JAMES HOGG AND THE TRADITIONAL CULTURE OF THE SCOTTISH BORDERS

VALENTINA BOLD, M.A. (hons)

JAMES HOGG AND THE TRADITIONAL CULTURE OF THE SCOTTISH BORDERS

BY

© Valentina Bold, M.A. (hons)

A thesis submitted to the School of Graduate Studies in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

Department of Folklore
Memorial University of Newfoundland
September 1990

St. John's Newfoundland

ISBN 0-315-65330-2

James Hogg and the Traditional Culture of the Scottish Borders

Abstract

This thesis argues that James Hogg is the central and most significant figure in eighteenth century Borders' folklore. The indigenous culture of Ettrick Forest provided a deep source of subject-matter and form for Hogg. The Brownie of Bodsbeck, for example, is a subjective response to local religious history and supernatural beliefs and "Sir David Graeme" in The Mountain Bard draws on ballad style and content. Hogg's expertise as a shepherd enabled him to document folk life in The Shepherd's Guide and he was actively involved in promoting Borders' customs including the St. Ronan's Games (recently discussed by David Groves). It is demonstrated that Hogg's attitude towards traditional culture was ambiguous, partly because of his desire for personal and economic success.

Hogg's reliability as a folklore informant has been questioned in the past, and is reassessed here, with particular attention being paid to his involvement in Scott's Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border. Hogg's folksong collection, The Jacobite Relics of Scotland, is considered and several of Hogg's songs, which are still in oral circulation, are examined, including "Birniebouzle" and "The Skylark". It is argued that Hogg suffered from cultural stereotyping as "The Ettrick Shepherd" and oral and literary evidence is cited in this context. Following the methodology used by Mary Ellen Brown in her study of Burns and Tradition, by discussing Hogg's use of tradition and tradition's use of Hogg, the present writer seeks to establish Hogg's vital role in both preserving and presenting in a high-cultural context the traditional culture of the Scottish Borders.

Key words: James Hogg, folklore, Scotland.

Acknowledgements

For their invaluable comments on Hogg and Ettrick I must thank Professor David Buchan, Dr. Diane Goldstein, Dr. Michael Robson, Ms. Jo Miller, Mr. Ronald Stevenson, Mr. Alan Bold, Mr. and Mrs. Wallace Lockhart, and Dr. Robin MacLachlan. Mrs. Isabelle Shaw, Mr. and Mrs. James Mitchell, Mr. and Mrs. Walter Barrie, Mr. Walter Elliot and Mr. Alex Cameron all helped in substantial ways, sharing their extensive knowledge of Ettrick Forest, and allowing me to use material from their personal collections. I would also like to thank Mr. John Harries, Ms. Lise Saugères and Mr. Mark Ferguson, all of whom offered comments on the original typescript. Mrs. Sharon Cochrane and Ms. Anita Best helped with the final preparation of the typescript, and acknowledgements are also due to the staff at Memorial University Library and especially Ms. Laura Scott of Collection Development, Edinburgh University Library, Edinburgh Public Library, Selkirk Archives, the National Library of Scotland and the Scottish Record Office. I should like to thank Memorial University for the Edinburgh-Memorial Canadian Studies Fellowship and a student assistantship in the Folklore and Language Archives. This financial support made the research possible. Most of all, I am grateful to Mr. David Nicol, for introducing me to Hogg's work, and providing constant support throughout this project.

Table of Contents

Photographs. Appendix E.
Pages 192-200.

Abbreviations

BAP: Borders Archaeology Project, Report on the Yarrow Valley, ms.
ER: The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland
EUL: Edinburgh University Library
GD 224: Buccleuch Muniments
NLS: National Library of Scotland
NSA: New Statistical Account
OSA: The Statistical Account of Scotland
RCAHM: Royal Commission of Ancient and Historical Monuments Report on Selkirkshire
RHP 9629: Laud, Estate Plans, drawn for the Duchess of Buccleuch, 1718
SC: Selkirk Archives
SRO: Scottish Record Office
SND: Scottish National Dictionary

--We have fallen upon lean days,

Would Burns have sparkled upon small ale

And how would the Ettrick Shepherd

Who took his whisky in a jug

Fare in a time like this?

(Hugh MacDiarmid, "Direadh II", The Complete Poems of Hugh MacDiarmid. Ed. Michael Grieve and W.R. Aitken. Harmondsworth: Penguin 1983, 1184.)

Chapter 1

THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE TRADITIONAL CONTEXT

I never knew either man or woman who has been so uniformly happy as I have been; which has been partly owing to a good constitution, and partly from the conviction that a heavenly gift, conferring the powers of immortal song, was inherent in my soul. (Hogg 1972a, 54)

James Hogg (1770-1835), also known as "The Ettrick Shepherd", lived in the Scottish Borders for the greater part of his life. He was a working shepherd and creative writer and a close friend of many of the leading writers of his day, including Walter Scott. Hogg documented the traditions of the Scottish Borders, and was one of Scott's informants in the Border Minstrelsy. He collected numerous Ettrick songs and tales, and a number of Hogg's songs are still in oral circulation. Hogg's image as "The Ettrick Shepherd" has persisted in literary and oral tradition, and given rise to a modern cult which is continually gaining new devotees.

This thesis seeks to establish that James Hogg is the central and most significant figure in eighteenth century Borders folklore. His authoritative work as an informant, his seminal collection of Jacobite Relics and the continuing circulation of his songs in the traditional idiom are all evidence of Hogg's outstanding contribution to traditional culture. Because of his ambivalent position in contemporary society, Hogg adopted a dualistic attitude towards traditional culture. On the one hand, for example, he condoned traditional notions of history and on the other rejected some aspects of supernatural belief. Furthermore, as "the Ettrick Shepherd" Hogg was stereotyped as a divinely-inspired rustic imbecile, a mythopoetic process with which Hogg himself collaborated. The image of "The Shepherd" has entered into literary and oral tradition, and it will be demonstrated that this cultural stereotype damaged Hogg's credibility as a serious writer. These points are developed in the following chronological account of the seemingly contented life, but troubled times, of Hogg.

1.1. The Early Years

James Hogg was born at Ettrickhouse in the Ettrick valley, Selkirkshire. He claimed to share Burns's anniversary, being born on 25th January 1772, but as his birth was registered in December 1770, this is clearly a case of poetic license. Hogg spent most of his life in Ettrick and the neighbouring valley of Yarrow, both parts of the area traditionally known as The Ettrick Forest. These two districts are physically alike: "one assemblage of hills" (Johnston 1774), intersected by hopes (small valleys enclosed by hills), burns, and two major rivers: the Ettrick and the Yarrow. St. Mary's Loch, about

three miles long, lies to the East of the valleys, with the smaller Loch of the Lowes beyond (see plate 4), and the Forest is a region of unsurpassed natural beauty, replete with numerous traditional associations:

> In themselves the Banks of Yarrow consist of a number of green grassy slopes, some gentle, some precipitous, dotted with birches and an occasional grey ruin among the trees. They are enchantingly pretty, and in them the toy-like character of the Border scenery is worked out to its last conclusion. The stream itself produces the effect of a great river, such as the Danube or the Rhine, done in miniature; the outline of its banks are bold and various, but tiny in scale, giving a feeling of great riches gathered into a little span. At the turn where Newark Castle "looks out from Yarrow's birchen bower" all its enchantment can be felt, and gazing down at it from there one can seize simultaneously the two things which give it its character: a wild, tangled prettiness and a tradition of bloodshed.... In its higher reaches the Yarrow flows between low bare hills open to the sky. Lonely farms, rolling heath and anglers' inns appear, and everything looks bleak and cold even on a July day until one reaches St. Mary's Loch. (Muir 1985, 61-62)

The area was as sparsely populated in Hogg's lifetime as now. In 1790 the population of Yarrow and Ettrick was estimated respectively at 1230 (584 male and 646 female) and 470 (222 male and 248 female) (Douglas 1798, 222). The Scotts of Buccleuch held about seventy-five percent of the land, and the main economic activity was sheepfarming, a highly precarious way of earning a living. The land was poorly suited to arable farming but a few crops were grown on a subsistence level, including barley, oats, pease, turnips, and potatoes (OSA III, 727). As Chapter 2 explains, Hogg's lifetime came during a period of dramatic agricultural change and this had drastic consequences for folk life in the Forest.

Ettrick Forest is isolated, the nearest towns being Peebles to the West, Selkirk, Hawick and Galashiels to the East. In Hogg's lifetime the valleys were relatively inaccessible. Locals tended to ignore the roads, which were next to useless in bad weather, in favour of the most direct routes: in The Brownie of Bodsbeck (1818) Jasper and Katharine travel to Dunse Castle, "over hill and dale, as a shepherd always does, who hates the wimples, as he calls them, of a turnpike. He took such a line as an eagle would take, or a flock of wild geese" (Hogg 1976, 101). The only substantial bridges were at Ettrickbridge and Deuchar but there were also smaller bridges, such as the one crossing Altrive Lake above Eldinhope. It is likely that Hogg's wife's fall over this bridge in November 1833 (NLS MS 5509, 36) inspired Julia MacKenzie's fall in Tales of the Wars of Montrose (Hogg 1835, I: 132-3). During the winter the valleys could be cut off for months by snow and, within this isolated context, traditional culture remained relatively

unchanged until the agricultural revolution of the late eighteenth century drastically altered traditional lifestyles. The coming of widespread literacy, at approximately the same period, changed local attitudes towards traditional culture: oral history, for instance, was no longer treated with the same respect when written accounts were available.

The Forest's historical background was extraordinary. During the Middle Ages the region was a favourite royal hunting ground, and from 1324 to 1455 the area was governed by the Douglas family, almost as a personal property. Crown hunting rights were protected, and the Forest was administered by a unique system of Forest Law (ER 1499).[1] Hogg draws on the medieval background for several of his tales, such as "The Hunt of Eildon" (1818) and "The Profligate Princes" (1817). In the warfare between Scotland and England the Borders acted as a buffer zone and a general atmosphere of unrest was compounded by crimes such as raids, feuds, murder, cattle and sheep stealing, at least till the late sixteenth century (sheepstealing being the exception as it was common even in the nineteenth century). The Covenanting period provided a dramatic interlude during the seventeenth century, which was long remembered. The Borders' riotous past was commemorated in its expressive culture and Hogg exhibited a deep respect for oral traditions as a historical source.

In the Ettrick of the late eighteenth century a wide range of expressive culture was performed in a variety of contexts. There were spontaneous performances of proverbs and anecdotes, as they suited the immediate occasion. There were premeditated song and tale sessions in the public contexts of the inn (see "Tam o' Shanter" vv. 1) and the home. Relaxing evenings, especially in winter, were passed with a mixture of song, story and conversation:

> Before a large fire, which it is considered ominous ever to extinguish, lay half-a-dozen sheep-dogs, spreading out their white bosoms to the heat, and each placed opposite the seat of its owner.... Three or four busy wheels, guided by as many maidens, manufactured wool into yarn for rugs, and mauds, and mantles. Three other maidens, with bared hands, prepared curds for cheese, and their hands rivalled in whiteness the curdled milk itself. Under the light of a candlestick several youths pursued the amusement of the popular game of draughts.... On this scene of patriarchal happiness looked my old companion Eleanor Selby, contrasting, as she glanced her eye in succession over the tokens of shepherds' wealth in which the house abounded, the present day with the past; the times of the fleece, the shears and the distaff, with those of broil and blood, and mutual inroad and invasion.... she thus proceeded to relate some of the adventures she had witnessed in the time of her youth. (Cunningham 1874, 49-50)

No doubt then, as now, performance styles were as varied as the performers themselves.[2]

There was a tradition of flamboyant performance in Lowland Scotland, as described by Scott, when relating a local legend as told by "Wandering Willie":

> He commenced his tale accordingly, in a distinct narrative tone of voice, which he varied and depressed with considerable skill; at times sinking into almost a whisper, and turning his clear but sightless eyeballs upon my face, as if it had been possible for him to witness the impression which his narrative made upon myself. (Scott 1982, 112)

But there were also more conversational styles of storytelling: in Perils of Man Walter Laidlaw's personal experience narratives are delivered in a far less dramatic style than Willie's, given above (Hogg 1976, 18-24). Within this varied, creative environment, Hogg spent most of his life, and the formative influences of an upbringing in Ettrick Forest were ingrained in his creative identity.

1.2. Family traditions

Most of the information about Hogg's personal life is derived from his Memoir of the Author's Life, which was first published in 1807 in The Mountain Bard, revised in 1821 for the new edition of that book and revised again in 1832 for inclusion in Altrive Tales. Hogg's Memoir should be placed within the context of other working class autobiographies of his period. As David Vincent shows, in Bread, Knowledge and Freedom, in Hogg's period there was a discrete genre of working class autobiography. While working class writers, for example John Clare and Stephen Duck, were publicly confident of their abilities, they often ended by suffering from what Vincent calls "cultural schizophrenia": estranged from their own class, yet not accepted by the elite (Vincent 1981). Hogg's Memoir opens with the assertion that "I like to write about myself: in fact, there are few things which I like better; it is so delightful to call up old reminiscences" (Hogg 1972a, 3) and it continues in this egocentric and idiosyncratic fashion. The book provides many insights into the ambiguities of Hogg's personality: his dualistic attitude towards traditional culture for instance. Hogg's personal attitude towards traditional culture was the product of a pragmatic nature: he accepted that which was useful, informative or entertaining, and rejected whatever was potentially (often psychologically) damaging.

Hogg's father was tenant of Ettrickhall and Ettrickhouse at the time of the writer's birth and the family were relatively comfortable at this time. Hogg shows no signs of conforming to the Freudian formula (Oedipus complex, pronounced sibling rivalry and so

on) so popular in modern biographies, for example Peter Ackroyd's recent account of Dickens's life (1990). Hogg was the second of four sons, born into a family of multi-talented tradition bearers. His maternal grandfather, Will o' Phaup, was born in 1691 at Craik in Ettrick and was a well known local character celebrated for his athletic prowess (Hogg 1827a). Will's supernatural traditions are discussed in Chapter 3--he was locally famous as the last man to converse with the fairies, and the last to see the great water bull of St. Mary's Loch. Will's repertoire of local ballads, including the controversial "Auld Maitland" are mentioned in Chapter 4. Hogg claimed to remember his grandfather well and, although the writer was only four years old when Will o' Phaup died, it is perfectly plausible that such an unusual man would make a strong impression on a small boy with a lively imagination.

Furthermore, much of Will o' Phaup's repertoire was passed on to his children, including Hogg's mother, Margaret Laidlaw. She contributed several ballads to Scott's Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border (1802-3), and Hogg was himself surprised, when collecting texts for Scott, to discover the extent of his mother's repertoire: "My mother is actually a living miscellany of old songs. I never believed she had so many until it came to the trial" (qtd. in Batho 1969, 70). Since Hogg was to leave home at an early age, it is possible that he never discovered the extent of Margaret Laidlaw's repertoire. However, as Elaine Petrie has convincingly argued, it is likely that Hogg's mother was primarily a passive bearer of traditions: not a performer herself, but a person who was familiar enough with the texts to be able to repeat them.[3]

William Laidlaw, Hogg's uncle and Margaret Laidlaw's brother, provided the main text for "Auld Maitland" in the Minstrelsy. Laidlaw sang his songs to only one melody, a fact which prompted Hogg to an observation about the importance folk singers generally attach to texts: "I find it was only the subject matter which the old people concerned themselves about, and any kind of tunes that they had, they always made one serve a great many songs" (qtd. in Batho 1969, 26). Unfortunately, while William Laidlaw may have been an active performer in his youth, the religious fanaticism of his old age meant he rejected many of the ballads as ungodly and consequently refused to sing them.

Hogg's father, Robert Hogg, is often ignored in the discussion of the writer's formative influences but William Hogg, the writer's brother, wrote in 1818 that their father's love of religious literature provided Hogg with an intuitive love of poetry:

> I know it is my brother's opinion, and the writer of the biographical sketch[4] no doubt has it from him, that it is to his mother he is indebted for that vividness of fancy, and those vigorous excursions of the imagination descernible [sic] in some pieces of his poetry. But our mother never had a taste for poetry herself. I have often read some of the best pieces of English poetry to her, but she was altogether insenseible [sic] to their beauties. On the other hand our father is perfectly enamoured with a fine description, whether in prose or verse; and even at this time, the sublime descriptions of Isaiah, the plaintive strains of Jeremiah, or beautiful imagery of Ezekiel, form his principal reading. (NLS MS 2254, f3-4)

It is possible that Hogg's father transmitted additional Ettrick traditions to his children. There are indications of skilled tradition bearers among Hogg's paternal relatives. Thomas Campbell, the Scottish antiquarian, collected "a few good melodies very old and entirely new to me" from Hogg's cousins Thomas and Frank Hogg, both of whom sang well (La. II. 378, f4).

Raised in this traditional setting among a family of tradition bearers, it is not surprising that James Hogg absorbed and recalled folk life, folk narratives and folk songs. Hogg was to draw on a wide range of traditional culture for his works: oral history, religion, the natural and the supernatural environments. As already suggested, Hogg was ambivalent in his presentation of this material, sometimes expressing his respect for Ettrick traditions (for example regarding the Covenanters), and sometimes exhibiting outright scepticism, as in the following passage:

> I had, from my childhood, been affected by the frequent return of a violent inward complaint; and it attacked me once in a friend's house, at a distance from home. and, increasing to an inflammation, all hopes given up of my recovery. While I was lying in the greatest agony, about the dead of night, I had the mortification of seeing the old woman, who watched over me, fall into a swoon, from a supposition that she saw my wraith:--a spirit which, the vulgar suppose, haunts the abodes of such as are instantly to die, in order to carry off the soul as soon as it is disengaged from the body: and, next morning, I overheard a consultation about borrowing sheets to lay me in at my decease; but Almighty God, in his providence, deceived both them and the officious spirit; for, by the help of an able physician, I recovered, and have never since been troubled with the distemper. (Hogg 1972a, 14)

This sceptical attitude towards supernatural belief is typical of Hogg, and it will be argued below that Hogg's stance was related to a desire for personal acceptance. In expressing scorn for many of the traditions he was raised with Hogg agreed with contemporary intellectual dogma, thereby securing the approval, and patronage, of the intelligentsia.

1.3. Work and self-education

The idyllic lifestyle of Hogg's earliest years did not continue uninterrupted for long. When Hogg was six years old the family faced bankrupcy and lost everything they owned. This meant a sharp curtailment of the children's education. Hogg claimed to have spent less than six months at school in all and his brother, William, confirms this assertion. However, as William points out, from an early age Hogg had a thirst for learning, which his parents helped him to satisfy, using religious texts:

> our education was very limited, and James in particular was very little at school; but he was fond of reading and before he was able to read, could have said several of David's Psalms, which his mother had taught him partly to instil religious impressions into his mind, and no doubt, partly to to keep him peaceable and quiet when darkness and wet days kept him within doors. When he had learned to read he read much on the Bible; this was a book which our mother was well acquainted with, and was in it better qualified to detect him when he went wrong, than if he had been reading on any other book. And I can assure you, that in all the circle of my acquaintance, either among old or young people, I never was conversant with any one who had as much of the Bible by heart, especially of the Psalms, or could have told more readily where any passage was recorded than my brother James could have done. And, in my opinion, the beautiful descriptions of the nature and excellencies of the Divine Being, the sublime addresses to his grace and goodness that are interspersed through that invaluable book, more disposed his mind to utter his feelings in harmonious and poetic expressions than any native energy derived either from father or mother. (NLS 2245, f2-3)

As well as instilling a love of poetry in Hogg, the fact that his parents put stress on reading the Scriptures no doubt encouraged the young Hogg to value literacy highly, and this early start to his self-education was not wasted.

Evicted from his home, through the kindness of his neighbour Brydon of Crosslee, Hogg's father gained employment as a shepherd but, given the family's impecunious circumstances, the older children were forced to seek employment. At the next hiring term, Whitsunday, the seven-year old Hogg became a full-time cow herd, paid with bed and board, a ewe lamb and a pair of shoes for the half year he worked. But he enlivened the dreary work with a number of traditional pursuits, in particular with athletic contests--often racing against himself. Hogg spent the next ten years under a variety of masters, progressing up the working ladder to become a shepherd. Hogg would later draw on his intimate knowledge of folk life in Ettrick for his documentary essays, most notably the "Shepherd's Calendar" series.

From an early age Hogg was an active performer of folk music. At the age of fourteen, while serving with Scott of Singlee, he bought himself a fiddle. He taught himself to play the instrument and fiddling soon became his favourite recreation:

> when I was not over-fatigued I generally spent an hour or two every night in sawing over my favourite Scottish tunes; and my bed being always in stables and cowhouses I disturbed nobody but myself and the quadrupeds, whom I believed to be greatly delighted with my strains. At any rate they never complained, which the biped part of my neighbours did frequently, to my pity and utter indignation. (Hogg 1972a, 7)

In later life, Hogg was to use his skills in fiddling to amuse Ettrick and Edinburgh audiences alike and Hogg's practical knowledge of music was vastly useful to him, especially in compiling his folksong collection, The Jacobite Relics of Scotland (1819-21).

As well as his familiarity with traditional culture, Hogg gained an early acquaintance with Scottish literary traditions through using his employers' libraries. Serving with the Laidlaw family , first at Willenslee and from 1790 at Blackhouse, he had access to major Scottish works, such as Hamilton of Gilbertfield's version of Blind Hary's The Wallace (1722) and Allan Ramsay's The Gentle Shepherd (1725). Because of his lack of formal schooling Hogg initially found reading slow and difficult, especially with respect to Scots poetry:

> I found myself much in the same predicament with the man from Eskdalemuir, who had borrowed Bailey's Dictionary from his neighbour. On returning it, the lender asked him what he thought of it. "I dinna ken, man," replied he; "I have read it all through, but canna say that I understand it; it is the most confused book that I ever saw in my life." (Hogg 1972a, 9)

Yet it is likely that Hogg's reading of masterpieces in Scots reinforced a natural prejudice (for a Scots speaker raised in the Borders) towards his national tongue and national culture. A patriotic sentiment informs most of Hogg's works on Ettrick traditions.

Other works that Hogg tackled in this period included religious tomes, for example, Thomas Burnet's The Sacred Conflagration of the Earth (1684). Not surprisingly, Hogg found reading such stern polemic a terrifying experience, but being raised in a parish whose former ministers included Thomas Boston (to be met again in Chapter 4) Hogg was already familiar with the hellfire-and-brimstone brand of Christianity. The unbending religious attitudes Hogg encountered in Ettrick would provide him with a deep source of subject matter to be explored, for example, in the satirical Confessions of a Justified Sinner (1824). In his personal odyssey of self-education, Hogg also gained an acquaintance with periodical literature, such as The Spectator, on which he was to model his own satirical periodical, The Spy. As Hughes points out, "a detailed examination of Hogg's work shows that his self-presentation as an uneducated peasant should not blind

the reader to that awareness, and indeed familiarity with, formal literary conventions of which it itself is a proof" (Hughes 1981, 276). David Groves has recently demonstrated that Hogg was strongly influenced both by formal romantic traditions, and by classical tragedies (Groves 1988; Groves 1986). Hogg's dual familiarity with oral tradition and literary conventions gave him a unique ability: to present traditional culture in an authoritative manner to a literate audience, using literary conventions.

About 1790, Hogg began to compose his own poems and songs, earning himself the nickname of "Jamie the Poeter". He found the physical act of composition difficult:

> I had no more difficulty in composing songs then than I have at the present; and I was equally well pleased with them. But, then, the writing of them!--that was a job! I had no method of learning to write, save by following the Italian alphabet; and though I always stripped myself of coat and vest when I began to pen a song, yet my wrist took a cramp, so that I could rarely make above four or six lines at a sitting. Whether my manner of writing it out was new, I knew not, but it was not without singularity. Having very little spare time from my flock, which was unruly enough, I folded and stitched a few sheets of paper, which I carried in my pocket. I had no ink-horn; but, in place of it, I borrowed a small vial, which I fixed in a hole in the breast of my waistcoat; and having a cork fastened by a piece of twine, it answered the purpose fully as well. Thus equipped, whenever a leisure minute or two offered, and I had nothing else to do, I sat down and wrote out my thoughts as I found them. This is still my invariable practice in writing prose. I cannot make out one sentence by study, without the pen in my hand to catch the ideas as they arise, and I never write two copies of the same thing.
>
> My manner of composing poetry is very different, and, I believe, much more singular. Let the piece be of what length it will, I compose and correct it wholly in my mind, or on a slate, ere ever I put pen to paper; and then I write it down a fast as the A, B, C. When once it is written, it remains in that state; it being, as you very well know, with the utmost difficulty that I can be brought to alter one syllable, which I think is partly owing to the above practice. (Hogg 1972a, 10-11)

No doubt, Hogg focuses on his rapid and haphazard means of composition as part of his self-presentation as the heaven-taught Shepherd. But labouring poets everywhere were faced with a similar difficulty: that of working on the hoof. John Clare wrote in 1821 of his early hardships in writing on the scraps of brown and blue paper which his mother's tea had been wrapped in and of his reading, surreptitiously, in the fields (Clare 1983, 6-10).

Working class poets were also faced with the problem of finding the time to write. John Jones, a servant by trade, draws attention to the impossibility of protracted periods of composition when there was work to attend to, writing to Southey in 1827:

> I have seldom sat down to study any thing, for in many instances when I have done so a ring at the bell, or a knock at the door, or something or other, would disturb me, and not wishing to be seen, I frequently used to either crumple my paper up in my pocket, or take the trouble to lock it up, and before I could arrange it again. I was often, Sir, again

> disturbed; from this, Sir, I got into the habit of trusting entirely to my memory, and most of my little pieces have been completed and borne in mind for weeks before I have committed them to paper; from this I am led to believe that there are but few situations in life in which attempts of the kind may not be made under less discouraging circumstances. (Jones, qtd. in Southey 1925, 278)

Hogg was faced with similar problems in finding opportunities in which to write, but his memory was just as reliable as Jones's: Hogg claims his first book, Scottish Pastorals (1801) was a collection of poems he recalled from memory and, as Douglas Mack demonstrates, this may well be true (Hogg 1972a, 12n). It has been noted many times that traditional performers are capable of remembering long songs and it is likely that Hogg, almost illiterate until his teens, had a well-developed memory.

His quest for education did not keep Hogg among his books all the time. Even at an early age, Hogg says in his Memoir, he drew solace from the company of women. As a child Hogg had a sharp appreciation for the charms of the opposite sex, falling in love at the age of eight with "a rosy-cheeked maiden" named Betty. In his late teens, he was apparently a handsome figure:

> rather above the middle height, of faultless symmetry of form, and of almost unequalled agility and swiftness. His face was round and full, and of a ruddy complexion, with light-blue eyes, that beamed with gaiety, glee, and good-humour--the effect of the most exuberant animal spirits. His head was covered with a singular profusion of light-brown hair, which he was obliged to wear coiled up under his hat. On entering church, he used, on lifting up his hat, to assist with a graceful shake of his head in laying back his long tresses, which rolled down below his loins; and many an eye was turned on him as with light steps he ascended the stair to the gallery, where he sat. (Russell, 1894, 185-86)

Hogg was, he asserts, equally enamoured of women in his youth, engaging in a variety of escapades described in the "Love Adventures of George Cochrane" (Hogg 1985c, 48-145). However, as will be argued in Chapter 5, it is possible that Hogg exaggerated his amorous proclivities in an effort to appear more like his hero Burns.

Hogg claims that his first encounter with Burns's work was in 1797, when "a half daft man, named John Scott" recited "Tam o'Shanter" to the young poet. With his characteristically good-humoured vanity, Hogg asserts:

> This formed a new epoch in my life. Every day I pondered on the genius and fate of Burns. I wept, and always thought with myself--what is to hinder me from succeeding Burns? I too was born on the 25th of January, and I have much more time to read and compose than any old ploughman could have, and can sing more old songs than ever ploughman could in the world. But then I wept again because I could not write. However, I resolved to be a poet, and to follow in the steps of Burns. (Hogg 1972a, 11)

By the late eighteenth century, then, Hogg was resolved to emulate Burns by embarking on a literary career.

1.4. The creative writer and his contemporary reception

To further his poetic ambitions, Hogg engaged in a number of creative exercises: in poetry competitions for example (in which he allows that his brother William excelled), in forming a local literary society with other shepherds, in paraphrasing the 117th Psalm in English verse and of course in further compositions (Hogg 1972a, 13; Hogg 1982, 5). Like Burns, Hogg was a master of the lyric and his first publication (despite his claim to near-illiteracy in 1797) was published in 1794, a traditional-style humorous song about love, entitled "The Mistakes of a Night", and discussed in Chapter 4. His early compositions were almost exclusively in traditional styles and the rallying song of 1800, "Donald McDonald", was tremendously successful, although not then recognised as Hogg's (Hogg 1972a, 13-14). In 1801, inspired by his successes, Hogg arranged for the publication of his Scottish Pastorals in Edinburgh. He claims that this was a spur of the moment decision, and Hogg's claim conforms to his desire to appear spontaneous and natural, as a "peasant poet" should be (see Chapter 5). However, it can be proved that Hogg's master Laidlaw and his friend Clarkson had seen the manuscript before this date (see Hogg 1972a, 16n). The poems were not particularly successful, a fact to which Hogg subsequently became reconciled: "all of them were sad stuff, although I judged them to be exceedingly good" (Hogg 1972a, 16).

Hogg's literary career reached a turning point in 1802, when through his employers, the Laidlaws, the Hogg family became involved in Scott's project of collecting ballad texts for the Minstrelsy. Scott visited Hogg in 1802 and the friendship which developed between the two writers was to have major repercussions on Hogg's subsequent career. Scott assumed the role of Hogg's quasi-patron, attempting to intercede with the Duke and Duchess of Buccleuch to persuade them to financially support Hogg, as well as taking the Shepherd's part in Hogg's request for a Royal Literary Society pension.

At Scott's suggestion, Hogg wrote a series of letters during trips to the Highlands of 1802-4, which were published in the Scots Magazine. His "Highland Tours" provide a good deal of incidental information about contemporary folk life in Ettrick, which Hogg used as a yardstick to measure Northern life against. The "Tours" demonstrate that contemporary Ettrick attitudes to the Highlanders were rather dismissive, suggesting a rampant strain of ethnocentricism in Ettrick.

Yet Hogg took a great liking to the Highlands, so much so that in 1804, having acquired a substantial sum of money through careful saving, he prepared to take over a sheep farm himself, in Harris. However, the plan backfired because of legal difficulties and Hogg lost his capital in the process. Hogg spent the rest of the summer in England and, instead of returning to Ettrick, he hired himself as a shepherd to Mr. Harkness of Mitchell-Slack, in Nithsdale.

It was in Nithsdale in 1806 that Hogg met Allan Cunningham and their meeting has passed into literary tradition. As Hogg tended his ewes on Queensberry hill, Cunningham, then a bashful youth accompanied by his brother James, visited the Shepherd. Hogg attests (ever ready to make an allusion to his sexual exploits) that at first he feared the strangers "were come to look after me with an accusation regarding some of the lasses" (Hogg 1972a, 71). But after the men had introduced themselves, the three Borderers entered into an instant friendship, "for Allan has none of the proverbial Scottish caution about him; he is all heart together, without reserve or expression of manner: you at once see the unaffected benevolence, warmth of feeling, and firm independence, of a man conscious of his own rectitude and mental energies" (Hogg 1972a, 72). The men sojourned in Hogg's humble bothy and spent a delightful day together, sharing Hogg's sweetmilk and James Cunningham's brandy. Thus began a personal and literary friendship that remained untouched by the frequent quarrels that Hogg engaged in with most of his acquaintances. In their correspondence, the two poets show a warm and lasting affection; Cunningham was one of the few contemporaries of Hogg who knew what it was to be thought a "sumph" (a simpleton) because of his peasant ancestry.

In 1807 Hogg published two works: The Shepherd's Guide and The Mountain Bard. The former records traditional and modern practices in Ettrick animal medicine and provides huge insights into contemporary shepherd life; it is fully discussed in Chapter 2. The latter is a collection of poetry, many in traditional styles, including "Sir David Graeme", a piece modelled on ballad motifs, which is discussed in Chapter 4. But while Hogg's literary career was intermittently successful, his financial affairs were seemingly doomed. Now possessing three hundred pounds, Hogg took the farm of Locherben in Dumfriesshire, but unfortunately the high rent and costs of this investment meant that Hogg was, once more, impoverished; bankrupted for the second time in 1809.

Returning to Ettrick, Hogg found no one would employ him, and in February 1810:

> in utter desperation, I took my plaid about my shoulders, and marched away to Edinburgh, determined, since no better could be, to push my fortune as a literary man. It is true, I had estimated my poetical talent high enough, but I had resolved to use it only as a staff, never as a crutch; and would have kept that resolve, had I not been driven to the reverse. (Hogg 1972a, 18)

Once in Edinburgh, though, Hogg found it as difficult to gain employment as a writer as he had as a shepherd. Hogg was constantly torn between his two professions: on the one hand, unaccepted by the established literari; on the other, unable to wholeheartedly commit himself to agriculture, because of his literary leanings. His next publication, The Forest Minstrel (1810) was a financial disaster; and his attempt at producing a magazine, The Spy, if a triumph in personal endurance (Hogg produced most of his journal single-handedly), was a failure financially. The frank sexual revelations of Hogg's "Basil Lee" proved too robust for Edinburgh tastes and The Spy lasted only for a year (1810-11).

Although the move to Edinburgh was not the financial success that Hogg might have hoped, his social life seems to have been extremely lively. In the debating club "The Forum" Hogg perfected his skills in pleasing the public: "a discerning public is a severe test, especially in the multitude, where the smallest departure from good taste, or from the question, was sure to draw down disapproval, and where no good saying ever missed observation and applause" (Hogg 1972a, 23). And in 1813 Hogg had his first major literary success: The Queen's Wake, a collection in the form of a poetic contest to win a harp from Queen Mary, the individual items being mainly in the ballad style. The Wake brought Hogg fame, but not fortune, as his publisher, Goldie, became bankrupt soon afterwards. Around this time, Hogg introduced himself to John Wilson, author of The Isle of Palms (1812), entering into a friendship which would have cataclysmic effects on the concept of "The Ettrick Shepherd". Their relationship is fully discussed in Chapter 5.

