joyful news to her poor mother and  
aunty.

215, 1.13 Tibby. He hired her  
to remain with him, still on  
the former

215, 1.20 before you and I part,  
it would

215, 1.26 the kindest man that  
ever existed.

216, 1.3 yonder. The Almighty  
will bestow a blessing on  
you for this, sir!"

Tibby went immediately  
with the joyful news to  
her poor mother and aunt.

## BLACKWOOD'S

- 666 (i), 1.23 and though Tibby appeared a little brawer at the meeting-house, it was her grandmother who laid it out on her,
- 666 (i), 1.36 or a niggard, or a sinner, -- wha wad hae thought naething o' working your ruin, -- as wi' this man o' sickan charity
- 666 (i), 1.44 poking in the fire
- 666 (i), 1.49 sun! 'How are they altered, kerlin?' Because the gospel's turn'd like a gainer, and Sin a fine madam. How d'ye do, sweet Madam Sin? Come in by here, and be a sharer o' our bed and board. Hope ye left a' friends weel in your cozy hame? But, on the tither hand, ca' away that dirty, wearysome bird; fling stanes an' glaur at him. What is he aye harp, harp, harping there for? --Thraw his neck about. Poor, poor Religion,
- 666 (ii), 1.16 the sounds actually reached the interior of her ear,
- 666 (ii), 1.56 "The angels often conversed wi' good folks langsyne," said Tibby. "I ken o' naething that can hinder them to do sae still, if they're sae disposed. But weel wad I like to hear ane o' thae preevat apologies, (perhaps meaning apologues,) for my auntie has something in her aboon other earthly creatures."

## THE SHEPHERD'S CALENDAR

- 216, 1.10 and though Tibby displayed a little more finery at the meeting-house, it was her grandmother who purchased it for her,
- 216, 1.19 or a niggard, as wi' this man o' siccan charity
- 216, 1.25 poking the fire
- 217, 1.1 sun! Poor, poor Religion,
- 217, 1.13 the sounds penetrated to the interior of her ear,
- 218, 1.16 "The angels often conversed wi' good folks langsyne. I ken o' naething that can hinder them to do sae still, if they're sae disposed," said Tibby; and so the dialogue closed for the present.

"Ye may hear enow o' them aince we war leeving near you again; there's ane every midnight, and another atween daylight and the sun. It is my wonder that she's no ta'en for a witch; for, troth, d'ye ken, hinny, I'm whiles a wee feared for her mysell. And yet, for a' that, I ken she's a good Christian."

"Ay, that she is -- I wish there were mony like her," said Tibby, and so the dialogue closed for the present.

667 (i), 1.26 Poor Tibby thought he was a blessed man. Then, when he would snatch a kiss or two, Tibby did not in the least comprehend the drift of this; but, convinced in her heart that it could only mean something holy, and good, and kind, she tried not further to reflect on it, for she could not; but she blessed him in her heart, and was content to remain in her ignorance of human life.

But in a short

667 (i), 1.48 "Ooh?"

667 (i), 1.60 brosey he is."

"Ay; and the weapons o' sin are grown strang and powerfu' now-a-days, kerlin."

"Sae they say, sae they say. They hae gotten a new forge i' the fire o' hell, made out o' despised ordinances. O,

219, 1.2 Poor Tibby thought he was a righteous man.  
But in a short

219, 1.11 "Oogh?"

219, 1.20 brosey he is. O, lack-a-day, my poor Tibby Hyslop!-- my innocent, kind, thowless Tibby Hyslop!"

Jane was frightened

lack-a-day, my poor Tibby Hyslop! --  
my innocent, kind, thowless Tibby  
Hyslop! Now for the tod or the  
moor-hen!"

Jane was frightened

- 667 (ii), 1.13 mentioned in such a way. She 219, 1.25 mentioned. She
- 667 (ii), 1.20 your bairn. She is turned intil a spring-gun, is she?-- or a man-trap rather is it? I trow little whilk o' them it is, poor stupit creature. She lies 220, 1.3 your bairn. She lies
- 667 (ii), 1.28 said Jane, as she went to put a few sticks and peat clods on the scarcely living embers. But, after the two had risen from their scanty but happy breakfast, 220, 1.8 said Jane. After the two had risen from their scanty breakfast,
- 667 (ii), 1.50 she weened she heard her bairn's voice 220, 1.22 she imagined she heard her grand-child's voice,
- 667 (ii), 1.53 crying out, 220, 1.24 crying,
- 667 (ii), 1.56 she thought her voice must have been somewhere outside the house, and slid quietly out, looking everywhere, and at length went down to the kitchen. 220, 1.26 she thought the voice must have been somewhere without, and slid quietly away, looking everywhere, and at length went down to the kitchen.
- Tibby had run a hard risk that hour, not from any proffer of riches or finery--these had no temptations for her--she could not even understand the purport or drift of them. But she did escape, however; and it was, perhaps, her grandmother's voice that saved her.
- Mr Forret,
- 668 (i), 1.17 It was a lesson to him -- a 221, 1.9 It was a lesson -- a

## BLACKWOOD'S

668 (i), 1.28 derangement, and want of self-control; attributing it wholly to the temptations of the wicked one, and praising poor Tibby to the skies for saving him in an hour of utter depravity. He likewise made her a present of a sum of money he had offered her before, saying, he did not give it her as a bribe, but as the reward of honesty, virtue, and truth, for all of which he had the highest regard, and that he would esteem her the more for her behaviour that day, as long as he lived.

Poor Tibby

668 (i), 1.49 Jane found her grand-daughter terribly flushed in the countenance, and flurried in her speech that day, but Jane's stupid head could draw no inferences from these, or anything else. She asked if she was well enough, and the other saying she was, Jane took it for granted that she was so, and only added, "Your crazed auntie would gar

668 (ii), 1.11 Jean? Was the trial ower afore ye wan? Or did ye gie a helping-hand at raising the siege? -- Ooogh?"  
 "Whaten siege? I saw nae siege, nor heard tell of ony."

## THE SHEPHERD'S CALENDAR

221, 1.16 derangement. Poor Tibby

221, 1.22 Jane found her grand-daughter apparently much disturbed; but having asked if she was well enough, and receiving an answer in the affirmative, she was satisfied, and only added, "Your crazed aunty wad gar

222, 1.8 Jean? Did she no tell ye ony thing?" asked Douglas, on Jane's return.  
 "She tauld naething, but said she was weel."

## BLACKWOOD'S

## THE SHEPHERD'S CALENDAR

"The great siege o' the castle o' Man-soul, that Bunyan speaks about, ye ken. Was it ower? Or is it to try for again? Oh! ye dinna understand me! Did ye ever understand onything a' your days? Did our bairn no tell ye onything?"

"She tauld me naething, but said she was very weel."

668 (ii), 1.28 to his wife's ear, and his minister's teeth! I wad hae gart heaven sab, and hell girn at it! Isna the resetter waur than the thief? The cowardly butcher that conceals the lambs and kills them, waur than the open fauld-brikker and sheep-reiver? And isna the sweet-lippit kiss-my-lufe saint waur than the stouthright reprobate? Figh--fie! A dish o' sodden turnips at the best. She's very weel, is she?--Oogh! Red an' rosy like a boiled lobster? Aye. Hoh--

669 (i), 1.9 knit a piece of a stocking; and poor Tibby's handywork had all three to maintain. They

669 (i), 1.14 affection was hardly put to the proof;

669 (i), 1.16 day did she toil for the sustenance of her aged and feeble relations, and a murmur or complaint never was heard to drop from her lips.

222, 1.13 to his wife's ear, and to his minister's! She's very weel, is she?--Oogh! Ay. Hoh--

223, 1.8 knit a stocking; and Tibby's handywork was all that herself and the two old women had to depend upon. They

223, 1.12 affection was severely put to the proof;

223, 1.13 day she toiled for her aged and feeble relatives, and a murmur or complaint never was heard from her lips.

## BLACKWOOD'S

669 (i), 1.24 prayer was poured  
out, when none heard but the  
Father of the spirits of all  
flesh.

Times grew harder and harder.  
Thousands yet living remember  
what a time that was for the  
poor, while the meal for  
seasons was

669 (i), 1.43 but wrought on, and  
fought away, night and day,

669 (i), 1.56 to assist them in  
secret, for her husband was such  
a churl, that publicly she durst  
not venture to do it.

669 (ii), 1.3 her lap, quietly, for

669 (ii), 1.11 to retain in its  
element any of the

669 (ii), 1.14 nature. And it was  
observed, that whenever she got  
these little presents, enabling her  
to give the aged and infirm a better  
meal, and one more suited to  
their wasted frames, she had not  
patience to walk home to Know-  
back--she ran all the way.

Tibby never

669 (ii), 1.23 unless the mistress

669 (ii), 1.26 home; and one evening  
having got

669 (ii), 1.29 presented her with  
a little bowl full of beat  
potatoes, and some sweet milk  
to them. This

## THE SHEPHERD'S CALENDAR

223, 1.18 prayer was poured  
out, when no mortal heard  
it.

Times grew harder and  
harder. Thousands yet living  
remember what a period that  
was for the poor, while meal,  
for seasons, was

224, 1.4 but wrought on, night  
and day,

224, 1.12 to assist them in  
secret; for her husband was  
such a churl, that she durst  
not venture to do it publicly.

224, 1.18 her lap, for

224, 1.24 to retain in it any  
thing of the

224, 1.26 nature.

Tibby never

225, 1.1 unless her mistress

225, 1.3 home. One evening,  
having got

225, 1.5 presented her with  
a little bowl of beat  
potatoes, and some milk.  
This

## BLACKWOOD'S

669 (ii), 1.35 dog. However,  
it so happened that as

669 (ii), 1.37 enjoying her little  
savoury meal,

669 (ii), 1.39 to give orders  
anent something that had come  
into his mind; and perceiving  
Tibby, his old friend, so

669 (ii), 1.46 yard, he flung her,

669 (ii), 1.61 the servant-maids,

670 (i), 1.8 neither to curse,  
blame, nor complain,

670 (i), 1.32 that he had either  
used her ill or well; but

670 (i), 1.36 with great vehemence  
and obstreperousness, and Tibby,

670 (i), 1.41 to the ear of flesh;  
and many more of the same stamp  
which Tibby had never heard  
mentioned before, which, nevertheless,  
from obvious circumstances, might  
have been but too true. But what

670 (i), 1.58 heart grew cold

670 (ii), 1.16 relate, precisely  
as it was related to me, by my  
friend the worthy clergyman of  
that parish, to whom Tibby related

670 (ii), 1.42 and yellow spurs gilt.

670 (ii), 1.47 bowels. But in place

670 (ii), 1.49 encouraging them on  
all that he could,

670 (ii), 1.52 of this horrible feast,  
down came a majestic raven from  
a dark cloud close above this  
scene, and,

## THE SHEPHERD'S CALENDAR

225, 1.9 dog. It so happened,  
however, that as

225, 1.10 enjoying the meal,

225, 1.12 to give some orders;  
and perceiving Tibby so

225, 1.16 yard, flung her,

225, 1.26 the maid-servants,

226, 1.5 neither to blame, nor  
complain,

226, 1.23 that he had used her  
ill; but

226, 1.25 with great vehemence.  
Tibby,

227, 1.1 to the ear of flesh.  
But what

227, 1.9 heart grew cold

227, 1.23 set down, precisely  
as it was related to me, by my  
friend the worthy clergyman of  
that parish, to whom Tibby told

228, 1.13 and gilt spurs.

228, 1.16 bowels. In place

228, 1.17 encouraging them all  
that he could,

228, 1.20 of this horrible feast,  
a large raven dashed down from  
a dark cloud, and,

## BLACKWOOD'S

- 671 (i), 1.7 she herself related  
it next day.
- 671 (i), 1.45 and his information  
was
- 671 (i), 1.57 "Joost fighting on
- 671 (ii), 1.3 afraid she was going  
to begin on religion, a species
- 671 (ii), 1.38 faithfu' and true  
evidences
- 672 (i), 1.31 if ye can bring a  
little honestly this way, I shall  
gie you the half o't; for weel I  
ken it will never come this way by  
ony art or shift o' mine."
- 672 (i), 1.62 There had such a  
heavy charge lain upon her
- 672 (ii), 1.4 the cooper was aiming  
at, than
- 672 (ii), 1.8 if the cooper was  
gone away.
- 672 (ii), 1.39 he is frighted for  
it, and shuns it
- 672 (ii), 1.49 Tibby wondered at  
this information. She did not  
know she had been courted, and  
she found that she rather thought  
the better of the cooper for what  
it appeared he had done.

## THE SHEPHERD'S CALENDAR

- 229, 1.3 she herself had  
related it next day.
- 230, 1.2 and his intelligence  
was
- 230, 1.10 "Just fighting on
- 230, 1.15 afraid she was about to  
enter upon religious topics, a  
species
- 231, 1.12 faithfu' and true  
evidence
- 232, 1.22 if ye can bring a little  
honestly my way, I sall gie you  
the half o't; for weel I ken  
it will never come by ony art  
or shift o' mine."
- 233, 1.16 So heavy a charge had  
lain upon her
- 233, 1.19 the cooper aimed at,  
than
- 233, 1.21 if the cooper had  
gone away.
- 234, 1.15 he shuns it
- 234, 1.22 Tibby was somewhat  
astonished at this piece of  
information. She had not  
conceived that the cooper  
meant any thing in the way of  
courtship; but found that  
she rather thought the better  
of him for what it appeared  
he had done.

## BLACKWOOD'S

- 672 (ii), 1.61 the sly Gibby's movements,
- 673 (i), 1.1 remuneration he could be urged to give to such as were pleased to remember aright.
- 673 (i), 1.5 remembered nothing of the matter farther than
- 673 (i), 1.14 guessing what was in his head, went thither by a circuitous route, so as to come in as it were by chance; but ere he arrived,
- 673 (i), 1.23 wrong--But at length, in comes the cooper, when the calculations were at the keenest, and at every turn
- 673 (i), 1.50 shortcomings--My recollection is playing at hide-an'-seek wi' me--I maun
- 673 (i), 1.54 sae short a while
- 673 (i), 1.59 Tibby, my woman," said Mr Forret;
- 673 (ii), 1.13 although hardly convinced;
- 673 (ii), 1.15 put her all to rights,
- 673 (ii), 1.42 a very sly way
- 673 (ii), 1.45 and himself, which elated the farmer exceedingly; for the spirit of litigation had of late possessed

## THE SHEPHERD'S CALENDAR

- 235, 1.4 the farmer's movements,
- 235, 1.5 remuneration he could be prevailed on to give to such as were pleased to remember according to his wishes.
- 235, 1.9 recollected nothing of the matter in dispute farther than
- 235, 1.15 guessing what his purpose was, went thither by a circuitous route, in order to come in as it were by chance. Ere he arrived,
- 235, 1.21 wrong. At length, when the calculations were at the keenest, the cooper came in, and at every turn
- 236, 1.12 shortcomings--I maun
- 236, 1.14 sae short while
- 236, 1.18 Tibby," said Mr Forret;
- 237, 1.2 although not convinced;
- 237, 1.3 put all to rights,
- 237, 1.22 a very sly manner
- 237, 1.24 and himself.  
The day

## BLACKWOOD'S

## THE SHEPHERD'S CALENDAR

him to such a degree, and he had ventured such a stake on the issue, that if he had been master of the realm, he would have parted with the half of it to beat his opponents.

The day

674 (i), 1.28 had behaved so well, and had likewise answered

674 (i), 1.34 and that he must not lose her evidence. This intelligence the lawyer announced to the bench with great consequence and pomposity, and

674 (i), 1.44 has no one instructed

674 (i), 1.56 did he promise or give you any reward

674 (ii), 1.2 losing all patience, interrupted the proceedings, the latter addressing the Judges, with pompous vehemence,

674 (ii), 1.11 she is dumb, she cannot answer

674 (ii), 1.28 we will be

674 (ii), 1.31 this woman should be

674 (ii), 1.62 sir, the woman may be right, and your client in the wrong; at least I think I can perceive as much. Now, my good woman,

238, 1.23 had behaved in a very satisfactory way, and had answered

238, 1.27 and that her evidence was of much consequence. This intelligence the lawyer announced to the bench with pomposity, and

239, 1.8 has any one instructed

239, 1.17 did he give, or promise to give you, any reward

239, 1.23 losing all patience at seeing the case take this unexpected turn, interrupted the proceedings, the latter addressing the Judges, with vehemence,

240, 1.4 she is dumb, and cannot answer

240, 1.15 we shall be

240, 1.17 this woman ought to be

241, 1.13 sir.--My good woman,

## BLACKWOOD'S

- 675 (i), 1.6       you say your master  
                  there charged you
- 675 (i), 1.45       "And you are quite  
                  positive
- 675 (i), 1.58       a good deal
- 675 (ii), 1.39      to be ready for the  
                  coach the following morning,
- 675 (ii), 1.52      night; and a whole  
                  week passed over, and still Mrs  
                  Forret had no word from her  
                  husband,
- 675 (ii), 1.61      But, behold, on the  
                  arrival
- 676 (i), 1.16       were mistated, or at  
                  all events that the husband and  
                  father would make his escape;
- 676 (i), 1.35       seen something of the
- 676 (i), 1.44       woefully defaced by
- 676 (ii), 1.12      seen before.

A city dream is nothing but  
the fumes of a distempered frame,  
and a more distempered imagination;  
but let no man despise the  
circumstantial and impressive visions  
of a secluded Christian; for who can  
set bounds to the intelligences  
existing between the soul and its  
Creator?

The only thing more I have to add  
is, that the Lord President, having

## THE SHEPHERD'S CALENDAR

- 241, 1.16       you say your master  
                  charged you
- 242, 1.19       "And are you absolutely  
                  positive
- 243, 1.2        a gude deal
- 244, 1.5        to be ready to proceed  
                  by the mail the following  
                  morning,
- 244, 1.14       night. A whole week  
                  passed over, and still Mrs  
                  Forret received no news of her  
                  husband,
- 244, 1.20       A more unhappy result  
                  followed than she anticipated.  
                  On the arrival
- 245, 1.4        were misstated, or, if  
                  the worst should prove true,  
                  that perhaps the husband and  
                  father might make his escape;
- 245, 1.18       seen the
- 245, 1.24       woefully mangled by
- 246, 1.5        seen before.

A letter was found in  
Mr Forret's pocket, which had  
blasted all his hopes, and  
driven him to utter distraction;  
he had received it at Dumfries,  
returned home, and put up his  
mare carefully in the stable,  
but not having courage to face  
his ruined family, he had  
hurried to that sequestered  
spot, and perpetrated the deed

made the remark that he paid more regard to that poor woman, Isabella Hyslop's evidence, than to all the rest elicited at Dumfries, the gainers of the great plea became sensible that it was principally owing to her candour and invincible veracity that they were successful, and sent her a present of twenty pounds. She was living comfortably at Know-back when I saw her, a contented and happy old maiden. The letter was found in Mr Forret's pocket, which had blasted all his hopes and driven him to utter distraction; he had received it at Dumfries, returned home, and put up his mare carefully in the stable, but not having courage to face his ruined family, he had hurried to that sequestered spot, and perpetrated the woeful deed of self-destruction.

of self-destruction.

The only thing more I have to add is, that the Lord President, having made the remark that he paid more regard to that poor woman, Isabella Hyslop's evidence, than to all the rest elicited at Dumfries, the gainers of the great plea became sensible that it was principally in consequence of her candour and invincible veracity that they were successful, and sent her a present of twenty pounds. She was living comfortably at Knowe-back when I saw her, a contented and happy old maiden.

[The Stirling University Library copies of Blackwood's and of the 1829 edition of The Shepherd's Calendar were used in the preparation of the above list.]

Chapter VI

'Strange Letter of a Lunatic'

Hogg offered 'Strange Letter of a Lunatic' to William Blackwood in the spring of 1830, as a contribution to Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine. The story was rejected, however, and was returned to Hogg, who responded in a letter to Blackwood of 28 April 1830:

I inclose you two tales though in my opinion no better than the two returned. At least the one The Tale of the Black art I can find no fault with it excepting too much of the broad Aberdeen dialect. The merits of the other "The Lunatic" is rather equivocal. I will however try it in London. (National Library of Scotland MS 4027, ff. 185-86)

Hogg did indeed 'try it in London' -- and his efforts met with success, as 'Strange Letter of a Lunatic' was published there in the December 1830 number of Fraser's Magazine.

A manuscript of 'Strange Letter of a Lunatic' in Hogg's hand survives in the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand, where it forms part of a large collection of papers donated to the library by Hogg's descendants. This manuscript (Alexander Turnbull Library MS Papers 42 item 2) is clearly the document offered to Blackwood, as it takes the form of a letter addressed to Christopher North, the fictional character reputed to be the editor of Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine.

A comparison of this manuscript with the Fraser's version shows that the story was extensively re-written before its publication in London. For example, the Fraser's version is given a new conclusion, in which a friend of James Beatman (the unfortunate Lunatic of the title) writes

to Hogg in order to give additional information about Beatman's disturbing and alarming series of adventures -- adventures which involve a mysterious doppelgänger. There are other major changes, as when, in the manuscript version, Beatman encounters a comic Scots-speaking character named Anderson while sailing to Alloa in a steamboat; but this incident is removed for the London publication in Fraser's. It should also be noted that the 'Strange Letter', in the manuscript, is addressed 'To C. North Esq', while in Fraser's it is addressed to Hogg himself.

All in all, the story was very extensively revised throughout for its publication in Fraser's; and it seems likely that Hogg produced a second manuscript (now lost) from which the Fraser's text was printed. If so, Hogg no doubt sent the second manuscript to London, while retaining the original manuscript among his own papers. The two versions are so very different that a complete edition of Hogg's works would have to include both. How, then, would an editor proceed in preparing texts of the two versions?

After its publication in Fraser's in 1830, 'Strange Letter of a Lunatic' did not appear in print again until 1982, when it was included in the Scottish Academic Press edition of Hogg's Selected Stories and Sketches, edited by the present writer. Because it is the only text available, an editor of the later, Fraser's version of the story clearly must work from the text in Fraser's Magazine (volume 2, pp. 526-32). The Fraser's text is somewhat carelessly printed, and the following emendations are offered for consideration, with a view to correcting errors by the printer:

Fraser's Magazine

Emendation

526 (i), 1.19 I beckoned him  
on, which he came

I beckoned him, on which  
he came

527 (i), 1.5 gentleman here,

gentleman here,"

Fraser's MagazineEmendation

527 (i), 1.6	on the shoulder."	on the shoulder.
527 (i), 1.18	"Gie awer, lad,	"Gie ower, lad,
527 (i), 1.28	Count the siller, lad."	Count thee siller, lad."
	[Compare 527 (i), 1.24: I sal take it aff thee head]	
527 (ii), 1.53	and with interest too?"	and with interest too!"
528 (ii), 1.10	but it was only to throw me upon other four on the next bench, and there I fairly overset.	but it was only to throw me upon other four on the next bench, and these I fairly overset.
531 (i), 1.45	with my head shaven. and my wounds	with my head shaven, and my wounds
531 (ii), 1.63	horn mat."	horn mat.'