Hogg was in a liminal position in contemporary society: not now a mere shepherd, but still not accepted by the literary elite. His interaction with other writers demonstrates his good-natured, if easily offended, personality, as well as the endemic snobbery of contemporary literary circles. Hogg was invited to numerous parties and social gatherings, a lively companion who entertained his hosts with his own songs and poetry. He was an enthusiastic dancer and a skilled fiddler by this period, and as J.G. Lockhart commented, albeit in a double-edged manner, in Peter's Letters to His Kinsfolk (1819):

> he really produced a measure of sweet sounds, quite beyond what I should have expected from the workmanship of such horny fingers. It seems, however, he had been long accustomed to minister in this way at the fairs and penny-weddings in Ettrick, and we, on the present occasion, were well content to be no more fastidious than the Shepherd's old mystic admirers. He appears to be in great favour among the ladies--and I thought some of the younger and more courtly poets in the company exhibited some symptoms of envying him a little of his copious complement of smiles--as well they might. (Lockhart 1977, 155)

But despite such token compliments Hogg, in his persona of "The Ettrick Shepherd" was better known for social gaffes than as delightful company. R.P. Gillies, the writer and translator, claimed to have introduced Hogg into polite society, and Gillies patronisingly describes one dinner party at a Lady Williamson's:

> On the first of these occasions, the Shepherd was painfully puzzled, for not having till then met with ice-cream in the shape (as he said) of it, "fine het sweet puddin," he took, incautiously, a large spoonful, whereupon with much anxiety and tearful eyes, he appealed to me--"Eh man, d'ye think that Lady Williamson keeps ony whuskey?" to which I replied instantly, that I did not think but was quite certain upon that point; accordingly the butler, at my request, brought him a petit verre, by which he was restored to entire comfort and well-being. (Gillies 1851, II: 132)

The notion of the Shepherd as ignorant ingenue (a ridiculous characteristic in a man who was then over forty), was a typical feature of the "Ettrick Shepherd" image. As will be seen, the characterisation was deeply offensive to Hogg's family and friends.

Contemporary writers exhibited a mixture of grudging affection and sheer contempt towards Hogg. Wordsworth, who romanticised the "lower orders" in his writing, regarded Hogg with a combination of friendship and disgust. In 1814 Hogg met Wordsworth in Edinburgh, claiming to have mistaken him at first for a well-known horse-dealer by the same name--the "mistake" is possibly a calculated insult on Hogg's part, in view of Wordsworth's remark on tradesmen (see below). The two poets travelled together through the Borders, including Yarrow where Wordsworth wrote his "Yarrow Visited", and they parted at Selkirk, to meet again at Wordsworth's home in Ryedale Mount. Hogg claimed to have taken an instant liking to Wordsworth, "his sentiments seemed just, and his language, though perhaps a little pompous, was pure, sentient, and expressive" (Hogg 1972a, 69). But Wordsworth seems to have been guilty of an infamous slight to Hogg. As Hogg walked with a party of writers on Mount Ryedale, to admire a bright arch of light, similar to the aurora borealis, the Shepherd remarked to Miss Wordsworth:

> "Hout, me'em! it is neither mair nor less than joost a triumphal airch, raised in honour of the poets." "That's not amiss--eh? eh?--that's very good," said the Professor,

> laughing. But Wordsworth, who had De Quincey's arm, gave a grunt, and leading the little opium chewer aside, he addressed him in these disdainful and venomous words:--"Poets? poets? What does the fellow mean? Where are they?" Who could forgive this? For my part I never can, and never will!... I have always some hopes that De Quincey was leeing, for I did not myself hear Wordsworth utter the words. (Hogg 1972a, 70)

It is clear that Wordsworth was not amused by the reporting of this incident, writing to the poet Edward Quillinan on 17th April 1832:

> Of Hogg's silly story I have only to say that his memory is not the best in the world, as he speaks of his being called out of this room when the arch made its appearance; now in fact, Wilson and he were on their way either to or from Grasmere when they saw the arch and very obligingly came to tell us of it, thinking, wh [sic] was the fact, that we might not be aware of the phenomenon. As to the speech, which galled Hogg so much, it must in one expression at least have been misreported, the word 'fellow' I am told by my family I apply to no one.... It is possible, and not improbable that I might on that occasion have been tempted to use a contemptuous expression, for H. had disgusted me not by his vulgarity, wh he cd [sic] not help, but by his self-conceit in delivering confident opinions upon classical literature and other points about wh he cd know nothing. The reviving this business in this formal way after a lapse of nearly 18 years does little credit to Mr. Hogg and it affords another proof how cautious one ought to be in admitting to one's house trading Authors of any description, Verse men or Prose men. (Wordsworth 1979, V: 517-18)

While Hogg was quick (and usually right) to take offence, he was equally ready to forgive and his personal and literary feuds rarely lasted long. Despite his bitter remarks above, Wordsworth maintained a friendly relationship with Hogg, writing the haunting "Extempore Effusion" in 1835, after Hogg's death.

Other literary men were consistently kinder. Southey certainly respected the poet. The two writers engaged in a prolonged correspondence, and Southey was consistently complimentary towards Hogg, thanking him in 1814, for instance, for sending him a copy of the Queen's Wake soon after its publication--the high quality of the book did not surprise him as he had been an admirer of Hogg's since hearing Scott recite Hogg's work in 1805. Southey particularly liked "Kilmeny" and "The Witch of Fife" (NLS MS 2245, f7-10). As Southey wrote to Hogg on 19th October 1821:

> A writer in Blackwoods Magazine says the Lake Poets sneer at everybody. He lies.--I sneer at no one,--except Mr. Jeffrey. What I say of any man, I won't just as readily say to him. And what I say of the Ettrick Shepherd ever since I have known him & his writings, is that I admire & esteem & like him. (NLS MS 2245, f72)

The feeling was mutual and Hogg stated: "Before we had been ten minutes together my heart was knit to Southey, and every hour thereafter my esteem for him increased" (Garden 1885, 194). Gillies, revealingly, recalled: "I never forgot a remark of Mr. Southey's, when he honoured me with a visit at a time of year when Edinburgh was

deserted, namely, that among all our literary characters the only one that he then felt particularly desirous to meet again was the Ettrick Shepherd" (Gillies 1851, II: 118).

Byron, too, thought highly of Hogg. Hogg, irascible by nature, almost fell out with Byron on at least one occasion. Their surviving correspondence (Hogg states several of his letters to Byron were stolen) reveals Byron's good-nature towards Hogg, although the Lord is somewhat patronising. For example Byron wrote to Hogg on March 1st 1816, "Dear sir, I never was offended with you, and never had cause. At the time I received your last letter I was "marrying and being given in marriage", and since that period have been occupied" (NLS MS 1809, f155). Byron sent a contribution for Hogg's Poetic Mirror (1816), the planned anthology of contemporary poets which became instead a collection of parodies, and Byron attempted to promote Hogg's interests with the publisher John Murray, in letters of August 3rd and 27th 1814 (Byron 1975, IV: 151, 162). Byron made an astute (if depreciative) assessment of Hogg's treatment by the Edinburgh intellectuals, writing to Thomas Moore, on the August 3rd 1814:

> The said Hogg is a strange being, but of great, though uncouth powers. I think very highly of him as a poet; but he, and half of these Scotch and Lake troubadours, are spoilt by living in little circles and petty societies. London and the world is the only place to take the conceit out of a man--in the milling phrase. (Byron 1975, IV: 152)

As Byron implies here, and as will be seen in Chapter 5, Hogg was severely handicapped by his contact with the Blackwood's circle, who conspired to stereotype him as "The Ettrick Shepherd". And his "little circle" had a limiting effect on Hogg's literary output.

Hogg's image as "The Ettrick Shepherd" made it difficult for him to be taken seriously as a writer, unless he was writing in traditional styles. His romantic poem Mador of the Moor (1814) was too easily dismissed and the fantastic Pilgrims of the Sun (1815) suffered a similar fate. Neither of these poems is any worse that John Wilson's fanciful Isle of Palms (1812), indeed Hogg's romances are far superior. Yet Wilson was acclaimed by his contemporaries as a fine writer while Hogg was sometimes neglected. To illustrate how his image tarnished whatever he wrote, Hogg claims that he once wrote out a number of Addison's best essays in his own hand, on which his colleagues immediately pronounced them to be "coarse" (qtd. in Mack 1972, viii).

On a more positive note, in 1815 Hogg's long-time wish to secure patronage from the Duke of Buccleuch was fulfilled: he was offered the farm of Altrive Lake virtually rent-free, although recently discovered evidence proves he paid a nominal sum for the

use of the peat moss there ("Hogg Letters", Walter Mason Collection). Hogg's relationship with the Scotts of Buccleuch shows a mixture of servility, familiarity and contempt. While he was capable of adopting the most cringing tones in the hope of receiving patronage (Hogg 1972a, 52n), Hogg was never overly impressed with aristocracy as such, commenting, in his recollections of Scott:

> Sir Walter was wont often to relate how he and his father before him and his grandfather before that always kept Christmas with Harden in acknowledgement of their vassalage. This he used to tell with a degree of exultation which I always thought must have been astounding to every one who heard it as if his illustrious name did not throw a blaze of glory on the house of Harden a hundred times more than that van of old Border barbarians however brave could throw over him. (Hogg 1972a, 96)

Hogg, then, was under no delusions as to how the nobility traditionally achieved their rank. Hogg's lack of illusions with respect to chivalry are fully exhibited in his characterisation of medieval knighthood in Three Perils of Man (1822), a work which is treated in Chapter 3. As a man whose recollections of the Scotts of Buccleuch were no doubt linked to being evicted from their properties, it is likely that Hogg was keenly aware of the incongruities involved in accepting aristocratic patronage.

Hogg possessed a well-developed sense of the absurd, and this was put to good use in his next major literary enterprise. In 1817, he launched into a new phase of his career, with the new Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine. Starting with his oft-questioned share in the controversial "Chaldee Manuscript" Hogg contributed prolifically to Blackwood's magazine, and within its pages the image of the "Ettrick Shepherd" was to be fully, and damagingly, developed. Hogg's relationship with Blackwood himself was highly inflammatory. Blackwood, at times, was downright defamatory about Hogg, writing to Wilson on 28th August 1823 that the recently published Perils of Woman was "a most hoggish performance--coarse, vulgar and uninteresting" (NLS MS 3395, f11). Occasionally, Blackwood held back Wilson from being too critical, for instance on 23rd September 1823 Blackwood wrote, with respect to a recent review of Hogg's work, that although he had liked Wilson's text in manuscript, still when he saw it set in type he had some reservations:

> I began to feel a little for the poor monster, and above all when I considered that it might perhaps so irritate the creature as to drive him to some beastly personal attack upon you in the Scotsman or some other worthy vehicle, I thought it better to pause. I felt quite sure that if published in its present state, he would be in such a state of rage he would at all events denounce you every where as the Author. This would be most unpleasant to your feeling. For now that one can look at the article coolly there are such coarsenesses and personal things in it as one would not like to hear it said that you

> were the author of.... Few of the readers of Maga know the beastliness of Hogg, and weak minds could be startled by some of your strong expressions. (NLS MS 3395, f17-18).

While many of Blackwood's insults, like these, were behind the back, Blackwood's Magazine was often openly savage in its reviews of Hogg's works. Yet Hogg did not hold grudges for long, and wrote to Wilson in 1833 that he had received "many marked kindnesses from Blackwood as well as many insults, and just as these predominate in my mind, I have the kindest affection for him or the littlest ill-will" (NLS MS 2530, f3).

Just as dangerous as the forthright attacks on Hogg's work which appeared in Blackwood's was the patronising treatment Hogg received from publishers like John Ballantyne with, as Strout puts it, his "Rousseauistic enthusiasms." For example, on 10th October 1816, Ballantyne suggested a new, suitable plot-line for Hogg:

> I want you to write a poem entitled "The South Sea" and I will presently furnish you with a nucleus in a story which will wring your heart.... With the interesting facts of this little episode, which I shall furnish to you, & the fine objects and properties of a first voyage to a new world, peopled with a race, innocent in their loves because ignorant, and graceful and lovely as human nature before it was fettered by institutions & perverted by fashions,--in your own hands--you will do much. (qtd. in Strout 1946, 116)

Such covert hostility (from Blackwood) and gushing patronisation (from Ballantyne) might have been enough to crush a lesser man. But Hogg was remarkably resilient, and even excused the intelligentsia for relegating him to the intellectual fringe:

> For my own part, I know that I have always been looked on by the learned part of the community as an intruder in the paths of literature, and every opprobrium has been thrown on me from that quarter. The truth is, that I am so. The walks of learning are occupied by a powerful aristocracy, who deem that province their own peculiar right; else, what would avail all their dear bought collegiate honours and degrees? No wonder that they should view an intruder, from the humble and despised ranks of the community, with a jealous and indignant eye, and impede his progress by every means in their power. (Hogg 1972a, 46)

Hogg's remarks on Burns could equally be applied to his own period: "The literati of Edinburgh...were, in general, more noted for clearness of head than warmth of heart" (Hogg 1836, 227).

Hogg was constantly required to perform as a peasant poet: to produce works which would conform to his stereotype as the rustic (albeit coarse) innocent, "The Ettrick Shepherd". While Hogg producing such informative work on Ettrick traditions was good news for the folklorist, it was stifling to his abilities as a creative writer, as will be seen below. Even when Hogg recorded Ettrick traditions, he was swimming in dangerous

waters. Over and beyond the contempt of his publishers, Hogg was sometimes faced with hot-headed criticisms from Scott. In one case at least this was related to Scott's preferance for documentary evidence, and Hogg's for oral tradition. 1818 saw the publication of The Brownie of Bodsbeck, discussed in Chapter 2. Scott was horrified at this work, unfortunately published soon after his own Old Mortality, which covered the same ground (the Covenanting period) from a totally different perspective. While Scott apparently thought Hogg's tale "a false and unfair picture of the times and the existing characters altogether", Hogg disagreed, defending in the process the traditional oral history of Ettrick:

> It is the picture I hae been bred up in the belief o' sin' ever I was born and I had it frae them whom I was most bound to honour and believe. An' mair nor that there is not one single incident in the tale--not one--which I cannot prove from history to be literally and positively true. I was obliged sometimes to change the situations to make one part coalesce with another but in no one instance have I related the story of a cruelty or a murder which is not literally true. An' that's a great deal mair than you can say for your tale o' Auld Mortality. (Hogg 1972a, 106)

Hogg's equation of truth with oral tradition is the product of his upbringing in a predominantly oral society, just as Scott's is the product of his early literacy. The conflict between the two outlooks is illuminating, and illustrates the great intellectual gulf which existed between the educated elite and the working classes. As "The Ettrick Shepherd" Hogg tried to occupy a mediating position but, as in this case, he was not always successful.

In 1820 Hogg's collection of Winter Evening Tales appeared, and arrangements were made to publish a new edition of the Mountain Bard with Oliver & Boyd (thereby causing one of Hogg's frequent rifts with Blackwood). In the same year Hogg married Margaret Phillips, the sister-in-law of his close friend James Gray. He had been courting his thirty-one year old bride for ten years, and by all accounts, epistolary and otherwise, their union was blissfully happy. Indeed Hogg continues the speech which opened this chapter by adding, "indeed so uniformly smooth and happy has my married life been, that on a retrospect I cannot distinguish one part from another, save by some remarkably good days of fishing, shooting, and curling on ice" (Hogg 1972a, 54). Hogg supported his own father (his mother having died in 1815), and his wife's parents too, and five children survived James Hogg and Margaret Phillips: four daughters and one son. Hogg was a devoted parent.

Margaret Phillips (Hogg) came from a relatively well-to-do background and, with the prospect of some financial support from his new father-in-law, Hogg took a nine-year lease of a Mountbenger farm, beside his own Altrive. Unfortunately Mr. Phillips then suffered severe financial set-backs, and the large farm of Mount Benger proved a ruinous burden to the poet. At the end of his term he abandoned the larger farm and moved back to Altrive, where he was to spend the rest of his life. However, this rural lifestyle was to prove far from idyllic. Hogg was plagued by a constant stream of visitors at Altrive; time-consuming for a working farmer and writer, and colosally expensive:

> They might arrive when he was not at home, it is true; he might be looking after sheep, or catching fish for dinner, or enjoying a lonely walk to meditate a "grand new article for the next number of Maga." But this availed him not, either they took possession of the cottage on the pretext of being tired, or they mounted the nearest hill top to look for him, and tracked him out in his solitude. An invitation to dinner followed of course; they usually arrived towards dinner time, after a very long walk; thereafter, in the words of Burns, "the night drave on wi' sangs and clatter", and as the nearest town was far away they must needs remain and bivouac at Altrive, feeling themselves extremely comfortable under the influence of the Shepherd's "whuskey toddy", which of course they did not spare. Such a mode of life would never do. These kind friends had no doubt the best possible intentions, but Hogg, unluckily, had too many such "well-wishers." The cottage was too small for him and them together; inevitably they robbed him of his time; they would not allow him his peaceful mornings to work out his poems on his old broken "sclate". Instead of living on 50l. or 60l. a year, which Altrive might yield, he would have needed a separate annuity to support the expense of entertaining his guests. (Gillies 1851, II: 240-41)

Hogg took frequent refuge in Edinburgh, staying with his old friend John Grieve in Teviot Row. In Gillies' estimation, this was the happiest period of Hogg's life, as he worked on his Jacobite Relics (1819-21), discussed in Chapter 4, and his Border Garland of songs (1819). Gillies recalled Hogg as an independent character; always confident that his next work would be better than his last, and unwilling to let friends see his work before it was ready for publication: "If I hae na sense eneuch to mak and mend my ain wark, no other hands or heads shall meddle wi' it; I want nae help, thank God, neither from books nor men" (Gillies 1851, II: 128).

In 1821 Constable published a four volume collection of Hogg's Poetical Works, and in 1822 Hogg's historical novel, the Three Perils of Man appeared. The latter work, with its emphasis on oral traditions, is of great value to the folklorist as will be seen in Chapter 3. It focuses on the complex of beliefs ranging around the household spirit of the "Brownie", as well as being replete with local historical traditions vis a vis the Covenanting period. 1823 saw the publication of a companion volume, the Three Perils

of Woman, which was brutally attacked by John Wilson in Blackwood's Magazine. However, as a source on traditional culture it is also of immense value, as Hogg focuses on the transitional nature of contemporary Borders' culture, with special reference to current linguistic changes. These points are developed in Chapter 2.

Hogg was an innovator in literary styles as shown in the 1824 Confessions of a Justified Sinner, which uses the device of a dual narrative to tell the tale. With Hogg's powerfully vivid imagination (a trait he shares with the best storytellers, oral and literary) the book would make a wonderful movie, perhaps featuring Sean Connery as Gilmartin. But, as might be expected given the pioneering nature of the work, the Confessions was not appreciated by Hogg's contemporaries. As already suggested, when Hogg ventured outside his (partly self-imposed) niche as an authority on rural affairs he invariably suffered critical scorn. Chapter 5 explores the negative literary side-effects of the Ettrick Shepherd image in depth.

The long romantic poem, Queen Hynde (1825), drawing on the success of the Queen's Wake, but in a more contemporary style, was a critical and financial disaster for Hogg. More acceptable to the public's notions of Hogg was the 1829 collected edition of the Shepherd's Calendar, and in 1831 the selection of Hogg's Songs. However, the planned collection of Hogg's Altrive Tales went no further than the first volume, published in 1832, as Hogg's publisher Cochrane was declared bankrupt. But Hogg seems to have been notable for a personal good humour which could not be broken, despite his constant financial setbacks. His precarious, traditional upbringing had no doubt steeled him to the prospect of intermittent poverty and in public at least, he was invariably a buoyant personality.

Hogg seems to have been an extremely likeable man, and in his later life he spent a week or two in Edinburgh about twice a year, to enjoy the company of his friends. Robert Chambers remembered Hogg's visits with affection:

> The friends whom he visited were of all kinds, from men in high standing at the bar to poor poets and slender clerks; and amongst all the Shepherd was the same plain, good-humoured, unsophisticated man as he had been thirty years before, when tending his flocks amongst his native hills. In the morning, perhaps, he would breakfast with his old friend Walter Scott, at his house in Castle Street, taking with him some friend upon whom he wished to confer the advantage of acquaintance with that great man. The forenoon would be spent in calls, and in lounging amongst the backshops of such booksellers as he knew. He would dine with some of the wits of Blackwood's Magazine, who he would keep in a roar till ten o' clock; and then, recollecting another engagement, off he would set to some fifth story in the Old Town, where a young

> tradesman of literary tastes had collected six or eight lads of his own sort to enjoy the humours of the great genius of the Noctes Ambrosianae. In companies of this kind, he was treated with such homage and kindness, that he usually got into the highest spirits, sang as many of his own songs as his companions chose to listen to, and told such droll stories the poor fellows were like to go mad with happiness. After acting as the life and soul of the fraternity for a few hours, he would proceed to his inn, where he would be entangled in some further orgies by a few of the intimates of the house. (Chambers n.d., 257-58)

Chambers continues with a description of the social hotch-potch of guests Hogg would invite to the inn for his last night in Edinburgh: sixty or seventy people would attend, and there would be speeches from town notables like a Police Commissioner and a baillie, invariably ending with a toast to the Shepherd. This laudation, accompanied by a meal, has obvious parallels with the Burns' cult, and the analogy will be fully explored in Chapter 5.

1832 saw the apogee of the Shepherd's social life, when he paid a long-planned visit to London. He caused a major social sensation. Writing fifty years after this visit, S.C. Hall, the writer and magazine editor, recalled the impression Hogg made in the City, incidentally making allowances for Hogg's understandably high opinion of himself:

> Even now, across all the years that have passed, I can hear his hearty voice and his jovial laugh, and see his sunburnt face not yet paled by a month of "merrie companie" in London. 'I like to talk about myself,' so begins his autobiography. No doubt he was an egotist, but so is every shepherd when he talks of sheep; so is the mariner when he speaks of perils in sailing a ship; so are all men who dwell on matters which constitute that 'personality', and which they understand better than others do. In short, so are all teachers. The accusation of egotism, and also that of plagiarism, are easily made, but are not so easy of proof. Few men have so thoroughly triumphed over difficulties; none came more triumphantly out of them. James Hogg was a far more marvellous man than Robert Burns; far less great as a poet, certainly; but marvellous in the dauntless energy with which he struggled against circumstances yet more adverse than those of Burns, and reached--not an untimely grave, but a secure position in the world of letters. Hogg was as much as Southey 'a man of letters by profession', and surely one of the most remarkable men of the century passed away when
> 'Ettrick mourned her shepherd dead.'
> A wrestle with fortune, indeed, was his! chequered yet successful and marked during the whole of his fairly long life by good spirits, that were partly the result of a good constitution, and greatly, perhaps, derived from sanguine self esteem. (qtd. in Garden 1885, 203-4)

Hall recalled the poet singing Jacobite songs in London, to the delight of the English literati. The comparison with Burns, as already mentioned, was a standard element in the "Ettrick Shepherd" image.

Hogg seems to have been an outstandingly kindly man, always ready to help others. No doubt painfully aware of the consequences of a limited formal education, he built his

own school at Mountbenger. As well as educating his own children here, Hogg encouraged the attendance of all the local children. Furthermore he paid for the schoolmaster's salary from his own pocket, and boarded his employee in his own home. An informative and neglected source on Hogg's personal life is the account by Dr Charles Marshall, a former schoolteacher at Mountbenger. Marshall remembered the poet with sincere affection. As a great admirer of Hogg's songs, when Marshall first met the writer he felt as if he was in the presence of King William IV: "he was not, however, the sort of person in whose presence you felt awe. He had seen so much of the world that he could at once adapt his conversation to the circumstance and feelings of those with whom he conversed" (Marshall, qtd. in Garden 1885, 297-8). To put the younger man at his ease, Hogg recited to Marshall from "The Witch of Fife" and sang him a variety of original songs accompanied by a Miss Boyd on the piano. These included "Donald MacDonald" and Hogg's personal favourite, "I'll no wake wi' Annie" (Marshall, qtd. in Garden 1885, 298-99).

Among Marshall's tasks was reading the numerous manuscripts sent to Hogg for perusal, including Robert Montgomery's "Satan" and "Oxford". When Montgomery paid an impromptu visit to ask Hogg's opinion, Marshall recalls a reply which might have come straight from Blackwood's: "I daresay, Robert, they're guy gude, but I never a' my life could thole college poetry--it's a' sae desperate stupid" (Marshall, qtd. in Garden 1885, 300). Provocatively, Marshall recalls with respect to Hogg's politics: "Hogg was a...Tory, or affected to be" (Marshall, qtd. in Garden 1885, 302). This raises an interesting question with relation to Hogg's politics: did he assert that he was a Tory to fit in with his "Ettrick Shepherd" image and his "Blackwoods'" friends, rather than from a sense of personal commitment? Hogg, after all, had a vested interest in ensuring his continued employment by Blackwood's. So too the author of the Jacobite Relics was keen to satisfy his Tory Highland Society friends. And again, when Hogg condemned the "rascally Whigs" in a letter of 1833, he was defending his right to be allowed a vote in Selkirkshire ("James Hogg Manuscripts"). While there is no concrete evidence of Hogg being a Whig the question of his political inclinations (in the light of his clearly pragmatic nature) would certainly repay further study.

Among Hogg's later works is his 1834 Familiar Anecdotes of Sir Walter Scott, published in England as the Domestic Manners of Sir Walter Scott. Hogg is, on the

whole, highly complimentary to Scott, although he does not regard him with blind adulation. Hogg was quite open about Scott's hot temper, as well as his readiness for reconciliation. Scott and Hogg engaged in a number of personal and literary disputes, for instance over "The Spy" and The Brownie of Bodsbeck. But Hogg asserts: "The only foible I could ever discover in the character of Sir Walter, was a too strong leaning to the old aristocracy of the country. His devotion for titled rank was prodigious, and, in such an illustrious character, altogether out of place. It amounted almost to adoration" (Hogg 1972a, 95). Hogg sympathised with the more famous writer, plagued by admirers to an extent which would have driven lesser men to distraction: "Noblemen, gentlemen, painters, poets, and players, all crowded to Sir Walter, not to mention booksellers and printers, who were never absent, but these spoke to him privately" (Hogg 1972a, 99).

Hogg was one of Scott's greatest admirers; the Shepherd was proud to be associated with the Shirra:

> He was truly an extraordinary man--the greatest man in the world.... And is it not a proud boast for an old shepherd, that, for thirty years, he could call this man friend, and associate with him every day and hour that he chose?
> Yes, it is my proudest boast. Sir Walter sought me out in the wilderness, and attached himself to me before I had ever seen him, and, although I took cross fits with him, his interest in me never subsided for one day or one moment. He never scrupled to let me know that I behoved to depend entirely on myself for my success in life, but at the same time always assured me that I had talents to ensure that success, if properly applied and not suffered to waste. I was always received in his house like a brother, and he visited me on the same familiar footing. I never went into the inner house of Parliament, where he sat, on which he did not rise and come to me, and conduct me to a seat in some corner of the outer house, where he would sit with me two or three minutes. I am sorry to think that any of his relations should entertain an idea that Sir Walter undervalued me, for of all the men I ever met with, not excepting the noblemen and gentlemen in London, there was never a gentleman paid more deference to me than Sir Walter; and though many of my anecdotes are homely or commonplace ones, I am sure there is no man in Scotland who appreciates his value more highly, or reveres his memory more. (Hogg 1972a, 124-25)

There was real affection on both sides, even though Scott referred to the poet, in letters, as the "boar" and the "swine" of Ettrick.

As stated above, Scott often tried to help the Shepherd financially through furthering his cause with the Scotts of Buccleuch. Scott's Letters also reveal that money from Scott's own pocket helped on more than one occasion. Scott's concern for Hogg was also exhibited on a more personal level. This is illustrated by an anecdote dealing with the period when Hogg fell out with Scott in 1814. Hogg was then involved in a round of wild socialising with the "Right and Wrong Club", "the chief principle of the

club being that whatever any of its members should assert, the whole were bound to support the same, whether right or wrong" (Hogg 1972a, 46). Meeting at Oman's Hotel each night at five, and carousing until two in the morning, the Club took a heavy toll on Hogg's health, and he ended up dangerously ill for several weeks. Even though the two writers had not communicated for a year, Hogg learned, Scott was extremely solicitous about the Shepherd's health, secretly offering to pay for the best physicians available to attend his friend. On hearing of this, Hogg immediately offered an apology to Scott, and the two were speedily reconciled. Hogg's lasting affection for Scott is evident in his moving description of the poets' last meeting (Hogg 1972a, 134).

But despite Hogg's sympathetic treatment of "The Great Unknown", the Familiar Anecdotes offended several of Scott's intimates, most notably Scott's son-in-law, John Gibson Lockhart. Hogg's remarks as to the mystery of Lady Scott's parentage, for instance, were seen as casting aspertions on the family name. Furthermore, the realistic approach towards Scott's own foibles has attracted criticism from later writers, and the Scott-Hogg relationship has itself attained a semi-legendary status. Typifying its public image Craig-Brown, the historian of Selkirkshire, wrote:

> Scott, on the one hand, was often moved to impatience by Hogg's excessive egotism; while the latter resented hotly what he conceived to be an air of tolerant condescension in his patron's attitude. It was the greater man--to his undying credit let it be said--who always made the first advances towards reconciliation. Hogg, in his way, offered divine amends for his presumptuous rudeness to the man who most in the world deserved his gratitude; but even after Sir Walter's death, he could not glorify the central light of literature without being at pains to point out the spots upon its face. (Craig-Brown 1886, I: 342)

More charitably, Hogg has left posterity with a lively picture of Scott which is probably far more accurate than the hagiographic account his son-in-law Lockhart produced.

After Scott's death, Hogg's own health gradually went into decline, and in 1835, after the publication of Tales of the Wars of Montrose (again set in the Covenanting period, and discussed in Chapter 3), he died of a liver complaint. The funeral was a massive event, shepherds and literary admirers mixed at the graveside, and the self-appointed chief mourner was John Wilson, the Professor North of the "Noctes Ambrosianae" who, as will be seen, was probably the one man to do most disservice to Hogg's literary and personal reputation. Wilson continued to damage the Shepherd's reputation even after Hogg's death, by failing to complete a planned biography while retaining Hogg's papers, thus preventing the enthusiastic Allan Cunningham from writing a Life of Hogg.[5]

Outside Scotland, even in his lifetime, Hogg was better appreciated. The Perils of Woman was translated into French in 1823. In Ireland Hogg's poems were recited by the upper classes. Gray, Hogg's brother-in-law wrote to Hogg in a letter dated 25th June 1825, about Hogg's fame in Belfast. Here, most people had heard of the Queen's Wake. A clergyman at a dinner party Gray attended had recited whole passages from "Mary Scott" and "Kilmeny", and "only the day before yesterday at a public breakfast, I heard the 'Cameronian Hymn,' from 'The Brownie of Bodsbeck,' sung by a concert of sweet voices with a pathos that moistened more than Scottish eyes" (Gray, qtd. in Garden 1885, 187-88). And despite disparaging reviews, many Scots appreciated Hogg, regretting the despicable treatment he suffered as "The Ettrick Shepherd". William Chambers stated in 1872:

> While thus recalling, for the amusement of an idle hour, some of the whimsical scenes in which we have met James Hogg, let it not be supposed that we think of him only with a regard to the homely manners, the social good-nature, and the unimportant foibles, by which he was characterised. The world amidst which he moved was but too apt, especially of late years, to regard him in these lights alone, forgetting that, beneath his rustic plaid, there beat one of the kindest and most unperverted of hearts, while his bonnet covered the head from which sprung Kilmeny and Donald MacDonald. Hogg, as an untutored man, was a prodigy, much more so than Burns, who had comparatively a good education; and now that he is dead and gone, we look around in vain for a living hand capable of awakening the national lyre. The time will probably come when this inspired rustic will be more justly appreciated. (Chambers n.d., 263-264)

As will be demonstrated in chapter 5, Chambers's prediction has been recently fulfilled. In the twentieth century Hogg has enjoyed a gradual rehabilitation, both as writer and individual.

Hogg's involvement with the traditional culture of Scotland was at three main levels: as informant, collector and creative writer. He presented the traditional culture of the Scottish Borders in a high cultural form, and thereby preserved it for posterity. The next three chapters profile the traditional culture of Ettrick as presented by James Hogg in a literary context. Chapter 2 deals with folk life, Chapter 3 with narratives and Chapter 4 with song. The fifth chapter analyses Hogg's image as "The Ettrick Shepherd", as it has developed from the nineteenth century to the present day. It is hoped this thesis will demonstrate that Hogg played a unique role in the transmission of traditional Borders culture in the literary and oral contexts.

Notes

[1]See J.M. Gilbert Hunting and Hunting Reserves in Medieval Scotland. Edinburgh: John Donald, 1979.

[2]Cunningham's session occurs in Cumberland, an English Border area culturally similar to Ettrick. Traditional narratives were performed till recently, both in the home, and at local concerts (see Derwent 1982; Mitchells; Barries, passim). The Borders festival is currently reviving traditional-style performances, with professional and semi-professional entertainers. In twentieth century Scotland, a number of storytelling techniques have been identified, from the "joie de vivre" of Jeannie Robertson (Henderson 1973), to the ponderous style of John Stewart of Blair, who told his tales "slowly and with conviction" ("The Stewarts" 1976, 168). On international styles of storytelling see Azadowski 1974; Sandor 1967.

[3]The distinction between active and passive tradition bearers was originally proposed by C.W. Von Sydow (see Von Sydow 1948). See Petrie 1983.

[4]Probably "Further Particulars of the Life of James Hogg, the Ettrick Shepherd", by "Z". This appeared in the Scots Magazine of 1805 and was clearly written either by Hogg, or with his close collaboration.

[5]Allan Cunningham proposed a biography to Hogg as early as 1820, asking the following favour from the writer:

> I have in some degree quitted the service of the Muse and betaken myself to Biography. If you like what I have done and are at all ambitious of the distinction from my pen you will oblige me greatly by dyeing [sic] at your convenience, committing by will your papers and memorandum to my care and adding a request that your old comrade Allan Cunningham will dip his rustic pen in Biographical ink for your sake. James my beloved Friend think of this. (NLS MS 2254)

After Hogg's death, Cunningham corresponded with Hogg's widow regarding his proposed biography, but due to Wilson's prior claims nothing came of Cunningham's plans.

Chapter 2

TRADITIONAL CULTURE OF ETTRICK: FOLK LIFE

It's an out-o'-the-way place, the Forest, sirs, though a great road rins through't; for it's no easy to break the charm o' the seelence and the solitariness o' natur. A great road rins through't; but aften hae I sat on a knowe commanding miles o't, and no ae single spec astir, far as the ee could reach--no a single spec, but aiblins a sheep crossin, or a craw alichtin, or an auld crouchin beggar-woman. (Wilson 1863, III: 176)

2.1. Working life

2.1.1. Sheep farming

Shepherd life was far from the pastoral idyll celebrated in romantic literature. As a working shepherd, Hogg was familiar with an annual cycle of agricultural labour, and he is a vital informant on working life in this period. The shepherd's year started in May with the new term of employment, and followed a regular round of gelding, smearing, lambing, sales, and shearing. In all this work the shepherd's indispensable companion then, as now, was a collie dog:

> A shepherd may be a very able, trusty, and good shepherd without a sweetheart--better, perhaps, than with one. But what is he without his dog? A mere post, sir--a nonentity as a shepherd--no better than one of the grey stones upon the side of his hill... a single shepherd and his dog will accomplish more in gathering a stock of sheep from a Highland farm, than twenty shepherds could do without dogs. So that you see, and it is a fact, that, without this docile little animal, the pastoral life would be a mere blank. (Hogg 1824a, 177)

No wonder, then, that Borderers relished telling tall tales about their dog's achievements. Hogg himself recorded the deeds of three generations of his dogs: Hector, Sirrah and Lion (Hogg 1824a). He also parodied these tales in "Willie Wastel and his Dog Trap" (Hogg 1832), based on the character of this name featured in the Noctes (Wilson 1863) and possibly inspired by a traditional rhyme about Wastel (Henderson 1831-2, 152).

If hired on an unfamiliar farm the shepherd would begin by studying the ground, familiarising himself with the sheep tracks. The first major task of the year was castrating the lambs, beginning in mid-June. The shepherd aimed to be as gentle as possible while doing this. The lamb was never caught by the back or the flank, only by the hough or neck, and lifted up gently by the legs. The operator slit up the scrotum with a sharp, smooth-edged knife, "starting" the stones (testicles) by pressing both hands against the lamb's belly. Removing them, the cords were taken between thumb and forefinger, and the stones drawn away with the teeth. The lamb's tail was pulled sharply two or three times to replace the cords and vessels. Afterwards, a basic antiseptic, such as oil of turpentine, was often applied to the wound with a feather. Hogg points out this was unnecessary if the folds were clean and the lambs treated gently. Applying turpentine stopped the growth of the lambs for about a fortnight. Not surprisingly, some died. The greatest mortality occurred on the third or fourth day after the lambs had been cut, and sometimes the death toll continued for six or seven days (Hogg 1807, 13-14).

Clipping (shearing) also began in mid-June. Three or four days beforehand, the sheep were washed, by driving them through a pond. It was a difficult job, as the sheep struggled, tearing off some wool. Clipping itself consisted of three stages: "grippers" passed the sheep to "clippers", who cut the wool, then "binders" prepared bundles for sale. The clippers sat on sheep clipping stools with the sheep's legs restrained behind the bars of the stool (Ryder 1983, 700-6). Alternatively the sheep might be turned over on to their backs and gripped between the clipper's legs. Metal shears, shaped like scissors and about a foot and a half long, were used to shear the wool. With an efficient team of three or four workers, two to three hundred sheep could be sheared in a day. The clipped sheep were marked with tar, to identify their farm and hirsel. For the same purpose their ears were often marked with small nicks (Gossett 1911, 181-90).[6]

Clipping was a time of great hilarity, and as both men and women were involved there was plenty of banter between the sexes:

> It is the business of the lasses to take the ewes, and carry them from the fold to the clippers; and now might be seen every young shepherd's sweetheart, or favourite, tending on him, helping him to clip, or holding the ewes by the hind legs to make them lie easy, a great matter for the furtherance of the operator. Others again, who thought themselves slighted, or loved a joke, would continue to act in the reverse way, and plague the youths by bringing such sheep to them as it was next to impossible to clip.
> "Aih, Jock lad, I hae brought you a grand ane for this time! Ye will clank the shears ower her, an' be the first done o' them a'."
> "My truly, Jessy, but ye hae gi'en me my dinner! I declare the beast is woo to the clots an' the een holes, an' afore I get the fleece broken up, the rest will be done. Ah, Jessy, Jessy! ye're working for a mischief the day, an' ye'll maybe get it.'
> "She's a braw sonsie sheep, Jock. I ken ye like to hae your arms well filled. She'll amaist fill them as weel as Tibby Tod". (Hogg 1823c, 632).

In contrast to this realistic treatment, see Hogg's romantic song "The Sheep Shearing", in which a knight courts bonnie Jean at the shearing (Hogg 1973, II: 272).

The lambs were weaned about the 1st of July. In some areas, and especially in the earlier part of the period under consideration, ewes would be milked after the lambs were weaned, and the milk made into cheese, which, "when three or four years old, becomes very pungent, and is in considerable esteem for the table" (Bingley, qtd. in Gossett 1911, 95-6). The phenomenon of ewe milking, as Ms Gossett points out, is referred to in Jane Elliot's "The Lament for Flodden", usually known as "The Flowers of the Forest" (Gossett 1911, 96). The practice was declining in the late eighteenth century, as it was realised it weakened the ewes. Hogg comments:

> Of all the practices this is the most pernicious which prevails to the present day. It causes great numbers of them to turn blind; raiseth the foot rot and the leg-ill, and very

> frequently the fatal murrain of which we have been treating [breakshauch] and as is tends so much to debilitate the body, the rot, in some seasons, also ensues. (1807, 91)

In the summer months the shepherd would go round the hill twice a day. On farms where the sheep were prone to casting, also known as awalding, (falling onto their backs, a potentially fatal condition) shepherds made three daily rounds. The September sheep sales kept the shepherd and farmer constantly busy, transporting animals between the stead and the market, and socialising after the sales.

At the end of October the sheep were smeared, to protect them from winter snow and sleet. In the late eighteenth century the standard smearing mixture was tar and butter; however, by the nineteenth century, after recent experiments, smearing mixtures were the subject of controversy. New options included: raw turpentine and coconut oil; butter and spirit of tar; coconut oil and train oil; hog's lard and rozet; hog's lard and turpentine; butter and gallipoli oil (Hogg 1829-31, 703-05).[7] About the twentieth of November the tups (rams) were put to the ewes, and ten days later to the gimmers, or young ewes.

Harsh winter weather was the bane of the sheep farmer. Hogg's "Storms" sequence gives a vivid picture of the effects of severe weather (Hogg, 1819a). In 1772 the snow lay from mid-December to mid-April. The sheep were so weakened that they could not even be moved to safer, lower pastures (Hogg 1982, 3). Hogg recalls the 24th of January, 1794, as the worst storm he ever saw:

> of all the storms that ever Scotland witnessed, or I hope will ever again behold, there is none of them that can once be compared with the memorable 24th of Janr. 1794, which fell with such peculiar violence on that division of Scotland which lies between Crawford-Moor and the Border. In that bounds there were 17 shepherds perished, and upwards of 30 carried home insensible who afterwards recovered; but the numbers of sheep that were lost far outwent the possibility of calculation. One farmer alone Mr. Thomas Beattie, lost 72 scores for his own share, and many others in the same quarter from 30 to 40 scores each. (1982, 4)[8]

During a bad storm, the sheep were prone to "smooring", or getting smothered by the snow (Hogg 1807, 121-5). If there were prolonged periods of frost, the sheep would become accustomed to walking on frozen burns, and drown in these after the thaw (Barrie, T90-5). It was difficult to get feed to the animals, even if this was available (a difficulty which no longer exists thanks to the easily transportable block feeds). Entire flocks could be lost in a winter, as happened to Hogg in 1808 (NLS MS 3653, f147-8). Moreover, a severe season affects the stock for several years, as sheep are kept which

otherwise might be sold. It can take up to five years for a hirsel to recover from a single bad winter (Barrie, T89-4) so when a series of these occur, as in 1709-42, the effects are devastating.

Lambing began around the 10th to the 20th of April. The ewes were often udder-locked two or three days before. This involved pulling wool away from the udder, to facilitate suckling. Hogg disapproved of the practice as unnecessary and cruel (1807, 81). Lambing was a stressful time for the shepherd. Often a young man would stay with the sheep during the night, in case of problems. If the lamb died, a spare lamb (a twin or an orphan) was given to the ewe. The method of making a ewe accept an unfamiliar lamb is the same today as in Hogg's period:

> Take the skin of the dead lamb, and fasten it tightly around that which you intend giving her; confine them together in a dark corner, or a space of four feet diameter, and in twenty hours, or even sometimes less than the fourth of that time, she will be quite reconciled to it, and acknowledge it as her own all its life, often with more fondness than she showed to her own offspring. (Hogg 1807, 15-16)

2.1.2. Sheep diseases

Hogg recorded a variety of information with respect to traditional animal medicine in Ettrick. His Shepherd's Guide (1807), and essays for The Farmers' Magazine (1812) and Quarterly Journal of Agriculture (1828-31), recommend a variety of veterinarian techniques collected from local sources. But as well as acknowledging Ettrick traditions Hogg advises new methods, and it is likely that he thereby influenced the development of veterinary practices in Ettrick. In his attitudes towards animal medicine, as to most traditional phenomena, Hogg was caught between two contradictory desires: to proclaim his allegiance to traditional culture, and to contribute to his regional, and personal, progress.

Home remedies were essential on the isolated hill farms, and animal medicines were concocted from what was at hand, including foodstuffs and plants. For example to cure breakshauch (a disease which caused sheep to waste away) Hogg recommends administering rhuburb or glauber salts (sodium sulphate), bleeding the beast, and applying an astringent mixture of eggs, sweetmilk and the bark of an alder tree (1807, 83-92). Trained vets were unheard of in Scotland until the foundation of the Gamgee and Dick Veterinary Colleges in Edinburgh, in the 1840s. Furthermore, the remoteness of the

Forest made consultation difficult. Self taught experts provided some help, like the farrier greatgrandfather of Ringan, in Galt's Ringan Gilhaize (1823). Authorities in Ettrick included Walter Elliot (1801-1889), a local farmer. Elliot's manuscript book of animal cures is extant, and was used by his descendants until the early twentieth century. Because of their shared background in Ettrick, Hogg and Elliot will be compared here. Although Elliot's book cannot be earlier than the 1870s many of his cures are similar to Hogg's.[9] However, by the late eighteenth century farmers were buying commercial treatments more regularly, and animal medicine was becoming specialised. As might be expected, Elliot uses many more bought medicines than Hogg. In this context, reference will be made to early Scottish veterinarian tomes, like Gamgee's Veterinary Vade Mecum (1848) and Blacklock's Treatise on Sheep (1840).

Hogg begins by discussing the diseases of lambs. They are particularly prone to illness. The heaviest casualties occurred during periods of severe weather. After this, the major cause of death was starvation, either through a lack of milk, or the ewes' refusal to give it. Hogg argues that ewes rarely deny milk unless they are in trouble--on which count the shepherd should be vigilant. If there was a black dot and redress around the vent of the ewe's pap, she should be milked with thumb and forefinger, till the milk flowed freely. Then sweet oil or butter could be smeared on the pap. The sick ewe should be confined for a few days on an area of enclosed, rich pasture, of which there should be an area reserved on every sheep farm (Hogg 1807, 10).

"Pinding", or "pining", (a form of diarrhoea) was a common cause of death in lambs: "the excrement of the lamb becomes of a gluey nature, and lays hold of the tail and buttocks, which, by the heat of the sun, are pasted so close together about the fundament, that all possibility of evacuation is prevented, and the creature bursts in a short time" (Hogg 1807, 11). To alleviate the animal's misery, shepherds could loosen the excrement, and rub the sheep with "friable clay" or "dry mould" to prevent recurrence (Hogg, 1807, 11). Blacklock recommends purgatives and rich pasture as a cure (1840, 172).

Other diseases which afflicted lambs included inflammation of the bladder, stiffness of the joints, and "grass ill": "a kind of sickness occasioned by mixing some kinds of grass too freely with the milk" (Hogg 1807, 12). Hoggs, or young sheep, were prone to diseases such as braxy, also known as "the sickness". This was an intestinal illness,

similar to gastritis. An affected animal was visibly distressed. It would rise, and then lie down again every few minutes. Animals which died of braxy ended as salted meat, also known as braxy. The sickness began in mid-October, and could cause havoc among young flocks. Hogg identifies four types: water braxy, bowel sickness, sickness in the flesh and blood, and water braxy (1807, 17-53); Blacklock six--variations on the categories defined by Hogg (Blacklock 1840, 166).

To cure water braxy, Hogg advises bleeding the animal. For the other varieties, the sheep should be forced to run to heat it, and then bathed with warm water for eight to ten minutes. Water gruel and water, or another softener, could then be injected into the beast. Hogg advocates stocking land with a mixture of young and old sheep; as Hogg believes braxy is caused by indigestion, he thinks young sheep could be saved, by learning what to eat from their elders. He further recommends burning heather on the land, so that the sheep would not eat strong, hot heather along with the sweet, succulent grass that grew round it (Hogg 1807, 17-53).

Footrot was a particularly painful condition, affecting animals which walked on wet grounds. The foot had to be thoroughly cleaned, and the diseased part cut away. Hogg advises washing the foot in soap and urine, bathing it in turps, rubbing it with tar, and binding it with flannel (1807, 169-77). Elliot's cure relies on chemicals from the apothecary. He dosed the animal with bichloride mercury, sulphate and iodoform in a fine powder, and tar. Two dressings of this ointment were usually enough to effect a cure ("Notebook", 14).

Sheep suffered from skin conditions, such as scabies and mange, although these could be held in check by smearing. The fine-woolled Cheviots and Leicesters were especially prone to these ailments. For scabies Hogg recommends an ointment made of tobacco juice, oil of turpentine, and a mixture of train oil and brimstone. Well aware of contemporary medicines, Hogg also likes to use commercial sheep ointment, bought in the form of balls and mixed with train oil (Hogg 1807, 96-7). Gamgee's cures work on similar principles to Hogg's: arsenical dips; infusions of tobacco or hellebore; liniments or mercurial ointments to destroy the infection (Gamgee 1848, 329).[10]

An alarming, but not fatal, condition was the staggers, in which the sheep fell into fits. Hogg points out that staggers occur when the sheep have been feeding on broom, and act as if drunk (Hogg 1807, 166-8). Hogg tells a humorous anecdote about this disease:

> I knew of a shepherd at Traquair, who, one day, coming to a number of his hirsel intoxicated this way, and thinking they were at the point of death, that their flesh might not be lost, cut the throats of four of them, cursing and crying all the while; and was proceeding in haste to dispatch more of them, if his master had not arrived and prevented him. The different passions, which then swayed each of them, was not a little amusing. His master asked him, in a rage, "How would you like, if people were always to cut your throat when you are drunk? (1807, 168)

Similar symptoms to those of staggers were manifested by sheep suffering from hydrocephalus, locally known as sturdy, or water in the brain: "a sheep affected by it becomes stupid; its eyes stare, and fix upon some different object from that which it is in fear of. It soon ceases from all intercourse with the rest of the flock, and is seen frequently turning round, or traversing a circle" (Hogg 1807, 54). Sturdy was much more dangerous than the staggers. It may have been caused by the larvae of tapeworm (SND). Hogg attributes sturdy to sheep being exposed to rough weather without shelter, when water could penetrate the brain through the spinal marrow.

As a preventative measure against sturdy, a sheep could be "bratted" by covering its back with a piece of cloth. The cure was rather gruesome:

> In whatever corner of the brain the water settles, the skull immediately above it soon grows quite soft, and the shepherd, by groping it with his thumb, will easily discover where it is seated. If it is anywhere in the crown, the gentlest way is to tap it in the place where the skull is soft, and let the water flow out. This is commonly performed with an awl, or large corking pin, although an instrument with a small tube in it, might easily be made, which would drain it off more completely...But, if the skull feel soft in the forehead, then the operation must be performed by thrusting a stiff-sharpened wire up each nostril, until it stops against the upper part of the skull. (Hogg 1807, 56-57)

Hogg cites the authority of William Cowan, an old shepherd on Mountbenger with thirty years experience in tapping sheep. Not one of twenty sheep he tapped on their own farms died, but he had no success with sheep on the neighbouring farms. Hogg had personal experience of curing sturdied sheep:

> When I was a youth, I was engaged for many years in herding a large parcel of lambs, whose bleating brought the whole sturdies of the neighbourhood to them, with which I was everlastingly plagued; but as I was frequently weaving stockings, I fell upon the following plan: I catched every sheep that I could lay my hands on, and probed them up through the brain and nostrils with one of my wires, when I beheld with no small degree of pleasure, that, by this simple operation alone, I cured many a sheep to different owners; all of which projects I kept to myself, having no authority to try my skill on any of them; and it was several years before I failed in one instance. (1807, 59-60)[11]

Mr. Laidlaw of Willenslee had his own cure for sturdy, which, if plausible, was unsuccessful: "He burnt a small hole in the soft part of the skull with a hot iron, and with a small hook took out the bladder of water entire; he then closed up the aperture again

with a plaister of wax, tying it firm on " (Hogg 1807, 60). Other herds preferred trepanning: cutting a hole in the skull with a saw, folding back the skin, piercing the cist, and then sealing the skin (Hogg 1807, 60).

A similar cure was advocated for blast, a condition which occurs when an animal gorges on fresh foliage after a winter's poor feeding, causing it to swell up with gas. Hogg cites a letter from William Potticary, of Wiley, Wiltshire, stating that the best cure for blast was to pierce the left side of the animal near its kidneys to allow the gas to be released. A horse-doctor's mix of bees-wax, rosin and grease was then applied to the wound (1807, 178-9).

In Far from the Madding Crowd, Hardy describes the operation. Gabriel Oak's sheep "get blasted" after feeding on clover:

> Gabriel was already among the turgid, prostrate forms. He had flung off his coat, rolled up his shirt-sleeves, and taken from his pocket the instrument of salvation. It was a small tube or trochar, with a lance passing down the inside; and Gabriel began to use it with a dexterity that would have graced a hospital-surgeon. Passing his hand over the sheep's left flank, and selecting the proper point, he punctured the skin and rumen with the lance as it stood in the tube; then he suddenly withdrew the lance, retaining the tube in its place. A current of air rushed up the tube, forcible enough to have extinguished a candle held at the orifice. (Hardy 1987, 230)[12]

Blacklock advocates a slightly more sophisticated cure for blast, or "blown". It involved moving the gorge up and down in mild cases, or in extreme cases passing an elastic tube down the throat, or an ivory cane with a wooden bullet at the end (1840, 165-6).

Hydroaelitis, or "Thwarter ill", also known as "the Thorter", "the Trembling", "leaping" or "louping ill", affected all ages of sheep. Ewes (and especially Cheviot ewes) were prone to louping ill before lambing. It hurt the ewes, and killed the lambs. It was infectious, affecting sheep on dry farms, in dry, frosty seasons. Some beasts fell down, and died within two or three minutes, some were paralysed on one side, and lay sprawling on the ground till they died of hunger. Others lay shivering and sick until they died. Hogg recommends bleeding afflicted sheep to give them immediate relief, or taking them home and feeding them strengthening food (1807, 75-79).

Walter Elliot comments: "Louping ill in sheep a disease common in spring and summer. Probable cause too much old grass eaten along with new, either burn, or sow with salt one or two cwt to the acre, should an outbreak occur". He recommends a drench consisting of half a dram of powdered nux vomica, one dram of powdered ginger and capsicum, one ounce of nitric ether, and six to eight ounces of linseed oil. This was to be

repeated, if necessary, every eight to twelve hours ("Notebook", 20). Gamgee advises cold ablutions, injecting oil of turpentine into the cellular tissues, and camphor, to be administered internally. Clysters containing turpentine were to be applied, and setons and findings along the loins. Mercurial ointment was applied externally (Gamgee 1848, 325).

In connexion with thwarter-ill, Hogg describes traditional herbal medicine. He expresses an ambivalent attitude to this art, then passing out of use. While he claims to have witnessed some successes, he will not definitely attribute them to the action of the plants:

> I remember, when I was a boy, of serving with a shepherd named Ebenezer Stuart, whose wife cured every creature that was attacked by this disorder during the summer and autumn. She went into the meadows, and gathered an equal quantity of two herbs, which she called the dew-cup and the merry-leaf,[13] of which, though I do not know the botanical names, yet they are easily distinguished. The first grows upon bettle spots [rich pasture], is of a deep green, has many points the middlemost of which is the shortest, the rest growing gradually shorter, until they close on the opposite side; the dew, which does not wet it, stands in its bottom like a ball of chrystal. The other, called by some country-people, the healing leaf, grows on wet meadows; is long and slender, green on the upper side, and red on the back. Of these, she took a quantity proportioned to the bulk and strength of the animal to which it was administered, boiled them among butter milk, then strained them, and poured the juice down the patient's throat; and I never knew her medicine to fail in one instance of restoring them; but it was only one particular species of the distemper which raged thereabout; namely, that which bore some resemblance to the rheumatisms, with aguish fits. She cured a bull, a colt, and many a sheep, to Mr Cunninghame of Hyndhope, and a stirk to Mr Scott of Gilmanscleuch, during the time that I was there.
> I never had occasion to try the powers of this medicine, save once, upon a hogg or sheep, about eight months old, which dwindled on for several months, and at last recovered, and is alive to this day; but I believe dame Nature had as great a hand in it as my leaves. (Hogg 1807, 79-80)

Of course for progressive agricultural thinkers, traditional methods were merely archaic, and so it is not surprising that Hogg should add a mocking coda to his account. Yet Hogg's attitudes towards Ettrick traditions, such as oral history and supernatural beliefs, are often ambiguous. This is related to his dualistic social role. On the one hand, he was raised within a traditional cultural context. On the other, he largely adopted the standards of the contemporary intellectual elite, and to the antiquarian folklorists of this period, traditions were for collecting, not condoning. Hogg's desires to succeed financially in his literary endeavours, as well as to be accepted into the educated elite, were no doubt both motivating factors in the critical stance he often made, as here, in relation to traditional material.

2.1.3. Arable farming

While Ettrick Forest was never a major arable farming area, as seen in chapter 1, a certain amount of land was worked at the subsistence level. Until the improvements of the late eighteenth century, the land was worked according to the rig (or ridge) and furrow system. It was ploughed into rigs, strips of land in an S shape, or straight. They varied in width and length, in Selkirkshire averaging about 14-16 feet in breadth (Douglas 1798, 71). It has been argued that the S-shaped rigs are oldest, the broad and short ones next, with long narrow rigs representing the most modern development. The rig and furrow system was probably designed to facilitate drainage, although it also made sowing and reaping easier (Douglas 1798, 71). The best land around the fermtoun--the infield, or croft--was manured. Outfield land, further away, received little attention, except for occasional folding. The pasture land on the hills received no special treatment (Johnston 1774, 16).

Crop rotation was limited during the eighteenth century. Peas were sown as early as February or as late as March, oats through March to the beginning of April, barley from mid-April to Whitsunday. Harvest in the lower parts of the arable land was known to begin as early as July, but did not usually commence until mid-August, or even at the end of October with oats. In the highest grounds it would be two or three weeks later (Douglas 1798, 4-7). Equipment was basic. Potatoes were planted up to the the 1770s using spades, and Hogg's turnip barrow, a wooden box on wheels, survives in the Chambers Institute in Peebles (See Douglas, 1798; Thomson 1935, 10).

Until the late eighteenth century, the necessities of rural life made for a co-operative and highly structured lifestyle. Labourers worked from 6 to 6 in summer, with an hour off for breakfast, and another hour off at midday. Unmarried workers lived with the farmer and received their board, while married hinds were given a cottage and paid mainly in kind. They received an allowance of barley, oats and pease, land for grazing a cow, and a patch of ground for growing potatoes. Their wives and children were expected to work as well. Wages were low for agricultural workers: in the 1770s males averaged 5 to 8 pounds 8d. a year; women 3 to 4 pounds. Day labourers earned 10d. to 1s. in winter, 1s. to 1s. 4d. in summer, and 1s.6d. at harvest time. Women earned 6d. to 8d. in summer, 8d. or 9d. at harvest time. In comparison, tradesmen earned from 1s.3d.

to 1s.8d. a day. By the 1790s male servants earned 6 to 7 pounds; female three pounds 10s. to four pounds; day labourers 8d. a day and skilled workers 15s. to 20s. per day (Johnston 1774, 34; OSA III, 731).

Hard agricultural work had some recompenses, though. Even allowing for Hogg's romantic tendencies here, it would appear that harvest could be an idyllic time:

> There is no employment in Scotland so sweet as working in a hay-field on a fine summer day. Indeed it is only on a fine summer day that the youths and maidens of this northern clime can work at the hay. But then the scent of the new hay, which of all others in the world is the most delicious and healthful, the handsome dress of the girls, which is uniformly the same, consisting of a snow-white bedgown and white or red striped petticoat, the dress that Wilkie is so fond of, and certainly the most lovely and becoming dress that ever was or will be worn by woman; and then the rosy flush of healthful exercise on the cheeks of the maidens, with their merry jibes and smiles of innocent delight! Well do I know, from long and well tried experience, that it is impossible for any man with the true feelings of a man to work with them or even to stand and look on--both of which I have done a thousand times, first as a servant, and afterwards as a master--I say it is impossible to be among them and not to be in love with someone or another. (Hogg 1985c, 194)

But during Hogg's lifetime there were dramatic and rapid changes in the agriculture of Ettrick. Local enthusiasts such as Lord Napier ensured that new ideas entered the county. Circulating libraries at Hawick and Selkirk and local agricultural societies functioned in a similar way (Hogg 1823a). Johnston states that by 1774 there was not yet much enclosure in Selkirkshire, although some progress was made around gentlemen's houses. In sheep country where there was stone and lime at hand these were made into fences (Johnson 1774, 16). But by the early nineteenth century there had been great progress. The rig and furrow system was being abandoned in favour of ploughing with the new, lighter implements, like Small's swing plough. Arable and pasture were increasingly separated, and ploughed fields subdivided. Some substantial stone walls had been built on the farms nearest to Selkirk. Hurdles or nets were sometimes used instead of walls, and enclosure had progressed on pasture land as well as arable. Some improvements were enforced by landowners. On the Buccleuch estates, for instance, crop rotation was regulated in the 1778 conditions of lease (GD 224/522/3).

Large-scale tree planting had been carried out in the Forest. 2000 acres of wood had been planted in Selkirkshire, including one hundred acres of natural wood--oak, ash, birch, and hazel. Most of this was on the Buccleuch estates as well as at Torwoodlee, Yair and Hangingshaw in Yarrow (GD 224/83/56). The recent planting was often enclosed with dykes to prevent sheep from eating the trees. Clumps of trees were planted

around gentlemen's houses for ornament, and strips and belts on the higher grounds as shelter. Most sheep farms by the end of the eighteenth century had stells. These were square clumps of fir enclosing about half an acre of ground which provided shelter for the sheep during storms (OSA III, 728).

Drainage techniques had improved with respect to arable and pasture lands (Douglas 1798, 128-31), and several watered meadows were also created (Singer 1807, 257-338). Fertilising techniques had recently improved throughout Scotland, with liming the lands becoming increasingly common; in fact Thomas the Rhymer, the Earlston prophet, was supposed to have predicted the future local use of lime as a manure: "There sal a stane : Leader come, / That'll make a rich father, but a poor son" (qtd. in Henderson 1831-41, 147). Another common fertilisation method was to alternate layers of dung, earth and lime, but the staple substance used was marle, found in the bottom of lakes and composed of the bones of dead animals (Douglas 1798, 133-43).

These changes, coupled with the change in tenancy patterns from the sixteenth century on, meant increasing polarisation in economic and social positions. As the lands were enclosed, several farms amalgamated, and the larger tenants benefitted at the expense of the smaller. Incomers bought lands, and the poorer tenants augmented the ranks of landless labour. Some sought paid work on the improved farms, others left for the towns.

These social changes made economic differences highly noticeable. Allan Cunningham's comments on changes in Dumfriesshire apply equally well to the Forest:

> In the year 1790, much of the ground in Nithsdale was leased at seven and ten and fifteen shillings per acre, and the farmer, in his person and his house, differed little from the peasants and mechanics around him. He would have thought his daughter wedded in her degree, had she married a joiner or a mason; and at kirk or market, all men beneath the rank of a 'portioner' of the soil mingled together, equals in appearance and importance. But the war which soon commenced, gave a decided impulse to agriculture; the army and navy augmented; more land was called into cultivation; and, as the leases expired, the proprietors improved the grounds, built better houses, enlarged the rents; and the farmer was soon borne on the wings of sudden wealth above his original condition. His house obtained a slated roof, sash-windows, carpeted floors, plastered walls, and even began to exchange the hanks of yarn with which it was formerly hung, for paintings and piano-fortes. He laid aside his coat of home-made cloth, he retired from his seat among his servants; he--I am grieved to mention it--gave up family worship as a thing unfashionable, and became a kind of rustic gentleman, who rode a blood horse, and galloped home on market nights at the peril of his own neck, and to the terror of every modest pedestrian. (qtd. in Hogg 1841, 130-31)

The agricultural improvements of the later eighteenth century, then, had drastic consequences for the division of wealth. The previously communal lifestyle was also altered beyond all recognition, as new equipment changed the entire structure of labour in arable farming. Instead of groups of both sexes using sickles in "bandwins" at harvest time, the introduction of the scythe at harvest meant smaller teams, and the active role being performed by men. The two horse swing plough ended the need for large ploughing teams, and again men were in command (Fenton 1962-3). Women were increasingly relegated to "menial tasks such as weeding and hoeing (in company with children), gathering and stacking" (Houston 1989, 121). In a period of such rapid change, recording traditional pastoral life seemed an important task; while Hogg was familiar with, and sympathetic towards, improved methods of agriculture, he clearly felt compelled to record the old ways, such as the herbal animal medicine described above. And, as a result of his ideological dilemma, Hogg was both nostalgic and dismissive with respect to Ettrick traditions.

2.2. Social life

2.2.1. Community life

The communities of Ettrick Forest were involved in a number of folk groups: at the regional, parish, and farmstead levels. Most people were "sober, devout, and industrious" (OSA III, 733). Many were enthusiastic about recent agricultural improvements (Johnston 1774, 45). There were also marginal groups in the Forest. Russell recalls several of the best known itinerants: Blind Jock Jamieson, Willie Tweedie with his fox hounds, and Jock Gray, the original of Davie Gellatley in Waverley, (Russell 1894, 114-17). Hogg features itinerants in several tales, such as "The Long Pack".

There were several agricultural societies in the Borders in this period. The Hawick and Kelso Agricultural Societies date from the early nineteenth century, as does the Yarrow and Ettrick Pastoral Society, known before 1906 as the Pastoral Society of Selkirkshire. The last mentioned was founded in 1818, and by the next year had 118 members, including Lord Napier and Walter Scott. In its constitution, the society claimed to be designed for the benefit of the "landed Proprietors,Farmers, Manufacturers, and other men of respectability and public utility in the County". Its "grand object" was:

> to encourage the improvement of sheep and wool of the Cheviot Breed--to ameliorate the quality of the Pastures on which they feed--to incite the Shepherds to industry care and attention by suitable rewards--to encourage habits of cleanliness in their domestic economy, and for detecting and punishing the aggression of sheep stealers--Poachers--illicit distillers or others whose nature and occupation tend to demoralise the character of the people. ("Pastoral Society", I: 1)

The Society met quarterly to discuss developments in the sheep industry and to comment on trends in prices of grains, as well as sheep and wool. They held annual shows, and awarded prizes for outstanding stock, with a dinner held after the show. Hogg was admitted as a member at a meeting at Tinnis on 20th June 1823. He won a prize on 17th June 1825 for his Queys (cows) of the shorthorn breed, with a premium of two pounds ("Pastoral Society", I: 209). In 1832 he again won a prize for his cows, and in 1833 was a Counsellor on the committee ("Pastoral Society", II: 5-7). The smaller, and less prestigious, Crookwelcome Club was confined to Yarrow and Ettrick. It was founded in 1801, and met annually. Hogg was first President, and a constant office-holder (the positions of President, Vice-President and Croupier--or Treasurer--rotated annually). As well as valuing the crops and livestock of the Forest in the previous year, they enjoyed hearty dinners--on one occasion sharing seven bottles of whisky made into toddy, between twelve members ("Crookwelcome", I).

The communities were involved in a number of active pursuits: wrestling, curling, fishing and contests at leaping. For once Hogg feels no need to question these local traditions, which the intelligensia approved, and he is full of unrestrained enthusiasm for athletic events. In the semi-autobiographical "Love Adventures of George Cochrane" Hogg describes a special trick he had at wrestling: "I had an art of giving a trip with the left heel, which I never saw fail with a man that did not know the trick" which he uses, to advantage, over several opponents (1985b, 110). However, one of his rivals, Tommy Potts, also has a trick: "It was an open trip with the left foot, followed up by a blow with the right hand on the chest" (1985b, 113) which proves Cochrane's downfall. Hogg was an active curler. Mrs Shaw now possesses Hogg's curling stone (see plate 6), which he kept at Tibbie Shiel's Inn in a "curling nest" (rack), for curling on St. Mary's Loch. With reference to leaping, Hogg claimed that his grandfather was unrivalled (Hogg 1827a, 437) and there is still a chasm at Phaup known as "Will o' Phaup's Leap". Physical games were played at harvest-time too. In hesi hosi, a man and a woman stood back to back, and lifted each other in a regular movement like a balance. Cocki-redi-rosi involved the reapers giving each other rides on their shoulders (Wilkie 1916, 118).

Hogg attempted to revive rural sports in the Borders. As well as extolling traditional "manly pursuits" in many of his tales, he attempted to foster several such customs. David Groves has recently commented on Hogg's involvement with the St. Ronan's Games (1987). Hogg founded this event in Innerleithen in 1827, intending it to be an annual occasion. Contests included quoits, wrestling, archery, and rifle shooting. There was the high jump, standing hop-step-and-jump, and the traditionally popular hop-step-and-leap:

> It consists of three succeeding bounds, all with the same race; and as the exertion is greater, and of longer continuance, they can judge with more precision the exact capability of the several competitors. I measured the ground, and found the greatest distance effected in this manner to be forty-six feet. I am informed that whenever two or three young shepherds are gathered together, at fold or bught, moor or market, at all times and all seasons, Sunday's excepted, one or more of these athletic exercises is uniformly resorted to; and certainly, in a class where hardiness and agility is so requisite, they can never be too much encouraged. (Hogg 1817d, 144)

The sporting events were followed by a dinner for participants. However, these Games did not long survive their patron's death in 1835.