The earlier version of 'Strange Letter of a Lunatic' -- the version sent to Blackwood which survives in the Alexander Turnbull Library manuscript -- has never been published in any form, and a complete text is therefore given below. As is usual in all his manuscripts except the earliest ones, Hogg's punctuation is not fully worked out in Alexander Turnbull Library MS Papers 42 item 2. The following example from the first page of the manuscript will illustrate the point:

Do you persist in saying that our bill is paid?

"Yes sir. Certainly"

"By whom then"

By this gentleman here sir" touching me on the shoulder

In the text which follows, quotation marks, question marks and full stops are silently added where they are obviously required in order to complete Hogg's punctuation. Other departures from the manuscript are recorded in the notes which follow the text.

The text of Alexander Turnbull Library MS Papers 42 item 2 is given overleaf.

## Strange Letter of a Lunatic

To C. North Esq

Sir

As you appear to have been born for the purpose of collecting all the singular and romantic stories in the country I have taken the fancy of sending you an account of rather a distressing and unaccountable one<sup>1</sup> that happened to myself, and at the same time leave you at liberty to make what use of it you please.<sup>2</sup>

Having been in Edin<sup>r</sup> last summer I attended a grand procession there, and likewise got a ticket to a splendid dinner. But that going all topsy-turvy by the time that I begin to enjoy company most I proposed to those around me to adjourn to a celebrated tavern not a hundred miles from the scene of action. The proposal was eagerly agreed to but there being only two of the gentlemen who were my acquaintances I wondered how there happened to be such a multitude of the party thinking however they were all acquainted with one another I never regarded but entered into the glee of the company with renewed ardor.

After supper, when with the first glass of wine or toddy it is the good old custom of Scotland to drink every one of the party's health by name, my attention was called to the opposite side of the narrow board by one gentleman asking another his name that he might drink to their better acquaintance. "Beatman" said the other "Mr James Beatman sir at your service and one who will never fail a friend at a cheerful glass."

That being my own name sir, and rather a rare name I was not a little startled at hearing it especially when my friend on my right said "That

is somewhat singular! and so like each other too! I declare I could scarcely know the one from the other." Thinking it was a quiz I took no thought farther of the coincidence only I remarked that the gentleman was not known to any present, save by some who took him for me; and as the glass and song went brilliantly round it was not long before the whole party began to get bowzy, and then there was an utter confusion took place between the stranger and myself for my friends were frequently addressing him on my business, and I thought I overheard him sometimes answering to the point as well as I could do.

I think I must have been very tipsy before the conclusion of the scene as it really became like a dream to me, and I seemed not to know aright which of the two was myself, or which was the right James Beatman.<sup>3</sup> And certes we drank a great deal both of punch and negus. The gentleman at the head of the table now called the reckoning and at the same time made the remark that he believed we would find it a swinging one. "Waiter -- Bring the bill -- And let us see what we have to pay."

"All's paid sir."

"What? All paid? You are dreaming George; or drunk. There's not a farthing paid by any of us."

"All's paid however sir I assure you supper and waiters and all; and there's six of claret to come in yet and three bottles highland."

We all stared at one another thinking George had mistaken the party and began to laugh at his expence, when our preses again said "Pray George let us understand one another. Do you persist in saying that our bill is paid?"

"Yes sir. Certainly."

"By whom then?"

"By this gentleman here sir" touching me on the shoulder.

"Oh Mr Beatman that was not fair" cried half a dozen voices at once.  
 "You have taken us at an advantage this will never do."

"Upon my word of honour gentlemen I did not pay the bill" said I  
 "I did not pay the fellow sixpence."

"Aye you may say so" said the waiter "But you are a very good gentleman for all that and I know that you did pay the bill and gave me something into pocket too."

"I'll be ---- if I did sirra" said I in a great rage.

"Whisht lad" cried a countryman from the lower end of the table  
 "Whisht an' dinna flee intil a raige. I think it wad be the best thing ye could do for us a' to pouch the affront. For I ken ye war twice out for a good while. Ye're fou man! Count your siller."

This speech set all the rest in a roar of laughter and convinced that the countryman was right and that I their liberal entertainer was quite drunk they all rose simultaneously and wishing me a good night left me endeavouring to harangue them on the falsity of the waiter's statement.

The next morning I intended to have gone by the Stirling morning coach but owing to my debauch the evening before slept in and arrived a few minutes too late. As I had not taken out my ticket however but trusted to chance I cared not much; but half dizzy with the fumes of the wine I went into the coach office and began to abuse the book-keeper for letting the coach start too early. "No sir the coach started at the very minute" said he "But as you had not arrived another took your place and here is your money."

"The devil it is friend" said I "Why I gave you no money and therefore it cannot possibly be mine."

"What? Is not your name Mr James Beatman?" said the lad.

"To be sure it is" said I "And how come you to know my name?"

"Because I have it in the coach book here. And you paid me the money yourself too" said the lad "See here it is Mr J. Beatman, pd. 17/6. There is your money. Or you may have a seat to morrow."

I took the money seeing there was no alternative but convinced that I was some way under the power of enchantment. I began therefore to think over all that I had been engaged in, to see if I could recollect how I had been bewitched and turned into two people, but I could recollect of nothing out of the ordinary course of events save that on the morning of the Sunday previous to that, while I was standing gazing on the Castle hill an old man of a singular figure and aspect came up to me with a gold snuff box set with jewels in his hand, and with great courtesy offered me a pinch, which I readily accepted, and then the old knave went away chuckling and laughing as if he had caught a prize. I tried to reason myself out of the belief that there could be any thing supernatural communicated by such a simple incident, nevertheless the impression left on my mind would not be removed.

From the coach office I hasted to Newhaven to catch one of the steam vessels going up the frith and in the croud on the key who should I see but my liberal and whimsical namesake Mr Beatman. I immediately bustled up to him and took him by the hand for in fact a more pleasant and delightful gentleman I had never met with and I said I was glad to meet with him again. He said he had lost his seat in the Stirling coach by sleeping a few minutes too long in the morning but that the honest fellow at the office had given him his money again although he had paid him none and as he behoved to be at Stirling that day on an engagement with Mr Walker of Fowlage he was going up in The Morning Star of Alloa as he

understood she was the most convenient vessel that plied the firth; and from Alloa he meant to post it to Stirling.

I was stupified, bambowzled, dumfounded and struck dumb! for I had lost my place in the coach I got my money again too which I had not paid I had an engagement with Mr Walker at Stirling and proposed the same mode of travelling and I fell a thinking and thinking to myself who the devil of us two could be the right James Beatman after all; when he added "You rather took us short last night. It was too bad to pay for the whole of the fellows most of whom you had never seen before. I shall find means for making you a fair requital of your generosity for my part."

"Aye faith you would need friend" said I jocularly "And for the seventeen and sixpence at the coach office too I suppose?"

"That is very true" returned he "It never struck me that it must have been you who paid it and had my name entered. Here is your change still in my pocket as I got it from the man seven half crown pieces see; take it and thank you."

"You are an extraordinary wag" said I "But I'll humour your joke. I am resolved now to take all that I can get and see where this liberality will end. I'll be a Turk if I understand this business and it will be a rare occurrence if you should turn out to be the right James Beatman after all."

We went both on board The Morning Star the most pleasant boat that I ever set foot in and before we had sailed a mile I began to feel the effects of the preceding night beginning to remind me of "what drinkers dree" for I grew thirsty beyond sufferance and so stepping down into one of the side parlours I called for a bottle of ginger beer and a gill of brandy as a qualifier asking the captain to join me in my beverage.

In a little while after a tall gentleman named Anderson entered our cabin and putting forward his long neck asked "if there was ony thing to be gotten to drink here."

"I think you may see that without speiring lad" said I "Come down and taste with us."

He came and his thirst like mine being ardent he took a right good willie-waught of the ginger beer and brandy mixed. After that he sat with the cann in his hand and his eyes fixed on the table for several minutes in a most comic and original position and then said "D'ye ken I believe that's no a bad morning waught? Eh? Od it baith heats the inside and slokens ane into the boot. What is't? I dinna ken what ye ca' the thing callans but I rather appruve o' her. What wad ye think o' haeing a drap mair o' the same kind o' broo? Eh? Hay-hay-hay! I think dee we or leeve we we'll no be the waur o' that. Hay-hay-hay!"

Another bottle and jill were compounded and at every turn Anderson's laugh grew louder and longer till all the idlers on board hearing there was some fun going on below came dropping in one by one till our cabin was full and there being no place in the world like a steam boat for meeting with original characters, The Morning Star had that morning her full share but to characterize them all would take a long paper of itself. And it being a prevailing fault of mine that whenever I meet with merry and happy companions it is not in my power to resist drinking with them, before we got half way up the firth, with a head wind I became rather dazzled with the ginger beer and brandy and thought I would be the better of a little airing on deck. So up I went, but soon felt a little difficulty in keeping my feet owing to the lightness of my head. The ladies were all on deck rather sea sick and looking very

white. I thought I would have a peep at them all and so putting my hands in the pockets of my trousers and pretending to be very steady I strode up and down the deck singing and always looking and laughing at them as I passed for there were two rows of them sitting on forms. At length seeing them beginning to titter and smile at me I steadied myself right before them and began an address to them condoling with them on their melancholly faces and advising them to go below and drink when unluckily in the middle of my harangue a great roll of the vessel ruining my equipoise threw me right above four of the ladies and my hands being entangled in the pockets of my trousers and my head rather top heavy all that I could struggle I could not get off them. All on deck screaming with laughter Anderson set up his long neck and red face and brayed out "Hay-hay-hay. Hay-hay-hay. Fiend the like o' that ever I saw sin I was cock-burd-hich or hen-bur-lang. Fa' on a beevy o' hizzies a' at aince! Wha kend ever the like o't."

The ladies at length making a joint effort sprung all up at once tumbling me on deck and being put out of countenance I retreated into the dining room where I sat some time looking at some gentlemen playing whist but growing sleepy I again sought my old birth beside the ginger beer and the brandy where I found my namesake and second self whom till that moment I had totally forgotten and I could not help accusing myself bitterly for never having sent for him to our party. He had the sly art too of coming into any party or leaving it without being percieved as he did at this same time. But when we came near the key at Alloa and enquired what was to pay the steward told us that all was paid and on the party enquiring by whom he told them it was by me!

I knew from experience that it was in vain to deny it so I only said I was not aware of having done so but I had a brownie that sometimes did these things for me so I got many thanks particularly from long Anderson and there was no more about it. But I thought to myself that there really were some doubts that he was not the right James Beatman after all.

It was still some time before I could leave the merry party in the boat. But on going up to the tontine I found that dinner was ordered and post horses for Stirling in my name so that all was right save that my gallant namesake was absent. I had just sat down to dinner with Mr Smith the Architect and Mr Anderson when the captain of the steam boat came in and asked a word of me. We went into another room where he began with a grave face and said "This is a very disagreeable business Mr Beatman; a very disagreeable business indeed. It appears that you have insulted and ill used a very amiable young lady on board to day. Her brother is in a great rage and seeking for you to challenge you. But I told him that you were a little inebriated or that you never could have been guilty of such a thing and I wished the matter to be made quietly up and said that I was sure you would make every apology."

"I will indeed sir" says I "I will make any apology that shall be required. For the truth is, it was an accident and I could not help it no more than I can avoid any other incident<sup>4</sup> that has befallen or may befall me in the course of my life."

"Shall I then say that you are sorry for what has taken place and willing to make any apology?" said the captain.

"Certainly so" said I "and before what witnesses he or she chuses."

He then went away to the exasperated brother and in a little while came back and conducted me to the house where I was introduced to a most elegant and beautiful young lady, still in tears, and who eyed me with a most ungracious look. "Sir" said she "Had it not been for the dread of peril to my dear brother I would have scorned your apology, but as matters stand at present I am content to accept of it. But I must tell you to your face, that if you had not been a coward and a poltroon you never would again have presumed to look me in the face after your behaviour to me."

"My dear madam" said I "There is some confounded mistake here; for, on the word of a gentleman I declare, and by the honour of manhood I swear that I never beheld your face before this previous minute. And if I had, it was as completely out of my power to have offered you any insult, as it would be at present before these your friends."

The<sup>5</sup> whole party uttered exclamations of astonishment and abhorrence at hearing these words; and at length the captain said "Good God sir did not you confess the offence to me, and say that you were sorry for it, but could not help it?"

"Because" said I "I sroofled three or four ladies on deck most abominably, and sore against my will; for a roll of the vessel threw me above them, and all that I could do I could not recover myself again; and I thought it was one of these ladies who had taken offence, but this divine creature on my life I never saw before."

"Sister do you say that this is the man who insulted and maltreated you?" said the brother.

"I do" said she.

"And you Mr Pattison. What do you say?"

"I say it is the same man (or gentleman which you please) from whom Mr Malcolm and I released her."

"I say and aver the same thing" said Mr Malcolm; and all the three declared they were willing to give their oaths.

On this the brother of the young lady said that I was not worthy in any way of being treated as a gentleman, and that he would forthwith give me into the hands of the constables and have me indicted for a criminal assault.

"Oho! I see how it is!" said I. "And perhaps we are both right after all; for I have for the last twenty four hours been struggling with an inextricable phenomenon, but<sup>6</sup> now however, I am sure that I am the right James Beatman. That is so far satisfactory."

The people thought I was raving, so I was given over to the constables and put under confinement till I procured very high bail for my appearance, and after that I went on my way to Stirling, from whence I found Mr Walker had gone into the highlands, at which I was exceedingly grieved as he was to have taken me with him in his gig, and we were to have shot together on the lands of Baravurich. I asked the landlord if Mr Walker went by himself? who answered that he did not, for he had waited there for a day and a half on a young gentleman who was to join him. But that same gentleman, having been a queer dog it seemed, had got into some scrape with a lady in Alloa on whose account he had been detained, but that he came at last and had gone with Mr Walker into the Highlands. "Who is the right James Beatman now?" thought I.

It was needless to repine. On the 9th of August I left Stirling on a wretched hack and got with difficulty the length of Callander

that night. The next day I followed on to Loch-Earn Head and heard by the way that two gentlemen from the lowlands in a gig had had a grand day's sport fishing in the lochs of Balquhiddar for a high bet. On reaching the inn I was met by a Mr Watten of Bromley an English gentleman who immediately made up to me as an acquaintance and began to speak of our fishing match. I kept rather quiet, acquiescing in all he said, as not knowing what dilemma I might be next caught in. At length he paid me down twenty guineas and the compliment to boot that I was the only gentleman who had beat him at angling for the last twenty years. I thanked him and added "Now double or quits for most birds on the 12<sup>th</sup>." He took the bet at once. And as we drank our highland whisky toddy together we grew still better and better friends and at length he began to banter me on my affair with the fair maiden of Alloa. I was again utterly confounded and entertained serious doubts of being the right James Beatman.

With difficulty I reached Inverouran on the night of the 11<sup>th</sup> wearied, chagrined and quite bewildered where I found Mr Watten Mr Walker and my namesake all there before me who welcomed me with great good humour. Scarcely had<sup>7</sup> we begun to refresh ourselves when my brain became more bewildered than ever for my namesake began and related the whole of my adventures as having happened to himself every little incident and after finishing he said "And with regard to that grievous affair with the Beauty of Alloa I am certain friend that I am indebted to you."

I could stand this no longer being perfectly conscious of having transacted every one of the incidents related myself. So I rose in a

passion and said "I would be treated in this manner no longer for that he was either the devil in my likeness or else I was the devil in his and we would have it put to the test. And to prove you an unaccountable impostor" I added "I hereby appeal to Mr Walker if it was I who came in the gig with him from Stirling?"

Mr Walker declared on his honour it was and that it was the other Mr Beatman who came in the evening. And then he laughed immoderately at my joke as he called it for a mistake it could not be and they all laughed till they fell from their seats. At this I was so much chagrined that I went to my bed and after I lay down I thought I had some faint recollections of really having come with Mr Walker from Stirling. Never was there a human creature in such a dilemma. I was conscious of being myself without any dereliction of my mental faculties. But here was another being who seemed endowed with the same personal qualifications, and made that impression on the minds of others which I was unable to do. What was I to do? How was my next procedure to be? I had never asked him for his address. If he pretended to be my father's son it was all over with me and it behoved me to look to my own rights.

Overpowered by these bewildering apprehensions I fell asleep and dreamed the whole night of the old man and the gold box set with jewels whom I met on the Castle hill of Edin<sup>r</sup> so that next morning when I awoke I was quite stupid, and overcome with dismay assured, that I laboured under the power of enchantment. The rest had all gone off to the moors at break of day and recollecting my bet<sup>8</sup> with Mr Watten of forty guineas I followed them determined to do my utmost. I could do nothing but wandered about the mossy burns of Baravurich like one in a dream. My dog seemed likewise to be dreaming for he would do nothing

but stare about him like a crazed beast or as if he had some apprehension of being surrounded by ghosts. At the croak of the raven he turned up his nose as if making a dead point at heaven and at the yell of the eagle he took his tail between his legs in terror and ran against me with such precipitation several times that he made me fall and hearing the guns still roaring around and around me I lost heart gave up my money for lost and returned to Inverouran.

Mr Watten came in late the others staid at the farm house and he was not well seated till he began to congratulate me on my success and on having beat him. "And how do you know that I have beat you?" said I.

"Why what means this perversity?" said he "Did not we meet at six as agreed and count our birds and had not you two brace more than I? You cannot have forgot that surely?"

"Very well my dear sir" said I "I'll thank you then for your forty guineas. Only be assured of this that the d----l a bird I counted with you to day."

The honest man laughed at me and paid me down my forty guineas.

The next day I sought my namesake and soon found him on the hill alone. I asked him for his address.<sup>9</sup> He gave me my own "Mr Beatman younger of Dern-loning."<sup>10</sup> I instantly gave him the lie and accused him to his face as an imposture in great wrath but he continued calm and only condoled with me at which I was still the more irritated. It is needless to repeat all the wild ravings of my rage which had no effect on him but that of exciting his pity till at last I attempted to shoot him. On this he seized on me mastered me with ease and bound me; at least so I supposed, but at that instant I think I had fallen into a

faint or such a paroxysm of rage as to have been deprived of reason for from thence forward till about the latter end of last month a space of eleven weeks I recollect no more. That long period is a complete blank in my memory and what hath befallen to me I do not know. It seems however that the fellow had not succeeded in imposing himself on my father for at this time the good old man attends on me a part of every day and is greatly perplexed about my condition.

I must now sir with shame and confusion of face acquaint you that when I came a little to myself I found myself in a lunatic assylum with my head shaven my arms pinioned and three surgeons attending me every day fellows who preserve toward me looks of the most superb mystery and whenever I make any enquiry anent the singular incidents contained in this letter then my father and the surgeons stare at one another and shake their heads and sometimes lay their finger's on their lips. What can be the meaning of this? I wish you would try to discover and inform me for of all my perplexities this is the worst. My attendant who is a rude vulgar fellow has always refused any explanation but yesterday becoming impatient he said "Whoy sur an you wooll knaw the trooth you have drooken away your seven senses. That's all. Swo neevegh minde."

"It is a lie you scoundrel" said I "and if my hands were completely at liberty I would return the insult on the jaws that uttered it."

"Oo neevegh minde sur I'll leaghn you to fast them back again by deghees. You oondeghstand me? Aih?"

Now sir this vile hint has cut me to the heart. It is manifest that I have been in a state of derangement. But in place of having been driven to it by drinking it was solely caused by my having been turned into two men, two distinct souls as well as bodies and these acting on

various different and distinct principles yet still conscious of an idiocratical identity. That is the feeling with which I now regard the circumstances. Or I sometimes think it possible that the fellow was a wag and having discovered that he bore an extraordinary personal likeness to me<sup>ll</sup> took on him my designation and acted in the manner he did out of mere sport. However it was the circumstances, as they affected me, were enough to overset the mind of any man, and being perfectly sensible of the truth of the incidents herein narrated although to myself quite untangible I send them to you in hopes that by publishing them you may induce an enquiry and thereby bring the real incidents to light.

I remain sir Your perplexed but very humble serv<sup>t</sup>

James Beatman

Younger of Dream-Loning

Notes on the Text

- 1 Hogg originally wrote 'rather a funny one', but later changed this to 'rather a distressing and unaccountable one'.
- 2 The paragraph break is indicated in the manuscript by '+'. This is in accordance with Hogg's usual practice in his later manuscripts. No doubt this method was adopted in order to save paper -- an important consideration for someone living in a remote farm who was in the habit of sending manuscripts to Edinburgh and London by post and carrier.
- 3 The manuscript has 'Beatsan' or 'Beatson' instead of the usual 'Beatman'. This is presumably a simple slip of the pen. (Hogg is frequently inconsistent about the names of his characters in his manuscripts: compare National Library of Scotland MS 4808, which includes Hogg's story 'The Mysterious Bride'.)
- 4 The manuscript has 'any other in- [new page] incident'.
- 5 The manuscript has '"The whole party' at the beginning of this paragraph. No doubt the unnecessary quotation marks were added in error because this paragraph follows a passage of dialogue.
- 6 The manuscript has 'phenomenon, But'.
- 7 The manuscript has 'Scarcely Had we begun'.

- 8 The manuscript has 'recollecting my bet [new line] my bet with Mr Watten'.
- 9 The manuscript has 'adress'. It is at times difficult to decide whether a particular reading represents one of Hogg's idiosyncratic spellings, in which case what is in the manuscript is what Hogg intended to write, and should be followed; or whether the reading in question is a mere slip of the pen, in which case what is in the manuscript is not what Hogg intended to write, and should be emended. I have regarded 'adress' as a slip of the pen for 'address'; but I have left unchanged other readings which can plausibly be regarded as idiosyncratic spellings -- for example, 'conciuous' for 'conscious'.
- 10 The manuscript has 'Dern-loning' at this point as the name of Beatman's estate. This is the first occasion in the manuscript at which Beatman's territorial designation is used. Later in the manuscript Hogg uses the form 'Dream-Loning', and in the Fraser's version of the story the form 'Drumloning' is used.
- 11 The manuscript has 'likeness to me [new page] to me'.

## Chapter VII

'On the Separate Existence of the Soul' and 'Robin Roole'

'On the Separate Existence of the Soul' and 'Robin Roole' are different versions of the same story, and their relationship appears to be somewhat similar to that of the two versions of 'Strange Letter of a Lunatic' discussed in Chapter VI.

'On the Separate Existence of the Soul' was offered in the first instance to William Blackwood for Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, but Blackwood returned the manuscript to Hogg with a letter of 17 September 1831. Blackwood writes:

The Separate Existence of the Soul is one of your very cleverest things, but I fear it would awfully shock the Orthodox if I were to publish it, for to speak seriously which the good folks would do, it is directly in the teeth of revelation to permit the soul to exist separately for one moment without at once having its eternal state fixed. It is an article which hundreds will be delighted with but I do not think it would do for me to publish it and I am sure you will get a large price from London for it. Do not laugh or be angry at me for returning it to you. I judge what will be best both for you & me. (National Library of Scotland MS Acc. 5643, vol. B9, p.225)

The story is indeed one of Hogg's very cleverest things, but it is not especially shocking, being simply a playful account of how the souls of a conservative old shepherd and his progressive and modern young master change places, as it were, each soul taking over the body of the other -- an arrangement which works greatly to the advantage of the old shepherd, Robin Robson.

Hogg was surprised and disappointed that his story did not find favour, and on 21 September 1831 he wrote to Blackwood 'I am sorry Robin

Robson did not suit I thought myself quite certain of its pleasing you' (National Library of Scotland MS 4029, ff.260-61). The story did find a home in London, however, where it was published in the December 1831 number of Fraser's Magazine (volume 4, pages 529-37).

So far the chain of events is straightforward enough, but the situation with regard to the next appearance of the story in print is not quite so clear. This second publication came some ten years after Hogg's death, when a version of the story appeared under the title 'Robin Roole' in the number of Hogg's Weekly Instructor for 17 May 1845 (volume 1, pages 183-87). This printing is accompanied by the following editorial note:

Robin Roole -- now printed for the first time -- was, we understand, among the last things the Shepherd wrote. A peculiar interest thus attaches to it, especially when we recollect that so much of its plot is laid among 'things not seen.' If there appear in some parts, perhaps, an undue familiarity with these, we have to plead that the tendency of the whole is good. We feel assured that the tale will be valued by our readers as being so characteristic of its author.

What is the relationship between 'Robin Roole' of 1845 and 'On the Separate Existence of the Soul', which appeared in Fraser's in 1831? Both tell the same story, but the differences between them are so substantial that it is clear that the story has been completely rewritten. Presumably Hogg produced two manuscripts, as with 'Strange Letter of a Lunatic', and the 1831 text was no doubt printed from the one manuscript, and the 1845 text from the other. Unfortunately, in the present instance (unlike 'Strange Letter of a Lunatic') neither manuscript survives.

Perhaps, as with 'Strange Letter of a Lunatic', Hogg rewrote his story of the shepherd and the laird after it had been returned by Blackwood. In this case, he would send his new manuscript to Fraser's

and retain the original among his own papers. If this did indeed happen, then the original manuscript may have been discovered in the 1840s by Hogg's family, and mistaken for an unpublished work.

At first glance this seems a plausible explanation for the appearance of 'Robin Roole' in Hogg's Weekly Instructor -- and it is an explanation which would provide a neat parallel with 'Strange Letter of a Lunatic'. There are difficulties, however. This explanation postulates that the 1845 text, 'Robin Roole', was printed from the manuscript originally sent by Hogg to Blackwood. However, in his letter to Hogg of 17 September 1831, quoted above, Blackwood refers to the story as 'The Separate Existence of the Soul' rather than 'Robin Roole'; and furthermore Hogg in his reply of 21 September 1831 calls the shepherd of the story Robin Robson rather than Robin Roole.

The surviving evidence, then, does not indicate conclusively what was the exact relationship of the two versions of the story. What is clear is that the two versions are very different, and that a complete edition of Hogg's works would have to include both. No manuscript survives, and the 1831 and 1845 texts are the only nineteenth-century printings. An editor would therefore have to follow the Fraser's text for 'On the Separate Existence of the Soul', and the Hogg's Weekly Instructor text for 'Robin Roole'. Unlike some of Hogg's contributions to Fraser's, 'On the Separate Existence of the Soul' seems to have been printed with some care, and no emendations appear to be necessary. The story is therefore printed from Fraser's without alteration in Hogg's Selected Stories and Sketches, edited by the present writer (Edinburgh, 1982).

'Robin Roole', the 1845 version of the story published in Hogg's Weekly Instructor, was not printed as accurately as the 1831 text, and

the following emendations are offered for consideration, with a view to correcting what appear to be errors by the printer.

Hogg's Weekly Instructor

Emendation

183 (ii), 1.26 The Cortosians  
 make thinking the essence of  
 the soul,

The Cartesians  
 make thinking the essence of  
 the soul,

183 (ii), 1.39 views scenes and  
 draws conclusions predicative  
 of future wants.

views scenes and  
 draws conclusions predicative  
 of future events.

Chapter VIII

Anecdotes of Sir W. Scott and Familiar Anecdotes of Sir Walter Scott

Hogg knew Sir Walter Scott well, and after Scott's death wrote an account of their long friendship. Before publication, he sent his manuscript for approval to John Gibson Lockhart, Scott's son-in-law and biographer. The manuscript infuriated Lockhart, and as a result Hogg re-wrote his reminiscences. The new version was published in New York in April 1834 under the title Familiar Anecdotes of Sir Walter Scott, and in June of the same year the work was reprinted in Britain under the title The Domestic Manners and Private Life of Sir Walter Scott.

The manuscript of the original version of Hogg's reminiscences was for long thought to be lost,<sup>1</sup> but this manuscript has been identified by the present writer among the Hogg papers at the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington. The present chapter is an examination of the textual and bibliographical questions raised by the two versions of Hogg's reminiscences.

THE EARLY TEXTS: THE FIRST VERSION

We know from surviving correspondence that the first version of Hogg's reminiscences of Scott was written at the request of John McCrone, the partner of his London publisher James Cochrane. We learn from the same source that Hogg's manuscript containing this first version was sent to McCrone in London in early March 1833, with instructions that it was to be taken to Lockhart (an old friend of Hogg's) for

1 See Edith C. Batho, The Ettrick Shepherd (Cambridge, 1927), pp.160-65; and Alan Lang Strout, 'James Hogg's Familiar Anecdotes of Sir Walter Scott', Studies in Philology, 33 (1936), 456-74.

approval before publication. We also learn that the manuscript was later returned to its author, as a result of Lockhart's angry reaction.<sup>2</sup>

It is reasonable to suppose, then, that this manuscript was in Hogg's possession at the time of his death in 1835. Thereafter Hogg's papers passed into the keeping of his wife, who survived until 1870. The papers then passed to Hogg's children, probably in the first instance to his son James, and then to his youngest daughter, Mrs Mary Gray Garden. After Mrs Garden's death in 1911 the papers passed into the keeping of Robert Gilkison, son of Hogg's third daughter Harriet, who had emigrated to New Zealand with her husband and family in 1879. Finally, on Robert Gilkison's death in 1942 the papers passed to his daughter Mrs Eleanora (Norah) Parr.<sup>3</sup>

From time to time over the years the family made various donations from this collection of Hogg papers. In particular, important donations have been made to the Alexander Turnbull Library (Wellington), to the National Library of Scotland and to Stirling University Library. The papers donated to the Turnbull Library include a manuscript (A.T.L. MS Papers 42 item 1) written in Hogg's hand and containing anecdotes about Scott. There can be no doubt that this is the manuscript which Hogg sent to McCrone in March 1833. The final leaf (which contains part of the text) has been folded and sealed, as was the custom, to form an outer wrapper

2 See Cochrane's letter to Hogg of 13 January 1833 (National Library of Scotland MS 2245, ff.218-19); Hogg's letter to William Blackwood of 1 March 1833 (NLS MS 4036, ff.98-99); Hogg's letter to Lockhart of 20 March 1833 (NLS MS 1554, ff.75-76); Lockhart's reply of 22 March 1833 (NLS MS 1554, ff.77-78); and Hogg's letter to McCrone of 12 May 1833 (Bodleian Library, Oxford MS AUTOGR. d. 11, ff.321-22).

3 I am grateful to Mrs Parr for this information.

for dispatch by post. This outer wrapper is addressed in Hogg's handwriting to McCrone in London, and the wrapper carries the postmark date 7 March 1833. The evidence for identification is therefore clear and unequivocal.

#### THE EARLY TEXTS: THE SECOND VERSION

In March 1833 Lockhart's anger caused Hogg to abandon his plans for publication of the first version of his reminiscences of Scott. By June of the same year Hogg had produced a new version of his reminiscences, with a view to publication in the United States. The manuscript of this new version was sent to S. Dewitt Bloodgood in Albany,<sup>4</sup> and as a result Harper and Brothers of New York published Hogg's Familiar Anecdotes of Sir Walter Scott in April 1834. The manuscript which Hogg sent to Bloodgood survives in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York.

In June 1834 the work was published in Britain under the title The Domestic Manners and Private Life of Sir Walter Scott. The publishers of this edition were John Reid & Co. of Glasgow; Oliver and Boyd of Edinburgh; and Whittaker, Treacher, & Co. of London.<sup>5</sup> Various reprints of the Domestic Manners appeared after Hogg's death. For example, a 'second British edition' was published by John Symington & Co. of Glasgow (and others) in 1838 (copy in

<sup>4</sup> See Hogg's letter to Bloodgood of 22 June 1833 (Beinecke Library, Yale: MS Vault Shelves Hogg).

<sup>5</sup> These are the names which appear in the imprint in the copies at the National Library of Scotland and Stirling University Library. E.C. Batho, however, gives 'Black, Young and Young' as the London publishers in her standard bibliography of Hogg (The Ettrick Shepherd, p. 216).

Stirling University Library); and 1838 also saw the appearance of the 'third British edition', again published by a group headed by Symington (copy in the Mitchell Library, Glasgow).<sup>6</sup>

The New York Familiar Anecdotes of April 1834 contains a memoir of Hogg by Bloodgood, as well as Hogg's reminiscences of Scott. The 1834 Domestic Manners reprints Bloodgood's memoir and Hogg's text as they stand in the Familiar Anecdotes, and adds a new Preface and new footnotes to Hogg's reminiscences. The second and third British editions of 1838 are simply reprints of the 1834 Domestic Manners.

What is the relationship between the Familiar Anecdotes and the Domestic Manners? In her The Ettrick Shepherd (Cambridge, 1927) Edith C. Batho writes (p.164):

In the same summer the book appeared in Great Britain, not, I think, in a pirated edition but delayed naturally since the preceding spring by revision and the search for a publisher.

The survey of Hogg's correspondence at present being undertaken at Stirling University Library has not so far uncovered anything to support this suggestion that the Domestic Manners edition of 1834 was published at Hogg's instigation. Indeed, there are some strong indications that this was in fact a pirated edition. For example, the new Preface in the Domestic Manners begins with the words:

By whatever means the following sketch came into the hands of its editor, its paternity is certain; it fathers itself: none but James Hogg could write it.

This coy mystification carries with it a strong whiff of piracy. Similarly, some of the new footnotes in the Domestic Manners seem

<sup>6</sup> For other nineteenth-century editions see W.S. Crockett, 'The Shepherd's Sir Walter: Fresh Light on Hogg's Reminiscences', The Glasgow Herald, 22 August 1931, p.4; and J.C. Corson, A Bibliography of Sir Walter Scott (London, 1943), p.30.

out of place in an edition published at Hogg's instigation, although they would seem natural enough in a piracy. For example, Hogg's text concludes with one of the Latin quotations which he liked to include in his writings in spite of (or perhaps because of) his lack of formal education. The footnote introduced into the Domestic Manners comments 'Saul among the prophets! Hogg quoting Latin!'

Hogg's correspondence also provides some support for the theory that the 1834 Domestic Manners was a piracy. Hogg had written to Bloodgood as follows on 22 June 1833:

I therefore send you the best article that I have in my own estimation [i.e. the re-written reminiscences of Scott] ... But attend to this. I would like if you could confine it to America and not let the right of publishing reach Britain at all. But if you cannot effect this and if it is contrary to the law of nations then be sure to send every sheet as it comes from the press to Messrs Cochrane & Co 11 Waterloo Place London which secures the copyright to me here provided the articles or work is published in Albany and London at the same time (Beinecke Library, Yale: MS Vault Shelves Hogg)

This suggests strongly that any British edition of 1834 that was authorized by Hogg would have been published by Cochrane, rather than John Reid of Glasgow and his partners. Given the state of copyright law at that period, transatlantic piracies were by no means unusual, and Cochrane warned Hogg in a letter of 9 August 1833 that an American edition of the reminiscences of Scott was likely to be followed quickly by a pirated British edition. Cochrane writes:

I am afraid we shall never see the proofsheets -- but the work is sure to be imported -- or reprinted here within two months of its appearance in America. (National Library of Scotland MS 2245, ff.230-31)

In all the circumstances it seems reasonable to conclude that the 1834 Domestic Manners was probably a pirated reprint of the New York Familiar Anecdotes published earlier in the same year.

#### THE TWO MANUSCRIPTS

Now that Hogg's original Scott manuscript has again come to light, it is possible to compare it with the new manuscript which he sent across the Atlantic to Bloodgood. For the most part, the two versions contain the same anecdotes told in similar (but not identical) words. For example, in the first version Hogg's fourth paragraph begins as follows:

There is another instance at which I was both pleased and disgusted. We happened to meet at a great festival at Bowhill when Duke Charles was living and in good health. The company being very numerous there were two tables fitted up in the dining-room one along and one across...<sup>7</sup>

In the second version which was sent to Bloodgood this passage becomes:

I may mention one other instance at which I was both pleased and mortified. We chanced to meet at a great festival at Bowhill when Duke Charles was living and in good health. The company being very numerous there were two tables set in the dining room one along and one across...<sup>8</sup>

The variation here is typical: but from time to time the differences in wording are more significant. A conversation about Hogg's novel The Brownie of Bodsbeck is recorded in both versions. In the first version this passage concludes with the following words:

7 Alexander Turnbull Library MS Papers 42 item 1, p.1.

8 See James Hogg, Memoir of the Author's Life and Familiar Anecdotes of Sir Walter Scott, edited by Douglas S. Mack (Edinburgh & London, 1972), p.96. (Hereafter quoted as Memoir and Scott.)

Then Sir Walter after his customary short hearty laugh repeated a proverb which I have forgot. It was something about the Clans or rather about one highland Clan and then added ...<sup>9</sup>

In the second version the equivalent passage is:

Sir Walter then after his customary short good humoured laugh repeated a proverb about the Gordons which was exceedingly apropos to my feelings at the time but all that I can do I cannot remember it though I generally remembered every[thing] that he said of any import. He then added ...<sup>10</sup>

Although for the most part the two versions contain the same anecdotes, these anecdotes are told in a very different order. For example, Hogg's moving account of his last meeting with Scott appears in the middle of the first version, but is the concluding anecdote of the second version - a change which is aesthetically satisfying.

In the two versions, then, the anecdotes are told in somewhat different words, and in a very different order. In addition, a number of anecdotes appear in one version but not in the other. In particular, two important passages which appear in the first version were omitted by Hogg when he came to write the second version -- apparently because these passages had aroused Lockhart's strong disapproval. The two passages in question are discussed in the present writer's 'Hogg, Lockhart and Familiar Anecdotes of Sir Walter Scott' (Scottish Literary Journal, 10 (1983), 5-13).

It appears likely that Lockhart's anger was caused by an anecdote in the first version which suggests that Scott's wife (Lockhart's mother-in-law) was the daughter of the Earl of Tyrconnel: at any rate, Hogg claims that a story to this effect had been told to him

9 Alexander Turnbull Library MS Papers 42 item 1, p.9

10 Memoir and Scott, p.107

by Scott. The matter was a sensitive one, as there were persistent rumours that Scott's wife had been an illegitimate child.

Be that as it may, it is clear that substantial differences exist between the two versions of Hogg's reminiscences. Indeed, the differences are so numerous and so significant that any complete edition of Hogg's works would have to include a text of each version.

#### EDITING THE TEXTS: THE FIRST VERSION

What, then, are the problems which the two texts present to an editor? In the case of the first version of Hogg's reminiscences, the choice of copy text is a simple matter, as the only possible candidate is the Alexander Turnbull Library manuscript. In the course of transcribing the manuscript for publication, however, a number of difficulties arise -- as the present writer discovered in preparing an edition published by Scottish Academic Press in 1983 under the title Anecdotes of Sir W. Scott.

For example, some changes in wording have been made in the manuscript in a hand which does not appear to be Hogg's. These changes may be listed as follows:

#### ORIGINAL WORDING

#### ALTERED VERSION

p.1, l.11	This was to me the strangest disposition imaginable! For me who never could learn	To me this seemed the strangest disposition imaginable! I who never could learn
p.2, l.18	the Scotts and the Elliots came down with a dead weight on the floor as if a shepherd had thrown a dead sheep from his back.	The Scotts and the Elliots came down with a <u>thud</u> on the floor as if a shepherd had thrown a dead sheep from his back.

## ORIGINAL WORDING

## ALTERED VERSION

p.2, 1.49	heard him repeat an anecdote save one which I heard him repeat year after year	heard him repeat an anecdote save one which I heard him relate year after year
p.2, 1.57	termed "Clarty Hole" which in English means a puddle in a hollow! Such was	termed "Clarty* Hole" ! Such was [At foot of page:] Anglice -- dirty -- miry -- Jamieson -- passim
p.4, 1.66	for ten times there value	for ten times their value
p.7, 1.52	Fielding's tale of -- I have forgot what *	Fielding's tale of Black George
	[At foot of page:] * If you know what he alluded to mention the place or copy it	
p.11, 1.53	"those who knew Scott only by the few thousands of volumes he has published	"those who knew Scott only by the few hundreds of volumes he has published
p.12, 1.56	put new tea in the tea-pot	put new tea in to the tea-pot

(The page and line references above refer to the manuscript.)

Some of the above changes are made in red, some in normal ink, and some in pencil. In addition, a new set of paragraph breaks is marked by means of red brackets. All these changes, clearly, were made with a view to preparing the manuscript for the printer -- and presumably this was done at the instigation of Cochrane and McCrone while the manuscript was in London. This being so, these changes can be disregarded by the editor. After all, an editor will wish to follow what Hogg wrote, rather than what Cochrane and

McCrone believed he ought to have written. As for the tale by Fielding which Hogg forgot (p.7, l.52), the editor will doubtless wish to supply the details in a note.

In addition to the changes discussed above, the manuscript also contains a number of deletions. No doubt some of these deletions were made by Hogg himself, but some may well have been made by his publishers while the manuscript was in London. It is impossible to be certain which deletions were made by Hogg. Some, however, show a concern for stylistic detail which is not characteristic of Hogg, and it seems reasonable to guess that these deletions were made at the instigation of Cochrane and McCrone. The list below records all the deletions in the manuscript, the words deleted being enclosed in square brackets. Asterisks are added in those cases in which it seems unlikely that the deletion was made by Hogg himself. In these cases I have restored the original reading of the manuscript in my Scottish Academic Press edition. The page and line references below refer to the manuscript.

- p.1, l.8 foible that I [could]\* ever [say I]\* discerned in my illustrious friend's character
- p.2, l.44 that I remember of. [But]\* with regard
- p.2, l.59 and [also] there was also
- p.3, l.1 with apparently the greatest satisfaction and [apparent]\* determination
- p.3, l.13 the family took [took] possession piecemeal and the peninsular war being [then]\* raging then the everlasting aphorism began.
- p.3, l.20 \*We are just like the French in Sarragossa [we are]\* gaining foot by foot

- p.3, 1.35 he once at least mistook himself. I [once]\* got a letter
- p.3, 1.63 the mountain and [and] fairy school
- p.3, 1.64 the higher the ascent the greater [the greater] may be the fall
- p.4, 1.49 [She was subjected in her latter years to a habit which I know gave Sir Walter a great deal of pain but which I do not understand and should therefore have passed over in silence if it had not been for fear of some false aspersions getting abroad. It was the taking of opium for a complaint which (poor woman!) was never revealed until the time was past for curing it.] \*
- Note: This passage about Lady Scott is heavily deleted, and it is tempting to think that the deletion may have been made by Lockhart when he saw the manuscript in London.
- p.4, 1.64 which he [said] had once lost and recovered
- p.5, 1.1 the daughter of a Mr John Carpenter [a]\* merchant in Lyons.
- p.5, 1.55 Sir Walter had his caprices like other men, and when in bad health [he]\* was very cross but I always found his heart in the right place
- p.6, 1.12 "Aha [lad]\*!" said Laidlaw
- p.6, 1.58 an honour to you and [to]\* all your friends"
- p.7, 1.45 till [that] that day
- p.7, 1.68 fixing his eyes on the ground [and on my cottage alternately] \*
- p.8, 1.60 He knows [that]\* it is expected that in a future edition
- p.9, 1.32 in the [the] whole tale
- p.9, 1.46 stop" [Yo] said he "You are not
- p.10, 1.27 as I [did] did his highland whisky toddy.
- p.10, 1.37 I could always [I could always] take the poetry
- p.11, 1.18 I went home with him to [my]\* dinner

- p.11, 1.43 There was one day when I was [one day] chatting with Ballantyne in his printing office where I was generally a daily stranger [when]\* I chanced to say
- p.11, 1.46 he never lets his [right] left hand know what his right hand is doing
- p.12, 1.30 James was an affected, pompous, but honest and worthy man and [was]\* possessed of a heart too affectionate and feeling for this evil world.
- p.13, 1.4 my own brother has long had and still has a high[ly] responsibility there as chief shepherd
- p.13, 1.16 although he [always]\* let me know that I behoved to depend entirely on myself for my success in life At the same time he always assured me
- p.13, 1.34 of his own creation [from]; armoury, hall, library,
- p.13, 1.39 He made her sit [on] in the middle of it on a chair

The New Zealand manuscript contains a few minor slips of the pen and similar blunders which were not corrected by Hogg himself or by Cochrane and McCrone's copy editor. It would seem sensible for an editor to correct these obvious slips, which are listed below. Page and line references again refer to the manuscript.

## MANUSCRIPT READING

## SUGGESTED READING

- |                  |                                |                                     |
|------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| p.1, 1.30        | must has been                  | must have been                      |
| p.1, 1.40        | had some chat the young ladies | had some chat with the young ladies |
| p.1, 1.42        | imagined the could             | imagined they could                 |
| p.1, 1.54        | clergmen                       | clergymen                           |
| p.1, 1.61        | my youth youthful mind         | my youthful mind                    |
| p.2, 1.64        | remarking with with            | remarking with                      |
| p.5, <u>1.30</u> | used to to go                  | used to go                          |

MANUSCRIPT READING	SUGGESTED READING
p.5, 1.39 alwas	always
p.6, 1.35 another. the	another. The
p.6, 1.62 like very well if if that	like very well if that
p.7, 1.70 that day or other	that some day or other
p.8, 1.68 that likewise likewise their	that likewise their
p.9, 1.42 exceedinly	exceedingly
p.11, 1.5 believe that that there	believe that there

There are some small tears towards the end of the manuscript. The list below gives the relevant passages, and guesses about the missing portions of text are supplied in square brackets.

p.13, 1.24 He knew the w[ay] to their hearts  
p.13, 1.25 I ma[y] almost say  
p.13, 1.41 what in this world can b[e?] Either

So far we have considered the decisions to be taken by an editor about the words of Hogg's text. There remains the question of the accidentals -- the punctuation, capitalization, spelling and the like. In the Alexander Turnbull Library manuscript, Hogg -- as is usual with him -- does not seem to have taken meticulous care about such matters. For example, the use of quotation marks is incomplete and erratic; and many sentences end without a full stop, although the next sentence begins with a capital letter. In such cases it seems clear that Hogg expected the printer to complete his punctuation for him, and it would seem sensible for an editor to add quotation marks and full stops where these are obviously required. If the process of tidying up Hogg's accidentals were to be taken too far, however, something of the flavour of the manuscript would be lost. There would therefore be a case for retaining Hogg's handful of idiosyncratic spellings -- 'strenous' for 'strenuous', and 'percieved' for 'perceived', for example.