Community celebrations included the shearing supper, to celebrate the conclusion of clipping, like the harvest kirn after harvest. There was a substantial supper, drinking, and musical entertainments. Evidence from English suppers suggests a specific genre of shearing-songs (Blencowe 1911, 206-20), and the custom of suppers has continued to the present day, although the celebrations are now geared round the local bar more than the farm (Mitchell, T89-1).

Ettrick and Yarrow participated in festivities in the nearby burghs at least once a year, during the Common Ridings. These may date back to the middle ages, when the burghs were given charter rights over their common lands. Riding the marches was (and is) a major celebration, which takes place in the different burghs on various dates from late May to July. The Riding involves a week or so of celebrations, and a great deal of preparation beforehand. On the great day, the Standard Bearer (Selkirk), Cornet (Langholm and Hawick) or Braw Lad (Galashiels) is presented with the Burgh Standard, and instructed to inspect the marches, on behalf of the Burgh. In the modern Ridings he is accompanied by his Lass, though it is unclear whether this has always been part of the ceremony. The Standard Bearer leads a procession of followers, some from the burgh, but many from the neighbouring communities, around the boundaries, visiting rural communities en route. In the procession at Langholm a huge thistle is carried, along with

a spade dressed with heather, a crown of roses, and a large barley bannock with a herring nailed to it. The Ride Out begins in the early morning, returning to the town about midday. The procession then assembles at a central point.

In Selkirk they stop outside the Town Hall. The unique ceremony of Casting the Colours is then performed. The Standard Bearer, representatives of the Souters and other trade guilds each take a turn at twisting the banner around their heads, to the tune of "The Souters of Selkirk". This supposedly commemorates the behaviour of William Brydon, the town clerk, and sole survivor of Flodden from the town. Returning from the battle with a captured English banner he was overcome with emotion. Asked what had happened to his colleagues, all he could do was to cast his banner to the ground. However, it is likely that the custom is linked to Flemish tradition.[14] The burgh song is then sung: Hawick's is "At Terribus"; Selkirk sings "The Flowers of the Forest". There are cheers for the Provost and other dignitaries. The festivities continue with various sporting contests, including horse-racing. The party then disperses, for smaller celebrations with their friends. According to local tradition, Hogg usually attended the Common Riding at Hawick and Selkirk.

Furthermore, there was a long tradition of cross-Border contacts: at sporting events such as ballgames and horseracing, via the drovers who passed through en route to England, and through fairs and markets (Groves 1987; Banks, 1937-41). The last category were especially important for meeting people from other parts of Scotland and England, as well as renewing old acquaintances. In this context, Hogg comments:

> A party of farmers never met without getting gloriously drunk. I have known instances, and I can prove it, of a club of farmers, meeting on the evening of a market-day on the west border, and on parting that night eight nights, several of them never knew but it was the evening of the same day they met. I knew of all these even personally, and no man ever thought of denominating them drunkards. (1841, 192)

As suggested above, social drinking was a popular activity. Within Ettrick, there were several inns. Tibbie Shiel's, at the head of St. Mary's Loch, was opened in 1824, and soon became famous for its porter, its cooking and congenial atmosphere (see Appendix A and plates 1 and 2). It was not licensed to sell spirits but visitors could bring their own whisky, and Tibbie would provide hot water, sugar and a spoon to make toddy (Robson 1986). At the Gordon Arms, further up the Yarrow, Scott and Hogg reputedly had their last meeting in 1831, and a plaque on the wall of the inn commemmorates this event. In 1828 Hogg built a small inn near his house at Mountbenger, so that his workers

could enjoy some conviviality close at hand, though on one occasion in 1829 the innkeeper and his family were forced to make a speedy exit, when the Inn was flooded overnight (NLS MS 7299, 213).

2.2.2. Family life

> The lives of the principal shepherds, for so I denominate the store-farmers, are very easy and to those who can relish such a life, elegant and agreeable. They delight greatly in poetry and music, in which sundry are considerable proficients. Burns's are the favourite songs and the Scottish strathspeys the favourite music. Their more quiet and retired diversions are cards, the dam board [draughts] and backgammon. (Hogg 1981a, 12-13)

In the late eighteenth century people lived in small settlements, or fermtouns. The sites of these were long established and often the toun was adjacent to a medieval tower house. The presence of these towers, although many were in ruins, was crucial to the maintenance of local identity. Towers were imposing parts of the Borders' landscape, associated with local history and legends. In Yarrow, for example, Dryhope is associated with the infamous reiver, Dickie O'Dryhope; Henderland was the home of Cockburn, supposedly the hero of "The Border Widow's Lament". Oakwood in Ettrick (see plate 7) is traditionally associated with the wizard, Michael Scott.

Houses were built from whatever was available. Walls were usually stone or turf, or a combination of these materials. Roofs were thatched with fresh rushes or sprats each year (Douglas 1798, 245). Alternatively broom and whin, turf, straw and heather might be used (Fenton and Walker 1981, 59-60). Houses were often built by the whole community (Naismith 1985, 82). Russell describes the general layout of an early nineteenth century farmhouse:

> The farmhouses were thatched, small, and lowroofed. They were on one model--a room in one end, the kitchen in the other, and through the kitchen another room, generally used as a bedroom, with perhaps two attics above, reached by a trap-ladder, and lighted by a few small panes through the thatch. (1894, 64)

The unmarried farm servants lived in the farm house, under extremely cramped conditions. Hogg complained to Scott in 1806 that he found it impossible to write in a crowded house, full of noisy farm servants (Scott 1930, 87). However, the married hinds' and shepherds' cottages were far inferior,

> little better than dark, smoky hovels. Their walls were alternate rows of stones and sods, their floor of earth, and their roof of coarse timber covered with turf and rushes. A hole in the middle or end of the roof, surrounded at the top by a wicker frame,

> widening as it came down, plastered with a mixture of straw and mud and supported by a strong beam, was the only chimney. If the rain or snow occasionally found entrance through this open space, it allowed of a number of persons gathering round the glowing peat-fire, and was convenient for smoking hams. A small aperture with a single pane of glass, and sometimes altogether open, and stuffed at night with old clothes, was the apology for a window. Occasionally the byre might be seen on one side of the entrance, the family apartment, which served alike for eating and sleeping, on the other. With such limited resources, the box-beds with shelves within were made a receptacle for all possible odds and ends; while, contrary to all sanitary arrangements, potatoes and heaps were stored beneath. (Russell 1894, 64-5)

Housing improved through Hogg's lifetime, at least for the tenant farmer. Johnston mentions fifteen recently built steadings in Yarrow, with "large and commodious" two storey houses, built of stone and lime (1774, 16). There was a trend towards A-framed couples, and tiles and flagstones were increasingly used for roofing (Fenton and Walker 1981). Hogg's house, built to his directions at Altrive (later known as Eldinhope), had two storeys and several bedclosets, as well as a study for the writer, and a parlour (see plate 5). Such a large house was essential, given the number of admiring visitors Hogg constantly entertained. The newer farms segregated people and animals in a variety of buildings--cottages, byre, barn, store, mill, barn, dovecot and beehives (Naismith 1985, 71).

Yet even in 1832, the old bothy system persisted on many farms in Southern Scotland. Eight to ten married farm servants and their families lived in one long building, subdivided into "boothies":

> Each distinct boothie is about seventeen feet one way and fifteen feet the other way, as nearly as my eye could determine. There is no ceiling, and no floor but the earth. In this place a man and his wife and family have to live. When they go into it there is nothing but the four bare walls, and the tiles over their heads, and a small fire-place. To make the most of the room, they, at their own cost, erect births, like those in a barrack-room, which they get up into when they go to bed; and here they are, the man, his wife, and a parcel of children, squeezed up in this miserable hole, with their meal and their washing tackle, and all their other things; and yet it is quite surprising to behold how decent the women endeavour to keep the place. (Cobbett 1984, 25-6)

And the bothy system was still in operation in the Borders, as elsewhere in Scotland, in the early twentieth century. However, by this later period it applied to single rather than married men (Derwent 1980, 123).

As well as agricultural work, women were responsible for household chores, and childrearing. Cobbett was impressed by how well the Lowlanders looked after their children, commenting on "the little boys and girls, whose good looks I have admired ever since I entered Scotland; and about whom the parents seem to care much more than they do about their houses or themselves" (1984, 15). Women also made fabrics and clothes:

> The big wheel and the little wheel were birring in every parlour and kitchen and throwing off abundance of woollen and linen yarn to be worked up for family uses. The home-made clothing had infinitely more bield and more durability than the fine broadcloth that now comes with such finish from the manufactory. What webs of linen used to be seen spread out to bleach, after they came home from the looms! (Russell 1894, 63)

Traditionally, Ettrick women dressed in simple, often white, clothes. Their hair was covered by a hat or cap, the older women wearing the tight-fitting mutch. Dorothy Wordsworth, touring Scotland in 1802, was impressed by the "French" appearance of Lowland women: "partly from the extremely white caps of the elder women, and still more perhaps from a certain gaiety and party-coloured appearance in their dress in general" (Wordsworth 1974, 21). Hogg claimed that traditional dress was highly attractive. George Cochrane comments, in relationship to his sweetheart Jessy:

> She was in that dress that the country maidens of the Lowlands of Scotland wear; by far the most becoming dress in the world for setting out the female form in all its lightsome ease and elegance, a circumstance well known to our ingenious countryman, David Wilkie. I cannot describe how much more graceful she looked, in her muslin short-gown and demity [mixed linen and wool] petticoat, than in her best dress at the fair, and the solemnity at which I first saw her. (1985b, 123)

Yet in his private life Hogg was partial to fashionable dress, advising his wife to wear a white silk gown and Highland bonnet with a feather on it for their wedding (Garden 1885, 121-2); a minor instance of his public commitment to traditional culture, and personal attraction to the modern.

For the tenant farmer, traditional dress changed drastically in Hogg's lifetime--sometimes with bizarre results:

> His daughters, too, no longer prided themselves in well-bleached linen and home-made webs; they changed their linsey-wolsey [mixed linen and wool] gowns for silk; and so ungracefully did their new state sit upon them, that I have seen their lovers coming in iron shod clogs to their carpeted floors, and two of the proudest young women in the parish skaling dung to their father's potato-field in silk stockings. (Cunningham, qtd. in Hogg 1841, 131)

Shepherds dressed in locally or home-made trousers and jacket, with a four-yard long triangular plaid; large enough to carry a new-born lamb (or to "rowe" a lassie in). In Ettrick the plaid was usually black and white check, though some were "hodden gray". One of Hogg's checked plaids is preserved in the small museum at Bowhill, Selkirkshire. Men wore a bonnet, usually blue, and sometimes of huge proportions. In The Brownie Hogg comments at length on John Brown's immense bonnet (1976, passim). Men's dress did not change very noticeably during Hogg's lifetime (Dunbar 1974; Oakes and Hill 1970).

Food was plain but nutritious: oatmeal made into porridge, and brose; barley-meal and pea-meal ground in a quern (see Tibbie Shiel's quern in plate 3), mixed together and baked into cakes (Green 1984, 26). Vitamins were available from turnips, kale, and potatoes; butter, milk and cheese dishes provided protein. Tea was expensive, and so rarely drunk. There was plenty of salmon and trout available as well as braxy, and mutton (Fenton 1976; Russell 1894, 90). Ale was readily available, and there was a lively trade in spirits--some from illicit stills and smugglers.[15] During the period under consideration, the traditional diet of Scotland was changing, nutritionally for the worse. There was less oatmeal, which is rich in vitamins, calcium, and trace elements, and an increase in the consumption of meat and animal produces (Gibson and Smout 1989, 59-84). Appendix A includes a number of traditional Ettrick recipes, which can be traced to the time of Tibbie Shiel's tenancy of Hogg's favourite inn, and were preserved in the family of Mrs Isabelle Shaw.

The hill communities were committed Christians. Family devotions were held each evening, consisting of prayers, the singing of psalms, and the reading of a chapter from the Bible. It was customary for the oldest man in the house to read from the Bible, although it was not uncommon for the young people to take a turn (Hogg 1827a, 436-38). Hogg maintained:

> There is, I believe, no class of men professing the Protestant faith, so truly devout as the shepherds of Scotland. They get all the learning that the parish schools afford; are thoroughly acquainted with the Scriptures of truth; deeply read in theological works, and really, I am sorry to say it, much better informed than their masters. (1827a, 436)

As has already been mentioned, people often travelled to religious meetings outside their own parishes, as well as attending the parish church on the Sabbath--often a considerable distance away. The shepherds invariably brought their dogs to church. James Russell remembered that, at times, the Sabbath was far from a day of rest, because of the dogs' behaviour:

> On the slightest growl from one, all pricked up their ears. If a couple of them fell out and showed fight, it was the signal for a general melee. The rest that were prowling about, or half asleep at their masters' feet, rushed from their lairs, found a way through below the pews, and among the feet of the occupants, and raised literally such a dust as fairly enveloped them. Then the strife waxed fierce and furious, the noise became deafening, the voice of the minister was literally drowned, and he was fain to pause, whether in preaching or in prayer. Two or three shepherds had to leave their places and use their rubbies unmercifully before the rout was quelled, and service at the sanctuary could be resumed. (Russell 1894, 144)

The problem continued at Yarrow Church through the nineteenth century, until

eventually the seats were fitted with doors, allowing each shepherd to keep his dog with him (Russell 1894, 144-45).

Moreover, it would seem that for some young people religious gatherings were social occasions, as well as giving spiritual nourishment. George Cochrane first sees his lover Jessy at a Cameronian sacrament (Hogg 1985c, 93). During another affair, he admits: "I frequented the church every Sunday, and never once looked away from the front of the gallery where she sat" (Hogg 1985c, 51). Church-going, then, provided a regular opportunity to meet potential partners.

2.2.3. Customs

The people of the Forest observed a number of customs connected to their personal lives, and rites of passage. Many were linked to supernatural beliefs. All-Hallows Eve, for instance, was a traditional time for divination. Spirits were supposed to be abroad, and powerful. Hogg's "All Hallow's Eve" draws on these traditions, recasting them in a contemporary context of encroaching doubt.

In this Dramatic Tale shepherds and their lovers participate in various rituals designed to predict their future spouses. They consult Grimald and Nora, two "weird sisters" with more than a touch of the Shakespearian witch about them. In the early stages of the play, the rituals are relatively harmless, and involve a great deal of good humour. Nora reads their palms, and predicts Maldie will bear a large number of children. When Maldie asks if they will all be by the same husband, Nora refuses to "tell all" (1817a, I: 20). The young people pull stalks of colwort (kail stems) and take their shape as reflecting their future partners:

> Gelon. Ha, ha! such brave mates as our lads have got!
> Ist Shep. By my life, but mine is a strapper!
> 2nd Shep. See what a crooked carling I have got! Confound her!--Witch!--Who can this be?
> Ben Mine has neither root nor branch; [sic] A dry, bare, barren wilderness mine is! Look at it, beauteous Maldie--this is you.
> Maldie Begone, you naughty thing!--It is not me. My fortune's otherwise, I'd have you know.
> Ben I think it is you--see to what you'll turn; [sic] A wither'd bargain I shall have of you! (Hogg 1817a, I: 28)

Burns mentions this custom in "Hallow'en" vv. 4 and 5, and Wilkie adds that in Roxburghshire the kail stems were dashed to pieces against the town cross after use, for fear of the fairies riding them (Wilkie 1916, 105-7).

The young people approach the custom of dipping the left sleeve of a sark (shift), in a south-flowing burn, with a more serious attitude. With the witches as mediators--by no means essential to this rite--the woman waves the sleeve in front of the fire, and lays her sark over a chair. The inquirer then utters the phrase, "Whoever is my true-love to be,/ Come and turn this sleeve for me". Maldie sees Ben at this juncture; but when Gemel tries, he is appalled to see a coffin enter the room, with a message engraved on its lid: "J. Gemel, aged 23". Understandably distressed, Gemel faints (1817a, I: 32-46). The appearance of a coffin during this ritual is a traditional motif; Wilkie refers to two similar cases in Selkirkshire oral tradition (Wilkie 1916, 104). Hogg is fascinated by the psychologically destructive side of the supernatural here and, for instance, in the Confessions. While the witches are exposed as charlatans, their predictions are all fulfilled and it is implied that Gemel's subsequent death is the product of the terror the prophecy induced. Similarly, in "George Dobson's Expedition into Hell" the hero dies because he believes he is going to die (Hogg 1827b, 549-62). In The Three Perils of Woman McIon administers a draught to Gatty, so she will sleep through the perceived hour of her death. However her belief in her impending demise is too strong to be completely thwarted (Hogg 1823e, I: 161). Again, Hogg's dualistic attitude to traditional culture is evident: while he enjoys writing about traditional customs and beliefs, he is repelled by their potentially repressive aspects.

Courting involved a panoply of local customs. Harvest and sheep-shearing have already been mentioned in this context. At fairs, a man would woo his sweetheart with her "fairing": the gift of a gown, a ribbon, or a comb (Hogg 1985c, 97). Lambing time was equally important for courting. In "The Bush Aboon Traquair" Hogg refers to the custom of sending a shepherd's sweetheart with food for him, as he watches the sheep by night. She watched the sheep for a while, to allow him to sleep, and they kept warm together, under his plaid. The courting bush--a hollowed out thorn tree--offered an appropriate trysting spot (Garland 1911, 18-19; Wilkie 1916, 122-23). This particular bush is celebrated in the song "The Bush Aboon Traquair". However, in "The Bush" the courting is on a satirical level, as ugly old Henny tries to woo the shepherd lad Sandy (1837a, 290-91).

Courting was normally conducted at night. Hogg asserts "It is a fact that every young woman in the country must be courted by night, or else they will not be courted at

all; whatever is said to them on the subject during the day, makes no more impression on them than stocks or stones, but goes all for nothing, or mere words of course" (1985c, 54-5). Night courting was sanctioned by tradition, and Hogg often indulges in nostalgic treatments of the practice (see Hogg 1976, 5). George Cochrane discusses the custom with his third lover Mary, arguing in its favour, from various precedents:

> Laird K----y of Ch--k--t courted his lady many a night in the hay-mow of her father's cow-house, and she was wont to milk him a jug of sweet milk before he set out on his journey home. The Laird of S--n--e courted his lady in the woods by night, and sometimes among his father's growing corn, who accused him very much of the broadness of the lairs that he made; and he is one of the first landward lairds of the country. The reverend minister of K--m--l courted his wife in her mother's dairy, in the dark; and once in attempting to kiss her, his wig fell in a pail of milk, and was rendered useless. The old woman got a terrible fright with it, when about to skim the milk in the morning. All the seven large farmers in the upper part of the parish courted their wives in their own bed-chambers; and I have heard one of them declare, that he found the task so delightful, that he drew it out as long as he could with any degree of decency. My father did the same, and so did yours; ask any of them, and they will tell you. And besides, is it not delightful, the confidence that it displays in the indelible virtue of daughters, sweethearts, &c.? (Hogg 1985c, 83)

But Hogg is ambiguous in his personal attitudes towards such potentially risky courting practices. George Cochrane ends up before the church elders on a charge of fornication (Hogg 1985c, 138) and Hogg claimed to have faced the "cutty school" of penance on more than one occasion ("Letter to Tibbie Shiel"). It is likely that his exposure to, and adoption of, the more staid courting habits of Edinburgh caused Hogg to re-evaluate the traditional values he had been raised with.

Weddings involved the whole community in a variety of customs. "Penny weddings" were common: the couple's family and friends all contributed to the costs of the celebration. The minister who married the couple was given a hat to commemorate the event. Hogg gave his own minister, the Rev. Russell, a fine hat when he was married, although the wedding took place at the bride's church in Nithsdale (Garden 1885, 115). The ceremony itself was usually followed by a celebration at the bride's family home. In "Tales and Anecdotes of Pastoral Life" Hogg gives a detailed description of such an event (1817d). In many of his "rural and traditionary tales" (a phrase he adopts in connexion with Winter Evening Tales, NLS MS 7200, 203), as here, Hogg narrates in the persona of an impartial observer. The persona is presumably intended to give a tone of antiquarian authority to the pieces--albeit tongue-in-cheek. It also allows Hogg to resolve his personally ambiguous feelings towards Ettrick traditions, by assuming a distanced

stance. The tale begins as shepherds and lasses come towards the wedding (unusually at the bridegroom's house), "skipping with the agility of lambs" (1817d, 144). They are initially barefoot, but when they approach the house, men and women separate into secluded hollows and "pat on their hose an' shoon, and made themselves a' trig an' witching", a custom which was also observed en route to church, to avoid unnecessarily soiling expensive clothes. The women wear "black beavers, white gowns, and "green coats kilted to the knee" (1817d, 144) although, according to other sources, green was never worn at weddings for fear of the fairies (Henderson 1879, 21; Hutchinson 1974, 324; Wilkie 1916, 94).

As the men arrive, they form into two rows, and strip off to the shirt and drawers. While the women look on, they begin a contest in leaping:

> They took a short race of about twelve or fourteen paces, which they denominated the ramrace, and then rose from the footing-place with such a bound as if they had been going to mount and fly into the air. The crooked gise in which they flew shewed great art--the knees were doubled upward--the body bent forward--and the head thrown somewhat back; so that they alighted on their heels with the greatest ease and safety, their joints being loosened in such a manner that not one of them was straight. If they fell backward on the ground, the leap was not accounted fair. Several of the antagonists took the ramrace with a staff in their hand, which I thought unfair, but none of their opponents objected to the custom. I measured the distance, and found that two of them had actually leapt twenty-two feet, on a level plain, at one bound. This may appear extraordinary to those who never witnessed such an exercise, but it is a fact of which I can adduce sufficient proof. (Hogg 1817d, 144)

There are no prizes for this contest, the excitement satisfying the shepherds. More competitive sports follow such as wrestling and throwing the stone (shot-putting). Hop-step-and-leap is a favourite with the wedding guests. There is also a horse race, known as racing for the broose. In this tale, five horsemen compete in riding to the groom's house, cross country. In other parts of Scotland, the race was solely on foot, and a bowl of broth, or brose, was sometimes given to the winner. Alternatively, he might receive a measure of whisky (Hutchison 1897, 324; Urlin 1969, 193). While the winner received accolade, the last in the race was credited with winning the mell. The term was derived from an obsolete custom by which the loser was given a large wooden mallet, or mell, with which he was free to attack the other competitors. Hogg describes the race with a great deal of humour: competitors fall into a bog, and are attacked by the farm collies (Hogg 1817d, 144-45).

The bride and two attendants follow the race, and she is saluted by the guests waving their caps in the air. The bridegroom's father, Old John, greets her with a kiss

and takes her into the house. It was supposed to be unlucky to bring the bride home on a rainy day, but lucky if it was windy (Wilkie 1916, 85). It is worth quoting Hogg's description of the ceremony which then occurred, as a vivid evocation of a bridal custom, linked to divination:

> The bride now stopped short on the threshold, while the old man broke a triangular cake of shortbread over her head, the pieces of which he threw about the young people. These scrambled for them with great eagerness; and indeed they seemed always to be most in their element when any thing that required strength or activity was presented. For my part, I could not comprehend what the sudden convulsion meant, (for in a moment the crowd was moving like a whirlpool, and tumbling over one another in half dozens) till a little girl, escaping from the vortex, informed me that "they war battling wha first to get a haud o' the bride's bun.' I was still in the dark, till at length I saw the successful candidates presenting their favourites with small pieces of this mystical cake. One beautiful maid, with light locks, blue eyes, and cheeks like the vernal rose, came nimbly up to me, called me familiarly by my name, looked at me with perfect seriousness, and without even a smile on her innocent face, asked me if I was married. I could scarcely contain my gravity, while I took her by the hand, and answered in the negative.--"An' hae ye no gotten a piece o' the bride's cake?"--"Indeed, my dear, I am sorry I have not."--"O, that's a great shame, that ye hae nae gotten a wee bit! I canna bide to see a stranger guided that gate. Here, sir, I'll gie ye the tae half o' mine, it will ser' us baith; an' I wad rather want mysel than sae civil a gentleman that's a stranger should want."
> So saying, she took a small piece of cake from her lap, and parted it with me, at the same time rolling each piece up in a leaf of an old halfpenny ballad; but the whole of her demeanour shewed the utmost seriousness, and of how much import she judged this trivial crumb to be. "Now," continued she, "ye maun lay this aneath your head, sir, when ye gang to your bed, and ye'll dream about the woman ye are to get for your wife. Ye'll just think ye see her plainly an' bodily afore your een; an' ye'll be sae weel acquainted wi' her, that ye'll ken her again when ye see her, if it war amang a thousand. It's a queer thing, but it's perfectly true; sae ye maun mind no to forget.' (1817d, 146)

The custom of breaking of a bride cake over the head, and using it for divination was observed throughout Scotland at this period (Urlin 1969, 193; Henderson 1879, 22; Wilkie 1916, 85). That the girl should wrap the piece of cake in a halfpenny ballad suggests ballad texts were used for many purposes, in much the same way as newspapers in modern Scotland become chip and vegetable wrappers.

When the bride is safely in the house, the groom's mother, old Nelly, examines the horse she rode on, and is horrified to discover that it was a mare. The narrator inquires as to the cause of her tears: "O dear, sir," returned she, "it's for the poor bairnies that'll yet hae to dree this unlucky mischance--Laike-a-day, poor waefu' brats! they'll no lie in a dry bed for a dozen years to come!" However, the goodman scoffs at her apprehensions (1817d, 147).

After the wedding, and before dinner, there is another broose on foot. The first, on horseback, had been for the bride's napkin, the second is for the bridegroom's spurs. One of the runners participates on the groom's behalf, and one on the bride's. The race is for about 1000 yards (1817d, 250). This narrative ends before the wedding dinner. However, in The Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner (1824) Hogg describes the raucous festivities at seventeenth century Dalcastle: "There was feasting, dancing, piping and singing: the ale in large wooden bickers, and the brandy in capacious horns of oxen". After the ceremony at this period, Hogg states, it was customary for the bridesman and maid, with a few friends, to share a drink with the couple in their chamber (Hogg 1969, 4-5).

Hogg describes an irregular marriage in "The Shepherd's Calendar". A young man known as Window Wat (from his courting habit of watching at the window) falls in love with a woman with the poetic sobriquet, "the bonny Snawfleck". Hogg explains it is common for country people to receive by-names (nicknames). The Snawfleck's sisters are known as the Eagle and the Sea-maw (seagull), her brother is the Foumart (pole cat) and her father Tod-Lowrie (the fox) (1824b, 296-301). Similarly, in Perils of Woman the comic figure of Richard Rinkleton is known as "The heather blooter" from his unfortunate laugh, resembling the "hoo hoo hoo" call of this bird (Hogg, 1823e, I: 1).

Window Wat lacks the courage to court his sweetheart in person but his friend, Jock the Jewel, offers to further his cause. However Jock proposes to the Snawfleck himself. They decide to elope, with Wat and the Eagle as witnesses. Wat wins his sweetheart in the end. He and the Snawfleck ride ahead to Edinburgh, where they are married by a judge. The Jewel finds a new bride in the Snawfleck's sister, who claims that if she returns home single her reputation will be lost (Hogg 1824b, 296-301).

After the birth of a child there was a community celebration, with feasting on "merry-meat". The father was expected to present a "whang of luck" from a cheese called the "shootin'-cheese" to each unmarried person in the house. This would be placed under the pillow to induce dreams of a future lover. If the father cut his finger while dividing the cheese, the child would not reach manhood; if there were not enough pieces cut at first, those divided thereafter had no value (Wilkie 1916, 86-7).

On the banks of Ale and the Teviot, mothers wore blue woollen threads round their necks, to prevent fevers while they were suckling their children. These were passed

down from mother to daughter (Wilkie 1916, 87). It was important to baptise the child as soon as possible, for otherwise it was vulnerable to malicious beings, such as fairies. An article of the father's clothing placed next to the child would preserve it from danger in the meantime (Henderson 1866, 6-7). When several babies were to be baptised at once, the male child was always baptised first, as it was thought that otherwise the female would grow up like a boy, with a beard, and the male would be weak and effeminate (Wilkie 1916, 115).

When there was a death in the community, certain procedures had to be performed with respect to the body. First it was washed, and laid out on a bed. One of the oldest women in the company then performed the "saining" of the body:

> The matron lights a candle and waves it thrice round the body. This being done, she takes three handfuls of common culinary salt, which she puts into an earthenware plate, and places it upon the breast of the body; which they say prevents it from swelling, or rising from the bed of death. Next three empty (toom) dishes are arranged upon the hearth, and as near as possible to the fire. The company of attendants then walk out of the room where the body is laid, either to the door, or into another room, and instantly return to the apartment where the corpse is, backwards, and place their hands in the dishes and repeat a rhyme of saining. This was called dishaloof, and in Wales, gwylmabsant, or gwylnos. [Dishaloof, Jamieson says, is a sport of children, Roxburgh.] Gwyll is a shirt, mabsant, the parish saint. Sometimes a sieve is placed between the dishes, and she who is so fortunate as to put her hand into it, is said to do most for saving the soul: if they all miss the sieve, it augurs ill or the good of the soul. The dishes being placed near to the fire, as the soul is supposed to represent a flame and was firmly believed by many a person both among the ancients and moderns that it hovered there for a certain time before it took its departure to the land of the shades. It is always customary to open all the windows in the house for a certain time after the person is dead in order that the soul may make its escape. (Wilkie 1916, 55)[16]

The company then danced around the dishes singing "A dis', a dis' o' green gress, a dis', a dis', a dis'". Everyone ate some bread and cheese and drank some spirits. The attendants then went home, and a relative watched the corpse, who would later be relieved by a stranger, then a relative, and so on. The candle was left burning all night. It was sometimes procured from a suspected witch, or an unlucky person with scloof-feet, ringlet-eyes, or long-lipit. The table had to be kept covered with a cloth while the body was in the house. The death bed was given three scrubbings on three successive days before it was used again, and the bed clothes were thoroughly washed. If the dead were watched at night, the event was called a latewake, if during the day, a sitting. Young people gathered to play games, such as Blind Harrie, and cards. Invariably the coffin was used as a card table, and it was important that everyone should touch the corpse with their hand to prevent evil. Singing helped to pass the time (Wilkie 1916, 55-8).

If these customs were not properly observed there could be dire consequences. Wilkie refers to an occasion on which the saining was improperly performed, or possibly an improper incantation was used. The body began to make "frightful noises" and it was necessary to send for an old religious woman to lay it once more (Wilkie 1916, 58). A similar incident occurs in The Three Perils Of Woman. When Gatty dies, she is not mourned in the proper fashion. Her husband, McIon of Borland, wishes her alive again--and her father, Daniel, fears the saining was not properly performed. He says, "The spirits hae brought an uncouth form and changed it on ye, an' the body o' my dear bairn's ta'en away [stolen by fairies]. Ye hae neither had the Bible aneath the head, nor the saut an' the candle aboon the breast" (Hogg 1823e, I: 180). As a result Gatty lies in a state between life and death for three years. She is perfectly quiet, except when McIon enters the room, when she makes loud noises, and utters strange laughs (Hogg 1823e, I: 181). The story of Gatty's sleep, and awakening three years later more beautiful than ever draws on AT 410 Sleeping Beauty and Motif D1962.6 Magic sleep from breaking tabu. Hogg adapts these traditional motifs and beliefs into a complex study of those who accept them, and the consequences.

Gatty's strange state is almost a metaphor for Hogg's attitudes to traditional culture, and for his position in contemporary literary circles. Traditional-style material was expected from Hogg, yet he could not accept such traditions without exclusion from the literary circles, and financial success, which he so desperately needed. Furthermore, shared traditions of folk life--work, social life, custom and belief--made for a sense of community identity in the Forest, and Hogg was unwilling to sever these ties. Hogg must have often felt, like Gatty, in a state of mental paralysis. His solution was to adapt traditions to the literary context, adopting an ambiguous attitude which neither accepted or rejected traditional values. As a creative writer, this tactic undoubtedly contributed to Hogg's artistic success. Therefore Ettrick had vast significance in Hogg's development as a creative writer, and the next two chapters will examine the impact of folk narrative and song on his work.

Notes

[6]Hill sheep are divided into hirsels, groups of about 500 sheep. In modern Ettrick, the sheep's horns are often marked, indicating their age. This is useful to know, as sheep are kept for about six years. Incidentally, Mr. Mitchell of Henderland kindly permitted the writer to clip one of his sheep using the traditional shears. I can testify to the fact that a sheep, firmly gripped by a strong helper, is immobile, despite being clearly (and in that instance justifiably) terrified.

[7]Smearing was replaced in the nineteenth century by chemical dips. Within the next ten years it is likely that dosing guns will be generally used to distribute concentrated chemical mixtures along the sheep's backs.

[8]Thomas Beattie also mentions this storm in his journal. I am grateful to Michael Robson for drawing my attention to this information.

[9]Elliot was born at Nether Dalgleish. He progressed from a herd, to a Highland drover, into tenant of several farms: Crosslee, Over Kirkhope, and Brockhope. Although there is no evidence Elliot had any veterinary training, it is possible that he attended short-term courses in Edinburgh. The dating of his book is based on internal references to catgut, and tuberculosis.

[10]Today several of the conditions Hogg mentions are virtually unknown. Braxy, for instance, is never seen and Mr. Mitchell of Henderland thinks it might have been a variety of pulpy kidney (T90-4). Scabies and mange, as well as parasites like maggots and ticks, are almost eradicated by virtue of efficient dips. Mr. Mitchell links their demise to the fact that most white hares have now been shot. These were believed to "dirty" the ground (T90-3).

[11]Knitting was a common occupation for shepherds, even in the early twentieth century (Elliot, T90-2). In the early twentieth century a metal instrument, working on the knitting-needle principle, could be bought for sturdy, and Hawick Museum possesses one of these. Sturdy is now virtually unknown, but the term "sturdied" is still applied to a tup which has been in a fight. Such animals stagger round in circles, with swollen heads (Mitchell, T90-3).

[12]The method is effective, and still sometimes used in emergencies. Mrs. Mitchell of Henderland once stuck her kitchen knife in the side of a pet lamb which was bloated with young clover. The animal made a full recovery.

[13]Respectively Lady's Mantle, or Alchemilla Pratensis, and The Greater Plantain, or Plantago Major.

[14]There was an influx of Dutch weavers in the fifteenth century, who may have imported the custom. The present writer is grateful to Walter Elliot for drawing her attention to this. Walter Scott believed that he had discovered the original banner, but in fact it was a banner of the Weaver's Corporation, still to be seen in Halliwell House, Selkirk.

[15]See Scott in Redgauntlet (1824) XII-XIII on the smuggling trade in the South-West Borders.

[16]See Scott's Guy Mannering. XXVII

Chapter 3

TRADITIONAL NARRATIVES

"Ye didna heed to be sae hard-hearted wi' me, goodwife," said Andrew Gemble to old Margaret, as he rested his meal-pocks on the corner of the table: "If ye'll let me bide a' night, I'll tell ye a tale." Andrew well knew the way to Margaret's heart. (Hogg 1821, I: 129)

3.1. Language

In Ettrick, during Hogg's lifetime, the main spoken language was Southern Scots. This dialect incorporates Gaelic, Anglian, Briton, Norse, Norman, French and Dutch elements. Characteristic pronunciations include "ow" and "ey" at the ends of words where other dialects have "oo" and "ee"; "ae" for "e", in words like bed, led, and hen; the consonant sound "ch" replacing "gh": "boucht" for bought, "dauchter" for daughter. Characteristic grammatical and syntactical patterns can also be identified in Southern Scots. The classic study of the language is James A. Murray's The Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland (1873), and see also Russell 1892. Hogg felt justified in using his own orthography for Ettrick Scots pronunciations. As Daniel Bell states: "Ye maun mind that I write Scots, my ain naiteve tongue; and there never was ony reule for that. Every man writes it as he speaks it, and that's the great advantage of our language ower a' others" (Hogg 1823e, I: 109).

Hogg employs a variety of rich imagery in Scots, corroborating George Douglas Brown's belief that the Scottish nation possesses a particularly vivid visual imagination (Douglas 1967, 133-34). Walter Laidlaw, for example, accuses his wife of "glowrin like a bendit wulcat" (Hogg 1976, 3), and explains that, fighting another man, "I gart his arm just snap like a pipe-stopple" (Hogg 1976, 19-20). Walter Laidlaw would not part with his wife "for a' the ewes on the Hermon Law" (Hogg 1976, 6); as might be expected, Hogg's characters use a great deal of sheepfarming imagery and their metaphors are firmly anchored in the local context.

The second language of Ettrick was English, by this period increasingly used by the wealthier members of Scottish society, especially the women, and Hogg provides valuable information on the local aspects of this national trend. He highlights the fact that Scots was losing prestige; the upwardly mobile Edinburgh Baillie, for instance, is embarrassed when he instinctively, and inadvertently, uses a Scots phrase in an extraordinary situation (Hogg 1835, I: 20). However, Hogg suggests that current linguistic trends towards speaking English were unpopular among many local people. In Three Perils of Woman, Daniel Bell chides his wife for not calling a tup by its right name: "it's no tupe, hinney, nor tup, nor tip, nor ram; nor ony o' thae dirty cuttit words; it's just plain downright toop, the auld Scots word, and the auld Scots way o' saying it"

(Hogg 1823e, I: 17). Bell believes that Scots is the most suitable language for the Scottish, and advises his daughter Gatty:

> dinna be ower punctual about catching the snappy English pronunciation, in preference to our own, good, full, doric tongue, as the minister ca's it. It looks rather affected in a country girl to be always snap snapping at the English, and at the same time popping in an auld Scots phrase that she learned in the nursery, for it is impossible to get quit o' them..... mind aye this, my woman,--that good sense is weelfaurd and becoming, in whatever dialect it be spoken; and ane's mother-tongue suits always the lips of either a bonny lass or an auld carl the best. And mair than that, the braid Scots was never in sic repute sin' the days of Davie Lindsay, thanks to my good friend Wattie Scott. (Hogg 1823e, I: 28-30)

Hogg's portrait of the Bell family offers an animated, and no doubt accurate, picture of contemporary Ettrick reactions to a period of linguistic and cultural transition. Bell is presented as a stolidly conservative man who dislikes modern methods of dance and music as well as the English language; the Bell women represent the modern face of Ettrick.

Hogg implies that the shift from Scots to English in polite society, as exemplified by the Bell family, was difficult both for those who embraced change, and for those who rejected it. His own position, as argued in the last chapter, was usually somewhere between the two. The psychological trauma involved in a country with two rival languages has been thoroughly discussed in the twentieth century: Edwin Muir, for instance, asserts that since the seventeenth century the Scottish nation has felt in one language--Scots--and thought in another--English (1982, 8), an argument which develops Gregory Smith's notion of the Caledonian Antisyzygy, or "disorderly order" of Scottish writing (Smith 1919, 4). This conflict of interests is highlighted in Hogg's work, where Scots often misunderstand those who speak cultivated English--vernacular English accents are simply "coarse" (Hogg 1972b, 50). In Perils of Man, for instance, Roger Bacon is constantly misunderstood: his attempts at furthering Delany's religious education, couched in the language of "The Song of Songs", is interpreted as an attempt to seduce Delany into the black arts (Hogg 1972b, 131-34).

Conversely, English speaking characters fail to understand Scots. In The Brownie, for instance, Claverhouse claims to be baffled by the subtle shades of meaning in John Hoy of Mucrah's testimony, relating to five murdered soldiers:

> "How did it appear to you that they had been slain? were they cut with swords, or pierced with bullets?"
> "I canna say, but they war sair hashed."

"How do you mean when you say they were hashed?"
"Champit like--a' broozled and jermummled, as it war."
"Do you mean that they were cut, or cloven, or minced?"
"Na, na--no that ava--But they had gotten some sair doofs--They had been terribly paikit and daddit wi' something."
"I do not in the least conceive what you mean."
"That's extrodnar, man--can ye no understand fock's mother-tongue? --I'll mak it plain to you. Ye see, whan a thing comes on ye that gate, that's a dadd--sit still now. Then a paik, that's a swapp or a skelp like--when a thing comes on ye that way, that's a paik. But a doof's warst ava--it's"--
"Prithee, hold; I now understand it all perfectly well". (Hogg 1976, 61)

It is suggested that Claverhouse is feigning ignorance here: his "cut", "cloven", and "minced" are adequate, if bland, translations of "champit", "broozled" and "jermummled". Clavers' m. ·nderstanding no doubt parallels the behaviour of the richer people in Ettrick, and the Edinburgh middle classes, who no longer desired to be associated with the Scots language. Moreover, English is sometimes equated with evil: in The Confessions, for instance, Gilmartin speaks flawless, pseudo-Biblical English, to deceive Robert Wringhim (Hogg 1969). This association expresses a conscious revulsion on Hogg's part to the language of the clever middle classes who, as chapter five shows, repressed his creativity with English standards.

Furthermore, while Hogg argues against English in favour of Lowland Scots, he has little sympathy for outsiders who speak other dialects. Following contemporary literary fashion (and no doubt Ettrick prejudice) Hogg imitates Highland speech in a depreciating manner. The Gael is presented as a coarse, inarticulate creature. For example, in The Brownie, Sergeant Roy Macpherson exclaims, "Cot's curse be t__ning you to te everlasting teal! fat too-whooing pe tat? Do you tink that should the lenock beg pe shot tro te poty, tat is te son to yourself? Do you tink you will too-whoo him up akain?--Hay?--Cot tamn, pe holding your paice" (Hogg 1976, 73). To achieve verisimilitude, Hogg sometimes adds a Gaelic phrase: "Siant fallain Mor Gilnaomh gradach" to toast Sally Niven (Hogg 1823e, III: 77); the poorly spelt "y' mack-en dhu na bhaish"--literally black son of a bitch--of Daniel Roy Macpherson (Hogg 1976, 143). Some elements in Hogg's Highland speech are reasonable attempts at phonetic accuracy: "pe" instead of "be" for example; "Cot" rather than "God". But the majority of "Highland" usages are spurious and demeaning, such as the constant use of "be" : "pe tat", "pe shot", "pe holding" and "she" for "I", "you" and "he", and such misrepresentation demonstrates the Scots speaker's feeling of superiority over the average Highlander. Hogg also pokes fun

at French speakers attempting Scots, such as Prince Charles's aide, the foppish De Lancy, and Lady Jane's French maid in "Edinburgh Baillie" (Hogg 1823e, III: 135-36; Hogg 1835, I: 74). Such characterisations of minority speech are no doubt the product of innate ethnocentricism on Hogg's part, but this must be placed within the context of polite society's increasing contempt for Scots as an oral, and intellectual, language. By undermining linguistic alternatives, Hogg is attempting to demonstrate that Scots is the most inherently valuable language in Scotland, and Ettrick Scots is one of its most expressive forms.

3.2. Proverbs, phrases and anecdotes

Hogg uses a number of traditional, and spurious, Scots proverbs in his work, demonstrating an intuitive understanding of the proverb as a functional folk form which expresses truisms within the local context. A preliminary collection of these has been made by the present writer, and is included here as Appendix B.

The proverb was defined by Archer Taylor, in his classic study, as: "a saying current among the folk" (1963, 3). Proverbs embody customs and beliefs, national and racial traits, in the form of comparisons, assertions and metaphors; they are often alliterative. Proverbs are sometimes related to anecdotes: brief tales which describe unusual incidents and actions. For instance "Dunse Dings a'" or Dunse conquers all, for example, is linked to the following tale:

> The old town suffered much at the hands of the English marauders in the days of the Border raids, but on the occasion mentioned, the townspeople turned the tables on the invaders by making large skins and bladders, filling them with stones, and causing a loud rattling, or 'dinging' noise. This stampeded the enemy and Duns became known as the town that dings a'. (Berwickshire n.d., 23)

Proverbs comment on diverse aspects of traditional culture; for instance, "This is like Cranshaw Kirk, there's as many dogs as folk" makes reference to sheepdogs in churches, and was used by women as they tried to clean around the canine members of the household (Henderson 1831-42b, 120). "Happy the bride that the sun shines on,/ And happy the corpse that the rain rains on" (Chambers 1847, 123) encapsulates a traditional belief (Henderson 1879, 79) and "Jethart Justice"--summary execution--supposedly refers to the traditional practice of hanging first, and asking questions later. Furthermore, the Ettrick tradition includes a number of standard phrases and blason populaire describing

local places and people; Hogg is equally at home in using, and modelling phrases on this traditional form. Just as traditional Borders' epithets include complimentary and insulting phrases, for instance "the gallant Grahams" but "the dirty Dalrymples" (Chambers 1847, 96-97), so too Charlie Scott of Yardbire refers to the hard-headed Olivers, the grimy Potts, and the skrae-shankit Laidlaws (Hogg 1972b, 235).

Hogg is adept at contextualising proverbs and anecdotes, told in response to particular situations, and frequently with great humour. As the Bell women bemoan Cherry having gained the lover Gatty rejected, Hogg has Daniel Bell comment with an anecdote which is probably Hogg's own creation, "I say again, as Tammy Laidlaw said o' the toop. 'Tammy,' said I, 'ye hae gotten fairly the better in that cut, ye mun gie me up that good toop again.' 'Na, na, friend,' says he, 'I want to tak the advantage fairly an' honestly. d__n me but I'll keep it" (Hogg 1823e, II: 25). Hogg, here as elsewhere, uses the proverb to add verisimilitude to his Ettrick tales.

Hogg uses proverbs as powerful condensed metaphors: ready-made artistic images. For example, Maron Laidlaw draws on traditional proverbs when she fears her daughter is "i' the deils ain hands an' he'll mak a kirk an' a mill o' her na' the play be play'd" (Hogg 1976, 8). Such a dramatic statement both expresses succinctly the perils run by the girl, and provides a vivid visual image. Hogg, then, fully understands the functions of the proverb, phrase and anecdote, and consummately adapts their forms to his own creative ends.

Yet, it should be emphasised that as such methods of expression were natural for Hogg, his use of traditional form was more unconscious than the present writer has hitherto implied. While Hogg was certainly a conscious champion (albeit an apologetic one) of traditional culture, it was part of his personal and creative identity; this is what gives his work so much richness as a living repository of traditional Ettrick culture.

3.3. Animal tales

Animal tales are traditionally narratives in which, while retaining their particular qualities, animals behave, and speak, like crafty humans. They explain certain characteristics of animal behaviour, and often make indirect comments on human behaviour. Unfortunately there are few extant examples from Ettrick, although Cockburn collected the tale of how the cushie doos (woodpigeons) tricked the peeseweeps (plovers)

into exchanging their nests in the trees for the doos' original nests on the ground, explaining the distinctive cries of the respective birds (qtd. in Buchan 1984, 47-8). Hogg occasionally uses the form in context, one character advising another how to behave. For instance, when Dan wishes his toun, like Chapelhope, had a helpful resident brownie, Davie Tait warns him against making rash statements:

> Ye're i' the same predicament, billy Dan, as the tod was in the orchard,--'Afore I war at this speed,' quo he, 'I wad rather hae my tail cuttit off,'--he hadna the word weel said before he stepped onto a trap, which struck, and snapt off his tail--'It's a queer place this,' quo' he; 'ane canna speak a word but it is taken in nettle earnest'. (Hogg 1976, 135)

In his apt use of the animal tale, as here, Hogg demonstrates an intuitive understanding of the form, and ability to simulate its oral characteristics in print.

Moreover, one of Hogg's greatest gifts, related to his understanding of animal tales, is his ability to caricature animal behaviour: the warrior mule of The Brownie, whose bravery stems from his natural obstinacy; the timid minister's nag in Perils of Woman who, in the first scene of the tale, is terrified of the possibility of seeing a ghost in the churchyard, but too curious to avoid looking anyway (Hogg 1823e, III: 3-5). Later in the book the nag reappears, frightened of dead bodies as they lie scattered around the battlefield from which the Jacobites have just been routed:

> The minister's bay nag was no coward, as may be conjectured from a former instance of his behaviour. No, he was far from that, as he would have boldly faced any living creature, however rampageous its demeanour, provided it looked up and fairly showed face. But he had a mortal aversion at anything that lay quite dormant. Not that he was terrified of it, but he found something within him that assured him he might be exceedingly terrified if it jumped up in any ridiculous manner or form, and it was this feeling that put him so dreadfully to it when any such thing met his eye. (Hogg 1823e, III: 192)

This hilarious portrayal of equine egocentricism shows the animal tale in its contemporary incarnation. By Hogg's period, it seems the genre had developed into a relatively open-ended form in Ettrick; Hogg is adept at capturing such current developments. Furthermore, by having the horse appear on several occasions in the book, he takes advantage of the literary context to use its behaviour as a recurrent, ironic motif. It would be difficult in the oral context to sustain the layers of subplots and minor characters which are possible in a literary text: with a book it is possible to be reflective. In Perils of Woman, then, Hogg takes the form of the animal tale and adapts it to the literary context, and the literary frame of reference. This is his constant practice with traditional narratives: he transforms oral forms, using literary aesthetics.

3.4. Prayers and sermons

Hogg offers an intimate portrait of prayers and sermons, generally neglected as forms of traditional narratives, but yet crucial oral and aural forms for religious salvation. As discussed in chapter 2, family prayer fulfilled social as well as spiritual functions. Evening worship was regularly performed in the toun, the head of the household leading the family in prayer. Often the same narrative was repeated nightly, mentioning the concerns of the toun and the country, asking for strength in times of personal and national crisis. Hogg's essay on "Prayers" is an invaluable historical document on the meaning and function of prayers in traditional Ettrick culture (1827a, 434-39).

Hogg simulates traditional prayers on a number of occasions in his creative work. According to Hogg, they employed a variety of familiar images, local and personal. Davie Tait develops the Biblical allegory of the Lord as Our Shepherd into a co mplex metaphor of pastoral tasks and obligations:

> Thou hast promised in thy Word to be our shepherd, our guider an' director; an' thy word's as good as some men's aith, an' we'll haud thee at it. Therefore take thy plaid about thee, thy staff in hand, an' thy dog at thy fit, an' gather us about thee, in frae the cauld windy knowes o' self-conceit--the slushy bogs an' mires o' sensuality, an' the damp flows o' worldly-mindedness, an' wyse us a' into the true bught o' life, made o' the flakes o' forgiveness and the door o' loving-kindness; an' never do thou suffer us to be heftit e'ening or thankfu'ness, an' the butter o' good-works. An' do thou, moreover, fauld us o'ernight, an' every night, in within the true sheep-fauld o' thy covenant, weel buggen wi' the stanes o' salvation, an' coped wi' the divots o' grace. An' then, wi' sic a shepherd, an' sic a sheep-fauld, what hae we to be feared for? Na, na! we'll fear naething but sin!--We'll never mair scare at the poolly-woolly o' the whaup, nor swirl at the gelloch o' the 'ern; for if the arm of our Shepherd be about us for good, a' the imps, an' a' the powers o' darkness, canna wrang a hair o' our tails. (Hogg 1976, 128-9)

Tait's familiarity in addressing his Maker--a characteristic trait in Ettrick prayer, according to Hogg--is paralleled elsewhere in Scottish literature, for instance in Burns's "Holy Willie's Prayer". Corroborated by this authority, Hogg offers a valuable insight into private devotional attitudes in pre-industrial Scotland.

Public worship, of course, involved listening to the formal sermon delivered by a professional or semi-professional divine. However, they are considered as traditional narrative here, on the grounds that they were a traditional aural experience for the overwhelming majority of Ettrick. Scottish religious writings suggest an entertaining mixture of flowery imagery and bombast in contemporary sermons (Hervey 1877; Wodrow 1829); however, Hogg indicates that in practice sermons were frequently boring

and repetitive (Hogg 1834d, 63-4). Yet the basic sermon structure of text, exposition and moral no doubt had some impact on notions of narrative form in Ettrick. This standard style, using many analogies and metaphors, has much in common with religious legends, as the similarity in subject matter would suggest. However, by the early nineteenth century, as "The First Sermon" suggests, classical allusions and citations from other writers could make the sermon more of a literary rendition than an oral performance (Hogg 1830b). As seen in chapter 2, church-going was often an opportunity for courting rather than a religious experience, and so Hogg's reader is left with the impression that high attendance rates were perhaps the product of social obligations and aspirations, rather than aural satisfaction.

Hogg drew on the sermon form for Lay Sermons (1834), a series of lectures to young people and, as so often in Hogg's work, his mastery of the form is so total it suggests parody. Hogg's ambiguous attitude allows a great deal of humour in the treatment, but the texts simulate the relatively unpretentious rural sermons which Hogg clearly favoured. They offer a variety of advice: that young women should attend church regularly, and that a large family is the best insurance of happiness in old age, for instance. Hogg adopts the persona of an old, reflective man, as on several other occasions, for instance in the Spy (1810-11). Hogg draws an endearing portrait of his elderly hero, as well as providing a lively picture of lay preaching in Ettrick. While Lay Sermons have been sometimes viewed as something of a come-down for Hogg in literary terms (Gifford 1976, 231), still they are invaluable to the folklorist, and the oral historian, in recreating the atmosphere of yet another Ettrick aural experience in print. Hogg's prayers and sermons, then, make a personal and evocative statement on traditional Ettrick religious life.

3.5. Oral history

Ettrick oral history encompassed a range of locally and nationally important items. The passing of time in Ettrick was not measured by the literate standards of year and political event, but by locally significant occurrences, especially unseasonal weather. Storms "are the red lines in the shepherd's manual--the remembrancers of years and ages that are past--the tablets of memory by which the ages of his children, the times of his ancestors and the rise and downfall of families are invariably ascertained" (Hogg 1982,

1). Nationally significant events, such as the Covenanting period, were remembered primarily for their impact on local life.

The Covenanting period has fascinated Scottish writers from Scott in Old Mortality (1818), to Galt in Ringan Gilhaize (1822), to Stevenson in The Pentland Rising (1866). In Hogg's lifetime the Covenanting period was still clearly recalled: leading Covenanters had preached locally, and Ettrick had suffered from the depredations of the royalist forces. The National Covenant of 1638 opposed royal intervention in Scottish worship. The Covenanters went into hiding in remote parts of Scotland, such as Ettrick, to avoid persecution. They worshipped in open air conventicles (remembered, for instance, in the modern Blanket Preaching in Yarrow discussed in Chapter 5), and fought several major battles with the royal forces, both in the 1640s, and in the 1690s. Such dramatic events witnessed, and participated in, at the local level, have proved remarkably resilient in the folk imagination.

Hogg's specific historical knowledge is largely the product of Ettrick traditions. In The Brownie of Bodsbeck (1818), he gives full vent to the emotive folk traditions of Ettrick with respect to the Covenanters. The tale is set in the 1690s, and consists of a loosely grouped series of episodes, based on the experiences of Chapelhope during "The Killing Times". The Covenanters are portrayed as people of great integrity. John Brown, their leader, is based on, and was originally named, John Balfour of Burlie, who was a murderer of Archbishop Sharp of St. Andrews, in 1679. Hogg renamed Burlie Brown, as by the time The Brownie was published, Scott's Old Mortality was in print, a work which in which Burlie was a major, and disagreeable, character. Hogg presents Brown's followers as ordinary Borderers, forced to take a stance as they suffer outrageous persecutions: losing their goods, ears, and loved ones. Various methods of torture were applied to extract confessions, including the thumbikins, and crushing metal boots (Galt 1984, 282-9; Scott 1908, 344). Given that such persecution was relatively recent, and an active part of the local repertoire in Hogg's lifetime, it is not surprising that Hogg was so prejudiced towards these local and national heroes, the Covenanters.

The villain of The Brownie and the main persecutor of the Covenanters, is John Graham of Claverhouse, Viscount of Dundee, familiarly known in Ettrick as "Bloody Clavers". Hogg depicts Clavers, after the Ettrick traditions, as a loathsome character; a Märchen-style villain. His appearance is chilling, with a grey eye, "which more than the

eye of any human resembled the eye of a serpent" (Hogg 19[illegible] 56). He speaks only in curses, and delights only in annihilating the Covenanters. John [illegible]oy of Mucrah advises Claverhouse: "Gude-sooth, lad, but ye'll mak mae whigs wherever ye show your face, than a' the hill preachers o' Scotland put thegither" (Hogg 1976, 66). On the other hand, in Old Mortality, Claverhouse is portrayed as callous, but without the vicious streak that Hogg attributes to him. However, Scott mentions the sinister oral tradition that Claverhouse could only be killed with a silver bullet (1908, 440). For Galt, Clavers' only vaguely redeeming feature was "a canine fidelity, a dog's love, to his papistical master" (Galt 1984, 177-8; 312).

Tales of the Wars of Montrose (1835) is also set in the Covenanting period, and closely based on oral history. In this later work, Hogg demonstrates a mature historical attitude, allowing that the Covenanters and their supporters committed some atrocities. In "Wat Pringle o' the Yair", Hogg offers what he claims is an authoritative account of the Battle of Philiphaugh (1691), based on local traditions:

> Now I must tell the result in my own way and my own words, for though that luckless battle has often been described it has never been truly so, and no man living knows half so much about it as I do. My grandfather, who was born in 1691, and whom I well remember, was personally acquainted with several persons about Selkirk who were eye-witnesses of the battle of Philiphaugh. Now though I cannot say that I ever heard him recount the circumstances, yet his son William, my uncle, who died lately at the age of ninety-six, has gone over them all to me times innumerable, and pointed out the very individual spots where the chief events happened. (Hogg 1835, III: 19-20)

Philiphaugh is on a level plain about a mile west of Selkirk, and Hogg describes the battle tactics in detail: the troopers coming up behind Montrose; Leslie's dragoons feigning a retreat to trap Montrose with a wheel formation;[17] the confusion of the rout; the pursuit, and the rally of royalist forces at Traquair (Hogg 1835, III: 24).

Hogg is convinced of the superiority of oral to written history, and when he cites printed texts, they are corroborative, not definitive. He contradicts previous historians where they conflict with oral accounts, especially his family traditions. For example, with respect to Montrose's conduct at the battle, Hogg allows that McChambers account is best--yet McChambers was misled by Bishops Guthrie and Wishart:

> He insinuates, nay, if I remember aright, avows boldly that Montrose reached his army in time, and fought at their head with part of their gentlemen cavalry. No such thing.-- His army was to all intents and purposes broken ere he got in sight of it; his camp and baggage taken, and his foot surrounded without either guns or ammunition. It may be said, and it will be said, that my account is only derived from tradition. True, but it is from the tradition of a people to whom every circumstance and every spot was so well known, that the tradition could not possibly be incorrect; and be it remembered that it is

> the tradition of only two generations of the same family. As I said, my grandfather knew personally a number of eye-witnesses of the battle, and I well remember him, although it was his son, my uncle, who was my principal authority, who pointed out all the spots to me, and gave us the detail when he sung "The Battle of Philiphaugh", which was generally every night during winter. I therefore believe that my account is perfectly correct, or very nearly so. (Hogg 1835, III: 24-25)

Hogg's deep respect for traditional history suggests that he is a highly reliable source on the oral history of Ettrick, and his dramatisation of these accounts no doubt simulates the tale-telling of his youth, referred to above. By referring to his uncle's coupling of song and related history, Hogg gives an invaluable insight into contemporary attitudes towards the performance of oral traditions: in this case it is demonstrated that they might be viewed as contextualisation for other expressive forms. As a consummate story-teller, Hogg is able to reproduce the charged atmosphere of such a tale-telling session in print, thereby preserving Ettrick oral traditions, without losing all their oral qualities, in a modern literary form.

Hogg, then, argues that his traditional account is more accurate than written history, largely because of the prevalence of these traditions, and also because they are relatively recent. While the first argument has logical validity, it should be pointed out in relation to the second that recent evidence suggests it is not so much the interval of time between first and final informant that counts for accuracy, but other factors including the method of transmission, level of control over recital, and frequency of repetition (Vansina 1965, 40-44). Hogg, of course, maintains that these traditions were performed frequently (almost nightly in winter), and furthermore the Ettrick traditions are corroborated by West coast interpretations, as recorded by Galt. As seen above, there are clear-cut instances here of oral tradition differing from the written accounts as consulted by Scott, especially with respect to Claverhouse. The differences in perspective between political historian and grass-roots tradition is a complex example of the differences between oral and formal history, and one which would repay further investigation.

Furthermore, Hogg's sense of history is clearly influenced by Ettrick standards; previous writers have commented on his lack of chronological perspective, for instance, in The Brownie (1818). While Gifford has praised this as an early utilisation of flashback (1976, 83-84), the present writer contends that Hogg's view of history is the product of an oral historical outlook, which recalls the effect of events as they relate to local life, describing these in order of significance, rather than in the rigidly diachronic literary fashion.

3.6. Märchen

Hogg provides limited information with respect to Ettrick Märchen. Wilkie collected several Selkirkshire Märchen, including "Habitrot" (Type 501), and Chambers makes a bold attempt to capture the regional idiom of the Border Märchen, for example in "Nippit Fit and Clippit Fit" (Type 510), recalled by Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe as he heard it from his Nurse Jenny in the 1780s (Chambers 1847, 219).

The Märchen has been defined as:

> a story of some length involving a series of motifs or episodes. It moves in an unreal world without definite locality or definite characters and is filled with the marvellous. In this never-never land humble heroes kill adversaries, succeed to kingdoms, and marry princesses. (Thompson 1977, 8)

The world is "clearly and neatly fashioned" (Lüthi 1978, 53), nd Märchen exhibit characteristic structural patterns; they focus on a single hero and those who oppose the hero. Märchen have formulaic beginnings and endings, are internally structured by twos and threes and make frequent repetitions and contrasts. The story is a linear progression from an initial lack, to the hero's achievement of personal and financial success (Olrik 1965; Propp 1988). Until the beginning of the nineteenth century, such tales were told to Borders children, of all social classes, but by the early nineteenth century oral Märchen telling was a dying art, developing towards its present status as primarily a literary genre, found in children's books (Chambers 1847, 202) except, of course, among the travelling people who still tell Märchen.

While Hogg did not collect Märchen as he collected historical traditions, nevertheless he drew on the form of these tales for several short stories. "The Two Valleys, a Fairy Tale", for instance, is strongly influenced by Märchen. The tale appeared in the children's annual Remembrance (1831), and so is in itself symptomatic of the genre's change in status, referred to above. The story focuses on the secluded Christian valley of Luran, "like a community of beings of a sinless and happy world" (Hogg 1831c, 121-22), the theme of a sinless world being one Hogg pursues a number of times, for example in "Kilmeny" (1819b, 176-93). Nearby is irreligious Duan: "the valley of vice" (Hogg 1831c, 122-3), and the maidens of Glen-Luran engage in moral conflict with the boys of the second valley. In this the girls are aided by a fairy, May-Lily of Rainbow Hill, "a beautiful little lady, dressed in green satin, with a wreath of roses and flowers on her head" (Hogg 1831c, 123). While initially forbidding the young

women from entering the woods of Duan--an interdiction which they violate--she then aids them in magically subjecting their enemies, first by providing them with fairy wands, with which they blind, and flog the boys, second by transforming the boys into jackasses (D132.1. Transformation: man to ass).

The binary structure of this tale--a contrast between extremes of good and evil--and linear progression of "The Two Valleys" draw heavily on the Märchen form. As in Märchen, the characters are highly stylised: they represent good and evil principles, and there is little attempt at characterisation beyond the traditional fairy mischievousness of May-Lily. Hogg frequently uses this dualistic structure in his tales, employing characters as performers of roles and functions, rather than as developed individuals (although Hogg is equally adept at characterisation when he so desires). Parallels can be drawn with other writers who drew on traditional precedents to create their characters, for example Hawthorne with the evil Roderick Elliston in "The Bosom Serpent" (1854). Even Hogg's profound psychological study of Robert Wringhim in Confessions is secondary to Wringhim's role as the devil's dupe; the characterisation is secondary to the function. These structural and functional tendencies stand as evidence of how profoundly Hogg's narrative notions were influenced by traditional norms, and his skill in adapting oral conventions for creative purposes.

3.7. Legend

Legend is one of Hogg's major interests, and indeed legendary narratives form the largest group of tales collected in the Borders. In legend, an extraordinary but credible sequence of events occurs, authenticated with specifics about characters and local places, and told as if they deserve to be believed. Hogg records, alters and creates tales after aetiological, historical, religious and supernatural legends; forms which were in oral circulation in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, although, like Märchen, they were told less often in the oral context. The collection processes instigated by Scott, Hogg and their contemporaries undoubtedly contributed to this process and today, while traditional legends are still known in Ettrick, these four subgenres are largely found in written collections, and travel guides. While local legends have thereby been brought to a wider audience, their local significance is reduced, turning legends into a quaint, amusing form, with little or no educational value.

Aetiological legends deal with the origin of natural phenomena: features of the physical environment for example.[18] Hogg occasionally offers examples of this kind of legend, although it is not one of his major interests. Examples include an explanation of the place-name "Slain Men's Lea", related to the wholesale slaughter of the prisoners taken in the battle of Philliphaugh. While Hogg retells the legend in a new literary guise, he closely follows oral traditions of legend telling, verifying his text by claiming that there were hundreds of reliable eyewitnesses to the massacre and taking a predominantly amoral stance (Hogg 1835, III: 33-35).

Hogg is more interested in historical legend, a category which is closely related to oral history. It is impossible to completely distinguish the two categories, and unlikely that the people of Ettrick did so. For example, Hogg relates a tale of treasure lost by the Duke of Traquair after Philiphaugh (ML 8010f). He presents this as "literal fact", verified by its being told by "a very old man named Adam Tod, than whom I never met with one better versed in the historical traditions of the district" (Hogg 1835, III: 38). According to local legend, Traquair set out across the Minchmoor, accompanied by a smith named Brodie, with a portmanteau of silver coin to recruit for Montrose. The bag was fastened behind the smith. As they came to where Yarrowford now stands, the two men saw the first flyers from the battle coming towards them at full speed. Traquair, according to Hogg, believed that they were local people coming to seize him and his treasure, and so turned to flee through Yarrow. Montrose's men thought Traquair and his party were their own men, and so pursued them:

> The Earl was now hard put to it, and was obliged to change horses with the smith three times; and on passing Lewing's hope,[19] as my uncle's narrative went, and getting for a space out of sight of his pursuers, he caused the smith to throw the bag of money into a small lake, judging it safer there than with them, as it might fall into the enemy's hands, and moreover it was galling the horse terribly. (Hogg 1835, III: 38)

According to Hogg, the Earl "never drew bridle" until he reached Craig of Douglas, where he rested till twilight, and then rode home. Soon afterwards, the smith returned to the country, to try to relocate the cash. Hogg records the local traditions of what happened next, and finishes by bringing the legend into a contemporary context:

> owing to the confusion of the chase, he was completely bamboozled, and could not know by a mile where the treasure was deposited. He got the people of Lewingshope, then a considerable village, to help him, but they having seen flyers riding up every glen and ridge that day, could not tell which way he and the Earl had passed. They drained two stagnant pools on the west side of the burn by which the natives had seen two gentlemen riding, but they found nothing. Long and diligent search was made but

> to no purpose. The smith followed his lord into England and never returned, and what became of the bag of money was a mystery.
> But more than a hundred years after that period, a little flat shallow lake at the side of the old Finnieshaugh was drained for the purposes of agriculture, and just about the middle of the spot which the lake occupied numbers of old silver coins are ploughed up to this day. Some were put into my hand lately which a girl found lying together as she was hoeing potatoes. They were coins of Elizabeth and James, some of the size of a half crown, and some of a shilling, but thinner. I gave some of them to Sir Walter Scott shortly before his last illness. He knew them well enough, and did not value them further than as proof of the tradition relating to the Earl of Traquair. I have no doubt that the whole or the greater part of the treasure might be recovered, which has never been attempted. Sir Walter sent James Bryden a beautiful book, with a request to look for more of the coins on the same spot. They are in no way injured. The one pool which the smith drained was about a quarter of a mile from this, and the other only about half the distance. Thus far local tradition carries me, and no farther, regarding this bloody scene, and hitherto my tale may be regarded as perfectly authentic. (Hogg 1835, III: 42-44)

Although Hogg presents this story as literally true, the classification above reveals it to be an international legend type. One is left with the impression that while Hogg may have believed this tradition, it is equally likely that he recognised it for what it was: a rattling good tale. A legend's entertainment value is, of course, as legitimate a function in the literary as in the oral context, and as a creative writer Hogg, of course, was primarily exploiting the aesthetic value of traditional narratives.