An editor, then, should follow the words of Hogg's manuscript, disregarding any alterations which do not appear to have been made by Hogg himself. Where the manuscript is damaged, an editor should attempt to restore the missing parts of the text by guesswork, perhaps enclosing his guesses in square brackets. Similarly, an editor should correct obvious blunders and slips of the pen, and he should complete Hogg's punctuation where this is manifestly necessary. Nevertheless, the idiosyncrasies of Hogg's accidentals should in general be retained. A text edited in this way could be read with ease, and would reproduce the substance and the flavour of Hogg's manuscript.

#### EDITING THE TEXTS: THE SECOND VERSION

The manuscript of the second version of Hogg's reminiscences of Scott survives in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York -- and in addition to the manuscript an editor of the second version would also have to consider the various early printed texts. The first edition -- The New York Familiar Anecdotes of 1834 -- differs significantly from the manuscript from which it was printed, and these differences are discussed in detail in Alan Lang Strout's 'James Hogg's Familiar Anecdotes of Sir Walter Scott' (Studies in Philology, 33 (1936), 456-74). Strout ascribes these differences to Bloodgood rather than to Hogg, and there seems no reason to suppose that Hogg was able to influence the New York printing from the other side of the Atlantic. The New York Familiar Anecdotes text was reprinted in the British editions of 1834 and 1838 -- and these Domestic Manners editions appear to have been pirated

versions, published without Hogg's knowledge or consent. All this suggests that Hogg did not influence the text in any way after he sent his manuscript to Bloodgood. It seems clear, therefore, that the modern editor should base the words of his text on the manuscript in the Pierpont Morgan Library, rather than the early printed texts. As far as the accidentals of the text are concerned, the policy suggested above for the accidentals of the first version would be equally appropriate for the second version. A text along these lines is provided in Hogg, Memoir of the Author's Life and Familiar Anecdotes of Sir Walter Scott, edited by Douglas S. Mack (Edinburgh & London: Scottish Academic Press, 1972).

CHAPTER IX

'The Shepherd's Noctes'

During his later years Hogg was one of the best-known writers in the English-speaking world -- and there is no doubt that a good deal of his fame among his contemporaries derived from his frequent appearances in the 'Noctes Ambrosianae' of Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine. This series of dialogues, written in the main by John Wilson and John Gibson Lockhart, purports to record the table-talk about politics and literature of various writers associated with Blackwood's, the discussions taking place at Ambrose's Tavern in Edinburgh where vast quantities of food and drink are consumed by the participants. Much of the pith and vigour of the 'Noctes' -- and hence much of the success of Blackwood's -- derived from 'The Ettrick Shepherd', the extraordinary caricature of Hogg who figures very prominently at the Ambrosian feasts. Most of the time Hogg was amused and flattered by his portrait in the 'Noctes', but he sometimes reacted with furious anger when the tendency to portray him as a 'boozing buffoon' was taken too far.<sup>1</sup>

After a quarrel with William Blackwood towards the end of 1831, Hogg indicated that he no longer wished to be portrayed in the 'Noctes'.<sup>2</sup> Thereafter the appearances of the Shepherd in the series ceased, not to be resumed until 1834. John Wilson, chief author of the 'Noctes', wished to restore the Shepherd to the pages of Blackwood's -- and in the early months of 1833, with this in mind, he attempted to bring about a

1 The phrase 'boozing buffoon' was used by John Gibson Lockhart to describe the Shepherd of the 'Noctes' (see The Quarterly Review, 44 (1831), p. 82). Hogg's varying reactions to the 'Noctes' can be traced in his correspondence with William Blackwood, preserved in the Blackwood Papers at the National Library of Scotland.

2 See Hogg's letter to Blackwood, 6 December 1831 (NLS MS 4029, ff. 268-69).

reconciliation between Hogg and Blackwood. In this attempt Wilson secured the assistance of Hogg's friend John Grieve. For a time it appeared that their joint efforts would be successful, but Blackwood proved to be inflexible.<sup>3</sup> When the attempt to produce a reconciliation finally broke down, Hogg wrote to Wilson on 16 March 1833:

So it is decided now that we must part in our literary associations and our inimitable dialogues for ever. Mr Blackwood will neither hap nor wynd ... But the thing that I sat down to write about was this I had written a part of a Noctes with songs to send to you as an interlude in your next but since I got Grieve's letter yesterday morning I have been trying to make it out to a full and a very droll one in my estimation to send to Frazer.<sup>4</sup>

By 'Frazer' Hogg means Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country, which had been founded in 1830, and which was based in London. The moving spirit behind Fraser's in its early years was William Maginn (1793-1842), an Irishman who had been a frequent and lively contributor to Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine. Finance for the new periodical was provided by Maginn's friend Hugh Fraser, and the publisher was James Fraser of Regent Street. Fraser's was modelled on Blackwood's. Both were literary miscellanies, and both were published monthly. Blackwood's purported to be edited by a fictional character named 'Christopher North', while Fraser's produced a similar figure called 'Oliver Yorke'. Blackwood's adopted the sobriquet 'Maga'; and Fraser's responded with 'Regina' -- the Queen of Magazines.

3 See Wilson's letters to Hogg and to Grieve (early 1833) printed in Mrs Gordon, Christopher North, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1862), II, 215-23; Hogg's undated letter to Wilson (NLS MS 4039, ff. 35-36); Blackwood's letter to Grieve of 13 February 1833 (NLS MS Accession 5643, vol. 810, pp. 80-83; and Hogg's letter to Grieve of 16 March 1833 (NLS MS 4036, ff. 100-01).

4 NLS MS 2530, ff. 3-4.

Like Blackwood's, Fraser's was Tory in politics; and like Blackwood's it sometimes indulged in lively and scurrilous topical satire. Hogg made a large number of contributions to Fraser's from its commencement in 1830 until his death in 1835.

This, then, was the magazine for which Hogg completed 'a Noctes with songs' in March 1833. His manuscript was duly sent to London, and James Fraser responded in a letter dated 26 June 1833:

My dear sir

Your mind seems bent upon continuing the Noctes in Regina and I am very sorry to thwart you in the matter but I have not come to my present conclusion until much consideration nor until the advice of my best advisers (especially the two to whom you referred me -- Doctor Maginn and William Fraser -- ) has been taken upon the subject.

I found that few would wade thro' your MSS so I had the first set up in type trusting that a favourable opinion would be given in behalf of the plan & that it could be used -- all liked the composition -- for my own part I think it inimitable & equal to any of Blackwoods -- but all were against Regina stooping to an imitation -- Being unwilling to lose it entirely the Doctor kindly offered to concoct from it a short paper which I have enclosed & which will appear in the July number You will upon perusing it have his reasons & I flatter myself that upon consideration of this matter you will agree with him -- the more I think of it the more I am pleased we have not begun -- Whatever we do pray let us be original & I trust you will take the Doctor's hint & give us a series of Epistolae Hoggi the idea is admirable & affords you as fine a field as ever any four of conversations ever could do

According to your request I return you the MS of the second part & proof slips of the first in addition to the pages we intend inserting -- The latter will I am fearful be considered by most of our readers as a joke, few will believe it to be yours, from the very title ...<sup>5</sup>

Maginn's 'short paper' occupies pages 49-54 of the July 1833 number of Fraser's. It is signed 'Oliver Yorke', and is entitled 'The Shepherd's Noctes, and Why They Do Not Appear in Fraser's Magazine'. The paper

5 NLS MS 2245, ff. 224-25.

begins as follows:

THE plain fact of the matter is this:--

The Shepherd has sent us up a couple of the most admirable articles that can possibly be conceived, which he wishes us to publish under the title of Noctes Ambrosianae. Nothing can be better than the dialogue; but we have our own reasons for doing what the grammarians deem impossible, viz. declining the article. Hogg thinks that we are wrong. He writes to say, that

"You cannot imagine the sensation the very advertisement will create; for there never was as popular and as happy a plan projected in the world for vending all sorts of sentiments and ideas. I have been the hero of the Noctes all along, and there is no man has so good a right to carry it on as I have. I told North lately, in a letter, that I began Blackwood's Magazine, and by ---- I would end it: therefore, none of your London whims; but let my articles retain their original title. But, if you like, you may make it A NEW SERIES."

There may be some truth in this; but we doubt the fact that Hogg was the hero of the original Noctes from the beginning. We rather think that the Shepherd had nothing whatever to do with the affair until long after they had been started. But this is nothing to the purpose. We object to opening any thing in imitation; and even if Lockhart, Maginn, Wilson, Hamilton, John Cay, Douglas Cheape, Hogg, Moir, &c. were themselves altogether to write Noctes in any other magazine than Blackwood's, their work would be nothing better than secondhand now-a-days. And, in truth, we think that, even in its original soil, the matter is somewhat worn out. A Noctes in Blackwood is almost a bore, -- elsewhere it would be a botheration.

But what the Shepherd has done is so uncommonly excellent, that it can by no means be lost. It is useless to say that his songs are magnificent. The first abuses the Whigs in the following fashion:--

Maginn goes on to print seven songs, to which he adds brief linking comments. After the final song, he continues:

Nobody can say that these songs are not worthy of the most extravagant commendations; and the prose, though we think it not equal to the verse, capital. That we may not be unjust to the Shepherd, we shall give a bit of his dialogue.

A couple of pages of dialogue follow, and then Maginn concludes his paper thus:

Now, we should wish that the Shepherd would do what he here says, -- viz. give us truly an account of what he did and what he saw when he was in London. One series of the true and genuine Epistolae Hoggi would be worth an acre of the imitative Noctes Ambrosianae, ever so well executed.

And so he will think on reflection.

OLIVER YORKE.

Maginn, at the beginning of his paper, indicates that Hogg sent 'a couple' of articles to Fraser's; and that Hogg wished the articles to be published 'under the title of Noctes Ambrosianae ... But, if you like, you may make it A NEW SERIES'. James Fraser, in his letter to Hogg of 26 June 1833, also indicates that two articles were involved: he writes that he is returning 'the MS of the second part & proof slips of the first'. We may therefore conclude that Hogg's 'Noctes Ambrosianae New Series No 1' was returned to the author by Fraser in the form of proof slips; but that Hogg received back his original manuscript of 'Noctes Ambrosianae New Series No 2'.

The complete text of Hogg's two 'Noctes' articles has never been published; and it has been assumed that Maginn's paper in Fraser's provides the only surviving evidence about their contents.<sup>6</sup> However, I believe that I have identified the manuscript of 'Noctes Ambrosianae New Series No 2' in the extensive collection of documents donated by Hogg's descendants to the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington. The manuscript in question (MS Papers 42 item 12) carries no title, but contains a dialogue between 'the Shepherd' and four others at Ambrose's Tavern, the home of the 'Noctes'; a portion of the dialogue appears (in a somewhat modified form) in Maginn's paper in Fraser's; and there is evidence that the manuscript was written by Hogg in March 1833, the month in which he wrote his two 'Noctes' articles

6 See, for example, Edith C. Batho, The Ettrick Shepherd (Cambridge, 1927), pp. 102-03.

for Fraser's.<sup>7</sup> In all the circumstances, it seems reasonable to conclude that Alexander Turnbull Library MS Papers 42 item 12 is the article which James Fraser returned to Hogg in manuscript form in June 1833 -- that is to say, 'Noctes Ambrosianae New Series No 2'.

In this manuscript Hogg indicates various points in the dialogue at which songs and other passages are to be inserted. The text of these insertions was no doubt sent to Fraser in separate documents which accompanied the main manuscript. These separate documents do not appear to have survived, but it is possible to fill some of the gaps by inserting the appropriate song from Maginn's paper in Fraser's. An editor of 'Noctes Ambrosianae New Series No 2' will therefore be able to supply the dialogue from the newly identified manuscript; and he will be able to supply at least some of the songs from Fraser's.

A text of this kind is given below. In editing the manuscript, I have followed the procedures suggested in the previous chapter for editing the manuscript of Hogg's Anecdotes of Sir W. Scott. That is to say, I have retained Hogg's handful of idiosyncratic spellings, but I have completed his punctuation where this is obviously necessary (by adding full stops at the end of sentences as required, and the like). I have also corrected a few minor slips of the pen and similar blunders: these changes are listed in the notes which follow the text. These notes seek to provide a full

7 The second page of Alexander Turnbull Library MS Papers 42 item 12 contains the words 'Altrive by Selkirk March 7<sup>th</sup> 1833'. These words are written in Hogg's hand, and appear at the foot of the page the opposite way up from the words of the main text. Altrive was Hogg's farm in the Borders: and we can take it that Hogg set out to use this particular sheet of paper as a letter, heading it in his usual way with his place of residence and the date. It appears that Hogg then abandoned his letter, and thereafter turned the sheet upside down in order to make use of it as part of the manuscript which is now MS Papers 42 item 12. This instance of Hogg's frugality with paper allows us to conclude that the manuscript was probably written in March 1833.

discussion of the textual problems raised by 'Noctes Ambrosianae New Series No 2'.

As with the 'Noctes' of Blackwood's, there are many references to contemporary persons and events in Hogg's article. An attempt to provide a full elucidation of these references would be out of place in the present thesis, which sets out to examine problems of a textual and bibliographical nature. However, it may be noted that the main concerns of Hogg's article are his own visit to London in 1832; and the Bill for the Suppression of Disturbances in Ireland, which was considered by Parliament in the early months of 1833, and which contained provisions for the introduction of martial law to Ireland.

The text of 'Noctes Ambrosianae New Series No 2' is given overleaf.

Noctes Ambrosianae New Series No 2

Nil intra est oleam, nil extra est in nuce duri

So says Mr Horace and I say so too  
 For if this is not real which we here relate to you  
 "The olive has no kernel the nut has no shell"  
 A motto to our Noctes that suits it truly well  
 As all the land shall judge of and all the land shall tell

Scene The original Blue Parlour in Gabreil's Road

time 8 o'clock evening present Simon the Packman M,Rimmon  
 Dr Japhet and Gilfillan

SIMON

Ay! This is rather curious that none of the leaders of the Noctes  
 Ambrosianae have yet made their appearance?

M,RIMMON

It was the Shepherd who sent me the notification so I hope there is no  
 danger that he will not appear.

JAPHET

I wadna wonder muckle though he shoudna come. He'll be daunering some  
 gate an' carousing on and singing "When the kie comes hame." I ken brawly  
 how he will be employed an he'll never remember that he was engaged to  
 meet us here ata.

SIMON

He is at least bound to pretent so the next time he meets us. Well it is  
 too bad! Though he and I have been acquainted these three and twenty

years I'll cut him.

There's naething he ever can do will gar me cut him for a kinder friend I never had under the sun. An' though he very often gangs wrang just out o' ae scrape into another I ken sae weel they are a' errors o' memory an' judgement but never o' the heart that he's aye the same man to me an' ever will.

GILN O I fear our Shepherd is like Reuben unstable as water and shall never excel. Capricious as the wind on a winter night. Simple as a child proud as Lucifer and generous to a great fault. I wonder how such a man can wade through this world of knavery and selfishness.

He says there's no fear of him as long as the thick bullet head continues sound and hale. But he is such a stranger here and has been so long in London since we saw him I shall be dissappointed if he does not come.<sup>1</sup>

Hilloa! I think I know the voice that sings that song in the next room. Ambrose desire the Shepherd to walk in here. He is gone into the wrong room. That song belongs to us and to none else.<sup>2</sup> Exit Ambrose. Enter The Shep. singing "Awa Whigs &c."<sup>3</sup>

"Awa, Whigs! awa, Whigs!  
 Awa, Whigs, for ever!  
 Ye're but a pack o' brosy-mows,  
 An' gude ye'll do us never.  
 Our thristles flourish'd fresh and fair,  
 And bonny bloom'd our roses,  
 Till Whigs cam, like a frost in June,  
 And wither'd a' our poesies.  
 Awa, Whigs, &c.

Our sad decay in church an' state  
 Surpasses my describing:  
 The Whigs cam o'er us for a curse,  
 An' we hae done wi' thriving.  
 Awa, Whigs, &c.

Our ancient crown's fa'n i' the dust--  
 De'il blind them wi' the stowre o't;  
 An' write their names in his black buik  
 Wha gae the Whigs the power o't.  
 Awa, Whigs, &c.

Grim vengeance lang has ta'en a nap,  
 But we may see it wauken.  
 God help the day, when royal heads  
 Are crouchin' like a mawkin!  
 Awa, Whigs, &c.

The de'il he heard the stoure o' tongues,  
 And vamping cam amang us;  
 But he pitied us sae wi' cursed Whigs,  
 He turn'd an' doughtna wrang us.  
 Awa, Whigs, &c.

But aye he keek'd aneath his sleeves,  
 An' shook his sides wi' laughter:  
 'Give Britain lang these selfish knaves--  
 She'll bang the devil after!'  
 Awa, Whigs! awa, Whigs!  
 Awa, Whigs, for ever!  
 Ye're but a pack o' brosey-mows,  
 An' gude ye'll do us never."

On finishing the song the Shepherd dances round the room kicking first with the one foot and then with the other and singing "Kick them out &c."<sup>4</sup>

I cannot concieve Shepherd why you should [have] such an antipathy at the Whigs.<sup>5</sup>

Faith nor me neither.

Did they ever as a body or individually do you any wrong?

Na na! far frae that. I hae had more intimate dear and I may say bosom friends that were staunch whigs than ever I had amang the Tories and there is one body of them who has conferred an honour and a favour

on me which nae society o' Tories ever proffered me. Na na! They never did me ony injury further than as ane o' the community. But gudeness guide us dinna ye see the gate they're driving us? Just straight down hill to utter inevitable ruin. Od sir they're just popping us quietly blindfauldit into utter anarchy an' confusion. Now afore ye begin will ye just allow me sing for supper?

Why you know I approve as little of the structure of the present Government as you do but this is a wonderful country James. Its energies extend beyond the calculation of man. There is a sovereign power in it like the safety valve that always rights itself.

Od sir I wadna gie ane o your short appropriate remarks for ony o' their lang drools o' speeches i' your parliament house. They're the maist wearisome things I ever heard. Weel I wadna wonder but as ye say Britain may soon see her error an' right hersel. But O what's to come o' poor Airland? Poor devotit Airland. My heart really bleeds for her.

Do you not approve of those coercive measures that are going (or gone by) through parliament?

Na na! My heart canna gang in wi' them ava. They're ower like the days o' Clavers come back on poor Airland. The hale bill is perfect absurdity. It winna do sir. To set a when military callants on to try fo'ks is out o' the question. It will turn out precisely the days o' Clavers again. What wad ye think o sicken a scene as the following. Some of Clavers' dragoons seized six men in hiding in Dinscore.

"Do you six all renounce the covenant?

What Covenant?

All the covenants that ever were made.

No no we can never renounce the Covenant of Grace."

They were all shot that instant.

At another time there was one Adam Mitchell a staunch Covenanter who

had been at the battle of Drumclog and Bothwell Bridge was surprised one day by a single trooper of Clavers' dragoons and immediately took to the hill to fly. "Stop stop mee lad dont just be in such a hurry I wants to speak with thee a leetle."

The Cameronian seeing he could not escape returned boldly back and faced the soldier who had his piece cocked and ready. "What is it sir" said the Covenanter.<sup>6</sup>

"Why tis wonly this. I wants to know if thou art one of the Cwovenant men so answer me in wone word. Dwost thou renounce the cwovenant or nwot tell me that?"

"Is it the Covenant o' works ye mean?"

"Faith I does not know I suppose it is."

"It can never be the covenant of Grace which you want me to renounce."

"Oo no no. Hi can't be the Cwovenant of Grace for his Majesty extends his Grace to all who renounce the wother Cwovenant."

"Well I renounce the covenant<sup>7</sup> o' works and a' dependance upon it."

"I believe thou'st a true man and a leel and there are so few of them to be found in this here cwontry if thou'lt go down to the changehouse I'll give thee a chappin of ale."

Now I can easily concieve the poor Irishmen to be guidit the same gate. They are brought perhaps in before a set of dashing officers who have been hunting them an' wha want to mak' a figure i' the newspapers on account of the ragamuffians of which they have cleared the country.

"Come now you rascal and give some account of yourself. You have been caught in very equivocal circumstances. Do you belong to the White-foot boys?"

"Not at praisant your honour for you see I have been after wading through the moss and it would be more consistent were you to araiggin me as a blackfoot."

"That is no answer at all but a mere evasion. Tell me plainly Are [you] one of the Whitefeet?"<sup>8</sup> (Pady looking seriously down) "If your Honour pleases I'll go and wash them and then you may judge they're pretty fair whin they're clain."

"O it is quite manifest that he belongs to these disturbers of the peace off with him to prison and let him be drubbed from the country which he has too long harrassed and disgraced."

"Bit your honour has nit been after proving any thing against me."

"No sir it behoves you to prove your innocense or off you go either to the gallows or banishment. In a whole district of culprits every one of whom will swear to a lie we cannot search for proof. Your character was apparent at the first answer. Off with him to prison."

But James you are taking an extreme case and one moreover which never can happen under the proposed regulations.<sup>9</sup>

It is no extreme case at all sir for a thousand harder ones will happen within the first twelvemonth. Look to all the histories extant and you will see that whenever military sway is rendered predominant that sway becomes more tyrranical and cruel from day to day and from year to year until it becomes insufferable. But heaven protect us! What can we expect frae sickan a ministry an' a packit mob parliament? A when bletherin ideots wha will kevil a month about naething an' let a' the affairs o' the nation an its provinces stand stane still & therby gang to wrack. If I had been a parliamenter which I hope to be yet I wad hae impeached maister O'Connell for high treason lang syne an' hae gotten his head set up on the tap o' Dublin steeple. Mony a better man will his mischievous ambition lay in the dust afore poor daft Airland be settled. Od if the King warn a gowk he wad

Stop stop Shepherd! You shall not say a disrespectful word against his Majesty in my presence. He is a good an honest and well meaning

Sovereign.

Oo he's a fine auld chap as a sailor! Captil! There's nane better. But poor fallow! He has fawn down through amang the bilge-water which is rather an uncomfortable stinking birth an' he'll never win out again but just plunge an' jumble there a' his life. Wad ye like to hear me sing The King's Anthem?

Which of them?

O the verra first I made just after he was crowned. I made ither three sinsyne ane for the Hielands an' ane for the Lowlan's an' ane for the Tower o' Lunnon.

Shepherd sings "Willie was &c"<sup>10</sup>

"Our Willie was a wanton wag,  
The bravest lad that e'er I saw;  
Wha 'mang the lasses bore the brag,  
An' carried aye the gree awa.  
An' wasnae Willie weel worth goud,  
When seas did rowe an' winds did blaw;  
An' battle's deadly stoure was blent,  
He fought the foremost o' them a'.