This is certainly the case with Hogg's utilisation of the legend cycle built around James V, who is supposed to have travelled Scotland incognito, disguised as a poor man, "The Goodman of Ballengeich". In this character, the King rewards loyal subjects, and punishes the exploitative.[20] The legend is well suited to James V, who imposed order on the Scottish Borders, and Hogg reworks the theme in "The Profligate Princes", a Dramatic Tale in verse (1817a, II: 1-187). A band of Scottish noblemen, including Sir Ronald (King Robert of Scotland), Badenoch (Robert's brother), Kilmorack (The Duke of Albany), Glen-Garnet, and Coucy, enter the Forest in disguise, to engage in parallel and complex chases for game, and for women. Badenoch is depicted as a thoroughly disreputable character, and, for the sake of dramatic tension, it is implied, until the last act, that Badenoch is the king: he is appointed King of the Chase, for example (Hogg 1817a, II: 6). Eleanor, the daughter of the Earl of March, follows Badenoch to the Forest, disguised as a page. However, he abandons her for Matilda, the wife of Lord Crawford, and Eleanor is driven to distraction; Hogg often uses the image of frail, abandoned women, Ophelia-like creatures, such as Cherry Elliot, in Perils of Woman. When March

attempts to avenge his daughter's disgrace, Badenoch tricks and murders him (Hogg 1817a, II: 82-4). However, justice is ultimately satisfied as Crawford kills Badenoch, for attempting to dishonour his house.

Hogg's jaded view of aristocrats and their behaviour, as seen in "The Profligate Princes", is clearly much closer to Ettrick tradition than, say, Scott's. This is exemplified in their conflicting views with respect to local heroes such as the Black Douglas, Lord of Ettrick Forest in the fourteenth century. Scott, for instance, in Tales of a Grandfather includes a legend (ML 8000) about Douglas's retaking of Roxburgh Castle from the English. The Douglas is presented as a doughty warrior: clever, chivalric, and kind to women. He and his men disguise themselves, by wearing cattle skins, and approach Roxburgh castle by night. A woman sings to her child by the wall of the castle, unaware that the Scots are close by:

> The name of Douglas had become so terrible to the English that the women used to frighten their children with it, and the soldier's wife was singing to her child:
> "Hush ye, hush ye, little pet ye.
> Hush ye, hush ye, do not fret ye.
> The Black Douglas shall not get ye!"
> "You are not sure of that!" said a voice behind her, and at the same moment a heavy hand in a steel gauntlet was laid on her shoulder. A tall, swarthy man was standing close to her, the Black Douglas himself! It is pleasant to read that Douglas protected the woman and her child. (Scott, qtd. in Briggs 1971 B, II: 5-6)

When Hogg tells the same legend in Perils of Man, the Douglas's participation is minimalised, and Scott of Yardbire's reiver band are given the active role. The Earl is presented throughout Perils of Man in a rather unflattering, but more realistic, light than Scott's. The Douglas is quite prepared to kill women, for example lady Jane Howard. And, while allowing that the Douglas is a great warrior, Hogg ridicules his chivalric tendencies, expressed in such "abundantly extravagant" gestures as kissing the letters from his royal lover Margaret, and swearing to do great deeds in her name (Hogg 1972b, 40). Such a difference in treatment between Hogg's interpretation, derived from oral tradition, and Scott's, derived from chivalric texts, demonstrates (as with the traditional Covenanting lore) once more the divergence between the traditional Ettrick viewpoint and the literary stance of antiquarians like Scott. The one sees the flaws in aristocratic lifestyles and personalities, the other is blatantly sycophantic.

Hogg is totally at ease, however, with the legendary figures of the Borders' reivers: fighting men who were traditionally believed to follow their own moral code, honourable

tricksters akin to international outlaws like Jesse James, and Robin Hood. Incidentally, although the Borders' code of honour was questioned in the past (see Fraser 1977, passim), recent evidence suggests that the reivers' oath was widely accepted as binding. In 1529 a band of Selkirkshire men were released from jail, on swearing they had been unaware the men they robbed for fifteen years were "merchants from Moffat"; they thought they were "thieves from Annandale" ("Protocol Books").

Local reivers included men like Wat of Harden, a celebrated Selkirkshire fighter, who married Mary Scott of Dryhope, "The Flower of Yarrow". Several humorous anecdotes and legends are attached to Wat. For example, he is supposed to have been outraged at hearing the local herd calling for Wat o' Harden's coo, and swore to make him soon speak of Wat o' Harden's kye. As well as being a tough fighter, Wat was believed to have had a kind heart, rescuing a child from one Cumberland raid who grew up to be 'Minstrel Burne', the author of 'Leader Haughs and Yarrow' (Lang 1930, 203). Hogg draws on traditional reiving heroes for several fictional characters, such as Sir Simon Brodie in Tales of Montrose, Sir Richard Rinkleton in Perils of Woman, and Charlie Scott of Yardbire in Perils of Man. The last mentioned, in particular, is an archetypal reiver. While he is incredibly brave, he cries readily, and like Scott of Harden before him, saves a child during a raid into England who grows up, like Burne, to be The Poet of the novel. Reiving heroes, then, provide Hogg with models for some of his most colourful characters, and in portraying this type Hogg offers unparalleled insights into traditional Ettrick concepts of the hero.

Equally Hogg moulds several characters on legendary Borders' viragos, as exemplified by the "Fair Maiden Lilliard". This warrior, from Maxton, Roxburghshire, accompanied her lover to the Battle of Ancrum Moor, in 1545. She is commemmorated by the following verse, engraved on a stone at the site, and in oral circulation in Selkirkshire:

> Fair Maiden Lilliard lies under this stane,
> Little was her stature, but great was her fame;
> Upon the English loons she laid mony thumps,
> And when her legs were cuttit off, she fought upon her stumps.

So too, Hogg's Bessy Chisholm follows in the tradition by flying in men's dress to the assistance of her lover Will Laidlaw in battle. However, Bessy is not so hardy as Lilliard was, and put out of action by a minor wound, thereby inspiring her lover to redoubled

efforts (Hogg 1972b, 379). Here Hogg uses a traditional Borders' type and remoulds it to comic (and romantic) ends, exploiting a traditional image to enrich his unique creative vision.

Hogg records several local religious legends, as in his note on St. Columba in The Queen's Wake (1819b, 374). He also draws on the model of saints' legends as creative sources. In "The Poet's Tale" in Perils of Man three virgin princesses of Caledon, Marley, Morna and Lena, are captured by heathen brothers, Hongar and Hubba, and face a fate worse than death. However, they pray to the Virgin to preserve their virginity, and make a miraculous escape led by an angelic entity: "a radiant form covered with light as with a flowing robe. In his right hand he bore a golden rod, and in his left a lamp that shone as bright as the noon-day sun" (R168. Angels as rescuers). The sisters sleep for what seems to them to be one night, but when they awake they discover that years have passed (D1960.1. Seven Sleepers), the Danes have been vanquished and Christianity is triumphant in Caledon. The maids of Stormont make a moving tableau as they touch each other to check if they are dead. They reason that even though they feel flesh, they may be spirits: "A mortal man cannot touch or feel a disembodied spirit, but we know not how spirits feel each other" (Hogg 1972b, 312). Their actions thereafter are moulded by their expectations of ghost behaviour: they leave the cave by night and intend to return by cock crow (Hogg 1972b, 312-3). Entering the convent, the women approach the abbess for help. She is familiar with the story of "the maids of Stormont", and hails their escape from the Danes as a miracle. The women devote the rest of their lives to "acts of holiness" (Hogg 1972b, 317). Hogg takes advantage, here as elsewhere, of the fact that in his own lifetime the source tales were familiar to the majority of his audience, and he thereby invokes a wealth of traditional associations.

Various beliefs regarding supernatural creatures--brownies, bogles, fairies, ghosts, witches, and the devil--were encompassed in the supernatural legends of Ettrick Forest:

> The deil an' his agents, they fash nane but the gude fock, the Cameronians, an' the prayin' ministers, an' sic like. Then the bogles, they are a better kind o' spirits, they meddle wi' nane but the guilty, the murderer an' the mansworn, an' the cheater o' the widow an' fatherless; they do for them. Then the fairies, they're very harmless, they're keener o' fun an' frolic than aught else, but if fock neglect kirk ordinances, they see after them. Then the brownie, he's a kind o' half spirit half-man; he'll drudge an' do a' the wark about the town for his meat, but then he'll no work but when he likes for a' the king's dominions. That's precisely what we a' believe here awa', auld an' young. (Hogg 1973, I: 70).

In The Brownie of Bodsbeck Hogg mixes traditional history (the Covenanting period) and supernatural legend into a complex entity, drawing on notions of the brownie to create a charged atmosphere. The Brownie is "a wee bit hurklin crile of an unearthly thing, as shrinkit an' wan as he had been lien seven years i' the grave" (Hogg 1976, 7) and Maron Laidlaw is convinced it is her daughter's familiar. As if to confirm this suspicion, Hogg has the Brownie save the girl, Keatie, from the hands of Clerk the Curate (Hogg 1976, 87)--a character based on the legendary "Mess John" who seduced the Lass of Craigieburn (Hogg 1973 II: 74).

The Brownie comes to Keatie's rescue with a dramatic appearance at cock crow:

> Mass John uttered two involuntary cries, somewhat resembling the bellowings of an angry bull, mixed with inarticulate mumblings,--sunk powerless on the floor, and, with a deep shivering groan, fainted clean away. Katharine, stretching forth her hands, flew to meet her unearthly guardian;--"Welcome, my watchful and redoubted Brownie," said she; "thou art well worthy to be familiar to an empress, rather than an insignificant country maiden."
>
> "Brownie's here, Brownie's there,
> Brownie's with thee every where,"[21]
>
> said the dwarfish spirit, and led her off in triumph. (Hogg 1976, 90-1)

It is eventually made clear that the band of brownies are, in fact, a group of persecuted Covenanters, using the tradition to evade detection. However, the reader is kept in suspense until the end, as the full explanation of the brownie--related to John Brown's bizarre appearance because of his wounds at Bothwell Bridge--is not given until the last chapter.

The "Brownie" performs a number of tasks around Chapelhope, based on the creature's traditional attributes: he harvests the corn overnight, for instance, and even smears the sheep. Hogg injects characteristic humour into his account of Brownie's exploits. While John Hoy the shepherd is alarmed at the prospect of his sheep being smeared by supernatural hands, he cannot resist the temptation to have this messy job done quickly, and effortlessly, and the mistress of Chapelhope, Maron Laidlaw, is annoyed because she has given the Brownie his "accustomed wages", yet he has not left the toun.[22] Hogg claims the sanction of tradition for his tales of the Brownie, claiming that they were well-known in contemporary Ettrick (1976, 134-37). His literary talents are at their best when, as here, he presents oral traditions and pseudo-traditions, with humour and an ambiguous stance, as a springboard to original creative writing.

Hogg adopts a similar stance with respect to the hilarious "Bogle of the Brae", a comic exploration of traditional beliefs. Bogles were similar to brownies, but more malicious. Here, Hogg uses Selkirkshire precedents, like the well-known Gilpin Horner (see Robson 1973) as the basis for the tale. It opens with Davie and Jock debating the advisability of courting the Bell sisters; Davie had met a bogle on his last visit there, and offers a full description:

> It appeared first to me, at a distance, like a man o' fire, as if he had been made of a thin lowe. Then he came bolting forward, girning an' glowring as if he wad hae swallowed me up. Then away back again, sae far that I could hardly ken him.... I assure you, I was nae easily cowed, but I saw enough that night to hae put the maist part o'folks out o' their reason". (Hogg 1831a, 237-8)

Here, Hogg provide.. a sophisticated analysis of local attitudes towards the supernatural. While Davie is convinced of the existence of the bogle, Jock takes the rationalist stance that it was probably a delusion; both attitudes are presented as co-existent in this transitional period of Ettrick culture.

However Hogg feels bound to provide a rational explanation for his supernatural Bogle. The narrator discovers the image had been projected with the aid of a magic lantern, a device Hogg had already used in Perils of Man (1972b, 180-81). He claims to be disappointed: "And thus I was forced to draw out my fine ghost-story, from a palpable and simple deduction effected from natural and artificial causes, a conclusion which I have ever hitherto reached, and with which I was neither satisfied nor pleased" (Hogg 1831a, 262-4). By opting for this escape clause, Hogg exhibits his standard ambiguous viewpoint towards the supernatural: he initially presents the story as a genuine paranormal event, but then feels obliged to disqualify it with an explanatory coda. His general inability to leave such a tale as it stands is partly the product of a desire to appear rational, in itself related to his economic need to be patronised by the rational, if romantic, publishers of his day.

Hogg is less inhibited with respect to the fairies, perhaps because by this period they were regarded as primarily fantastic creatures (Briggs 1959) rather than genuine supernatural entities. Hogg reveals that there were few left in Ettrick who would admit to belief in fairies:

> The fairies have now totally disappeared; and it is a pity they should; for they seem to have been the most delightful little spirits that ever haunted the Scottish dells. There are only very few now remaining alive who have ever seen them; and when they did, it was on Hallow-evenings, while they were young, when the gospel was not very rife in the country. (Hogg 1819b, 356)

The Forest fairies appear to have belonged mainly to the class usually termed trooping fairies: they rode, hunted, hawked, and danced in bands which included christened mortals they had stolen. Hogg asserted that his grandfather, Will o' Phaup, was the last man in Ettrick to converse with the fairies "and that not once or twice, but at sundry times and seasons". His family canon included several tales of Will's encounters with the supernatural, and as Hogg records these he demonstrates his respect for his grandfather's experiences by recounting them with great sensitivity:

> Will was coming from the hill one dark misty evening in winter, and, for a good while, imagined he heard a great gabbling of children's voices, not far from him, which grew still more and more audible; it being before sunset, he had no spark of fear, but set about investigating whence the sounds and laughter proceeded. He at length discovered that they issued from a deep cleuch not far distant, and thinking it was a band of gipsies, or some marauders, he laid down his bonnet and plaid, and creeping softly over the heath, reached the brink of the precipice, peeped over, and to his utter astonishment, beheld the fairies sitting in seven circles, on a green spot in the bottom of the dell, where no green spot ever was before. They were apparently eating and drinking; but all their motions were so quick and momentary, he could not well see what they were doing. Two or three at the queen's back appeared to be baking bread. The party consisted wholly of ladies, and their number was quite countless--dressed in green pollonians, and grass-green bonnets on their heads. He perceived at once, by their looks, their giggling, and their peels of laughter, that he was discovered. Still fear took no place in his heart, for it was daylight, and the blessed sun was in the heaven, although obscured by clouds; till at length he heard them pronounce his own name twice; Will then began to think it might not be quite so safe to wait till they pronounced it a third time, and in that moment of hesitation it first came to his mind that it was All Hallow Eve! There was no further occasion to warn Will to rise and run; for he well knew the fairies were privileged, on that day and night, to do what seemed good in their eyes. "His hair," he said, "stood all up like the birses on a sow's back, and every bit o' his body, outside and in, prinkled as it had been brunt wi' nettles." He ran home as fast as his feet could carry him, and greatly were his children astonished (for he was then a widower) to see their father come running like a madman, without either his bonnet or plaid. He assembled them to prayers, and shut the door, but did not tell them what he had seen for several years. (Hogg 1827a, 437)

Will's genuine terror is symptomatic of the deep fear of the fairies which existed in Ettrick in the years prior to Hogg's birth, and his resort to the countermeasure of prayer illustrates the complex mixture of religion and supernatural belief which existed in that period.

Will's fear was no doubt fuelled by local legends about fairy abductions such as the tale of Tam Lin (Ch 39), dramatised by Hogg in "The Haunted Glen" (1817a). And in a note to "Kilmeny" Hogg recounts a local legend relating to a seven-year old girl from Traquair, who mysteriously disappeared, and was only recovered after prayers had been offered for the child in seven Christian churches (the fairies, as seen above, find Christian

worship antipathetic, and were unable to retain her). Soon afterwards the child is found on the bank from whence she had vanished:

> She could give no perfect account of the circumstances which had befallen her, but she said she did not want plenty of meat, for that her mother came and fed her with milk and bread several times a-day, and sung her to sleep at night. Her skin had acquired a bluish cast, which gradually wore off in the course of a few weeks. Her name was Jane Brown; she lived to a very advanced age and was known to many still alive. Every circumstance of this story is truth, if the father's account of the suddenness of her disappearance may be relied on. (Hogg 1819b, 365-7)

But while Hogg does present such local traditions, more often in his creative work he modifies traditional fairylore to present the creatures in the current, romantic fashion. The fairy court of the Royal Jubilee (1822), for instance, are an ethereal and helpful band, Oriel, Ripple, Rainbow, Gurgle and Gale, each with a special responsibility in relation to mankind, each with gifts for the visiting King George (Hogg 1822, 18-19). So too, "Kilmeny" draws on traditional fairy legends, and fuses them with images of angelic purity to create a new mystical vision (Hogg 1819b, 176-93).

With respect to spirits--of the living and of the dead--Hogg is less circumspect, and closer to tradition. Traditionally, in Ettrick as elsewhere, ghosts behaved in predictable ways. They revealed the location of treasures they had buried in their lifetime, as in Hogg's "John Gray o' Middleholm". Wraiths came to warn the living of their impending demise, or to stop them from committing rash actions, as in "Dreams and Apparitions", where Hogg relates how the Laird of Cassway's spirit warned his sons against fighting a duel. The murdered returned from the dead to reveal their killers, and Hogg develops this tradition in the hilarious tale of The Laird of Wineholm, who apparently returns from the grave to accuse his son-in-law, a doctor, of his murder. His servant, John, relates his experience, and this tale has particular interest as a plausible replication of memorate: a first person supernatural experience:

> "Weel, as I was suppering the horses the night, I was dressing my late master's favourite mare, and I was just thinkin' to mysell, an he had been leevin' I wadna hae been my lane the night, for he wad hae been standing ower me cracking his jokes, and swearing at me in his ain good-natured hamely way. Ay, but he's gane to his lang account, thinks I, an' we poor frail dying creatures that are left ahind hae muckle reason to be thankfu' that we are as we are. When behold I looks up, and there's my auld master standing leaning against the trivage, as he used to do, and looking at me. I canna but say my heart was a little astoundit, and maybe lap up through my midriff into my breath-bellows; I couldna say, but in the strength o' the Lord I was enabled to retain my senses for a good while. 'John Broadcast, what the d__l are you thinking about? You are not currying that mare half. What a d__d luberly way of dressing a horse is that?

'L__d make us thankfu', master!' says I, 'are you there?'
'Where else would you have me be at this hour of night, old blockhead?' says he.
'In another hame than this, master,' says I; 'but I fear me it is nae good one, that ye are so soon tired o't.'
'A d__d bad one, I assure you,' says he.
'Ay, but, master,' says I, 'ye hae muckle reason to be thankfu' that ye are as ye are.'
'In what respects, dotard?' says he.
'That ye hae liberty to come out o't a start now and then to get the air,' says I; and oh, my heart was sair for him when I thought o' his state! and though I was thankfu' that I was as I was, my heart and flesh began to fail me, at thinking of my being face to face wi' a being frae the unhappy place. But out he briks again wi' a grit round o' swearing about the mare being ill keepit; and he ordered me to cast my coat and curry her weel, for that he had a lang journey to take her the morn.
'Ye take a journey on her!' says I, 'Ye forget that she's flesh and blood. I fear my new master will dispute that privilege with you, for he rides himself the morn.'
'He ride her!' cried the angry spirit. 'If he dares for the soul of him lay a leg over her, I shall give him a downcome! I shall gar him lie as low as the gravel among my feet. And soon soon shall he be levelled with it at ony rate! The dog! the parricide! first to betray my child, and then to put down myself. But he shall not escape! he shall not escape!' cried he with such a hellish growl, that I fainted and heard no more.' (Hogg 1827d, 69-70)

The exact verification details, and the teller's references to his state of mind are typical of memorate, as is the animated manner of the telling. The "says I" and "says he" is standard practice in spoken Scots, even if "cried the angry spirit" is a concession to literary conventions.[23]

Other supernatural legends which fascinated Hogg included the local tales of wizards and wise men. Floating legends attached themselves to the names of Thomas the Rhymer, Merlin, and the third great regional "man o' poo'ers", Michael Scott. Merlin makes a brief appearance in "The Profligate Princes" (Hogg 1817a, II: 127-9). Michael Scott, the thirteenth century mathematician and astrologer, who was supposed to have lived in Oakwood Tower in Ettrick (see plate 7), is a prominent character in Perils of Man. Scott is an imposing figure, "somewhat emaciated in his appearance, but with a strong bushy beard that flowed to his girdle, of a hue that had once been jet black, but was now slightly tinted with grey. His eyes were uncommonly bright and piercing, but they had some resemblance to the eyes of a serpent" (Hogg 1972b, 163). He possesses a mysterious book with red characters in it, which seems to be the main source of his powers (Hogg 1972b, 337-39).[24] Hogg provides a complex character sketch of Scott, suggesting that the wizard is a jaded man motivated to commit evil acts because of his spiritual pride. He splits the Eildon hill in three in a fit of sullen pique, believing that Bacon has smitten the Cope-Law in three:

> It was a scene of wonder not to be understood, and awfully impressive. The two rivers flowed down their respective vallies, and met below the castle like two branching seas, and every little streamlet roared and foamed like a river. The hills had a wan, bleached appearance, many of the trees of the forest were shivered, and, towering up against the eastern sky, there stood the three romantic hills of Eildon, where before there was but one. (Hogg 1972b, 201)

Unusually, Hogg adopts an attitude of total belief with respect to the supernatural here. Mack makes the perceptive comment that Perils of Man "marks Hogg's courageous and epic attempt to work in the oral and popular tradition which had produced the ballads, folk-tales and legends. It also marks the passing of this tradition as a living force" (Hogg 1972b, xvi). Certainly, Hogg made use of a number of folkloric motifs in Perils of Man. Robin Maclachlan has identified several, for instance, H331.2.1. Suitor contest: success in battle, K754. Capture by hiding in artificial animal, A972.4. Imprint of horse in rocks (1977, 184-86). However, in certain instances, it is unclear whether Hogg was using, or creating legendary material. Scott, in the Minstrelsy, also mentions the legend of Scott's "words that cleft the Eildon hill in three", but as these are the first literary references to the tale it is impossible to be certain whether the legend existed in Ettrick beforehand, although it is certainly well known today.

Less eminent witches and magicians also feature in Borders' legend, and Hogg is equally interested in this class. He tells the tale, for instance, of how his own ancestress, the Witch of Fauldshope, outwitted Michael Scott, turning him into a hare and setting his dogs on him. Scott, however, had the last laugh when he made the Witch dance until she was so exhausted she died (Hogg 1819b, 358-60). "The Marvellous Doctor" (ML 6000) is the uproarious tale of a warlock who, the narrator states, stayed with his mother in Ettrick manse, for six months:

> he was a tall ungainly figure, dressed in a long black coat, the longest and the narrowest coat I ever saw; his vest was something like blue velvet, and his breeches of leather, buckled with silver knee-buckles. He wore always white thread stockings, and as his breeches came exactly to the knap of the knee, his legs appeared so long and thin that it was a marvel to me how they carried him. Take in black spats, and a very narrow-brimmed hat, and you have the figure complete.... He was a doctor; but whether of law, medicine, or divinity, I never learned; perhaps of them all, for a doctor he certainly was--we called him so, and never knew him by any other name; some indeed called him the Lying Doctor, some the Herb Doctor, and some the Warlock Doctor, but my mother, behind his back, called him always THE MARVELLOUS DOCTOR, which, for her sake, I have chosen to retain. (Hogg 1827f, 349)

The doctor spends his time gathering flowers and herbs, including some from the churchyard, which made the local old wives "terribly jealous of him" (Hogg 1827f, 349).

He also told fascinating tales--which the narrator believed at the time. His piéce de resistance was the story of a love potion he invented. This device is used in several legends, oral and literary, most notably Tristan and Isolde; the magic plant which induces love in Midsummer Night's Dream functions in the same capacity (D1355.2. Magic love-philtre). He had challenged a Spanish professor, Don Felix de Valdes, who claimed to have made a similar discovery, to a contest; the marvellous doctor humiliated his rival, causing the professor, and several ladies of the court, to follow him, enslaved by the potion. The Doctor adds the caustic comment that the royal house of Spain subsequently used the potion to ensure the loyalty of their aristocracy, a trait which the courtiers still exhibit (Hogg 1827f, 350-57).

The Marvellous Doctor resolves to use his potion to win a wealthy wife, and decides on a young widowed Countess. He manages to sprinkle the elixir on her scarf, but unfortunately, as they walk together, the scarf is caught on the horns of a pet cow--and on animals it enrages, rather than enamours. A bull tries to free the scarf from the cow, but swallows the enchanted item, and pursued by the bull, the Doctor manages to gain a nearby river. A bizarre bull fight ensues--a device Hogg also uses in "The Edinburgh Baillie" (Hogg 1835, I)--in which the animal tries to butt the Doctor, but is confused each time he lowers his head into water. The Doctor manages to stab the bull, and make his escape, although he loses his fortune and his sweetheart into the bargain.

The narrator's mother is not surprised at the Doctor's adventure: "Other men have studied the qualities o' yirbs to assist nature, but ye have done it only to pervert nature, an' I hope you hae read your sin in your punishment" (Hogg 1827, 360). Moreover, she disputes with the Doctor over his claim to have invented the charm, pointing out that the gypsies had possessed such a charm for centuries: Johnnie Faa, for example, had seduced the Earl of Cassillis's lady (Ch 200); Hector Kennedy stole three well-connected brides merely by touching their palms. She is personally acquainted with one such case involving Sophy Sloan of Kirkhope (Hogg 1827f, 361). Hogg then, once more, uses a traditional legend as the basis for an original tale; highlighting the comic qualities of the story-line to produce a personal vision based in tradition.

"The Witch of Fife" details the night raids of witches in a rollicking and hilarious manner. A husband follows his witch-wife on a nocturnal flight to Carlisle, but unfortunately gets so drunk in the bishop's cellar that he falls asleep, and fails to return

home. He is found by the bishops' men, pricked until the blood flows--"But some cryit it was wine"--, and tied to the stake to be burnt as a witch. However at the last moment his wife appears, and reminds him of the words which allow him to fly. The two fly off together, and a moral is drawn:

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

Douglas Gifford comments on the "unique attitude" of "The Witch of Fife": "There is a Ballad toughness of tone.... There is a feeling for environment, with landscape taking part in the reign of misrule, that conveys a cosmic sense of a topsy-turvy dance of nature, together with a sweep of imagination that makes Hogg supreme when it comes to his frequent descriptions of wild, supernatural sky-rides" (1976, 43). This observation is particularly apt in relation to the poem as it originally stood: the old man was burnt at the stake in the first version. Scott, however, convinced Hogg to change the ending and save the old man (1972a, 106), a change which may have made the poem more attractive to its sensitive literary audience, but one that certainly detracts from the integrity of the poem, modelled on tradition. Such literary interference is symptomatic of contemporary attitudes to traditional culture: it was acceptable if prettified, and shorn of potentially offensive characteristics.

The increasing literary stress on pleasing delicate sensibilities meant that Perils of Man was also shorn, and anthologised as "The Siege of Roxburgh" by nineteenth century editors. The magnificent passages on traditional witchcraft, and the Devil, are thus removed: an appalling treatment of some of Hogg's best writing, both from the folklorists' and the literary critics' viewpoint. The figure of the Devil strongly features in Ettrick legend, and is marvellously drawn here. In his own form the Devil is a terrifying figure:

> It appeared about double the human size, both in might and proportion, its whole body being of the colour of bronze, as well as the crown upon its head. The skin appeared shrivelled, as if seared with fire, but over that there was a polish that glittered and shone. Its eyes had no pupil nor circle of white; they appeared like burning lamps deep in their sockets; and when it gazed, they rolled round with a circular motion. There was a hairy mantle hung down and covered its feet that they could not be seen; but Dan saw its right hand, as it pointed to them to retire, every finger of which terminated in a long crooked talon that seemed of the colour of molten gold. It once opened its mouth, not as if to speak but to breathe, and as it stooped forward at the time, both of them saw within. It had neither teeth, tongue, nor throat, its whole inside being hollow and of the colour of burning glass. (Hogg 1972b, 288)

Motifs here include G303.3.0.1. Devil in hideous form., G303.4.1.2.2. Devil with glowing eyes., G303.4.4.4.1. Devil has five claws. This monstrous figure spews out burning sulphur; and its retinue includes "immense snakes, bears, tigers and lions". Yet the devil is a notorious shape-changer, and can appear in much more friendly guise: in The Brownie as the friar, Father Lawrence--a name and role mentioned above, in connection with Dramatic Tales (Hogg 1972b, 1817a, I); and in his traditional form of a large black dog, recognisable as Satan by the flame which burns within him (Hogg 1972b, 345).

So too, in Hogg's masterpiece, the Confessions, the Devil, as Gilmartin,[25] employs his traditional "chameleon art" of shapechanging (G303.3.5. Devil changes shape), assuming the appearance and the character of those ... seeks to tempt (Hogg 1969, 124-5). But despite his shapechanging, the Devil has certain characteristics which cannot be altered. Animals are invariably frightened of him for instance; he walks as if his legs had no joints. However those whom he succeeds in tempting are spiritually proud, and rarely recognise him; although Gilmartin gives Wringhim sundry clues to his identity--that he has only one parent whom he is too proud to acknowledge for instance (Hogg 1969, 129) Wringhim does not suspect the diabolic identity of his friend.

Hogg blends traditional beliefs about the Devil with elements drawn from formal religion. The traditional aspects are stressed in the parable of the "rigidly righteous" of Auchtermuchty, a pseudo-traditionary tale, supposedly from the repertoire of an old woman, Lucky Shaw. The Devil comes to Auchtermuchty disguised as a priest, and is only detected by the vigilance of Robin Ruthven: "Robin was a cunning man, an' had rather mae wits than his ain, for he had been in the hands o' the fairies when he was young, an' a' kinds o' spirits were visible to his een, an' their language as familiar to him as his ain mother tongue" (Hogg 1969, 198). Robin overhears two crows conversing--a dialogue which ironically recalls "The Twa Corbies" (Ch 26) where the birds discuss on whom they shall dine. One suggests feeding on the souls of the people of Auchtermuchty; but the second says that these are too sinless to dine on. The first corbie says that he will catch them "with their own bait"; in the meantime the corbies go off to dine in the Sidlaw hills.

The next day the minister of Auchtermuchty does not appear in the kirk. However an unfamiliar preacher enters, unusually by the western door:

> The eyes of all the congregation were riveted on the sublime stranger, who was clothed in a robe of black sackcloth, that flowed all around him, and trailed far behind, and they weened him an angel, come to exhort them, in disguise. He read out his text from the Prophecies of Ezekiel, which consisted of these words: 'I will overturn, overturn, overturn it; and it shall be no more, until he come, whose right it is, and I will give it to him. (Hogg 1969, 200)

Ruthven is suspicious, but no one pays heed to him. He is a prophet destined never to be believed (M301.0.1.), accused of being a warlock. When the mysterious preacher preaches a second sermon, Ruthven recognises the voice of the crow again, but again, he is ignored. Determined to prove his point, he sneaks up behind the preacher as he is being congratulated on his sermon:

> Robin Ruthven came in amang the thrang, to try to effect what he had promised; and, with the greatest readiness and simplicity, just took haud o' the side an' wide gown, an' in sight of a' present, held it aside as high as the preacher's knee, and behold, there was a pair of cloven feet! The auld thief was fairly catched in the very height o' his proud conquest, an' put down by an auld carl. He could feign nae mair, but gnashing on Robin wi' his teeth, he dartit into the air like a fiery dragon, an' keust a reid rainbow our the taps o' the Lowmonds. (Hogg 1969, 202-3)

Motifs here include G303.5.1. Devil is dressed in black, G303.3.1.8. Devil in form of a priest and G303.4.5.3.1. Devil is detected by his hoofs.

Yet Hogg's description of Gilmartin as he really is, draws as much on the religious image of fallen angels as epitomised in Milton's Paradise Lost, as it does from the Clootie of Auchtermuchty:

> May no eye destined to reflect the beauties of the new Jerusalem inward upon the beatific soul, behold such a sight as mine then beheld! My immortal spirit, blood, and bones, were all withered at the blasting sight; and I arose and withdrew, with groanings which the pangs of death shall never wring from me. (Hogg 1969, 235)

By combining imagery drawn from tradition with imagery drawn from literature, Hogg consummately demonstrates that the traditional Calvinist notion of Justification, by which the Elect are guaranteed a place in heaven, has certain ethical drawbacks. Where Boston, the noted Ettrick divine, argues in The Fourfold State of Man that unregenerate good deeds are sham, by extending this argument, as Gilmartin explains to Robert Wringhim, the sins of the Elect do not condemn the Elect; therefore the Justified are free to commit any crime. But the price Wringhim pays is to commit fratricide, suicide, and face inevitable damnation. In the Confessions, then, Hogg mixes folkloric and literary concepts to create a horrific account of the well-deserved damnation of Robert Wringhim.

By integrating the traditional narratives of Ettrick with his personal creative vision, Hogg was able to give new vitality to local traditions. As has been shown, he recorded, altered and created new tales drawing on traditional narrative form and content. By integrating his personal creative vision with Ettrick traditions, Hogg preserved traditional tales for posterity, as well as presenting them to the literate classes in an acceptable and palatable form.

Hogg exploited the fact that the literate were still familiar with traditional culture, to add richness and depth to his tales. Furthermore he infused traditional narratives with new life, using them to make valid points about contemporary culture: he made implicit and explicit comments on the need to maintain the Scots language for instance and he criticised current romantic notions of the age of chivalry. Hogg went beyond merely recording Ettrick traditions to create a unique corpus of work, blending elements from traditional and literary culture. Working on a continuum between the oral and the literary positions, Hogg adopted an ambiguous attitude towards traditional culture and beliefs, exploiting this for dramatic tension. The next chapter will examine Hogg's parallel contribution to Ettrick folksong.