Wha hasna heard o' Willie's fame,  
The rose o' Britain's topmost bough--  
Wha never stain'd his royal name,  
Nor turn'd his back on friend or foe?  
An' he could tak a rantin glass--  
An' he could chaunt a cheery strain--  
An' he could kiss a bonny lass,  
An' aye be welcome back again.

Though now he wears the British crown,  
For which he never cared a flee,  
Yet still the downright honest tar,  
The same kind-hearted chield is he.

An' every night I take a glass,  
 An' fill it reaming to the brim,  
 An' drink it in a glowing health  
 To Adelaidé and to him.

I've ae advice to gie my king,  
 An' that I do wi' right good will:  
 Stick by the auld friends o' the crown,  
 Wha bore it up through good an ill;  
 For new-made friends and new-made laws,  
 They suit nae honest hearts at a'.'  
 Then royal Willie's worth I'll sing  
 As lang as I hae breath to draw."

Did you ever venture to sing that in London?

Did I no? My truly I did that! An' far waur than that! We had a genuine tory club at the Free Mason's societies<sup>11</sup> at which several o' the leading members o' parliament attendit as weel as a number o' our auld acquaintances wha hae met an' been happy wi us in this an' though you may be sure I was blithe to see them a' again yet was I wae to meet them sae far frae hame. There was ae night we had M,Guinne the best-natured funny callant alive but ha speaks sae fast I never can follow him to my grievous dissapointment. There we had Croly wi his true logical eloquence Galt wha is sair altered in his appearance honest chield sin he left Scotland an' Lockhart always unobtrusive an' modest besides Saddler in the chair Vivian, Croker, an' gudeness kens how mony mae. Then there was another night we had three times as mony. But I was in public parties sae often that I can hardly wi' my utmost straining at reccollection divide ane frae anither.

And pray if I may ask which of all the public societies of London did you like the best?

O the Beef-stake Club out o' a' sight!

The Beef-stake Club! What kind of a society is that?

O a set o' the queerest devils that ever war christened a uneatit in ae body. A' noblemen an' first rate gentlemen though; mind that, for a their mischeevous tricks. I never was wi' the hempies but ae night but I never leugh as muckle sin' I was born! O I wad like to be a member o' the Beef-stake Club! But that's impossible as they are a' far aboon my sphere an' I leeve ower far frae them. An' mair than that the number by a clause in their original institution the number is limited which is a great pity. The late King when he was Prince o' Wales had to wait three years after his application before he could be admitted. The Lord Chancellor was to have been in the chair that night the most intense of them all for waggery and fun they said. But he could not come on account of the illness of a darling daughter. The Dukes of Leinster and Wellington likewise sent apologies. I am not sure but the latter was only to have been a guest like myself.

And pray what are their rules and regulations which have delighted you so much? Do they sctually dine on Beef stakes?

Solely on Beef stakes. But such glorious beef stakes! They do not come up all at once as we often get them in Scotland no nor at half a dozen times. But up they come at long intervals thick tender and as hot as fire. And during these intervals they sat drinking their port and breaking their wicked wit on each other so that every time a service of new stakes came up we fell to them with a zest much the same as at the beginning. The dinner would last I think from two to three hours and was a perfect treat a feast without alloy.

What? did they drink port during dinner?

They did that billy. If any member had called for ought aboon port he wad hae suffered! He wad baith hae been fined an' reprimandit if no ordered out o' the room. Ony o' them may hae a little toddy or punch but wine of a higher value than port no one is suffered to taste. The Hon.

Lord Saltoun who was voted into the chair that night had committed a high and serious offence to the society so he was adjudged to stand with a white sheet about him while the recorder general put on his cocked hat and gave him a very sharp and cutting rebuke but in a style of sublimity quite indescribable that with Lord Saltoun's look of penitence were truly ludicrous. What do you think was Saltoun's offence? I will defy any living man to guess. It was for sending a dozen bottles of his own sublime Highland whisky for the entertainment of the club that night without leave granted!

It is a club in which no man can be sure how or when he is to give offence. The kindest action may be accounted offensive but always the more outré the better. The most heinous offence of all is to lose temper. No man may lose his temper there or dear would be his retribution. The club seems to have been originally formed to teach men good temper and forbearance for there is no wicked insinuation that can be alledged against each other which they do not bring forward in the most extravagant and laughable terms. In fact the jocular screech was so constant and so hearty that except when a gentleman got up who was always listened to no man could hear a word of the conversation unless from his next neighbours. I was placed near the head of the table with the Recorder general on my right hand and Sir John Hobhouse on my left above me.

What sort of a looking gentleman is Sir John?

A thin chap wi a Wellington face. Younger looking than I expected and appeared that night at least modest and unassuming in his manners. As for the Recorder his tongue never lay for one minute but then his good humour was inexhaustible. The Croupier a devilish clever fellow wi' ane o' the wickedest tongues that ever waggit within teeth got up and gave his honour the Recorder a bitter and severe reprimand for havering sae muckle to me whereby no one could get a word exchanged with me but himself but he just

hotched an' leugh an' gaed on. He told me a great number of droll anecdotes about the club which I was sorry I could not with propriety take notes of for they were very queer indeed. There was one that struck me as particularly whimsical. Lord Brougham adjudged an Hon. member one evening for some alledged misdemeanour to walk three times round the company with a white sheet about him and helmeted with a particular chamber utensil. The culprit obliged without the least reluctance swaggering round them so accoutred.

I will give you only one other trait of this singular society. Campbell of Isla's chair was next to the president's left hand but one over against me and I began to observe that it was almost always empty. I asked the Recorder the reason of it and he told me that Islay (or Shawfield as I called him) was Boots to the club being the youngest member! He had every thing to do. To draw and decant all the wine and arrange it along the board and I percieved in so large a company as was there that evening that the Member for Argyle's birth was no sinecure. The landlord and waiter when there were not allowed to put their hands to a turn farther than the beef-stakes were concerned but stood behind breaking their jokes with the members. They dine on Saturdays at four at the Bedford Coffee-house somewhere I think about the laigens o' Covent garden -- don't wait a minute for any man whether guest or member and scart always before twelve. O tis a glorious club!

Then there was The Highland Society with the gallant eloquent and amiable Sir George Murray at their head. A good deal of state and dignity there. The Walton and Cotton club -- All sportsmen and true anglers and twenty four different dishes of fish on the table at dinner. The Scottish Tory club a set of genuine fellows and the Society of True Highlanders.<sup>12</sup> Of all these last four I was made an honorary member. Then there is the Literary Fund Society the first which I dined in in London and to which I

have been more obliged than them all. But come this is all nonsense. I will give you a description of all these individually on some future nights. Give us a song. And if you please we'll have a round of old Jacobite ones. There is no man that I ken o' has mae o' them than you an' it is amazing how well some o' them suit the present times.

Well I shall give you one of Charles the 1st's time which has sometimes come into my mind of late and has been brewing and barming in it like a vat of small beer.

Jac. Rel vol 1 pl5<sup>13</sup>

Hey, then, up go we.

KNOW this, my brethren, heav'n is clear,  
 And all the clouds are gone;  
 The righteous man shall flourish now,  
 Good days are coming on.  
 Come then, my brethren, and be glad,  
 And eke rejoice with me;  
 Lawn sleeves and rochets shall go down,  
And hey, then, up go we.

We'll break the windows, which the whore  
 Of Babylon hath painted,  
 And when the Popish saints are down,  
 Then Burges shall be sainted.  
 There's neither cross, nor crucifix,  
 Shall stand for men to see;  
 Rome's trash and trumpery shall go down,  
And hey, then, up go we.

Whate'er the Popish hands have built,  
 Our hammers shall undo,  
 We'll break their pipes, and burn their copes,  
 And burn down churches too;

We'll exercise within the groves,  
 And preach beneath the tree;  
 We'll make a pulpit of a cask,  
And hey, then, up go we.

We'll down with all the versities,  
 Where learning is profest,  
 Because they practise and maintain  
 The language of the Beast;  
 We'll drive the doctors out of doors  
 And parts whate'er they be;  
 We'll cry all arts and learning down,  
And hey, then, up go we.

We'll down with deans and prebends too,  
 And I rejoice to tell ye,  
 How that we will eat pigs our fill,  
 And capon by the belly;  
 We'll burn the fathers' learned books,  
 And make the schoolmen flee;  
 We'll down with all that smells of wit,  
And hey, then, up go we.

If once the antichristian crew  
 Be crush'd and overthrown,  
 We'll teach the nobles how to stoop,  
 And keep the gentry down:  
 Good manners have an ill report,  
 And turn to pride we see,  
 We'll therefore cry good manners down,  
And hey, then, up go we.

The name of Lord shall be abhorr'd,  
 For every man's a brother;  
 No reason why, in church or state,  
 One man should rule another.

But when the change of government  
 Shall set our fingers free,  
 We'll make the wanton sisters stoop,  
And hey, then, up go we.

What though the king and parliament  
 Do not accord together,  
 We have more cause to be content;  
 This is our sunshine weather;  
 For if that reason should take place,  
 And they should once agree,  
 Who would be in a roundhead's case?  
And hey, then, up go we.

What should we do then in this case?  
 Let's put it to a venture;  
 If that we hold out seven year's space,  
 We'll sue out our indenture.  
 A time may come to make us rue,  
 And time may set us free,  
 Except the gallows claim his due,  
And hey, then, up go we.

That's very extrodnar! Ane wad think that sang war a prophecy. I'm sure there's mony a ane i' the auld testament that dinna turn out sae weel. But I'll gie ye another o' the same like Mr Johnston's sawm.

No I beg your pardon but I don't like this constant vituperation against the Whigs. They and their measures have not as yet got a fair trial. I think there are some honest well meaning men among them.

Yes. If ever I saw an honest good-natured man it is Lord Althorpe. It is a great pity he should have been a whig! But he will do honour to any side. There is a downright integrity in the very tones of his blundering voice. Last year when I was frequently in the House the Tories got all the speaking to themselves. The Whigs sat listlessly on their crouded benches and never heeded their opponents knowing that they had

no more ado than calmly to vote them down at the end. But Lord Althorpe seemed to consider himself bound to answer them for he came down to the side of the bord<sup>14</sup> and answered every one of them with the most perfect suavity however bitter their speeches might have been. He's a perfect gentleman Althorpe although a gayan burly looking chield too.

There is no place in the world I would like so well to be in as The Parliament House.

Wad ye like to be in there lad? My faith but ye wad be as glad to get out again! I wadna advise ony friend that I hae to gang intil it. No even a member if he could help it. It is the most wearisome stale flat and unprofitable business that ever I was engaged in. I wonder how any man in this world can covet being a member o' Parliament.

I think I heard you say that you hoped to be one.

Yes but then I had two real motives for that wish. In the first place I wanted to get Daniel O'Connell beheaded. And in the next place to get the tax taken off the shepherds' dogs. I have applied to all the members connected with the south of Scotland for these twelve years past and I have never been able to get that most shameful most disgraceful tax that ever was laid on removed. I applied likewise to the late Mr Curwen too who did attend to my petition and got something done in it yet the amelioration did not affect Scotland at all. But I was twice speaking to Sir Robt Peel about it last Winter who seemed to have a fellow feeling with me and I have great hopes of him. Are ye turned a Radical now?

I might well have asked the same question at you from what fell from you lately about the Irish Coercion bill. But I am so far a radical that I cannot help dissaproving of the Irish coercion bill in a great many points.

Shep. rubbing his beard squeezing his lip I believe that is a radical principle. I am sorry for't for I hate the very term. It is queer that O'Connell an' me should coincide in ony ae principle. I suppose

I'll be obleeged to renunce't.

Why renunce't? as you call it. It is a feeling for the liberties and rights of your fellow creatures.

Od sir it never will do you may depend on it. How many thousand sequestered cottages farm houses and even gentlemen's seats are in Airland as weel as Scotland. In ony ane o' thae an honest woman lass or wife may be laid suddenly up in childbed. A bairn may be seized wi' the croup. A country laird may tak the bats. In short from all the troubles and accidents that flesh is heir to there is not a night nor an hour in a night but there are hundreds running or riding for medical skill or for the houdy an official that surely maun be very often needit in Airland an' there's nae putting aff there ye ken.

I should think that could scarcely happen so suddenly but that the family might be provided beforehand.

O sir it very often happens suddenly. I hae kend a hundred instances o't especially amang the lasses. There was ae instance whilk I aye thought good sport. There was a bonny lass came out o' Hawick to serve at Annelshope so after coming in from the meadow one night she grew ill, dreadfully ill! and the family thought she was so far gane in an illiac passion that it was needless to send for the Dr twenty miles so they got in Rob Dods the cooper to pray for her. Rob sang a sawm an' read twa or three verses of a chapter for he coudna get time to read the half o't for fear she had dee'd afore he was done. He then kneeled down at the side o' the bed wi' his arms an' brow leaning on the bed stock an' prayed most fervently for aw things that were good to attend the young and amiable departing saint in the other world. But just as Rob was at the acme of his devotions there was something began to wow aneath the claes! Rob never gat sic a fright in his life. He barged up an' ran off as the deil had been chasing him an' forgot his hat. But that's only ae instance which I

chanced to mention for its ludicrous termination. I could mention a hundred. Nay a man's only horse may be dying yet he must not go to seek the farrier. A poor man's only cow may be seized with deadly illness by night yet he must not run for the cow-doctor. How or where are such people to get a warrant from a magistrate for their journey in such hard and pressing circumstances? Impossible! Depend on it gentlemen that that bill is the most absolute and tyrannical that ever was thrown over the necks of a poor unfortunate crazed and ruined people.

Will you just allow me Shepherd for a minute or two. You have taken all the conversation to yourself to night you know I am a moderate man in my principles but I shall try to open your eyes a little on that subject. I only ask a few minutes.

Ay but gin ye aince begin nae body kens where or when you are to end. Tapetoury you rascal set plenty of whisky on the table and the kettle at the cheek o' the ingle here. An' d'ye hear? Bring up the fine red nightcap wi' the white top lest I should be obliged to favour the company wi' a sleep.

Now you see gentlemen in the first place that the Duke of Wellington Sir Robert Peel and all the leading conservatives have acquiesced in the necessity of these coercive measures which I have been delighted to see. That when any thing relating to the good or the peace of our country was at stake all party feelings were laid aside. Whether do you think they or we are the best judges? And moreover consider this (extract here)<sup>15</sup> Shep. sings through his sleep) "O never lead a bad minstrel Fly"<sup>16</sup>

I stand rebuked Shepherd. I shall stop. But as politics is not your forte for you are a prejudiced and shallow politician I beg that you will change the subject and give us a love or a pastoral song.<sup>17</sup>

Od sir I'm a very deep politician. But however I'll gie ye a sang a very auld ane &c (Gin ye meet &c)

"Gin ye meet a bonny lassie,  
 Gie her a kiss an' let her gae;  
 But gin ye meet a dirty hussy,  
 Fy gae rub her ower wi' strae.  
 Nought is like a bonny lassie,  
 Brisk an' bonny, blithe and gay;  
 But gin ye meet a dirty hussy,  
 Fy gae rub her ower wi' strae.

Be sure ye dinna quat the grip  
 O' ilka joy while ye are young,  
 Afore auld age your veetals nip,  
 An' lay ye twafauld ower a rung.  
 But look out for a bonny lassie,  
 Brisk an' bonny, blithe an' gay;  
 But gin ye meet a dirty hussy,  
 Fy gae rub her ower wi' strae.

Auld age an' youth hae joys apart,  
 An' though they dinna weel combine,  
 The honest, kind, an' gratefu' heart  
 Will aye be blithe like yours an' mine.  
 But nought is like a bonny lassie,  
 Dearer gift Heav'n never gae;  
 But gin ye meet a dirty hussy,  
 Fy gae rub her ower wi' strae.

O but Mr Hogg the thing that I like best to hear about is London and the parliament house.

Why my dear sir London is an endless job an' as for the parliament house if ever ye gang there dinna out o' pride use interest to get yoursel placed amang the members below the gallery as I did ae night. There was I placed sittin cockin up fornent the Speaker frae sax o'clock at night till sax o'clock i' the morning an' didna ken how to get out. It turned rather a serious business wi' me an' sickan a bore I never heard about some English burghs which I had never heard of afore. Na na! If ye ever gang in to either the house o' lords or Commons gang into the Reporters' Gallery look

at the system and arrangement o' the house. Get a' the great members pointit out to you. The callants belonging to THE TIMES are very obliging that way at least they were always sae to me an' I popped aye in beside them. Then you can come away when you like up to The British Coffee house where you will never miss to meet some original chaps. But O the whisky toddy's dear! That's the greatest drawback on London. Really now when the West India collonies are ruined at ony rate I dinna see why England shoudna hae liberty to distil her own grain for the gude o' the farmers as weel as Scotland. The articles o' the union are a' broken langsyne.

But what astonished you most in London of all things you saw?

O every thing astonished me but then it was a sort o' painfu' astonishment. For one thing it was far too large and I could not get out of it. Not if I should have died could I get out of it save into some of the parks which were at my door and quite delightful and which I visited with one friend or another every fair afternoon. From Waterloo place into St. James' Park was a step. A delightful walk along the banks of the lovely lake with its islands and variety of water-fowl. Then through the Green park which has nothing very remarkable and into Hyde park where all the nobility and gentry of the kingdom were dashing round and round in their carriages and on horseback if the afternoon was fine. There was one gentleman who often went with me a notable public functionary who knew every livery every lord and lady of quality in London so that I saw all that could be seen. Young Murray went often with me too. A real fine gentlemanly lad but he was short sighted and could not tell me about any body.

O Mr Hogg London was the place for you! I wonder how you could leave it after<sup>18</sup> so much attention being paid to you.

I got quite fat sir I coudna live in London. An' yet I could take nae

meat neither I was just like Wattie Grieve on a journey I lived by suction.

My dear Shepherd I felt for you very much in London. I was afraid that you were far too much exposed to public view as a sort of natural curiosity. While you remained among your native mountains you were veiled in a sort of mystery and the greater part of the world did not believe there was such a being. They saw beautiful songs ballads and romantic tales issuing from a place called Ettrick Forest supposed by many likewise to be an ideal place but no man ever believed these productions to have been the composition truly of a gruff old shepherd. By going to London you broke the charm and became the lion of the day and were shown off to every large party in town like a wild beast of extraordinary dimensions.

Ye're no very far wrang there. I begun to feel that a good deal. But it is a disagreeable subject. We'll drap it if you please. Give us a sang.

(Song Gilfillan)<sup>19</sup>

Now I think if there war ony stramash breedin' amang friends wi' the thaw o' the creature comfort that sang wad pruve an ice-shogle to cool their het.

I beg you will explain that sentence Shepherd. For me it is too ideomatical.

Ideo- what sir if you please?

Matical; matical; Ideomatical. I need not tell you what that means.

Oh! That relates to my braid Scots tongue. That's no sae bad. But ideo is a denominative<sup>20</sup> which I dont like; therefore I beg you will not apply it again either to me or any thing that I say. I have a particular aversion to it like my friend Mr Brooks at daft men. Who sings the next song? M, Rimmon you have the best pipes in Scotland. Blow up! (Is your war-pipe asleep)<sup>21</sup>

"Is your war-pipe asleep, and for ever, M,Rimmon?

Is your war-pipe asleep, and for ever?

Shall the pibroch that welcomed the foe to Ben-Aer

Be hushed when we seek the red wolf in his lair,

To give back our wrongs to the giver?

To the raid and the onslaught our chieftains have gone--

Like the course of the fire-flaught their clansmen pass'd on,

With the lance and the shield 'gainst the foe they have bound them,

And have taken the field with their vassals around them.

Then raise the wild slogan-cry, On to the foray!

Sons of the heather-hill, pine-wood, and glen;

Shout for M'Pherson, M'Leod, and the Moray,

Till the Lomonds re-echo the challenge again.

Youth of the daring heart, bright be thy doom

As the bodings which light up thy bold spirit now;

But the fate of M,Rimmon is closing in gloom,

And the breath of the grey wraith hath pass'd o'er his brow.

Victorious in joy thou'lt return to Ben-Aer,

And be clasp'd to the hearts of thy best beloved there;

But M,Rimmon, M,Rimmon, M,Rimmon shall never--

O never--never--never--never!

Wilt thou shrink from the doom thou can shun not,

Wilt thou shrink from the doom thou can shun not?

If thy course must be brief, let the proud Saxon know

That the soul of M,Rimmon ne'er quail'd when a foe

Bared his blade in the land he had won not.

Where the light-footed roe leaves the wild breeze behind,

And the red heather-bloom gives its sweets to the wind--

There our broad pennon flies, and our keen steeds are prancing

'Mid the startling war-cries, and the bright weapons glancing!

Then raise the wild slogan-cry! On to the foray!

Sons of the heather-hill, pine-wood, and glen;

Shout for M'Pherson, M'Leod, and the Moray,

Till the Lomonds re-echo the challenge again!"<sup>22</sup>

Notes on the Text

- 1 This seems to be Hogg's second draft of the opening of the dialogue: it appears at the end of the manuscript, the opposite way up from the main text. The first draft of the opening appears at the beginning of the manuscript, and reads as follows:

Are we just to be ourselves two to night? I thought our Shepherd had promised

The Shepherd is like Reuben unstage [sic] as water and shall never excel Capricious as the wind on a winter night He will either have forgot his appointment altogether or at least he will pretend he did the next time we meet him

He has been such a stranger here I was wearying much to see him to have some chat with him about the London people He must have some strange out of the way impressions of such a scene and such society.

As the dialogue proceeds Hogg gives himself four interlocutors, instead of the two mentioned here. No doubt he re-drafted the opening of the dialogue in order to introduce all of his companions.

- 2 Hogg originally wrote 'no body else', but this has been changed to 'none else' in a hand which may or may not be Hogg's.
- 3 One of the songs printed in Maginn's paper in Fraser's begins '"Awa, Whigs! awa, Whigs!': and this is clearly the song which Hogg intended to be inserted here. I have therefore supplied this song from Fraser's. In the second last line of the song, Fraser's has 'brasey-mows,'. I have emended this to 'brosey-mows,' as it appears to be a printer's error (cf. the third line of the song).

- 4 The song required here does not appear to have been included by Maginn in his paper in Fraser's.
- 5 The manuscript reads:  
I cannot concieve Shepherd why you should such an antipathy at the Whigs
- 6 The manuscript reads:  
"What is it sir said the Covenanter"
- 7 The manuscript reads:  
renounce the covent
- 8 The manuscript reads:  
Are one of the Whitefeet?
- 9 At this point in the manuscript, Hogg has added as an afterthought between the lines of the text:  
Copy from the Dumfries also from the Liverpool  
Presumably the reference is to newspaper extracts which Hogg sent to Fraser along with his manuscript.
- 10 One of the songs printed in Fraser's begins '"Our Willie was a wanton wag,' and I have supplied the text of this song from the magazine.
- 11 This reading may be incorrect, as this phrase is difficult to decipher in the manuscript.

12 The manuscript reads:

Society of True Highlan [end of line] Of

13 Hogg's reference here is to 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, 2 volumes (Edinburgh, 1819-21). At 'vol 1 pl5' of The Jacobite Relics there appears the song 'Hey, then, up go we', and I have supplied the text of this song from The Jacobite Relics. Maginn prints this traditional Jacobite song (with some omissions and alterations) in his paper in Fraser's.

14 Reading uncertain: the word is difficult to decipher in the manuscript.

15 The 'extract' is now lost.

16 Reading uncertain: the title of the song is difficult to decipher, and this particular song does not appear to have been included in Maginn's paper in Fraser's.

17 This song is included in Maginn's paper, and the text is supplied from Fraser's.

18 The manuscript reads:

leave it after after

19 This song does not appear to have been included in Maginn's paper in Fraser's.

20 The manuscript reads:

is a denomative

21 This song is included in Maginn's paper, and the text is supplied from Fraser's. In Fraser's, the name of the Highland piper in the song is given as 'M'Kimman', but I have emended this to 'M,Rimmon', the form in which the name appears in Hogg's dialogue. In Hogg's hand it is often difficult to distinguish between 'R' and 'K', and 'o' and 'a'. Hogg's authorship of this song has been questioned: see the Appendix below.

22 Maginn prints seven songs in his article in Fraser's, and five of these clearly belong to 'Noctes Ambrosianae New Series No 2'. Presumably the other two songs formed part of the lost 'Noctes Ambrosianae New Series No 1'. It may also be noted that almost all of the dialogue quoted in Maginn's paper is a somewhat modified version of Hogg's description of 'the Beef-stake Club'.

## Appendix

## Authorship of the Songs in 'The Shepherd's Noctes'

Maginn included seven songs in 'The Shepherd's Noctes', the paper which he concocted for Fraser's Magazine from Hogg's two 'Noctes' articles. In Fraser's, the songs are presented as Hogg's own work -- and all of them with the exception of 'Awa, Whigs!' were included in the posthumous edition of Hogg's Poetical Works published by Blackie of Glasgow in five volumes during the years 1838 to 1840. Two of the songs, however, have also been attributed to other writers. Edith Batho provides the following discussion of the seven songs in Maginn's paper in Fraser's:

The second, King Willie, had already appeared in Blackwood's -- Hogg often published the same poem in several magazines -- and the third, Hey, then up we go, had appeared in the Jacobite Relics and is here again disowned by Hogg.

There is some evidence, given by Rogers in his Modern Scottish Minstrel (vol. IV -- in some copies this has the title-page of II -- pp. 115, 166, 271), that Hogg has also been wrongly credited with the fourth, M'Kimmon, and the seventh, Rise! rise! Lowland and Highland Men, and with one of the songs in the Noctes Bengerianae, O saw you this sweet bonnie lassie. The last Hogg disclaims: his Nancy says "a J and an H stand for" the writer's name, but "it is not a song o' our master's"; he may also have disclaimed the others, but Maginn's compression of his Noctes Ambrosianae has left that obscure. According to Rogers, Hogg took copies of the songs when they were sent to him for approval, and after that either returned or lost the originals; and then the copies were found among his papers and taken for his own work. Rogers ascribes M'Kimmon -- in his version M'Crimman -- to George Allen, Rise! rise! to John Imlah, and O saw you to James Home. Rogers's note does not seem to have attracted much attention, for Rise! rise! is given as Hogg's with no remark in Hadden's Story of James Hogg, M'Kimmon in the selections by Mrs Garden and Dr Wallace, and both in the Cambridge History of English Literature. All that can be said is that they are extraordinarily like Hogg at his best, and if they are not his they ought to be.<sup>1</sup>

Dr Batho mentions Hogg's 'Noctes Bengerianae', two articles in the

1 Edith C. Batho, The Ettrick Shepherd (Cambridge, 1927), pp. 102-03.

manner of the 'Noctes Ambrosianae' which were published in The Edinburgh Literary Journal in 1828 and 1829. It is clear that the song 'O saw you' from the 'Noctes Bengerianae' is indeed the work of James Home, as Rogers claims: a manuscript of the song, signed by Home, survives among the Hogg papers at the Alexander Turnbull Library (MS Papers 42 item 100).

Was Rogers also right in attributing one of the Fraser's songs to George Allen, and another to John Imlah? Confirmation of these attributions is provided by an unpublished letter from Hogg to Peter M'Leod, compiler of Original National Melodies of Scotland (London, [1838]). Hogg writes:

Altrive Lake July 25<sup>th</sup> 1833

My dear sir

Though I scarcely ever read far less answer a letter yet some explanation about the songs is absolutely necessary. I wrote a Noctes Ambrosianae for Frazer the dialogue of which was between you Henry Riddell Gilfillan and me and each are made to sing your own songs and explanations are given regarding both authors and composers. But the blockheads not daring to follow up Blackwood left out the dialogue altogether and published only the songs so that the whole of them have been recieved as mine. I wanted to bring them all forward to notice but owing to the absurdity of an editor I have failed and I assure you instead of being an error of heart it was exactly the reverse. I am exceedingly vexed about it but what can I help it? Yet after all it is no disgrace to the young men Allan and Imlay that their songs have been published through all Britain and America as mine

Your's most truly

James Hogg<sup>2</sup>

This letter obviously refers to Maginn's paper in the July 1833 number of Fraser's; and it seems natural to identify 'the young men Allan and Imlay' as the two men named by Rogers, George Allan (1806-35) and John Imlah (1799-1846).<sup>3</sup>

2 National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, OA75 (PSAS VI p.349).

3 See Charles Rogers, The Scottish Minstrel (Edinburgh, 1870), pp. 268-69 and 280-81; this work first appeared in 1855. In the passage quoted above Dr Batho gives Allan's name as 'Allen' -- and she makes similar small slips in the titles of some of the songs.

In his letter to Peter M'Leod, Hogg writes that in his 'Noctes Ambrosianae for Frazer' the dialogue was between 'you Henry Riddell Gilfillan and me'. Gilfillan (presumably the poet Robert Gilfillan) appears in 'Noctes Ambrosianae New Series No 2'. No doubt M'Leod and Riddell (presumably the poet Henry Scott Riddell) made their appearance in the lost 'Noctes Ambrosianae New Series No 1'.

Hogg also assures M'Leod that in the full, unpublished version of his 'Noctes' for Fraser's, 'explanations are given regarding both authors and composers' of the songs. Explanations of this kind do not appear in Alexander Turnbull Library MS Papers 42 item 12 -- but that manuscript does not contain the full text of 'Noctes Ambrosianae New Series No 2', as it contains only the text of the dialogue and not the text of the songs. It may be that the 'explanations' were given in the documents containing the songs. It should also be noted that the first two pages of MS Papers 42 item 12 appear to be missing. The document as it stands runs to twelve pages. The first two pages are unnumbered; the next nine pages are numbered 5 - 13, apparently in Hogg's hand; and the final page is unnumbered. It may be that the first two pages, now lost, contained instructions for the printer, including directions for the insertion of the required 'explanations ... regarding both authors and composers'.

## Chapter X

### Hogg's Prose: an Annotated Listing

In the Chapters above, the textual problems presented by a number of Hogg's more important prose works have been considered in some detail. The present Chapter sets out to survey the whole range of Hogg's prose, by providing an annotated listing of all the surviving texts which are of interest for an editor. The list covers Hogg's manuscripts, where they survive; texts published during Hogg's lifetime; the first publications of works which did not appear in print during Hogg's lifetime; and posthumous printings which appear to incorporate revisions made by Hogg before his death. The survey is restricted to prose works: verse, dramas and correspondence are not included. An Index is provided.

#### I. Books and Pamphlets by Hogg, or with Contributions by Hogg

##### I.1 The Mountain Bard

Hogg's The Mountain Bard; Consisting of Ballads and Songs, Founded on Facts and Legendary Tales was printed in Edinburgh by J. Ballantyne and Co., and was published (in 1807) by 'Arch. Constable and Co. Edinburgh, and John Murray, London'. Published with the encouragement of Scott, the book consists mainly of poems after the manner of the traditional Border ballads. Although a book of verse, it contains one prose work. Entitled 'Memoir of the Life of James Hogg', this is the first published version of Hogg's autobiography.

All 1807 copies of The Mountain Bard appear to be printed from

the same setting of type, but some copies are in the duodecimo format, and others are in the octavo format.<sup>1</sup> Hogg writes that Archibald Constable, the publisher of The Mountain Bard, 'gave me half-guinea copies for all my subscribers';<sup>2</sup> and it seems likely that the book was produced in a more expensive version for subscribers, and in a cheaper version for general sale.

Although both 1807 issues of The Mountain Bard appear to be printed from the same setting of type, it would be necessary for the printer to alter the imposition of the type for the two different formats. As a result, the two 1807 issues differ from each other as far as signatures are concerned. They also differ slightly with regard to pagination. The duodecimo issue begins with 4 unpaginated leaves, containing titlepage, table of contents, etc.; and the 'Memoir' and the main text are given roman and arabic pagination respectively (xxiii, 202). In the octavo issue, the preliminary leaves and the 'Memoir' are brought together in one sequence of roman pagination (xxxii pages), while the main text remains at 202 pages. The slight awkwardness of having a short unpaginated sequence was no doubt removed when the type was re-imposed -- and this suggests that the octavo issue was printed after the duodecimo issue.

## I.2 The Shepherd's Guide

The Shepherd's Guide: Being a Practical Treatise on the Diseases

- 1 On format, see Philip Gaskell, A New Introduction to Bibliography (Oxford, 1972), pp. 80-107.
- 2 Hogg, Memoir of the Author's Life and Familiar Anecdotes of Sir Walter Scott, edited by Douglas S. Mack (Edinburgh and London, 1972), p. 17.

of Sheep, their Causes, and the Best Means of Preventing Them; with Observations on the Most Suitable Farm-Stocking for the Various Climates of this Country was published, like The Mountain Bard, in 1807. Again like The Mountain Bard, it was printed by Ballantyne, and published by Archibald Constable in Edinburgh and John Murray in London. It is a substantial octavo volume, running to vi, 338 pages.

The Shepherd's Guide contains some twenty-seven chapters on such subjects as 'Scab', 'Diseases incident to Lambs', 'Thwarter-ill', and 'Pelt-rot', as well as translations from the French of three short works on sheep (two by 'M. Daubenton' and one by 'M. Vitet', the translator being named as 'Mr James Amos of London, now studying at the university of Edinburgh'). The book also includes Hogg's 'An Essay on the Utility of Encouraging the System of Sheep-farming in Some Districts of the Highlands, and Population in Others. Addressed to the Honourable President and Members of the Highland Society'. The Shepherd's Guide has never been reprinted.

As is perhaps natural, Hogg's literary critics have not devoted much attention to his 'practical treatise on the diseases of sheep': not many critics are qualified to judge the merits of a technical account of thwarter-ill. However, the essay addressed to the Highland Society interestingly complements Hogg's accounts of his Highland tours (see Chapter I, above), and should certainly be included in any complete edition of Hogg's literary works. Indeed, the book as a whole has its own particular kind of interest, and a case could be made for including it in its entirety in such an edition.

### I.3 The Long Pack

This story first appeared in 1817 as an anonymous chapbook, 'Printed for John Bell on the Quay, Newcastle'. It was reprinted various times in chapbook form (see Edith C. Batho, The Ettrick Shepherd (Cambridge, 1927), pp. 196-97), and was included in Hogg's Winter Evening Tales (1820) and Tales and Sketches (1837).

### I.4 To the Editor of the Glasgow Chronicle

This pamphlet, published in Edinburgh in 1818, was written in support of William Blackwood, when Hogg became involved in a quarrel between Blackwood and a Glasgow Whig named Douglas. It has never been reprinted.

### I.5 The Brownie of Bodsbeck

Hogg's first extensive work of prose fiction, The Brownie of Bodsbeck; and Other Tales was published in two volumes in 1818 by William Blackwood in Edinburgh, in partnership with John Murray in London. The Brownie of Bodsbeck (discussed in Chapter II above) was reprinted in Tales and Sketches (1837). The 'other tales' published with The Brownie in 1818 were 'The Wool-gatherer' and 'The Hunt of Eildon'. 'The Wool-gatherer' had previously appeared in February 1811 in Hogg's periodical The Spy under the title 'The Country Laird', but 'The Hunt of Eildon' had not previously been published. Like The Brownie of Bodsbeck itself, both the shorter

tales were reprinted in the 1837 Tales and Sketches. The manuscript of The Brownie survives among the Blackwood Papers at the National Library of Scotland (MS 4806), but is incomplete.

#### I.6 Winter Evening Tales (first edition)

This work was published in Edinburgh in 1820 by Oliver & Boyd, in partnership with G. & W.B. Whittaker of London. It occupies two volumes, and its full title is Winter Evening Tales, Collected Among the Cottagers in the South of Scotland. The work proved popular, and a second edition followed in 1821. The contents of both editions are discussed in entry I.7 below.

#### I.7 Winter Evening Tales (second edition)

In the second edition of Winter Evening Tales (1821), the title and publishing partnership remained the same as in the first edition of 1820 (entry I.6 above). The same works were included in both editions, but Hogg's correspondence with Oliver & Boyd shows that he revised the first volume (but not the second volume), and sent his revisions to the publishers for inclusion in the second edition.<sup>3</sup> Variant readings in the first volume of the second edition, therefore, are likely to be of particular interest for an editor.

Most of the works in Winter Evening Tales are in prose, but poems are also included. These are 'Halbert of Lyne' (vol. 1, pp. 158-71), 'King Gregory' (vol.2, pp. 136-52) and 'Country Dreams and

<sup>3</sup> See pp. 117-18, above.

( I.7) Apparitions. No II. Connel of Dee' (vol. 2, pp. 204-22). For these, and for the prose works which are listed below, the page references given apply to both editions of Winter Evening Tales.

Prose works (vol. 1)

'The Renowned Adventures of Basil Lee' (pp. 1-99)

This is a greatly extended version of 'The Danger of Changing Occupations,--Verified in the Life of a Berwick-Shire Farmer',<sup>4</sup> which had been published in September 1810 in Hogg's periodical The Spy. The expanded Winter Evening Tales version was included (as 'The Adventures of Basil Lee') in the third volume of the 1837 Tales and Sketches.

'Adam Bell' (pp. 99-104)

In April 1811 Hogg's periodical The Spy included a story entitled 'Dangerous Consequences of the Love of Fame, When Ill Directed--Exemplified by the Remarkable Story of Mr. Bell'. This story commences with some moral reflections of a kind appropriate in an essay-periodical like The Spy, modelled on such works as The Spectator and The Rambler. 'Adam Bell' in Winter Evening Tales omits these moral reflections, but otherwise follows the text of the story in The Spy with comparatively minor variations. 'Adam Bell' was later included in the third volume of the 1837 Tales and Sketches.

'Duncan Campbell' (pp. 105-29)

Once again, this story had previously appeared in The Spy (in August

<sup>4</sup> Here, as elsewhere, the title is taken from the table of contents in The Spy as no title is given with the main text.

(I.7) 1811). In The Spy the story is given the title 'History of the Life of Duncan Campbell, his Difficulties, Escapes, Rencounter with a Ghost and Other Adventures'. The Winter Evening Tales text does not appear to differ significantly from that of The Spy. Chapbook printings followed the publication of the story in Winter Evening Tales (see entry I.8 below), and it appeared as 'Duncan and his Dog' in The Schoolmaster for 29 June 1833 (pp. 409-15). The story also appears in the third volume of the 1837 Tales and Sketches.

'An Old Soldier's Tale' (pp. 129-41)

Published for the first time in Winter Evening Tales, this story was not published again during Hogg's lifetime, but was included in the third volume of the posthumous Tales and Sketches of 1837. The story was offered to William Blackwood in 1818 for Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, but was rejected (see National Library of Scotland MS 4003, ff. 93-94).

'Highland Adventures' (pp. 141-57)

This is a somewhat revised version of 'Malise's Journey to the Trossacks', which appeared in The Spy in June 1811. It has not been reprinted since its appearance in Winter Evening Tales.

'The Long Pack' (pp. 171-85)

See entry I.3 above.

## (I.7) 'A Peasant's Funeral' (pp. 185-90)

This is a reprinting of 'Description of a Peasant's Funeral' from The Spy for 17 November 1810, where it is given as being 'by John Miller' (Hogg's country persona in that periodical). It is included in the third volume of the 1837 Tales and Sketches, as 'A Country Funeral'.

## 'Dreadful Story of Macpherson' (pp. 190-94)

A reprinting, with minor variants, of 'Dreadful Narrative of the Death of Major MacPherson', which was published in The Spy for 24 November 1810. It has not been reprinted since its appearance in Winter Evening Tales.

## 'Story of Two Highlanders' (pp. 194-97)

This reprints 'Story of Two Highlanders' from The Spy for 22 December 1810. (The title given in the table of contents in The Spy is 'Amusing Story of Two Highlanders', but the shorter title is given with the text itself.) It was reprinted as 'The Highlanders and the Boar' in Johnstone's Edinburgh Magazine, 1 (1833-1834), 60; and again as 'The Two Highlanders' in the fourth volume of the 1837 Tales and Sketches.

## 'Maria's Tale. Written by Herself' (pp. 198-207)

Here again Hogg draws on The Spy, where 'Maria's Tale' had appeared in the number for 26 January 1811, the title (from the table of contents) being 'Affecting Narrative of a Country Girl--Reflections on the Evils of Seduction'. The two texts do

(I.7) not appear to differ significantly from each other. The story has never been reprinted since its appearance in Winter Evening Tales.

'Singular Dream, from a Correspondent' (pp. 208-217)

This is a reprinting of 'Evil Speaking Rediculed [sic] by an Allegorical Dream, &c.--Its Injurious Tendency--Character of Adam Bryden', which appeared in The Spy for 27 July 1811. The Winter Evening Tales text contains some minor revisions, some of which remove references to The Spy. The story has never been reprinted since its appearance in Winter Evening Tales. An inscription by Hogg in the St Andrews University Library copy of The Spy suggests that Hogg shared authorship of this story with the Rev. John Gray.

'Love Adventures of Mr George Cochrane' (pp. 217-303)

A greatly expanded version of a work from The Spy, this story has never been reprinted since its appearance in Winter Evening Tales. The short version was published in The Spy for 15 December 1810, and was given the title 'Misery of an Old Batchelor--Happiness of the Married State--Two Stories of Love and Courtship'. In his Memoir of the Author's Life, Hogg writes that 'those who desire to peruse my youthful love adventures will find some of the best of them in those of "George Cochrane"'.<sup>5</sup>

5 Hogg, Memoir of the Author's Life and Familiar Anecdotes of Sir Walter Scott, edited by D. S. Mack (Edinburgh & London, 1972), p. 54.

(I.7) 'Country Dreams and Apparitions. No I. John Gray o'  
Middleholm' (pp. 303-40)

This work was printed for the first time in Winter Evening Tales, and it has never been reprinted since.

Prose works (vol. 2)

'The Bridal of Polmood' (pp. 1-136)

Printed for the first time in Winter Evening Tales, this story was reprinted (without the first, introductory chapter) in the second volume of the 1837 Tales and Sketches. The poem 'King Gregory' follows 'The Bridal of Polmood' in Winter Evening Tales, and the poem seems to be intended to complement the story. Consideration should therefore be given to printing 'King Gregory' along with 'The Bridal of Polmood' in any new edition. 'The Bridal' is mentioned as a completed work in a letter from Hogg to Blackwood of 4 January 1817 (National Library of Scotland MS 4002, ff. 153-54).

'The Shepherd's Calendar' (pp. 152-204)

Five chapters are included under the title 'The Shepherd's Calendar' in Winter Evening Tales. The first two chapters are devoted to 'Storms', a work discussed in detail above (see pp. 110-23). The remaining three chapters reprint a work which first appeared in 1817 in the first volume of Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine (pp. 22-25; 143-47; 247-50). In Blackwood's,

(I.7) this work is entitled 'Tales and Anecdotes of the Pastoral Life'. It is reprinted in the 1837 Tales and Sketches as 'A Shepherd's Wedding'. In 1837, it appears in volume 2 along with other works from the second volume of Winter Evening Tales. This suggests that the 1837 text may have been set from a copy of Winter Evening Tales, rather than from Blackwood's volume 1.

'Country Dreams and Apparitions. No III. The Wife of Lochmaben'  
(pp. 223-31)

The number of The Spy for 29 December 1810 contains an article entitled 'Story of the Ghost of Lochmaben' (although in the table of contents, 'Ghost' appears as 'Host'). The same story is told in both versions, but the Winter Evening Tales version is completely re-written. The Winter Evening Tales text is reprinted in the second volume of the 1837 Tales and Sketches, as 'Country Dreams and Apparitions. No. I. The Wife of Lochmaben'.

'Country Dreams and Apparitions. No IV. Cousin Mattie' (pp.231-43)

Published for the first time in Winter Evening Tales, this story was reprinted in the second volume of the 1837 Tales and Sketches as 'No. II. Cousin Mattie'.

'Country Dreams and Apparitions. No V. Welldean Hall' (pp. 243-321)

Like 'Cousin Mattie', 'Welldean Hall' was published for the first time in Winter Evening Tales. It appeared in the second volume

(I.7) of the 1837 Tales and Sketches as 'No. III. Welldean Hall'.

'Country Dreams and Apparitions. No VI. Tibby Johnston's Wraith'  
(pp. 322-35)

Published for the first time in Winter Evening Tales, this story was reprinted in the second volume of the 1837 Tales and Sketches as 'No. IV. Tibby Johnston's Wraith'.

I.8 The History of Duncan Campbell, and his Dog, Oscar. From Hogg's Evening Tales

A chapbook reprint of 'Duncan Campbell' from Winter Evening Tales, published in Glasgow in 1821 by Robert Hutchison.

Another chapbook printing (of 1824) is recorded in Edith C. Batho, The Ettrick Shepherd (Cambridge, 1927), p. 199. There may well have been other chapbook versions.

I.9 The Mountain Bard ('third edition')

Two issues of the first edition of The Mountain Bard were published in 1807 (I.1 above), and a 'third edition, greatly enlarged' was published in Edinburgh in 1821 by Oliver and Boyd, in partnership with G. and W.B. Whittaker, of London. The 1821 edition contains an extended version of Hogg's autobiography, 'Memoir of the Life of James Hogg'.

I.10 The Three Perils of Man

This novel was published in London in three volumes by Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown. It appeared in 1822, and its full title was The Three Perils of Man: or, War, Women, and Witchcraft. A Border Romance. It is discussed in detail in Chapter III above.

I.11 The Three Perils of Woman

This three-volume work was published in London in 1823 by Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green. Its full title is The Three Perils of Woman; or, Love, Leasing, and Jealousy, a Series of Domestic Scottish Tales. A French translation appeared in Paris in 1825, but it has never been reprinted in English.

I.12 The Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner

Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green published this one-volume novel in London in 1824. Its full title is The Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner: Written by Himself: with a Detail of Curious Traditionary Facts, and Other Evidence, by the Editor; and it is discussed in detail in Chapter IV above.

I.13 The Shepherd's Calendar

This two-volume collection of short prose works by Hogg was published in Edinburgh in 1829 by William Blackwood in partnership

with T. Cadell of London. It is discussed in detail in Chapter V above.