Notes

[17]James Graham, Marquis of Montrose, was a prominent Covenanter in 1639 who joined the royalist party in the second uprising. David Leslie, nephew of Alexander Leslie, was first Earl of Leven, and a committed Covenanter.

[18]Several aetiological legends are still in circulation in Ettrick. For example, "People always said, 'How did the Loch of the Lowes get its name?' Well, in the early morning, when you stood on Tibbie's Brig, and the sun rose, there came sometimes a steam off the loch that looked like lowes in a fire, and that's the Loch of the Lowes" (Shaw T89-5).

[19]Lewinshope is a farm at the north-east end of Yarrow.

[20]See Anderson 1982, 58-63; Briggs 1971, B, II: 66-68; Buchan 1984, 77-8. Recurrent motifs in this cycle include K1812. King in disguise and K1812.1 Incognito king helped by humble man: gives reward.

[21]Hogg's contemporaries might have been alerted to the possibility this was not a genuine Brownie, by its summons at cock crow--the traditional time when spirits were banished from the natural world. Hogg's mastery of the traditional idiom is demonstrated in the creature's speech. Supernatural beings like catchphrases; just as the Brownie has his own verse, so Gilpin Horner cries "tint, tint, tint". See Robson 1973.

[22]Scott mentions the Brownie of Bodsbeck in the Minstrelsy, explaining that it eventually vanished when the mistress left it some milk and money (Scott 1931, 205), a story exemplifying the traditional belief that brownies were offended by the gift of expensive items, usually clothing.

[23]There are clues that this ghost might not be what he seems: the horse is not frightened of her dead master; the master wishes to ride her. The animal's behaviour is enough to convince the smith that the master lives, and sure enough it transpires that the laird is not dead but enacting a scheme to gain revenge on his murderous son in law, Dr. Davington. With respect to the language, Hogg's Scots is often adulterated with English phrases, reflecting the linguistic transition already mentioned.

[24]Michael Scott is also associated with Balwearie, in Fife. The feature of the mysterious book draws on a common characteristic of those associated with the dark side of the supernatural: The Lay of the Last Minstrel mentions Scott's Book (Book I, Canto XV-XXI); Merlin carries an equally powerful tome (Hogg 1817a, II: 127-29). As well as describing such characteristics in connexion with traditional wizards, Hogg has his own creation, Gilmartin, carry a mysterious "Bible", with red characters, read only by himself (Hogg 1969, 124). Hogg, therefore, is equally adept at documenting traditional motifs, and using them to add verisimilitude to new characters, in a fictional context.

[25]The name "Gilmartin" has recently been interpreted as "the servant of St. Martin, or Satan (Rogers, 1986).

Chapter 4

TRADITIONAL MUSIC AND SONG

In my young days, we had singing matches almost every night, and, if no other chance or opportunity offered, the young men attended at the ewe-bught or the cows milking, and listened and joined the girls in their melting lays. We had again our kirns at the end of harvest, and lint-swinglings in almost every farmhouse and cottage, which proved as a weekly bout for the greater part of the winter. And then, with the exception of Wads,[26] and a little kissing and toying in consequence, song, song alone, was the sole amusement. I never heard any music that thrilled my heart half so much as when these nymphs joined their voices, all in one key, and sung a slow Scottish melody. Many a hundred times it made the hairs of my head creep, and the tears start to my eyes, to hear such as the Flowers of the Forest, and Broom of Cowdyknows. (Hogg 1831-32, 256-57)

4.1. Musical culture

Traditional music and song were an integral part of life in Hogg's Ettrick, and Hogg made a huge contribution in his three roles of informant, collector and creative writer. The people of Ettrick enjoyed a rich musical heritage in terms of song and instrumental music, both for solo entertainment and for dances. Traditional instruments included the Border pipes, played like the Northumbrian kind, with bellows under the arm (although the Highland pipes, played by lung-power alone, were increasingly popular). Alexander Campbell, the musician-poet and editor of Albyn's Anthology (1816), made a musical tour of the Borders in 1816, and his journal provides a wealth of information about contemporary musical traditions, with special reference to piping. Campbell compiled a list of the best Border pipers between 1700 and 1800, based on the recollections of Thomas Scott of Monklaw, Walter Scott's elderly uncle. The earliest known Border pipers were apparently the Allans, a tinker family from Yetholm, and John Hastie, the town piper of Jedburgh around 1720, was supposed to have introduced the tunes played in contemporary Teviotdale. Well-known dynasties of Border pipers included the Andersons of Kelso and the Forsyths of Roxburghshire. George Syme, originally from the Lothians, was reputedly "the best piper of his time--he knew the art of producing the high octave by pinching the back hole of the chanter which was reckoned a great improvement...he lived about the middle of the eighteenth century" (La. II. 378, f9). Although Campbell was not impressed by the current local standards--James Cockburn for instance, an itinerant piper and wool-gatherer, "performed but indifferently"--he did enjoy hearing Monklaw play on the Border pipes, accompanied by his son James Scott (La. II. 378, f2-9).

Unfortunately Campbell was not as interested in Ettrick fiddling, and provides little information on this subject, beyond the comment that the Ettrick fiddler John Jamieson was "a vile catgut scraper" (La. II. 378, f1). But the Peeblesshire collection made by James Ballantine in 1770 suggests as rich a fiddling tradition as the piping one. Ballantine's manuscript book includes traditional solo and dance music such as "I'll kiss the wife she bade me" and "The Reel of Tulloch", as well as music from the art tradition, like "Oswald's Bass Minuet" and "Prince Eugene's March". These are all lively, intricate tunes which would have taken a considerable degree of manual dexterity and skill to

play. Traditional styles included the scordatura fashion of playing, where the strings are retuned to the performer's taste, thus facilitating double stops, and the difficult to define "lift" and "lilt" (see Cooke 1986). Other instruments played locally in Ettrick included the Jews harp, home-made reed whistles and corn pipes, often played by the solitary shepherd at work.

But music is obviously more than the playing of instruments. Folk music is an expression of community identity. According to the International Folk Music Council definition, proposed in 1954:

> Folk music is the product of a musical tradition that has been evolved through the process of oral transmission. The factors that shape the tradition are: (1) continuity which links the present with the past; (2) variation which springs from the creative individual or the group; and (3) selection by the community, which determines the form or forms in which the music survives. (qtd. in Johnson 1972, 6)

Scottish folk music has its own idiom. It makes particular use of the Ionian (C to C), Aeolian (A to A, with a flat third, sixth and seventh), Dorian (D to D, with a flat third and seventh) and Mixolydian (G to G, with a flat seventh) modes. Melodies often begin in a major and end in a minor mode, and melodic decoration such as thumbprints (turns), gracenotes and the Scotch snap (a short note tied to a melodic phrase) are commonplace.

The people of Ettrick were particularly fond of lyric songs, according to Hogg, and the most popular songs locally were those of Burns and McNeil (Hogg 1981, 13). Burns needs no introduction; Hector McNeil (1746-1818) was a poet and contributor to most of the contemporary periodicals, including Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine. His compositions include 'My Boy Tammie' and 'Come under my plaidie'. Traditional Selkirkshire lyrics adopted a variety of stances towards lovers and their experiences. "Where will bonny Annie ly", for instance, is a blow-by-blow account of a courting situation; "Ewe Buchts, Marion", a litany of economic enticements to marriage; "My auld wife she bangs me" a misogynist anthem (NLS MS 122, f2, 146-47, 58). On a more robust note, there is plenty of raucous bawdy material like "The Deedle Dy Dy", based on the long-standing humorous image of the Highlander naked beneath his kilt (Wilkie, NLS MS 123, f63-4),[27] and "My wee thing" (NLS MS 123, f70).

Judging by the manuscript collections made by Pitcairn and Wilkie, The Selkirkshire canon included a great many Jacobite songs, for example, "It was a' for our Rightfu' King" and "Kenmuir's on and awa', Willie" (NLS MSS 2914; 122; 123). The local Jacobite traditions are discussed more extensively in the section below on "Hogg as

Collector". But as well as Jacobite material, the Ettrick tradition contained melodies more generally associated with the Highlands. Campbell was fascinated by this phenomenon, and commented in the context of his Selkirkshire tour:

> On my way to Hogg's I fell in with the person I was in quest of in order to take down the melody to which is chanted the "Outlaw Murray"--judge my surprise when I heard sung be [sic] the chanter John Scott when I knew it to be the well known air of "Mairi Bhán"!--I questioned the said John Scott who is a Taylor, aged eighty years and is a Cottar at Mount Benger on Yarrow (presently possessed by Mr. Walter Brydon) where he has long dwelt--concerning the melody in question. He solemnly avers that the air alluded to is that which he heard--& no other--since he remembers anything (La. II. 378, f3)

Highlanders certainly had trading contacts with the Borders through droving herds across the Minchmoor into England. Furthermore, it was not unusual for Borderers to be employed in the Highlands: Walter Elliot, the veterinarian mentioned in chapter 2, spent ten years in the Highlands, working as a drover. It is likely that the cultural contacts mentioned by Campbell were the product of such economic exchanges, and that these had far-reaching implications for the traditional musical culture of the Borders, as will be seen below.

The Borders was also well known as a centre for the ballad: "a folksong that tells a story with stress on the crucial situation, tells it by letting the action unfold itself in event and speech, and tells it objectively with little comment or intrusion of personal bias" (Gerould 1932, 11). The Forest is particularly rich in riding ballads; based in the historical reality of raids and feuds, they are racy, exciting, and highly entertaining. Supernatural ballads, dealing with other-world characters, are also well represented. While the Yarrow ballads deal largely with love and chivalry--for instance "The Gay Goss Hawk" (Ch 96) and "The Douglas Tragedy" ("Earl Brand", Ch 7)--the Ettrick ballads concentrate on fairy traditions and cattle raids--songs such as "Tam Lin " (Ch 39), and "Jamie Telfer" (Ch 190).

Local patriotism was expressed in rousing Common Riding songs including Hawick's "Teribus" (Murray 1897, 27-28) and "The Souters of Selkirk" (Scott 1931, 486-492). Children were entertained by their own canon of songs and rhymes characterised by light-hearted items like "King Coull" and "When I was a wee thing" (see Chambers 1847). But psalms were possibly the best loved songs in the Borders, associated with some of the most personally significant moments in an individual's life:

> these verses, modelled as they were now, had long, long been the penates of Scotland. Every peasant in Scotland had them by heart, and could repeat any part by day or night,

> as suited his or her family's circumstances. The shepherd recites them to his son on the lonely hill, the mother to the child in her bosom. They are the first springs of religion in the peasant's soul, mixed with all his thoughts and acts of devotion through life, and hymned on the cradle of death. (Hogg 1830a, 163)

Psalm singing in rural churches was quite distinctive. A precentor led the congregation, and they "sung pretty tolerably in tune--but shewed a notable disdain of touching a semitone--instead of which, they came plumb down to the whole tone:--or made a bolder skip to a fourth below the keynote of a minor third" (La. II. 378, f34). Hogg found the psalms especially moving because of their traditional character--the notion of worshipping in the same words and music as the "chosen servants" of God, 3000 years before.

However, traditional musical culture was undergoing a period of change during Hogg's lifetime, partly due to the recent social polarisation. As agricultural change remodelled the toun, the contexts for song were altered, and by the nineteenth century it was mainly old people who recalled the songs and airs of Hogg's youth. Collecting gained considerable urgency from the knowledge that the tradition was in transition. As Scott wrote in 1801 to Burns' biographer, Dr Currie, "our old Sennachies are yearly dying out & as the present generation care little for these things, the sources of traditionary knowledge are fast drying up. Since my recollection Songs which I have often heard recited have been entirely forgotten" (Scott 1971, I: 120).

In collecting information about the musical traditions of Scotland, the contemporary collectors saw their task as reconstructing the national spirit of Scotland, as it had existed in a former, golden age. Joseph Ritson, for instance, asserted in 1794 that:

> The era of Scottish song and Scottish music is now passed. The pastoral simplicity and natural genius of former ages has taken place in all parts of the country, and servile imitation usurped the place of original invention. All, therefore, which now remains to be wished, is that industry should exert iself to retrieve and illustrate the relics of departed genius. (Ritson 1975, 105-06)

Another factor came from south of the Border: the fashion for "Scotch songs" which began in the mid-seventeenth century. The Scotch song was the product of collections like Thomas D'Urfey's Wit and Mirth; or Pills to Purge Melancholy (1698-1720). Rustic lovers met in pastoral settings and spoke quaint words which sounded "Scotch" to the refined English ear. Allan Ramsay's Tea Table Miscellany (1724-37) was influential in introducing the Scotch song to the Scottish audience.

By the late eighteenth century, Scottish collectors like Herd and Johnson were predominantly concerned with lyric songs. It would take Scott's Minstrelsy to cause a change in taste towards the historical ballads. Ritson defined the characteristic Scottish song thus:

> The Scottish melodies contain strong expression of the passions, particularly the melancholy kind; in which the air often finely corresponds to the subject of the song. Love.... in its various situations of hope, success, disappointment, and despair, is finely expressed in the melody of the old Scottish songs. (Ritson 1975, 1)

In line with current tastes, songs were polished; Charles Zug refers to the process as "that fine old Scottish practice of refurbishing traditional ballads" (Zug 1973, 152). Contrary to modern standards, which demand the utmost accuracy in relation to folk sources, literary reworking was a respectable activity in the period under consideration and it is within this context that Scott's treatment of Hogg's texts should be considered.

4.2. Hogg as informant

Hogg had his first contact with folksong collecting as an informant for Scott's Minstrelsy. It was a crucial experience in his subsequent notions of traditional culture. As Petrie states: "The real stimulus to Hogg's creative awareness was his involvement in Scott's Minstrelsy.... Not only did it establish an important friendship between Scott and Hogg that was to last till Scott's death, but it also turned Hogg's attention specifically towards the classical ballad tradition" (Petrie 1980, 91).

William Laidlaw, who had heard of the Minstrelsy through Mercer, a correspondent of Scott's, made enquiries among his servants, and discovered that Hogg's family was well known locally for their store of traditional songs. Hogg subsequently transcribed several texts from recitations by his mother and uncle, and these texts were forwarded to Scott (Laidlaw 1905, 67). Some were included in the third volume of the Minstrelsy, such as "Old Maitland", "The Battle of Otterburn" (Ch 161), "Clerk Saunders" (Ch 69), "The Dowie Houms o' Yarrow" (Ch 214), "The Duel of Wharton and Stuart", "Erlinton" (Ch 8), "The Gay Goshawk" (Ch 96), "A Fragment on Cockburn's Death" (Ch 106), "Lord William" (Ch 254) and the "Lament of The Queens Marie" (Ch 173). Hogg may, in addition, have provided "Young Benjie" (Ch 86) and "The Battle of Philiphaugh" (Ch 202). The Hoggs provided Scott with copies of a number of other ballads, such as "Laminton" or "Lochinvar", which Scott retitled "Katherine Janfarie" (Scott 1931, 172),

"Lamkin" (Ch 93), "Lord Barnaby" (Ch 81), an untitled version of "Johnny Scott" (Ch 99), "Tushilaw's Lines", "Jamie Telfer" (Ch 90), "Johnny Armstrong's Last Goodnight" (Ch 169) and "The Tale of Tomlin" (Ch 39) (NLS MS 877 f133, 144-45, 243-46, 250, 256-57).

After receiving Hogg's version of "Old Maitland", Scott visited the family in Ettrick, accompanied by John Leyden and Laidlaw. The meeting has been often referred to, and it is worth quoting Hogg's version in full:

> One fine summer day of 1801,[28] as I was busily engaged working in the field at Ettrick House, Wat Shiel came over to me and said, that "I boud gang away down to the Ramseycleuch as fast as I my feet could carry me, for there war some gentlemen there wha wantit to speak to me."
> "Wha can be at Ramseycleuch that want me, Wat?"
> "I couldna say, for it wasna me that they spak to i' the byganging. But I'm thinking it's the Shirra an' some of his gang."
> I was rejoiced to hear this, for I had seen the first volumes of the "Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border," and had copied a number of them from my mother's recital, and sent them to the editor preparatory for a third volume. I accordingly went towards home to put on my Sunday clothes, but before reaching it I met with THE SHIRRA and Mr. William Laidlaw coming to visit me. They alighted and remained in our cottage for a space better than an hour, and my mother chanted the ballad of Old Maitlan' to them, with which Mr Scott was highly delighted. I had sent him a copy, (not a very perfect one, as I found afterwards, from the singing of another Laidlaw), but I thought Mr Scott had some dread of a part being forged that had been the cause of his journey into the wilds of Ettrick. When he heard my mother sing it he was quite satisfied, and I remember he asked her if she thought it had ever been printed; and her answer was, "Oo, na, na, sir, it was never printed i' the world. For my brothers an' me learned it frae auld Andrew Moor, an' he learned it frae auld Baby Mettlin, that was the housekeeper to the first laird o' Tushilaw."
> "Then that must be a very auld story, indeed, Margaret,"
> "Ay it is that! It is an auld story! But mair nor that, except George Warton and James Steward, there was never ane o' my songs prentit till ye prentit them yoursell, an' ye hae spoilt them a'thegither. They war made for singing, an' no for reading; and they're nouther right spelled nor right setten down." (Hogg 1972a, 61-2)

Scott has frequently been accused of tampering with ballad texts. Evelyn Kendrick Wells, for instance, states: "The Minstrelsy is for Scott matter for patriotic and poetic expression. He is neither philosophical nor scholarly, though he has plenty of learning... conceiving of the ballad as a corruption and popularization of romance" (Wells 1950, 249). More recently Charles Zug has identified various ways in which Scott treated traditional texts: with respect to "Jock of Hazeldean", for instance, he renamed his hero and thereby made him a Borderer and a Scott (Zug 1973); he made the ballad fragment into a more dramatic whole. However with respect to the Minstrelsy, Scott at least paid lipservice to the notion of a responsible editorial policy, writing in 1801 to Dr Currie, Burns' biographer:

> I have made it an insatiable rule to attempt no improvements on the genuine Ballads which I have been able to recover. It will be necessary for me to be more particular in this respect because I shall give to the public many songs which have never before been published & some of which perhaps it may be now difficult to produce the reciters. (Scott 1971, I: 120)

Appendix C presents Hogg's manuscript texts as Hogg received them, along with their treatment in the Minstrelsy

Scott received thirty stanzas of "Otterburn" in manuscript from Hogg (NLS MS 877, f243). This ballad describes the battle fought on August 19th, 1388 between the forces of the Earl of Douglas and Percy, the most important Border barons of Scotland and England respectively. There was probably a Scottish ballad on the subject circulating in the late sixteenth century, and the earliest surviving text is from about 1550 (Bronson 1966, III: 109). The surviving versions take the English standpoint, and Douglas is the aggressor who goes to the English woods to "catch a prey". "Otterburn" is closely related to "The Hunting of the Cheviot" (Ch 262), which supports the Scots (Fowler 1966).

Scott was determined to obtain a full copy of the ballad (presumably a text comparable to Bishop Percy's seventy stanza version) and wrote to Laidlaw in 1803, "I am so anxious to have a compleat Scottish Otterburne that I will omit the ballad entirely in the first volume hoping to recover it in time for insertion in the third" (Scott 1971, I: 173). Scott believed the version eventually published in The Minstrelsy, as he wrote to Percy in 1801, "the Scottish account of the Battle of Otterbourne; a ballad evidently much more modern than that published in the Reliques on the same subject" (Scott 1971, I: 109). There are two extant tunes, both from the first quarter of the nineteenth century. One, from the Sharp MS, is in 3/4 time, well suited to the rhythmic scheme of the ballad, ABCD in melodic shape, and in the mixolydian mode. Scott's tune is generally associated with the "Lines" of the Marquis of Montrose, in 3/4 time, ABCC in melodic shape, and in the Ionian mode.

Hogg himself tampered with the text to a certain extent, although he alleged that the changes he had made were minor, related to the natural desire to remedy textual errors which had crept in during the ballad's transmission:

> As for the Scraps of Otterburn which I have got They seem to have been some confused jumble made by some person who had learned both the songs which you have and in time had been straitened to make one out of them both But you shall have it as I had it saving that as usual I have sometimes helped the measure without altering one original word. (NLS MS 877, f243)

The Minstrelsy version follows Hogg's closely and Scott adopts Hogg's suggestion that "Almon Shire" (stanza 3) is a corruption of Bamboroughshire (stanza 2), a statement which is corroborated by Percy's version of this ballad. Scott makes only minor changes in Hogg's wording, which seem to be dictated by aesthetic judgements. A variety of spelling changes are made, as with all Hogg's ballad texts: "wha's" for "whaes", "hundred" for "hunder". In addition, Scott punctuates Hogg's text heavily, with a plenitude of commas, semicolons, apostrophes and periods. The present tense is sometimes adopted rather than the past, presumably to give the story more immediacy: "rue it" rather than "rued it" (stanza 1) for instance. Elsewhere Scott changes the odd adjective where he considers another word to be more descriptive and, perhaps, to be better suited to the historical period of the ballad: "right furiouslie" rather than "most furiouslie" (stanza 7) for example. More substantial changes include the deletion of stanza 9 of Hogg's version, which substantially repeats stanza 8. Such changes are presumably based on the literary aesthetic standard that a repeated verse is boring in print, although it can be forceful in oral performance.

Scott also alters the content of the ballad, changing the plot-line to make it more romantic. The last two lines of stanza 21 are altered, where Douglas makes for the battlefield to meet Percy. Scott exchanges "Where he met wi' the proud Piercy/ And a' his goodley train" for "But he forgot the helmet good,/ That should have kept his brain"--a change which makes Douglas's defeat by Percy excusable. Furthermore, to maintain the aesthetic illusion of chivalry (as well as for patriotic reasons) Scott alters Douglas's backward flight (Hogg NLS MS 877 f244, stanza 23) to "he fell on the ground" (Scott 1931, 129: stanza 24). Scott, then, treats Hogg's texts with a mixture of respect (by making mainly minor alterations) and contempt (by deleting stanzas).

Hogg's most controversial contribution to the Minstrelsy is "Auld Maitland": different authorities have taken opposed stances towards its authenticity. In the 1805 edition of the Minstrelsy Scott introduced the song with the following comments:

> This ballad, notwithstanding its present appearance, has a claim to very high antiquity. It has been preserved by tradition, and is, perhaps, the most authentic instance of a long and very old poem exclusively thus preserved. It is only known to a very few old people upon the sequestered banks of the Ettrick, and is published as written down from the recitation of the mother of James Hogg, who sings, or rather chants it, with great animation. She learned the ballad from a blind man, who died at the advanced age of ninety, and is said to have been possessed of much traditionary knowledge. Although the language of this poem is much modernised, yet many words, which the reciters have

> retained without understanding them, still preserve the traces of its antiquity. Such are the words springals (corruptedly pronounced springwalls), sowies, portcullize, and many other appropriate terms of war and chivalry, which could never have been introduced by the modern ballad-maker. The incidents are striking and well-managed, and they are in strict conformity with the manners of the age in which they are placed. (Scott 1931, 102)

William Laidlaw initially heard the ballad at home in Blackhouse, communicating it to Scott when he and Leyden visited Laidlaw in 1802:

> I heard from one of our servant girls, who had all the qualifications of these old women, whose deaths I deplored, part of a ballad called "Auld Maitland" that a grandfather of Hogg's could repeat, and from the girl herself I got several of the first stanzas, which I took a note of, and find I still have the copy. This greatly excited my anxiety to procure the whole--for this was a ballad not even hinted at by Mercer in the instructions and list of desiderata which he had sent from Mr Scott. I forthwith wrote to Hogg himself, requesting him to exert himself to procure the ballad called "Auld Maitland." In a week or two I received his reply with the ballad as he had copied it from the recitation of his uncle Will of Phawhope, corroborated by his mother, and that both said they had learned it from their father (a still elder Will of Phawhope), and an old man named Andrew Muir, who had been servant to the famous Mr Boston of Ettrick.[29] Exactly in this state it was published by Scott, and when he himself and Leyden called, I rejoiced that I had "Auld Maitland" ready for them.... I then went and produced "Auld Maitland," as Hogg had sent it written in his own hand from his uncle's and his mother's recitation. Leyden seemed inclined to lay hands on the MS., but Mr Scott said quietly that he would read it. Instantly, both he and Leyden, from their knowledge of the subject, saw and felt that the ballad was undoubtedly ancient, and their eyes sparkled as they exchanged looks. Mr Scott read with great fluency con amore, and with much proper emphasis and enthusiasm, all which entirely gained my heart. Leyden was like a roused lion. He paced the room from side to side, clapped his hands, and repeated after Mr Scott such old expressions as echoed the spirit of hatred to the Southerns as struck his fancy. (Laidlaw 1905, 67)

Despite their initial enthusiasm, the collectors were soon to become suspicious of the text. Leyden questioned Laidlaw about Hogg, as the three rode on the Craig-bents:

> Mr Scott and Leyden drew together in a close and seemingly private conversation. I, of course, fell back. After a minute or two, Leyden reined in his horse (a black horse that Mr Scott's servant used to ride), and let me come up. "This Hogg," said he, "writes verses, I understand." I assured him that he wrote very beautiful verses, and with great facility. "But I trust," he replied, "that there is no fear of his passing off any of his own upon Scott for old ballads." I again assured him that he would never think of any such thing, and neither he would at that period of his life. "Let him beware of forgery," cried Leyden with great force and emphasis, and in, I suppose, what Mr Scott used afterwards to call the saw tones of his voice. (Laidlaw 1905, 68)

Scott was convinced that the ballad was genuine, writing to George Ellis in 1802, in relation to the third volume of the Minstrelsy: "some parts will I think interest you; particularly the preservation of the entire ballad of Auld Maitland by oral tradition probably from the reign of Edward 2d or 3d" (Scott 1971, XII: 231). Hogg avowed his integrity as an informant, writing to Laidlaw in 1801, "I believe I could get as much from

these traditions as to make good songs myself. But without Mr. Scott's permission this would be an imposition, neither would I undertake it without an order from him in his own handwriting" (qtd. in Batho 1969, 20). As seen in his notes to "Otterburn", Hogg makes no attempt to supply extra stanzas when verses are forgotten. Instead he offers a summary of the information in the missing stanzas (Appendix C). To forge "Auld Maitland" would certainly have required some elaborate scheming. Hogg, as Batho points out, would have required the assistance of his uncle, mother and the servant who originally informed Laidlaw that the Hoggs knew the ballad.

Andrew Lang was certainly convinced of Hogg's innocence. In a letter of Nov 9. 1902, addressed to Thomas Craig-Brown the Selkirkshire antiquarian, Lang wrote with respect to Auld Maitland, "I don't think it was a hoax of Hogg's for he would have bragged of it sooner or later, moreover his mother probably neither could nor would get up a long poem by heart to cheat Sir Walter" (SC/S/16/2/15). Lang's argument that Hogg would have bragged of his forgery is a powerful one, as his reaction to pulling off "Donald MacGillavry" indicates (see below). On Nov 14 1902, Lang wrote again to Craig-Brown: "Baby Mattlin [supposedly the original source] is reported 'ither than a gude ane,' she may turn up in records. I surmise that 'Auld Maitland' is a copy by an educated man, of 1560-1600, based on a ballad or legend, as, I think, is 'The Outlaw Murray'" (SC/S/16/12/16), and on December 20th adds "Baby Mattlin was about 2 generations before old Mrs. Hogg. She was a distant source of the ballad. Would that she had got into trouble, but I fear it is impossible to track her--if she did not" (SC/S/16/12/17). As Lang points out in Sir Walter Scott and the Border Minstrelsy (1910), the story of Old Maitland and his three sons was available only in "crabbed manuscripts" which it is unlikely Hogg had access to. Furthermore, "the style is not that of Hogg when he attempts the ballad" (Lang 1968, 40). Lang's argument here, as above, has an undeniable validity, as Hogg's later romanticised poems in the ballad style are clearly distinguishable from traditional ballads.

However, Child was unconvinced by the ballad, and did not include it in his collection. The lack of corroborative texts is a persuasive argument against the ballad being genuine--at best, it is unlikely to have been well known. And Hogg certainly had the ability to produce a plausible ballad. He had been brought up with a thorough knowledge of the form, and he was later to prove his ability to imitate a wide variety of poetic styles in his collection of parodies, The Poetic Mirror (1816).

On the other hand, textual evidence seems to point to Hogg's innocence in this instance. As Scott indicates in his introduction to the ballad, quoted above, Hogg includes archaic language, which it is unlikely that he had access to, at least in 1801. Batho points out that Hogg often included archaic language as received orally, which he did not understand, such as "wane" (dwelling) in "Erlinton", as his use of the word in "Kilmeny" indicates (Batho 1969, 177-78). In a letter of 30 June 1802 to Scott, Hogg was amazed at the allegations of forgery, and attributed any incongruities in the text to oral transmission and variation:

> I am surprised to hear that this song is suspected by some to be a modern forgery; this will be best proven by most of the old people hereabouts having a great part of it by heart. Many, indeed, are not aware of the manners of this country; till this present age, the poor illiterate people in these glens knew of no other entertainment in long winter nights than repeating and listening to the feats of their ancestors recorded in songs, which I believe to have been handed down from father to son for many generations; although, no doubt, had a copy been taken down at the end of every fifty years, there must have been some difference, occasioned by the gradual change of language. I believe it is thus that many very ancient songs have been gradually modernized to the common ear, while, to the connoisseur, they present marks of their genuine antiquity. (NLS MS 3874, f1 14)

In the light of the evidence, the present writer concludes that it is highly unlikely Hogg forged "Auld Maitland". It is not impossible that he touched up the text, but, given contemporary collection practices, this is not surprising. In fact for Leyden and Scott to doubt Hogg's integrity is a case of the pot calling the kettle black. Child, no doubt, had a more valid reason, if only the lack of corroboration, for rejecting the ballad. Yet, overall, the balance of the argument is in the favour of Hogg's integrity as an informant.

Scott made several changes to Hogg's manuscript version. These range from tense changes: "lived a King" for "lives a king" in line 1, to spelling changes: "high" for "hicht", "fatherlesse" for "fatherless", to replacing words: "Gin" for "if" in line 73, "trayne" for "main" in line 160, to changing phrases: "up and down" for "towr and town" in line 31 to avoid repeating "town" in the rhyme. Scott also adds extra lines, for instance: "Who marching forth with false Dunbar,/ A ready welcome found" after line 27. Hogg included these in the manuscript, with the proviso that they could be inserted at any point; he implies the reciters had forgotten where the lines originally occurred. Scott makes other alterations so the ballad scans better, such as adding words: "And they are on to [King] Edwards host" in line 84, for instance. Hogg provided an extra stanza, the first two lines of which were his own, as Scott acknowledged: "Remember Piercy, aft the

Scot/ Has cowered beneath thy hand /For every drop of Maitland blood,/ I'll gie ye a rig of land" after line 175 (Hogg MS 3874 f114). The fact that Hogg claims to have unearthed an additional stanza to the original transcript may be interpreted either as further evidence of his innocence--as where he distinguishes between the modern and original lines--or further evidence of the skilful ruse, depending on the position of the reader.

The ballad of "Lamkin" provided by Hogg was not published by Scott in the Minstrelsy, but printed by Child (IV: 480-1), and it is included in the Appendix as an example of Hogg's traditional texts. It is a well-known ballad in the Scottish and English traditions, generally found in tetrameter couplets, and 3/4 time. Bronson distinguishes two main groups of tunes, with subdivisions, extending Gilchrist's distinction of a Scottish and Northumbrian tradition (Bronson 1959-72, III: 428-445; IV: 479-480). The tunes, according to Bronson, are often reminiscent of "The Cherry Tree" and "A Virgin Unspotted", both of which have similar metrical patterns to "Lamkin".

"The Dowie Houms of Yarrow" (Ch 214), better known as "The Dowie Dens of Yarrow", describes a combat fought in Yarrow, between a young woman's lover (or husband) and her brothers. Scott borrows heavily from Hogg's notes on the incident (included here in Appendix C) in his introductory comments to the "Dowie Dens", suggesting that the ballad referred to a duel between John Scott of Tushielaw and Walter Scott of Thirlestane, a combat which is referred to in the Selkirk Presbytery Records for 1609. It is likely that the melody was usually in triple time. Hogg's text was one of three used by Scott in his composite rendition of the ballad. One copy came from "Nelly Laidlaw", another from Carterhaugh--probably both through William Laidlaw (Robson 1987). Hogg himself provided another version (Child's M text).

"A Fragment on Cockburn's Death" ("Lament of the Border Widow") was classed by Scott as a ballad, but in fact is a lyric of love lost. The type is related to "The Famous Flower of Serving-Men" (Ch 106), as well as sharing features with "The Three Ravens" (Ch 26) and "Fair Helen of Kirkconnel". It is believed to describe the execution and burial of Cockburn of Henderland, but although Cockburn was executed on a charge of treason in 1529, he met his fate in Edinburgh. Scott mentions the associated legend of the lady drowning out her husband's dying screams in the sound of a nearby cataract. The large stone beside Henderland Burn is still known as "The Lady's Rock" where the

widow was believed to have rested and wept (Mitchell T89-3). The music, as well as the words, of the "Lament of the Border Widow" is poignant and powerful. Bronson draws attention to the fact that Scott's "Lament" led to a spate of melodies which temporarily "superseded or supplanted" the earlier tunes associated with "The Famous Flower" (Bronson 1959-72, II: 530).

"Lord Barnaby" (Ch 81) was another ballad, provided by Hogg, which was well-known in Ettrick. The earliest recorded tunes are Motherwell's (1827) and Chappell's (1858), both variants of the same melody (Bronson 1959-72, II: 267). Although Scott does not publish the ballad in the Minstrelsy, he was intrigued to find a Scottish version of the song, as his marginal notes indicate.

The last song to be considered here is not given a title by Hogg, but is a version of "Johnie Scott" (Ch 99), thematically similar to "Willie o' Winsbury" (Ch 100). The ballad was probably not known by this title in the Forest. Hogg was unfamiliar with "Johnie Scott" and unimpressed by its aesthetic value:

> The reciter of the above song called the hero once or twice Johny Scott which I ommitted in the M.S. seeing it was contradicted in the 22 verse I thought it best to apprize you of this in case you might find any tract of it's being founded on fact because if it is not it hath little else to reccomend [sic] it. (NLS MS 877 f257)

Scott seemed to agree: the ballad, like the last two mentioned, was not published in the Minstrelsy, probably because of its ambiguous moral stance which might be construed as offensive by the increasingly sentimental reading public. With the music, according to Bronson, there is modal variation from Ionian/Lydian through to Aeolian, but generally the melody is in the Dorian mode (Bronson 1959-72, II: 484-94). The minor key here, as in many of the ballads considered above, is well suited to the sustained theme of conflict.