#### I.14 Critical Remarks on the Psalms of David

The number of The Edinburgh Literary Journal for 13 March 1830 contains an article by Hogg entitled 'A Letter from Yarrow. The Scottish Psalmody Defended' (vol. 3, pp. 162-63). Hogg writes in response to an earlier article by William Tennant; and both articles were published in Edinburgh in 1830 by Constable and Co., in the form of a pamphlet entitled Critical Remarks on the Psalms of David, and their Various English and Latin Versions; particularly on the Version Now Used in our Scottish Church, with a View to its Emendation.

#### I.15 The Club Book

The Club Book, Being Original Tales, &c. by Various Authors was published in London by Cochrane and Pickersgill in three volumes in 1831. It was edited by Andrew Picken, and contains two contributions by Hogg: 'The Laidlaws and the Scotts. A Border Tradition' (vol. III, pp. 143-64); and 'The Bogle o' the Brae. A Queer Courting Story' (vol. III, pp. 231-64). Both stories were printed for the first time in The Club Book. 'The Laidlaws and the Scotts' has never been reprinted, and 'The Bogle o' the Brae' was not reprinted until 1876 (see Edith C. Batho, The Ettrick Shepherd (Cambridge, 1927), p. 212).

## I.16 Altrive Tales

Hogg visited London in 1832 with a view to arranging the publication of a collected edition of his works. Unfortunately, only one volume of the projected series appeared because the publisher, James Cochrane, became bankrupt. The volume which did appear bore the title Altrive Tales; Collected Among the Peasantry of Scotland, and from Foreign Adventurers; and it was published in London in 1832 by James Cochrane and Co. A reissue with a new titlepage was published in 1835, when Cochrane resumed business briefly before going bankrupt once again.<sup>6</sup> Altrive Tales contains four prose works, which are discussed in turn below.

### 'Memoir of the Author's Life'

This is a revised and expanded version of Hogg's autobiography, previously published in The Mountain Bard (I.1 and I.9 above). The Altrive Tales 'Memoir' also incorporates two articles which had previously appeared in The Edinburgh Literary Journal: 'Reminiscences of Former Days. My First Interview with Allan Cunningham' (1 (1829), 374-75); and 'Reminiscences of Former Days. My First Interview with Sir Walter Scott' (2 (1829), 51-52). Some minor changes are made to the words of both articles in the Altrive Tales reprintings, and in addition a long passage on Scott's exceptional memory is added to the Scott article.

### 'The Adventures of Captain John Lochy, Written by Himself'

Published for the first time in Altrive Tales, this story has never

<sup>6</sup> See Douglas S. Mack, 'James Hogg's "Altrive Tales": an 1835 Reissue', The Bibliothek, 5 (1969), 210-11.

been reprinted.

'The Pongos: a Letter from Southern Africa'

A reprinting of 'A Singular Letter from Southern Africa', which had appeared in Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, 26 (1829), 809-16. It has not been reprinted since Altrive Tales.

'Marion's Jock'

One of the tales into which Hogg intended to split his novel The Three Perils of Man: see Chapter III above.

I.17 Familiar Anecdotes of Sir Walter Scott

Published in New York in 1834: see Chapter VIII above.

I.18 The Domestic Manners and Private Life of Sir Walter Scott

The British reprint of I.17: see Chapter VIII above.

I.19 A Series of Lay Sermons

A Series of Lay Sermons on Good Principles and Good Breeding was published in London by James Fraser in 1834. It includes eleven 'sermons' (all previously unpublished) on such subjects as 'Reason and Instinct', 'Marriage', 'Reviewers' and 'Deistical Reformers'. Hogg's sermons have never been reprinted.

I.20 The Works of Robert Burns

The Works of Robert Burns. Edited by the Ettrick Shepherd, and William Motherwell, Esq. was published in Glasgow by Archibald Fullarton and Co. in five volumes during the period 1834-1836. Hogg contributed various notes to Burns's poems, and also a substantial 'Memoir of Burns' which occupies pages 1-263 of volume 5. This edition of Burns was reprinted several times after Hogg's death, but the 'Memoir of Burns' (a work of considerable interest) has never been reprinted in a collection of Hogg's works.

I.21 Tales of the Wars of Montrose

James Cochrane, publisher of Altrive Tales (I.16 above), resumed business in 1835 after his bankruptcy; and in that year he published in London Hogg's Tales of the Wars of Montrose. This three-volume collection consists of six prose works, which are discussed in turn below.

'Some Remarkable Passages in the Life of an Edinburgh Baillie, Written by Himself'

This work occupies the whole of the first volume of Tales of the Wars of Montrose (pp. 1-297). Although its first publication came in 1835 in Tales of the Wars of Montrose, the 'Edinburgh Baillie' had been completed in March 1826 (see Hogg's letter to Scott of 4 March 1826, National Library of Scotland MS 3902, ff. 105-06). The 'Edinburgh Baillie' was included in the fifth volume of the 1837 Tales and Sketches: Hogg's manuscript survives at the Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

(I.21)

## 'The Adventures of Colonel Peter Aston'

This work was published for the first time in Tales of the Wars of Montrose, in which it occupies pages 1-115 of the second volume. Like the 'Edinburgh Baillie', it seems to have been completed long before its first publication. In his letter to Scott of 4 March 1826, Hogg writes:

I have yesterday finished a small work of between 200 & 300 pages entitled "Some remarkable passages in the life of an Edinburgh Baillie" It is on the plan of several of De Foe's works I think you will like it. I have likewise a "Life of Colonel Aston" by me, a gentleman of the same period but it is more romantic and not so natural as the former. Another life will make two vols 12mo (National Library of Scotland MS 3902, ff. 105-06)

When in 1830 he was invited to contribute to The Club Book (I.15 above), Hogg replied to Andrew Picken as follows in a letter of 11 December 1830:

Along with this you will receive "The Adventures of Colonel Peter Aston" which I wrote five years ago to form part of a work of two volumes but I never got farther than this and another tale. I have not read this over to day but I remember of thinking rather well of it at the time. No body ever saw it but Dr Moir (Delta) who read it and will recognise it at first sight (Alexander Turnbull Library MS Papers 42 item 75a)

Much to Hogg's fury, Picken did not include 'Peter Aston' in The Club Book, but instead included a tale of his own based on the incidents of Hogg's story.<sup>7</sup> Thus it was that 'Peter Aston' remained unpublished until 1835. The story then appeared in the sixth volume of the 1837 Tales and Sketches. Hogg's manuscript survives at the library of The King's School, Canterbury.

<sup>7</sup> See Hogg's letters to Blackwood of 1 October 1831, 24 October 1831 and 2 November 1831 (National Library of Scotland MS 4029, ff. 262-67); and Blackwood's letter to Hogg of 15 October 1831 (National Library of Scotland MS Acc. 5643, vol. B9, pp. 242-43).

(I.21)

## 'Julia M'Kenzie'

Hogg's story 'A Horrible Instance of the Effects of Clanship' was published in Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, 28 (1830), 680-87.

A revised version entitled 'Julia M'Kenzie' then appeared in 1835 in the second volume of Tales of the Wars of Montrose; and this revised version was reprinted in the fifth volume of the 1837 Tales and Sketches.

## 'A Few Remarkable Adventures of Sir Simon Brodie'

Published for the first time in Tales of the Wars of Montrose (vol. 2, pp.165-274), this work has never been reprinted. Hogg writes to William Blackwood in a letter of 1 October 1831:

I send you The Life of Colonel Aston which you once read before. You know it was written originally for a volume of lives of great men An Edin<sup>r</sup> Baillie Sir Simon Brodie and Col. Peter Aston (National Library of Scotland MS 4029, ff. 262-63)

Hogg's manuscript of 'A Few Remarkable Adventures of Sir Simon Brodie' survives at the Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

## 'Wat Pringle o' the Yair'

This story appeared for the first time in 1835 in Tales of the Wars of Montrose (vol. 3, pp.1-95), and a greatly shortened version was included as the final item in the sixth and final volume of the 1837 Tales and Sketches. It is tempting to suppose that the cuts in the 1837 text were made by the publishers in order to allow the

story to fit into the remaining space in the final volume of their collected edition.

### 'Mary Montgomery'

The first appearance of 'Mary Montgomery' in print was in the third volume of Tales of the Wars of Montrose (pp. 97-258); and the story was reprinted as the first item in the sixth volume of the 1837 Tales and Sketches.

#### I.22 Tales and Sketches

The posthumous collected edition of Hogg's Tales and Sketches published in 1837 in six volumes by Blackie and Son of Glasgow contains two previously unpublished works which fall within the scope of the present list. These are 'The Surpassing Adventures of Allan Gordon' (vol. 1, pp. 241-316); and 'Gordon the Gipsy' (vol. 6, pp. 324-34). Of these two works, 'The Surpassing Adventures of Allan Gordon' is of particular interest for the editor as Hogg's manuscript survives at the National Library of Scotland (MS 1870). The National Library's catalogue of manuscripts indicates that the published text in Tales and Sketches is an abbreviated version of the manuscript.

The 1837 Blackie edition claims (in the 'Advertisement' in volume 1) to include revisions made by Hogg during the final years of his life. This claim appears to have some substance, at least as far as The Brownie of Bodsbeck and 'The Siege of Roxburgh' are concerned (see

Chapters II and III above). However, the evidence we have examined (particularly in Chapter II) indicates that Tales and Sketches also contains revisions for which Hogg was not responsible.

Some excellent prose works by Hogg did not find their way into Tales and Sketches. These include the Highland tours; 'Love Adventures of Mr George Cochrane'; 'John Gray o' Middleholm'; The Three Perils of Woman; 'Strange Letter of a Lunatic'; 'The Barber of Duncow'; 'Memoir of Burns'; and 'A Few Remarkable Adventures of Sir Simon Brodie'. Many other examples could be given -- but a case for regarding Hogg as a writer of considerable interest could be made, even if he had written nothing but the few works named above.

Furthermore, Tales and Sketches provides thoroughly unsatisfactory texts of several of the works it does include -- notably The Brownie of Bodsbeck, The Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner, and The Shepherd's Calendar. All the various Victorian collections of Hogg's prose were derived from Tales and Sketches. In the light of this, it is not surprising that Hogg's reputation declined substantially during the Victorian period.

#### I.23 A Tour in the Highlands in 1803

For this work (first published by Alexander Gardner in Paisley in 1888) see Chapter I above.

#### I.24 Anecdotes of Sir W. Scott

For this work (first published by Scottish Academic Press in Edinburgh in 1983) see Chapter VIII above.

## II. Hogg's Contributions to Periodicals

### II.1 The Scots Magazine (later The Edinburgh Magazine)

Hogg's prose contributions to The Scots Magazine may be listed as follows:

- 1 'A Journey Through the Highlands of Scotland, in the Months of July and August 1802, in a Series of Letters to ----, Esq.', 64 (1802), 813-18, 956-63; 65 (1803), 89-95, 251-54, 312-14, 382-86.
- 2 'Letters on Poetry', 67 (1805), 352-54; 68 (1806), 17-18.
- 3 'Journal of an Excursion into the Counties of Stirling, Perth, and Kinross', 67 (1805), 664-68, 757-60, 835-38.
- 4 'A Journey Through the Highlands and Western Isles, in the Summer of 1804.--In a Series of Letters to a Friend', 70 (1808), 423-26, 569-72, 672-74, 735-38, 809-11; 71 (1809), 14-17, 99-101, 181-84.
- 5 'The History of Rose Selby', 74 (1812), 179-83.

Following the establishment of Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, The Scots Magazine changed its title to The Edinburgh Magazine. I am grateful to Dr Gillian Hughes for drawing my attention to Hogg's contributions to The Edinburgh Magazine.

- 6 'Letter from Mr James Hogg, with Specimens of Jacobite Relics, not Hitherto Published', 9 (1821), 439-43.
- 7 'Pictures of Country Life. No. I. Old Isaac', 9 (1821), 219-25.
- 8 'Pictures of Country Life. No. II. Continued from p. 219', 9 (1821), 443-52.

## (II.1)

- 9 'Pictures of Country Life. No. III. Continued from p.452. The School of Misfortune', 9 (1821), 583-89.
- 10 'Hints for Keeping the Sabbath', 10 (1822), 205-09.

Items 2,3,5 and 6 in the above list were printed for the first time in The Scots Magazine (or The Edinburgh Magazine), and have never been reprinted. Item 4 also made its first appearance in The Scots Magazine, and has been reprinted only once -- in James Hogg, Highland Tours, edited by William F. Laughlan (Hawick, 1981). Item 1 is discussed in Chapter I above; and items 7, 8 and 9 are discussed in Chapter V above (pp. 99-104). Item 10 has never been reprinted, but is derived from an earlier article by Hogg: 'Satirical Directions to Every Class in Edinburgh, in what Manner to Keep the Sabbath', The Spy (30 March 1811), 241-46.

II.2 The Spy

Hogg's essay-periodical The Spy was published in Edinburgh from 1 September 1810 until 24 August 1811. The following prose contributions by Hogg were published for the first time in The Spy, and have never been reprinted:

- 1 'The Spy's Account of Himself', 1 September 1810.<sup>8</sup>
- 2 'Mr. Shuffleton's Allegorical Survey of the Scottish Poets of the Present Day', 8 September 1810; 29 September 1810; 3 November 1810.

<sup>8</sup> Titles are taken (sometimes in a shortened form) from the general table of contents of The Spy, when no title is given with the text. Page references are not given, because the page numbering of The Spy is erratic and because articles can be found by the date of the number in which they appear.

## (II.2)

- 3 'To the Spy' [Letter signed 'Alice Brand'], 13 October 1810.
- 4 'To the Spy' [Letter signed 'Fanny Lively'], 13 October 1810.
- 5 'The Spy's Encounter with John Miller', 17 November 1810.
- 6 'Remarks on the Edinburgh Company of Players', 24 November 1810.
- 7 'A Dialogue in the Reading Room', 29 December 1810.
- 8 'New Year Paper', 5 January 1811.
- 9 'Solomon's Comical Letter to the Spy', 27 April 1811.
- 10 'On the Principle of Curiosity', 4 May 1811.
- 11 'Singularity Censured', 25 May 1811.
- 12 'To the Spy' [Letter signed 'Christian Capias'] , 22 June 1811.
- 13 'The Spy's Farewell to his Readers', 24 August 1811.

In addition, a number of prose items by Hogg which appeared for the first time in The Spy were later included in Winter Evening Tales -- in some cases with considerable revisions. These works (which are discussed in detail in entry I.7 above) may be listed as follows:

- 1 'The Danger of Changing Occupations,--Verified in the Life of a Berwick-Shire Farmer', 15 September 1810; 22 September 1810.
- 2 'Description of a Peasant's Funeral, by John Miller', 17 November 1810.

(II.2)

- 3 'Dreadful Narrative of the Death of Major MacPherson', 24  
November 1810.
- 4 'Misery of an Old Batchelor--Happiness of the Married State--  
Two Stories of Love and Courtship', 15 December 1810.
- 5 'Story of Two Highlanders', 22 December 1810.
- 6 'Story of the Ghost of Lochmaben', 29 December 1810.
- 7 'Affecting Narrative of a Country Girl--Reflections on the  
Evils of Seduction', 26 January 1811.
- 8 'Dangerous Consequences of the Love of Fame, When Ill Directed--  
Exemplified by the Remarkable Story of Mr. Bell', 27 April 1811.
- 9 'Malise's Journey to the Trossacks', 1 June 1811; 29 June 1811.
- 10 'Evil Speaking Rediculed [sic] by an Allegorical Dream, &c.--  
Its Injurious Tendency--Character of Adam Bryden', 27 July 1811.
- 11 'History of the Life of Duncan Campbell, his Difficulties, Escapes,  
Rencounter with a Ghost and Other Adventures', 3 August 1811;  
17 August 1811.

Hogg made three other contributions to The Spy which fall within the scope of the present list. These are:

- 1 'The Country Laird', 9 February 1811; 16 February 1811; 23  
February 1811.

A revised version of this story was published in 1818 in Hogg's The Brownie of Bodsbeck; and Other Tales (see I.5 above). The

## (II.2)

1818 version has the title 'The Wool-gatherer'.

- 2 'On the Folly of Anger and Impatience under Misfortunes--  
Several Living Characters Contrasted--Tale of Old Gregory and  
his Daughter', 16 March 1811.

An extensively revised version of this article from The Spy  
was published in the December 1821 number of The Edinburgh  
Magazine (see Chapter V above, pp. 102-04).

- 3 'Satirical Directions to Every Class in Edinburgh, in what  
Manner to Keep the Sabbath', 30 March 1811.

This article reappeared as 'Hints for Keeping the Sabbath' in  
1822 in The Edinburgh Magazine (see II.1, above).

### II.3 Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine

Several of Hogg's contributions to Blackwood's are associated  
with the 'Shepherd's Calendar' series, and these contributions  
are discussed in detail in Chapter V above. They may be listed  
as follows:

- 1 'Further Anecdotes of the Shepherd's Dog', 2 (1818), 621-26.
- 2 'The Shepherd's Calendar. Storms', 5 (1819), 75-81 and 210-16.
- 3 'The Shepherd's Calendar. Class Second. Deaths, Judgments, and  
Providences', 13 (1823), 311-20.
- 4 'The Shepherd's Calendar. Class Second. Deaths, Judgments, and  
Providences', 13 (1823), 629-40.

(II.3)

- 5 'The Shepherd's Calendar. Class IV. Dogs', 15 (1824), 177-83.
- 6 'The Shepherd's Calendar. Class V. The Lasses', 15 (1824),  
296-304.
- 7 'The Shepherd's Calendar. General Anecdotes', 21 (1827), 434-48.
- 8 'The Shepherd's Calendar. Dreams and Apparitions', 21 (1827),  
549-62.
- 9 'The Shepherd's Calendar. Dreams and Apparitions. Part II',  
21 (1827), 664-76.
- 10 'The Shepherd's Calendar. Dreams and Apparitions, Containing  
Smithy Cracks, &c. Part III', 22 (1827), 64-73.
- 11 'The Shepherd's Calendar. Dreams and Apparitions. -- Part IV',  
22 (1827), 173-85.
- 12 'The Marvellous Doctor', 22 (1827), 349-61.
- 13 'The Shepherd's Calendar. Class IX. Fairies, Brownies, and  
Witches', 23 (1828), 214-27.
- 14 'The Shepherd's Calendar. Class IX. Fairies, Deils, and Witches',  
23 (1828), 509-19.
- 15 'A Strange Secret', 23 (1828), 822-26.
- 16 'The Brownie of the Black Haggs', 24 (1828), 489-96.

In addition to these works associated with 'The Shepherd's Calendar', Hogg made a large number of other prose contributions to Blackwood's. These

## (II.3)

articles may be listed as follows:

- 1 'Tales and Anecdotes of the Pastoral Life', 1 (1817), 22-25;  
143-47; 247-50.  
  
Reprinted as part of 'The Shepherd's Calendar' in Winter Evening Tales. See entry I.7 above (pp. 225-26).
- 2 'Translation from an ancient Chaldee Manuscript', 2 (1817), 89-96.  
  
The published version was extensively revised by John Wilson and John Gibson Lockhart, but Hogg's original manuscript survives as part of National Library of Scotland MS 4807. In MS 4807 various related documents are to be found, including corrected and uncorrected galley and page proofs of the 'Chaldee Manuscript'; and Hogg's manuscript of 'The Boar', an apparently unpublished continuation of the 'Chaldee Manuscript'. 'Translation from an ancient Chaldee Manuscript' has never been reprinted in a collection of Hogg's works.
- 3 'A Letter to Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, Esq. on his Original Mode of Editing Church History', 2 (1817), 305-09.  
  
Signed 'M. M.', but in fact by Hogg (see Alan Lang Strout, A Bibliography of Articles in Blackwood's Magazine Volumes I Through XVIII 1817-1825 (Lubbock, Texas, 1959), p. 33). Hogg's letter, which has never been reprinted, is a powerful expression of his views on the Covenanters and on 'superficial delicacy and unwarrantable refinement'.
- 4 'Letter from the Ettrick Shepherd', 6 (1820), 630-32.  
  
Never reprinted. Another article of the same title (6 (1820), 390-93) is not in fact by Hogg. See Strout, A Bibliography, p.63.

## (II.3)

- 5 'Letter from James Hogg to his Reviewer', 8 (1820), 67-76.  
Never reprinted.
- 6 'The Honourable Captain Napier and Ettrick Forest', 13 (1823);  
175-88.  
Never reprinted. Hogg's manuscript survives at the Alexander  
Turnbull Library, Wellington (MS Papers 42 item 9). The final  
paragraph in the printed version is not in the manuscript,  
and does not appear to be by Hogg.
- 7 'A Scots Mummy. To Sir Christopher North', 14 (1823), 188-90.  
For a discussion of this work, see pp. 82-86 above.
- 8 'Some Passages in the Life of Colonel Cloud. In a Letter by  
the Ettrick Shepherd, to the Hon. Mrs A--r--y', 18 (1825), 32-40.  
Never reprinted.
- 9 'Trials of Temper', 23 (1828), 40-46.  
In 1865, Blackie and Son published a two-volume edition of The  
Works of the Ettrick Shepherd, edited by the Rev. Thomas  
Thomson. Volume one is devoted to Hogg's prose, and volume two  
to his poetry. The prose volume is based on the Tales and Sketches  
of 1837, but there are some textual revisions by Thomson, and a  
few works are deleted and a few works are added. 'Trials of  
Temper' is one of those added: it was reprinted for the first  
time in the Works of 1865.
- 10 'Mary Melrose', 25 (1829), 411-20.  
Never reprinted.

## (II.3)

- 11 'Sound Morality', 25 (1829), 741-47.

Like 'Trials of Temper' (item 9 above), this was reprinted for the first time in the Works of 1865.

- 12 'A Tale of the Martyrs', 26 (1829), 289-93.

Reprinted in the 1837 Tales and Sketches.

- 13 'A Letter about Men and Women.--From the Ettrick Shepherd', 26 (1829), 245-50.

This story has never been reprinted, although material from it is used in Hogg's drama 'The Bush Aboon Traquair', published for the first time in the 1837 Tales and Sketches.

- 14 'A Singular Letter from Southern Africa', 26 (1829), 809-16.

Reprinted in 1832 in Altrive Tales (item I.16 above), under the title 'The Pongos: a Letter from Southern Africa'.

- 15 'Some Remarkable Passages in the Remarkable Life of the Baron St Gio', 27 (1830), 891-905.

Reprinted as 'The Baron St Gio' in the 1837 Tales and Sketches.

- 16 'Story of Adam Scott', 28 (1830), 41-46.

Reprinted as 'Adam Scott' in the 1837 Tales and Sketches.

- 17 'A Horrible Instance of the Effects of Clanship', 28 (1830), 680-87.

Reprinted as 'Julia M'Kenzie' in Tales of the Wars of Montrose (item I.21 above).

## (II.3)

- 17 'The Mysterious Bride', 28 (1830), 943-50.

Reprinted in the 1837 Tales and Sketches. Hogg's manuscript survives at the National Library of Scotland as part of MS 4808.

- 18 'A Story of Good Queen Bess', 29 (1831), 579-93.

Like 'Trials of Temper' (item 9 above), this was reprinted for the first time in the Works of 1865. Hogg's manuscript survives at the National Library of Scotland as part of MS 4808.

- 19 'An Awfu' Leein'-like Story', 30 (1831), 448-56.

Never reprinted.

- 20 'A Screed on Politics', 37 (1835), 634-42.

Never reprinted.

#### II.4 The Newcastle Magazine

Hogg made two prose contributions to The Newcastle Magazine:

- 1 'Annals of Sporting. No. I.--John Paterson's Mare', 4 (1825), 3-12.

Never reprinted.

- 2 'The True Art of Reviewing', 6 (1827), 3-7.

This is not in fact by Hogg, although Hogg is given as the author: see 'The Ettrick Shepherd's Plagiarism. To the Editor of the Newcastle Magazine', The Newcastle Magazine, 7 (1828), 499-500.

Here it is asserted that 'The True Art of Reviewing' is a 'most gross plagiarism from the Rambler and the Idler' of Dr Johnson;

## (II.4)

and that the editors of The Newcastle Magazine received the paper 'through a friend', but knew it to be 'in Mr Hogg's handwriting'. Why then did Hogg write out work by Johnson in his own hand? A possible (and innocent) explanation is to be found in the final number of The Spy (24 August 1811), in which Hogg writes with some bitterness of the failure of his periodical:

The learned, the enlightened, and polite circles of this flourishing metropolis, disdained either to be amused or instructed by the ebullitions of humble genius. Enemies, swelling with the most rancorous spite, grunted in every corner; and from none has the Spy suffered so much injury and blame, as from some pretended friends ... the best papers were selected from the works of Johnson and Addison, and shewn to these infallible monitors, in the Spy's own handwriting, as his own productions ... He was soon convinced, to his utter astonishment, by arguments he could not controvert, that they were dull monotonous stuff; that the humour was coarse,--the grammar incorrect,--and that the philosophy contained in them was either inaccurate or inconsistent with common sense ... This is no chimera or jest, but a positive truth...

Was the manuscript which found its way to the editors of The Newcastle Magazine produced some sixteen years earlier in connection with 'the Spy's' practical joke? Be that as it may, 'The True Art of Reviewing' has never been reprinted as a work by Hogg.

II.5 The Edinburgh Literary Journal

Unless otherwise stated, Hogg's prose contributions to The Edinburgh Literary Journal were printed for the first time in that journal, and have never been reprinted.

- 1 'A Letter from Yarrow. The Ettrick Shepherd to the Editor of the Edinburgh Literary Journal', 1 (1828-1829), 9-10.

## (II.5)

- 2 'Noctes Bengerianae', 1 (1828-1829), 87-90.
- 3 'The Wanderer's Tale', 1 (1828-1829), 109-10.
- 4 'Noctes Bengerianae. No. II', 1 (1828-1829), 258-60.
- 5 'An Eskdale Anecdote', 1 (1828-1829), 337-38.
- 6 'Reminiscences of Former Days. My first Interview with Allan Cunningham', 1 (1828-1829), 374-75.  
Reprinted in 'Memoir of the Author's Life', Altrive Tales (I.16).
- 7 'Reminiscences of Former Days. My First Interview with Sir Walter Scott', 2 (1829), 51-52.  
Reprinted in 'Memoir of the Author's Life', Altrive Tales (I.16).
- 8 'Wat the Prophet', 2 (1829), 207-10.
- 9 'Anecdotes of Highlanders', 2 (1829), 293-95.  
Reprinted in Chambers's Edinburgh Journal, (12 April 1834), 88.
- 10 'A Story of the Forty-Six', 2 (1829), 421-22.  
Reprinted in Chambers's Edinburgh Journal, (10 May 1834), 118;  
and in the 1837 Tales and Sketches.
- 11 'Dr David Dale's Account of a Grand Aerial Voyage', 3 (1830), 50-54.  
Alexander Turnbull Library MS Papers 42 item 6 is Hogg's manuscript (now incomplete) of another version of this work.
- 12 'A Letter from Yarrow. The Scottish Psalmody Defended', 3 (1830), 162-63.  
Reprinted in pamphlet form (see I.14).

## (II.5)

- 13 'Some Remarks on the Life of Sandy Elshinder', 4 (1830), 280-82.
- 14 'A Story of the Black Art', 4 (1830), 396-99; 5 (1831), 10-12.
- 15 'The Minister's Annie', 5 (1831), 189-92.
- 16 'Grizel Graham', 6 (1831), 374-77; 385-87.

II.6 The Quarterly Journal of Agriculture

Hogg's four contributions to this journal had not previously been published, and have never been reprinted.

- 1 'Mr Hogg on the Effects of Mole-Catching', 1 (1828-1829), 640-45.
- 2 'Remarks on Certain Diseases of Sheep', 2 (1829-1831), 697-706.
- 3 'On the Changes in the Habits, Amusements, and Condition of the Scottish Peasantry', 3 (1831-32), 256-63.
- 4 'On the Preservation of Salmon', 3 (1831-32), 441-49.

II.7 Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country

Unless otherwise stated, Hogg's contributions to Fraser's were printed for the first time in that journal, and have never been reprinted.

- 1 'The Unearthly Witness', 2 (1830), 171-78.

Reprinted for the first time in Hogg, Selected Stories and Sketches, edited by Douglas S. Mack (Edinburgh, 1982).

## (II.7)

- 2 'Strange Letter of a Lunatic', 2 (1830), 526-32.  
See Chapter VI, above.
- 3 'The Barber of Duncow.--A Real Ghost Story', 3 (1831), 174-80.  
Reprinted for the first time in the 1982 Selected Stories and Sketches.
- 4 'Aunt Susan', 3 (1831), 720-726.
- 5 'On the Separate Existence of the Soul', 4 (1831), 529-37.  
See Chapter VII, above.
- 6 'The Mountain-Dew Men', 6 (1832), 161-70.
- 7 'Gallery of Literary Characters. No. XXX. Sir David Brewster, K. H. ', 6 (1832), 416.
- 8 'Ewan M'Gabhar', 6 (1832), 450-59.  
Reprinted in the 1837 Tales and Sketches.
- 9 'Epistles to the Literati. No. VI. James Hogg, Esq. to Oliver Yorke, Esq.', 7 (1833), 16.  
This letter may in fact be by Maginn, the editor of Fraser's.  
It announces, inter alia, that Hogg is engaged on a new poem in twelve books, to be called 'The Boread'. Hogg did not enjoy puns of this kind on his name.
- 10 'A Remarkable Egyptian Story. Written by Barek, a Learned Jew of Egypt, about the Latter End of the Reign of Cambyses the Persian. (Discovered and Communicated by the Ettrick Shepherd)', 7 (1833), 147-58.

## (II.7)

- 11 'The Shepherd's Noctes, and the Reason Why they Do Not Appear in Fraser's Magazine', 8 (1833), 49-54.  
See Chapter IX, above.
- 12 'The Miller Correspondence. XXVII.--James Hogg', 8 (1833), 635.
- 13 'Extraordinary History of a Border Beauty', 9 (1834), 97-110.
- 14 'The Frasers in the Correi', 9 (1834), 273-78.
- 15 'Anecdotes of Ghosts and Apparitions', 11 (1835), 103-12.
- 16 'A Very Ridiculous Sermon', 11 (1835), 226-31.
- 17 'The Turners', 13 (1836), 609-19
- 18 'The Ettrick Shepherd's Last Tale, Helen Crocket, with an Introduction by Oliver Yorke', 14 (1836), 425-40.

II.8 The Metropolitan

Hogg's two contributions to this journal had not previously been published, and they have never been reprinted.

- 1 'A Tale of an Old Highlander', 3 (1832), 113-20.
- 2 'Some Terrible Letters from Scotland. Communicated by the Ettrick Shepherd', 3 (1832), 422-31.

Hogg's manuscript survives at the National Library of Scotland (MS 3810).

## II.9 Chambers's Edinburgh Journal

Of Hogg's eight prose contributions to this journal, only the final two had previously been printed.

- 1 'Emigration', (18 May 1833), 124-25.  
Reprinted in the 1837 Tales and Sketches.
- 2 'The Watchmaker', (15 June 1833), 153-54.  
Reprinted in the 1837 Tales and Sketches.
- 3 'An Old Minister's Tale', (29 June 1833), 173-74.  
Never reprinted.
- 4 'Nature's Magic Lantern', (28 September 1833), 273-74.  
Reprinted in the 1837 Tales and Sketches.
- 5 'Adventure of the Ettrick Shepherd', (19 October 1833), 298-99.  
Never reprinted.
- 6 'Letter from Canada to the Ettrick Shepherd', (28 December 1833),  
383-84.  
Never reprinted.
- 7 'Anecdotes of Highlanders', (12 April 1834), 88.  
Reprinted from The Edinburgh Literary Journal (II.5). Not reprinted  
since 1834.
- 8 'A Story of the Forty-Six', (10 May 1834), 118.  
Reprinted from The Edinburgh Literary Journal (II.5). Not reprinted  
since 1834.

## (II.10) Other Periodicals

Hogg made a single prose contribution to each of the following periodicals. These three works have never been reprinted.

Farmer's Magazine

'On the Present State of Sheep-Farming in Scotland', 18 (May 1817), 144-49.

Royal Lady's Magazine

'Willie Wastle and his Dog Trap', 3 (July 1832), 309-15.

Prize Essays and Transactions of the Highland Society of Scotland

'Statistics of Selkirkshire', second series 3 (1832), 281-306.

An incomplete manuscript in Hogg's hand containing a version of the conclusion of this article survives at the Alexander Turnbull Library (MS Papers 42 item 14).

III Hogg's Contributions to Annuals

The annuals (Christmas gift-books containing short works in prose and verse) flourished in the 1820's and 1830's, and Hogg was a frequent contributor. His prose works which appeared in annuals are listed below in chronological order. Unless otherwise stated, these stories had not previously been published and have never been reprinted.

1 'The Border Chronicler', The Literary Souvenir, (1826), 257-79.

Includes 'Charlie Dinmont' (pp. 257-66); 'Town and Country Apparitions' (pp. 266-69); 'Gillanbye's Ghost' (pp. 270-76); and 'The White Lady of Glen-tress' (pp. 277-79).

## (III)

- 2 'The Cameronian Preacher's Tale', The Anniversary, (1829),  
170-91.

Reprinted in the 1837 Tales and Sketches.

- 3 'Eastern Apologues', Forget-Me-Not, (1829), 309-23.

Includes 'The Divinity of Song' (pp. 309-12); and 'The Beauty of Women' (pp. 312-23).

- 4 'What is Sin?', Ackerman's Juvenile Forget-Me-Not, (1830),  
223-27.

Hogg's manuscript survives at Stirling University Library, and is entitled 'Dramas of Infancy No 1 What is Sin'. Although Hogg's dramatic works lie outside the scope of the present list, it is clear that this short dialogue was not intended for theatrical production. The manuscript is MS 25 box 1(1a).

- 5 'The Fords of Callum. An Ower True Tale', Friendship's Offering, (1830), 187-96.

Reprinted in Blackie's 1865 edition of Hogg's Works, but not in the 1837 Tales and Sketches.

- 6 'A Tale of Pentland', The Amulet, (1830), 219-41.

Reprinted in another annual, The Cabinet of Literary Gems, (1836), 131-48; and in the 1837 Tales and Sketches.

- 7 'Seeking the Houdy', Forget-Me-Not, (1830), 399-413.

- 8 'The Poachers', Ackerman's Juvenile-Forget-Me-Not, (1831),  
99-116.

- 9 'A Sea Story', Forget-Me-Not, (1831), 19-31.

## (III)

- 10 'The Two Vallies, a Fairy Tale', Remembrance, (1831), 121-32.  
Hogg's manuscript survives at the National Library of Scotland as part of MS 1704.
- 11 'Scottish Haymakers', Forget-Me-Not, (1834), 327-35.
- 12 'A Letter to the Ettrick Shepherd', The Amulet, (1836), 212-25.

IV Other Works (Unpublished Manuscripts)

In addition to those mentioned above (for example, 'The Boar' in entry II.3) a number of prose works by Hogg are known to survive in manuscript. Details of the relevant manuscripts at the Alexander Turnbull Library in Wellington are supplied from a checklist prepared by that library.

Alexander Turnbull Library MS Papers 42

## Item

- 3 'An Inimitable Irish Story Communicated by the Ettrick Shepherd' 2 p.
- 4 'Gude-een to you...' (no title) 4p. (incomplete)
- 5 'Rules for Yarrow Games, 1831' 1p.
- 7 Tale in Biblical style, beginning 'And it came to pass in the latter days of the church' 4p. (incomplete)
- 8 'The Painter, the Poet and the Cuddy, by the Ettrick Shepherd' 2p.

- 10 MS beginning p.5 re the introduction and practice of sheep smearing into Scotland 4p.
- 11 MS beginning on p.6. Tale in the vernacular re stolen money and consultation of 'Grizel' 2p.
- 75 'Letter from James Hogg to Timothy Tickler Esq.' 9p.

This is Hogg's unpublished reply to two letters addressed to him by 'Timothy Tickler' (one of the characters of the 'Noctes Ambrosianae'). The Tickler letters appeared in the February and March 1818 numbers of Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine.

Stirling University Library MS 25 box 1(1a)

This manuscript contains 'Dramas of Infancy No 2 What is Death', together with 'Dramas of Infancy No 1 What is Sin' (see entry III (4), above).

Index of Short Titles

In this Index, reference is made to the appropriate entry numbers in the lists above.

- Adam Bell I.7  
Adam Scott II.3  
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## Bibliography

The manuscripts and early printings of Hogg's prose works are listed and discussed in Chapter X, and are therefore not included in the present Bibliography. However, the various editions of prose works by Hogg published since the second world war are listed in Section I below. Few works have been published which have a direct bearing on the bibliography and textual criticism of Hogg's prose. Section II below lists works of this kind, together with some important general works on textual criticism and editing.

### Section I

The Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner, with an introduction by André Gide (London, 1947)

The Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner, edited with an introduction by John Carey (London, 1969)

The Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner, with an introduction by R. M. Adams and an afterword by André Gide (New York, 1970)

Memoir of the Author's Life and Familiar Anecdotes of Sir Walter Scott, edited by Douglas S. Mack (Edinburgh and London, 1972)

The Three Perils of Man: War, Women and Witchcraft, introduction, textual notes and glossary by Douglas Gifford (Edinburgh and London, 1972)

The Brownie of Bodsbeck, edited by Douglas S. Mack (Edinburgh and London, 1976)

The Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner, with an introduction by Douglas Gifford (London, 1978)

Highland Tours, edited by William F. Laughlan (Hawick, 1981)

Selected Stories and Sketches, edited by Douglas S. Mack (Edinburgh, 1982)

Anecdotes of Sir W. Scott, edited by Douglas S. Mack (Edinburgh, 1983)

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## Section II

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### Glossary

This Glossary deals with Scots words and usages, together with a small number of words from Gaelic. No attempt is made to cover Hogg's phonetic renderings of unusual pronunciation -- for example, in the speech of Beatman's attendant in the asylum in 'Strange Letter of a Lunatic'. Similarly, the rendering of Highland-English in The Brownie of Bodsbeck is not covered: here Hogg follows a well-established literary convention, by which 'p' is substituted for 'b', 't' for 'd', and the like (see Mairi Robinson, 'Modern Literary Scots: Fergusson and After', in Lowland Scots: Papers Presented to an Edinburgh Conference, edited by A. J. Aitken (Edinburgh, 1973), pp. 38-55). In the present Glossary, no attempt is made to cover the more familiar Scots forms -- 'a'', 'wi'', 'auld' and the like.

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| aboon: above   | brainyell: an outburst, uproar   |
| aigh wow: ah (denoting surprise<br>or sorrow)                                  | brog: a rough Highland shoe of<br>untanned hide  |
| axt: asked   | brosey, brosey-mow: a stupid<br>person   |
| bang: to hurry   | brownie: a benevolent household<br>sprite who haunted farms, etc.,<br>and who performed tasks of<br>drudgery if well treated |
| bats: colic  |  |
| beg: little (Gaelic 'beag')  |  |
| begoud: began  |  |
| bien: well-to-do   | ca': to drive  |
| bit: used as an adjective to<br>indicate smallness, endearment,<br>or contempt | callan, callant: a young man, a<br>boy   |
| bowie: a wooden vessel for holding<br>milk                                     | cann: a drinking-vessel  |
| bowie-fu': a bowie-full  | chappin: a liquid measure equal<br>to half a Scots pint  |
| brag: 'to bear the brag' is to<br>carry off the highest honour                 | chield: a fellow   |
|  | clarty: dirty, muddy   |
|  | cleek: to catch with a hook  |

- cleuch-brae: a hill forming a side of a narrow gorge
- clouts: garments
- cock-burd: a puny youngster
- crack: a gossip; to gossip
- crook: an old ewe which has ceased bearing
- curan: perhaps a variant of 'curn', a band or company of persons
- dauner: to stroll, to saunter
- describe: to describe
- dew-cup: lady's mantle, Alchemilla pratensis
- dhu: black (Gaelic 'dubh')
- douce: sedate, respectable
- doughtna: was unable to
- dow: a dear one, a darling
- dree: to endure
- drift road: a drove road
- drool: a low mournful note
- eissel: easterly
- eldrich: weird, uncanny
- farrant: sagacious
- fiend: a strong negative, 'devil a'
- fire-flaught: a flash of lightning
- flee: the least whit (literally, 'a fly')
- flesher: a butcher
- fore-day, foreday: broad daylight
- forment: opposite, facing
- fou: drunk
- fruesome: coarse-looking, frowsy
- frush: friable, loose, crumbly
- fusionless: lacking vigour
- gaire: sharp, keen
- gallayniel: a swindler; a gluttonous, ruthless person
- gar: to cause
- gate: way, road, manner
- gay an', gayan: very
- ged: the pike (fish)
- gentie: genteel, well-bred
- gin: if
- girnel: a granary or storehouse, a large chest for holding meal
- gerse: grass
- glaur: mud, slime
- gowk: a fool, a simpleton
- grit: large, thick
- gurly: stormy
- gurr: to growl, to snarl
- hag, hagg: a marshy, hollow piece of ground in a moor
- hantle: a large number, a considerable quantity
- hap or wynd: turn to right or left in ploughing; hence 'neither hap nor wynd', to be obstinate
- haver: to speak nonsense
- hempie: a rogue, a mischievous person
- hen-bur-lang: perhaps 'long as a chicken before it is hatched' -- see The Scottish National Dictionary under 'burd'
- hich: high
- hizzie: a woman
- hogg: a young sheep from the time it is weaned till it is first shorn
- hogg-fence: pasture saved for use by the hogs in winter
- hotch: to heave with laughter

- houdy: a midwife  
 houn: a low-lying level piece of ground on the banks of a river or stream  
 hout: an exclamation -- tut!  
 howe o' his neck: nape of his neck  
 howe o' the night: the period between midnight and 3 a.m.  
  
 ice-shogle: icicle  
 illfaurd: unbecoming  
 illiac: perhaps a variant of 'ill-like', ugly  
  
 jeloose: to suspect or have doubts about, to guess  
 jockey-coat: a great-coat of heavy cut  
  
 kail-yard: a kitchen-garden, especially of a small cottage  
 keek: to peer  
 kerlin: an old woman  
 kevil: to wrangle  
 kie: cows  
 kirk: 'to mak a kirk an' a mill' of something is to do whatever one pleases with it  
 kiss-my-lufe: literally 'kiss-my-hand', a fawner, a person given to excessive compliment  
  
 la'a: a 'law', a rounded, isolated, somewhat conical hill  
 labie: the flap of a man's coat  
 laigen: the edge, rim, border  
 langsyne: long ago  
 laryx: perhaps a variant of 'larich', the larch tree  
 leasing: lying, speaking falsehood  
  
 leel: loyal, faithful  
 leeve: to live; hence 'gayan weel to leeve', very prosperous  
 lenoch: a child (Gaelic 'leanabh')  
 let a be: not to mention, much less  
 linn: a waterfall  
 linton: a variety of black-faced hill sheep bred in the Tweed region  
  
 mack-like: apt, seemly  
 mawkin: an awkward young girl  
 more: big, important (Gaelic 'mor')  
 moss-hag: a marshy hollow in a moor where peats have formerly been cut  
 muckle: much; large, big  
 muir-fool: the red grouse  
 munge: to grumble, mutter under one's breath  
 mutch: a close-fitting cap of white linen or muslin  
  
 night-bussing: a night-cap  
  
 od: a form of the word 'God', used as a mild oath  
 onon: upon  
 or: before  
  
 pickle: an indefinite amount of any substance or collection  
 pipe-stapple, pipe-stopple: the stem of a tobacco-pipe (used as the type of anything very fragile or thin)  
 ploy: a venture, an escapade  
 preses: the chairman  
 prochen: porridge (Gaelic 'brochan')

- rame: a rigmarole  
 rantin: merry, roistering  
 rash rope: a rope made of  
     twisted rushes  
 ream: to be full to the brim of  
     a frothy liquid  
 reive: to rob  
 resetter: a receiver of  
     stolen goods  
 rhame: a rigmarole  
 rowe: to roll  
 rumple: the buttocks  
  
 sackless: innocent, inoffensive  
 sauf: to save  
 sawm: psalm  
 scart: to scatter  
 screw: a quarrel, a commotion  
 scug: concealment, shelter  
 sic, siccan, sickan: such  
 siller: money  
 skienzie thread: pack-thread twine  
 sloken: to quench thirst  
 sower: to scatter  
 spean: to wean an infant or  
     suckling animal  
 speir: to ask  
 sroofle: to scrape on the surface  
     of anything  
 storm: fallen snow, especially  
     when lying in quantity for  
     a long period  
 stoure: strife, conflict  
  
 stouthright: perhaps a variant of  
     'stouthreif', robbery with  
     violence  
 stowre: flying, swirling dust; strife  
 stramash: an uproar, a squabble  
  
 strick: strict  
 striddaleg: with the legs set  
     apart, for example on either  
     side of a horse  
 sture: deep and harsh (used of  
     the voice)  
 sweeg: a quick, swinging motion,  
     a wag (see Scottish National  
     Dictionary, under 'swig')  
  
 taen, tane: used to denote the  
     one of two  
 thowless: ineffectual, lacking  
     energy  
 tod: a fox  
 town: a farm, farm-steading  
 track: an extent of land, a  
     tract  
 traissel: to trample down grass  
     or crops  
  
 unco: very  
 uneatit: united  
  
 water: a large stream, a river  
 waught: a draught of liquid,  
     a swig of a drink  
 wedder: a wether, a male sheep,  
     especially a castrated ram  
 weel-faurd: good-looking  
 when: a small number, several  
 whilk: which  
 whisht: a call for silence,  
     'hush'  
 willie-waught: a hearty swig  
 woo: wool  
 wraith: an apparition of a living  
     person, taken as an omen of  
     his death  
 wynd: see above, under 'hap'