Scott, then, exercised his editorial discretion on Hogg's texts in a number of ways. Overall, he showed a certain amount of respect for Hogg's texts, and the majority of editorial changes are of single words. These are generally well matched with the ballad idiom and constitute the sort of alterations a singer might make. Yet Scott also made a number of more substantial changes in Hogg's texts, pruning away what he perceived as superfluous verses, in an effort to please literary tastes. In general the tone of the texts is brought more into line with romantic and chivalric ideals, and Hogg's more earthy texts are not published in the Minstrelsy. Scott had no more regard for the integrity of Hogg's texts than for his other sources, fusing parts into composite renditions of ballads.

Ultimately, as will be seen in the next section, Scott's collection techniques provided a rather flawed model for Hogg's own collecting enterprises.

4.3. Hogg as collector

Hogg's major project as a collector of traditional song was the Jacobite Relics, a seminal collection in the history of Scottish song. As William Donaldson points out, Hogg was the first "to distinguish political songs from the traditional historical ballads on the one hand, and art song from folk song on the other" (Donaldson 1988, 98). As the political spectre of Jacobitism vanished, and after the populist French revolution, the royalist cause became respectable, and romantic (Hogg 1874, I: ix-xi). In this intellectual climate, Colonel David Stewart of Garth proposed that Hogg, on the behalf of the Highland Society of London (founded in 1784), should collect "all the old Jacobite songs and their words" (Hogg 1874, I: 3). It was an imaginative choice. As Donaldson states: "Hogg knew more about Jacobite song than anyone then living, and his susceptibility to the Highlands and the romantic connotations of Jacobitism, was a matter of record" (Donaldson 1988, 95). And although Scott argued Hogg was "profoundly ignorant of [textbook] history" (Lockhart 1901, IV: 320-21) it can be countered that Hogg's compensatory knowledge of folk history was a bonus in this particular project, based as it was on political prejudice.

Hogg was certainly convinced of the inherent value of his material, and his comments on the significance and characteristics of Jacobite song are well worth quoting:

> It has always been admitted that our Jacobite songs and tunes are the best that our country ever produced. The apophthegm is so well established in popular opinion, that it is never controverted, and has become in a manner proverbial...such is their influence over the mind, and such a charm do they possess above song composed on light or imaginary evils.... They actually form a delightful though wide epitome of the history of our country during a period highly eventful, when every internal movement was decisive towards the establishment of the rights and liberties which we have since enjoyed; and they likewise furnish us with a key to the annals of many ancient and noble families, who were either involved in ruin by the share they had in these commotions, or rose on that ruin in consequence of the support they affected to the side that prevailed.
>
> These songs are, moreover, a species of composition entirely by themselves. They have no affinity with our ancient ballads of heroism and romance; and on part of them far less with the mellow strains of our pastoral and lyric muses. Their general character is that of a rude energetic humour, that bids defiance to all opposition in arms, sentiments, or rules of Song-writing. They are the unmarked effusions of a bold and primitive race, who hated and despised the overturning innovations that prevailed in Church and State, and held the abettors of these as dogs, or something worse--drudges in the lowest and

> foulest paths of perdition--being too base to be spoken of with any degree of patience or forebearance. (Hogg 1874, I: vii-viii)

Hogg clearly modelled his collection techniques on the experience he had acquired while Scott was collecting for the Minstrelsy. He collected some texts locally in Ettrick, and others during the Highlands tours which were, in some respects, the equivalent of Scott's "ballad raids" in Liddesdale and Ettrick. However, as Hogg's material was rather more controversial than Scott's historical and romantic ballads, so too his experience was rather different. Jacobitism was still a contentious issue in the Highlands, recent enough to provoke a certain amount of suspicion towards the collector:

> The jealousy of the Highlanders was amusing beyond conception. I shall never forget with what sly and disdainful looks Donald[30] would eye me when I told him I was gathering up old songs. And then he would say, "Ohon, man, you surely haif had very less to do at home; and so you want to get some of the songs of the poor repellioners from me; and then you will give me up to King Shorge to be hanged? Hoo, no!--Cot tamn!--that will never do. (Hogg 1972a, 49)

Like Scott, Hogg obtained most of his texts from manuscripts provided by collectors like Walter Scott, John Steuart, Esq., Younger of Dalguire and John Moir. Because of the linguistic barriers faced by Hogg, who did not speak Gaelic fluently, some of his Highland correspondents made prose translations into English of the Highland originals, which Hogg then rendered into verse. On June 24th 1818, he wrote to the Peterhead collector, Peter Buchan, thanking him and his colleague Mr Wallace for their help with the first volume of the Relics, and indicating that he had collected large quantities of songs:

> I fear you are both putting yourselves to much more trouble than what is necessary, for the hoard of Jacobite matter that I have procured now is immense, and I have got no fewer than ten copies of the same song in some instances.... If you hear of a song, the first verse or chorus, is sufficient to send, till you know if I have not got it, or any thing that will lead me to know what it is. (NLS MS 3925, f93)

Further texts were derived from printed sources, such as Johnson's six volume Musical Museum (1787-1803) and Cromek's Remains of Nithsdale and Galloway Song (1810), but Hogg found these sources much less comprehensive in terms of the music than texts: often the air was only mentioned if it happened to coincide with the title of the song, which was often the case. In terms of distribution, he found the airs, like many of the texts, very localised (Hogg 1874, I: xii).

Several of the songs in the Relics are Hogg's compositions. Donaldson believes Hogg composed five items, including XXXVII "This is no my ain house", and XIX "The

Piper of Dundee" (Donaldson, 1988). Batho considers XXIII "I hae nae kith" and XXI "Willie the Wag" in volume I "a little doubtful", though "Hey then, up go we", which Thomson includes as Hogg's, was taken from Quarles' Shepherd's Oracles (1646) (Batho 1969, 38-43). Hogg was strongly enamoured with the Jacobite song, making Jacobite contributions to the Scots Magazine between November 1821 and April 1822, presented as being from the collections of a gentleman in London, and a Cumberland schoolmaster. He later acknowledged the second set as his own composition, including "Red Clan-Ranald's Man" and "The Two Men of Colston" (Batho 1969, 41). His most celebrated Jacobite composition, though, is Song LX "Donald MacGillavry", ironically singled out by Jeffrey, in the Edinburgh Review of 1820, as the most authentic Jacobite song in the Relics.

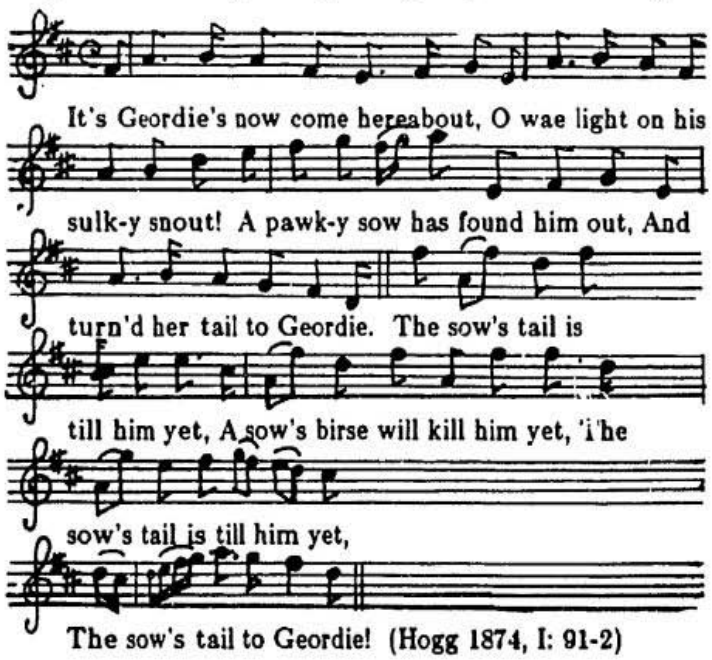
The collection is arranged in the fashion of Ritson's Scottish Songs (1794) and, as Donaldson points out, many of the notes were appropriated, unacknowledged, from Ritson (Donaldson 1988, 100). The antiquarian slant of the notes is strongly influenced by the Minstrelsy, and the utilisation of composite texts no doubt also draws on Hogg's experiences with Scott:

> I have in no instance puzzled myself in deciding what reading of each song is the most genuine and original, but have constantly taken the one that I thought the best; judging, that in ten instances the song loses by the abridgements and interpolations of those who sing it, for once that it is improven. For that reason, though I have often got a great many copies of the same song, I have not only always taken the best, but the best verses of each, as far as I could judge. (Hogg 1874, I: xv)

In transcribing the music Hogg was aided by William Stenhouse, an accountant in Edinburgh, and later the editor of Johnson's Musical Museum: "a gentleman whose science, good taste, and general information of all that relates to Scottish song and music, is not, perhaps equalled by any contemporary" (Hogg 1874, I: xv). The transcriptions are "skeletons of old tunes", outlining the melody, although Hogg was confident that they could be adapted to performance as art songs: "it would be an easy manner for any composer or professional player on the piano, to harmonise them" (Hogg 1874, I: xiii). As with his traditional narratives, Hogg was pandering to the tastes of the polite patrons he needed by providing palatable texts in a form they could understand. But by including so much music that might otherwise have perished, Hogg was performing an invaluable service for traditional Scottish culture, and one which few of his contemporaries were capable of equalling.

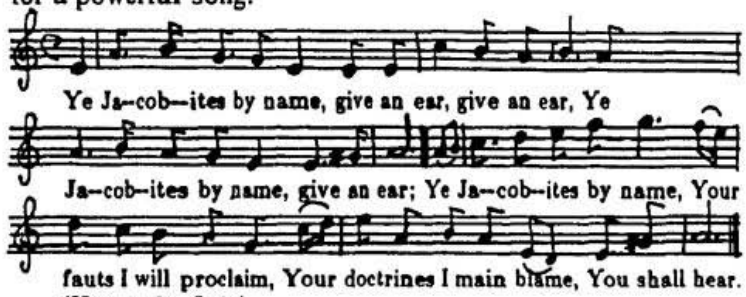
The collection provides a comprehensive picture of Jacobite song in Scotland, and to appreciate the concerns and preoccupations of the Jacobite psyche, it is essential reading. Moreover, the collection is particularly valuable to the present study of traditional Ettrick culture. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, there were clear cultural contacts between the Highlands and Ettrick, and the familiarity of the people of Ettrick with the Jacobite tradition is a concrete example of this phenomenon. A speculative link could be drawn between the clan ideals inherent in the Jacobite song and the surname structure of traditional Border society: is it possible that the Highlands and its musical traditions appealed to the people of Ettrick because of the similarities in their cultural heritage? Whether their sympathies lay with the Jacobites, or their interest was engaged by the songs' aesthetic values, Hogg as collector was singularly well placed to record the Jacobite traditions of Ettrick, as well as those of the Highlands.

Volume One is limited to songs dating from before the battle of Sherriffmuir (1715) along with a few general songs of a later date. Several songs document topical events, "The Act of Succession" (Song XXV) and "Lesley's March to Longmaston Moor" (Song IV), for instance, and over half are directed against the Whigs, the "parcel of rogues" who sold out Scotland (Songs XXXVI and XXXIX). Many are specifically directed against the Whigs' foreign leaders, "Willie" (William of Orange) and "Geordie" (George I). "Geordie" is often portrayed as a pig. Song LV "The Sow's Tail to Geordie" is a raucous satire on the sovereign's portly mistress, Madame Kilmansegge. The air is ideal for the song, with the biting F sharp adding emphasis to the key word "sow":



Hogg remembered this well-liked song being frequently performed in Ettrick, in his childhood, by "an old woman, a determined Jacobite, who always accompanied it with the information, that 'it was a cried-down song, but she didna mind that'" (Hogg 1874, I: 268-9). While the judgement of this elderly woman suggests that, at least in the late eighteenth century, there was a certain amount of sympathy in Ettrick for the Jacobites, Hogg provides no further direct statements on the question of political commitment.

Hogg is adept at capturing the political mood of Jacobite songs, and most of the items in Volume One express an optimistic attitude and the basic Jacobite philosophy: drink to the Stuarts and fight for the Cause. See, for example, Songs XXIX "Come Fill up your Bowls", and XXXI "Here's a health to them that's away" (including the paraphrased proverb "aff with the auld king and on with the new"). There are joyous songs anticipating the triumph of the Stuarts, such as Song XXX "The King shall enjoy his own again", and rousing songs--many of which are still extremely popular--for instance Song XXXIV "Ye Jacobites by Name". The melody is in common time with the melodic shape AABC: fast, measured, and replete with incremental repetition, making for a powerful song:



(Hogg 1874, I: 53)

The text and air are from Johnson's Musical Museum. Hogg comments that "The air of this song has always been popular, and is sung to many different songs on different subjects; but none of them are Jacobite save this" (Hogg 1874, I: 222). Hogg's wide-ranging knowledge of traditional Scottish melody, as seen here, made his lucid comments on the musical aspects of the Jacobite tradition extremely pertinent to a study of this tradition. He was uniquely well qualified to make such remarks, standing in the unusual position (like Burns before him) of one who was familiar with Scottish traditions, and an active musical performer himself.

The Relics is an immensely significant collection in its role as a record of the changing image of the Highlander which occured during the eighteenth century.

Previously the Highlanders had been depicted as unglamorous, dirty rogues, and a residue of the older image of the Highlander lingered. See, for instance, "John Hielandman's Visit to the Quarter Sessions" (Hogg 1874, I: 303-6). But the newer songs are romantic and often presented from a woman's viewpoint. As Hogg notes, "One would think that a number of these Jacobite songs had been written by ladies, and these generally the best" (Hogg 1874, I: 223). A large number are dedicated to the exiled followers of the Stuarts. There are songs of love, for instance, dedicated to the heroes of the Uprising, the "bonnie hieland laddies": romantic, brave, dedicated to the Cause and irresistible to women, an image which was a recent development. An assertive melody of Song XXXV "My Love he was a Highland Lad" complements the strong words:

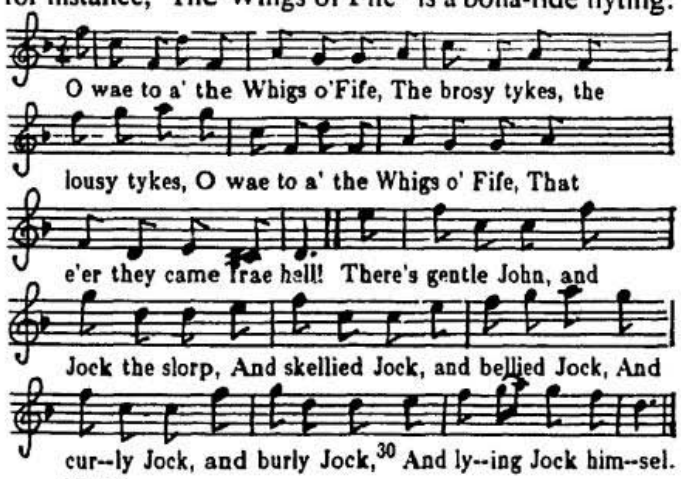
> My love he was a Highland lad,
> And one of noble pedigree,
> And nane could bear a truer heart,
> Or wield a better brand than he.
> And O, he was a bonny lad,
> The bravest lad that e'er I saw!
> May ill betide the heartless wight!
> That banish'd him and his awa'. (Hogg 1874, I: 55)

Elements of nostalgia and romanticism had entered the Jacobite tradition by Hogg's period, and there are many songs of exile, often combining regret at leaving Scotland, with reassertions of loyalty to the Stuarts. XV "It was a' for our rightfu' king" is particularly poignant and haunting. This song was certainly known in Selkirkshire; Wilkie collected a version in which the lovers are named as Molly Stewart and Lewis Gordon (NLS MS 123, f7). Hogg does not mention if he had heard the song locally, but given Wilkie's reference it seems likely that it was part of the Ettrick repertoire.

Hogg was well aware of the wit and humour of some Jacobite songs, commenting that a number are "specimens of sly and beautiful allegory", the images disguised (not always very subtly), so that they could be "sung openly and avowedly in mixed parties" (Hogg 1874, I: viii). For example song L "The Riding Mare", describes how the thief (William of Orange) is thrown from the mare (the British throne). Now a "sow" (George's mistress the Duchess of Darlinton) rides the mare and hopefully will soon get a fall. While Hogg appreciates the allegory, he exhibits characteristic scorn towards its poor aesthetic qualities. He dislikes the mixing of imagery when the mare-throne becomes the mare-king, and finds this song "altogether one of the most vulgar of the songs admitted". And by including this song, I contend, Hogg is exhibiting one of his

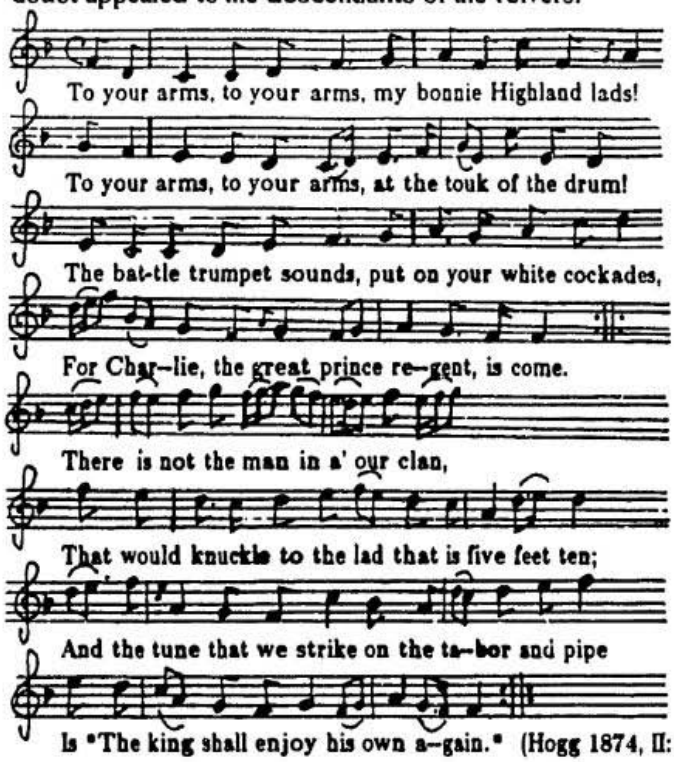
most characteristic traits: he enjoys occasionally cocking a snook at polite society. Furthermore, he likes to leave them guessing as to his purpose, commenting that, although the song is vulgar, it is "nothing like hundreds that have been left out" (Hogg 1874, I: 262).

Volume Two consists of later songs, many of which relate to the Jacobite uprising in 1745. Hogg's convenient notion of dividing his collection by the two main periods of Jacobite activity makes it possible to gauge the overall historical development of the Jacobite song. Although there are new heroes--Charles, Murray and Derwentwater--and new villains--Cumberland--the old ones are still mentioned, and the message is the same. There are songs relating to the topical events like the great battles: Song I "The Battle of Sherrifmuir"; Song LXII "The Battle of Prestonpans"; Song LXXIV "Culloden Day". The Whig leaders, again, are depicted in hell, in song CIV "Cumberland and Murray's Descent into Hell" and CV "Geordie sits in Charlie's Chair". There are still general anti-Whig songs, although this class is somewhat smaller than in Volume One. But these attacks on the Whigs are more robust songs than their earlier counterparts. Song XVII, for instance, "The Whigs of Fife" is a bona-fide flyting:



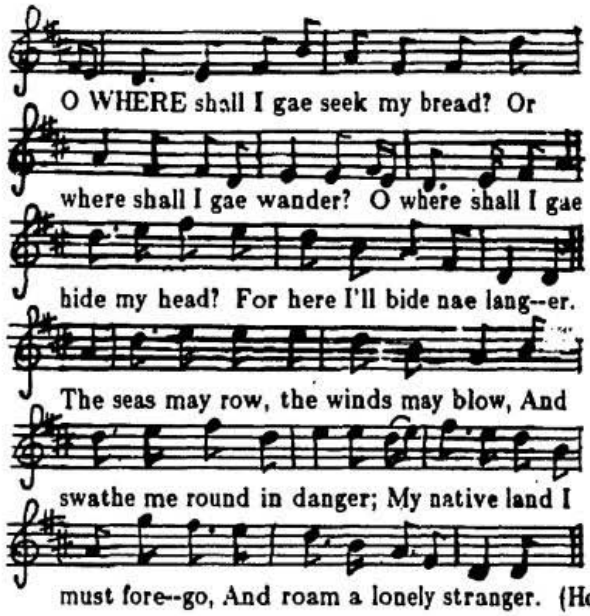
This song and air are taken from the Graham MS, and Hogg originally believed it to be one of the oldest Jacobite songs, although the style was more modern. Incidentally, he comments on the context in which these songs were performed, suggesting that the people of Ettrick sometimes sang them for the words alone rather than for the political implications. Hogg had "often heard the verse of the Jocks sung out of fun, when several Johns happened to be in company, but never any more of it" (Hogg 1874, II: 282).

The Jacobite credo of drink, fight and be merry is just as apparent as in the first volume, with drinking songs like XVI "The Tenth of June", rallying songs like V "Up and waur them a' Willie" and Song LXV "To your arms, my Bonny Highland Lads". The last mentioned was well-known in the Forest, collected by Hogg from "old Lizzie Lamb", a cottager at Ladhope in Yarrow. The belligerent atmosphere of this song no doubt appealed to the descendants of the reivers:



Stenhouse believes this song was sung soon after 1745 to "The Flowers of Edinburgh" (Stenhouse 1962, 10). Hogg comments "This is the air to which she sung it; though I think it must have been composed to 'The king shall enjoy his own again' " (Hogg 1874, II: 382).

But the Jacobite songs of 1745 are often more romantic than their predecessors, and while some are positive in tone, such as Song XXIX "Merry may the Keel row (The ship that my love's in)", the majority are melancholy, reflecting post-uprising depression. Song XCI "The Highlander's Farewell" for instance, a lyric translated from the Gaelic and reworked by Hogg, expresses the viewpoint of an exile who never expects to return to Scotland. The sense of desolation in the words is backed by a poignant melody:



Although the purist might prefer a literal translation, the present writer is convinced Hogg's consummate rendition of "The Highlander's Farewell" demonstrates his major advantage as a collector, in being a creative writer who was wholly familiar with the Jacobite idiom. This song has continually appealed to Ettrick audiences, partly because it was revived and recorded by the McCalmans on "The Ettrick Shepherd" (1980).

Among Hogg's contributions to the Relics was a romantic reworking of the traditional song "Charlie is My Darling". The original is symptomatic of a new development in Jacobite song: a culmination of the "Highland Laddie" song combined with expressions of extreme loyalty to the Stuarts. This type might be referred to, after song LXXXVII, as the "Bonny Charlie" song. Wilkie found a great many versions of "Charlie is my Darling" in Selkirkshire (NLS MS 123, f3-4) and Hogg prints two versions in the Relics: his own, Song XLIX, and the "original", Song L. The original is a robust "Highland Laddie" song. Charlie is a dashing young Chevalier: brave, confident, and with ever an eye for a bonny lass. As he strolls through "our town", he sees a girl at her window and knocks at her door. She lets him in whereupon:

He set his Jenny on his knee,
    All in his Highland dress;
For brawly weel he kend the way
    To please a Highland lass
And Charlie he's my darling,
    My darling, my darling,
And Charlie he's my darling,
    The young Chevalier. (Hogg 1874, II: 94)

Not only is he a charmer, but there is a hint of sexual threat in this character. The narrator persona, clearly a woman of the town, offers a warning reminiscent of that given to Fair Janet in the ballad of "Tam Lin" (Ch 39):

It's up yon heathery mountain,
And down yon scraggy glen.
We daurna go a-milking,
For Charlie and his men.
And Charlie he's my darling, &c. (Hogg 1874, II: 94)

Developing the romantic elements in the song, and ignoring the sexual implications, Hogg's version is much more sentimental. Charlie, for a start, is never invited into a woman's house; rather the lassies run to their doors, singing "Our king shall hae his own again,/ And Charlie is the man". The lassies, furthermore, do not fear the men in the glen--they only sing about them. And Hogg adds a new, patriotic verse:

Our Highland hearts are true and leal,
And glow without a stain;
Our Highland swords are metal keen,
And Charlie he's our ain.
And Charlie he's my darling, &c. (Hogg 1874, II: 93)

Comparing the two versions, modern and original, demonstrates that the Jacobite song was in transition during Hogg's lifetime, and shows how Hogg made a personal contribution, with this collection, to Jacobite songs becoming more romantic and more sentimental; the Jacobite song became a genre based in the literary tradition rather than in oral circulation. Furthermore, Hogg's new canon set up thematic and formal criteria for the Jacobite song, as detailed above. Hogg's own aesthetics and Hogg's texts had immense impact on the future development of the Jacobite song, and it is symptomatic of this fact that many people in modern Ettrick are unaware there are traditional versions of songs like "Charlie is my Darling", believing them to be Hogg's own compositions.

Although the Highland society had intended the collection to represent both the Jacobite and the Hanoverian positions, there are few Whig songs in the Relics; in the political disproportion, according to Hogg, was an accurate reflexion of the sympathies of the Scottish songwriter:

> I have searched in vain for the songs of the other party, in order to contrast them with those of the Cavaliers. There are but few of them existing in Scotland worthy of preservation, previous to 1715. In the succeeding era there are a few indifferent ones. I would fain have had a larger portion of them, as a counterpart to the others; but it is impossible to preserve that which is not. Though the government and revolutionary principles of the house of Hanover have always been popular in the Lowlands of Scotland, yet the Caledonian Muse, with a romantic attachment, has all along clung to exiled royalty, and kindled at the injuries sustained by the sufferers, and their heroical deportment, in its cause; at the same time loading the inflictors of those sufferings with every opprobium that bitterness of soul could suggest. Whoever is versant in the national poetry of Scotland will readily subscribe to this position. (Hogg 1874, I: xiii-xiv)

Yet despite their political apposition, the Whig songs draw on a similar range of imagery and stances as do the Jacobites. Many commemorate political events and Whig victories: "The Battle o' Dumblane" (Hogg 1874, I: 450) and "Fifth of November" (Hogg 1874, I: 363). There is as much hostility to the Jacobite "Tories" as the Jacobites express towards the Whigs:

> A Jacobite values not scandal or shame, Sirs;
> He's not a true Tory, whom conscience controls,
> All know that interest's their only aim, Sirs;
> They'll asperse, trick, and lye, swear too, then disown;
> Shall such then unpunished tempt our laws and our throne? (Hogg 1874, II: 437)

Reversing the Jacobite position, the Whigs have their own heroes: "George the wise, the just, the great,/ Our king and faith's defender" (Hogg 1874, I: 412) and "Willie", (Hogg 1874, I: 408-9). Their most hated enemy, of course, is the "Pretender de zon of a _____,/ Whom none but de mob and de strumpets adore" (Hogg 1874, II: 443-45). And just as the Jacobites accuse the Whigs of being foreign, so do the Whigs accuse the Tories of being funded by "French gold" (Hogg 1874, I: 421-2), and of being puppets of the Papacy (Hogg 1874, I: 408-9; 457). The Whigs, like the Jacobites, consign their enemies to hell, as in "Pluto, the Prince of Darkness, his Entertainment of Algernon Sydney, upon his Arrival at the Infernal Palace" (Hogg 1874, I: 338-9).

The Whigs are just as exuberant as the Jacobites in their songs of loyalty, such as "Stand round, my brave boys" (Hogg 1874, II: 463). As is often the case with the Whig songs, this uses the same traditional air as a Jacobite song: Song XLI of Volume One, "Lewie Gordon". Similarly the Whig drinking song "Come, let the Toast go round" uses the air for Song XXIV of Volume Two, "The King's Anthem", an air which is known today as the British national anthem, "God save the King". Like the Jacobites, the Whigs use many traditional melodies: "Lillibullero" is a particular favourite (Hogg 1874, I: 421; 367-369). Ballad tunes are also used, such as "Chevy Chace" for "The Age of Wonders" (Hogg 1874, I :375).

There are a great many parodies of the favourite Jacobite songs, and the Whigs use humour to trivialise the Jacobite Cause. "Few Good Fellows When Willie's awa", for instance, adapts the Jamie image to their own ends (Hogg 1874, II: 467); the Charlie persona is transmogrified into the "darling boy" Willie in Song V "Up an' waur them a', Willie" (Hogg 1874, II: 471-2). Most cuttingly of all, the "Highland laddie" is parodied in "Bonny Laddie, Highland Laddie":

When you came over first frae France,
Bonnie laddie, Highland laddie,
You swore to lead our king a dance,
Bonnie laddie, Highland laddie;
And promised on your royal word,
Bonnie laddie, Highland laddie,
To make our duke dance o'r his sword,
Bonnie laddie, Highland laddie. (Hogg 1874, II: 474-75).

The Jacobite Relics provoked a mixed reception. Predictably, given that the collection was so biased against the Whigs, the Edinburgh Review was not particularly impressed, except, of course, by "Donald MacGillavry" (see below). However, staunch Jacobites, like John Moir, were delighted with the collection, at least with the Jacobite items. Moir's reaction is worth recording. He wrote to Hogg in 1821, after the publication of the first volume of the Relics:

> Your Volume, in my opinion, does you infinite credit, and when we consider the difficulties you had to encounter from the remoteness of the events, and the deficiency of proper authorities, your industry in collecting so many interesting notes cannot be too much admired.
> I have heard many people express disappointment after perusing the first Volume, not attending to the circumstance that the Songs contained in it are anterior to the year 1715,--thus excluding all the best Known and most popular Songs, chiefly relative to the young Chevalier. From what you have accomplished in the Volume, I anticipate a rich treat in Volume II. which I am happy to find will make its appearance at no very remote period. I did not very much like to see the Hanoverian trash appended to our Jacobite relics. (NLS MS 2245, f52)

Hogg was well pleased with the results of his collection, and expressed his satisfaction in his habitual unabashed manner: "I am sure I produced two volumes of Jacobite Relics, such as no man in Scotland or England could have produced but myself" (Hogg 1972a, 49), and Hogg was justifiably outraged when the Highland society failed to pay him the entire sum promised. It would seem that the Society may have disapproved of more robust songs in the collection, and it is a point in Hogg's favour as a collector of integrity that he included some of the more offensive songs here. The value of the Jacobite Relics lies in its being the first comprehensive collection of Jacobite song, in all its varieties, from the time of the first uprising in 1715, right up to the early nineteenth century. Without Hogg's endeavours, at a time when the category was changing into an increasingly romantic, nostalgic variety of song, it would be impossible to appreciate the sheer bulk and variety of Jacobite songs in eighteenth and nineteenth century Scotland. With his comprehensive notes on text and music, and his unique position as one who was familiar with Ettrick and Highland traditions, and a fiddler and singer himself, Hogg

presented posterity with an invaluable record of a national type of song, and a collection which established the Jacobite song canon.

4.4. Hogg as composer

Hogg composed many songs in traditional styles, and frequently used traditional airs to set his songs: "Banks of the Dee" for "Mary at her Lover's Grave", "Up an' waur them a' Willie" for "Dinna look sae high, lassie" and "I'm gane a' wrang, Jamie", to name but two. Furthermore, some of Hogg's songs subsequently entered into oral circulation.

In his earliest songs Hogg imitated the lyric songs of the Borders, perhaps the single most numerous category of traditional song, as suggested earlier. His first attempts--the verses which he claims earned him the title of "Jamie the Poeter"--seem to have been exclusively in the lyric style. Hogg's first publication was a humorous lyric, "The Mistakes of a Night". It aimed to emulate the traditional idiom, and was set to a traditional air:

TAK my advice, ye airy lads,
That gang to see the lasses,
Keep weel your mind, for troth, the jads
Tell ilka thing that passes.
Anither thing I wad advise,
To gang on moonlit weather:
A friend o' mine, he was sae wise,
He kiss't his lass's mither
Ae Friday Night.

The song tells a raucous story: the lad, Geordie, courts a widow's daughter from Yarrow, but unfortunately mistakes her mother for the lass, and makes her pregnant. The theme of the lover going over the muir to his mistress is a traditional one; see, for instance, "The Last Time I came o'er the muir" (Johnson 1967, II: 19). And the theme of a young man being duped by an older woman is one of Hogg's favourites, which he had already used in "The Bush aboon Traquair" (Hogg 1837). The rhythm is also traditional, the "Standard Habbie" usually associated with Burns. "O'er the Muir" moves at a rollicking pace, with rapid scene changes from riding, to sex, to pregnancy, to marriage to riding home "o'er the muir", incorporating traditional rhymes: "Yarrow" and "marrow" for instance.

Judging from the appearance of this line in the song, Hogg intended it to be set to "O'er the Muir to Maggie", a traditional melody and song. The version in Johnson's

Musical Museum begins: "And I'll o'er the muir to Maggy;/ Her wit and sweetness call me; /Then to my fair I'll show my mind,/ Whatever may befal me". It is a Jacobite song: the narrator will strive to do what he can to win Maggy's love: "I'll plot my nation's glory,/ Find favour in my prince's fight,/ And shine in future story" (Johnson 1962, 1: 56). Stenhouse comments: "This old air of one strain (for the second strain is only a slight variation of the first), was united to some verses which Ramsay very properly rejected in the Tea-Table Miscellany, and substituted one of his own composition, which is that in the Museum, beginning, 'And I'll o'er the muir to Maggie'". The song then appeared in "a monthly musical publication, called, 'The British Miscellany, or the Harmonius Grove', printed for Daniel Wright, Brook Street, London, in November 1733. It is here entitled 'O'er the moor to Maggie, within the compass of the Flute, never before printed' ". Stenhouse points out that a variation of the tune appears in Wright's collection as well as a "Collection of Scottish Tunes by Oswald" (Stenhouse 1962, 58). Groves draws attention to the melody to be found in Maclean's Collection of Favourite Scots Tunes with Variations for the Violin (1772), and it also appears as a fiddle tune in the Ballantine MS (1770). The Jacobite connotations of "O'er the Muir to Maggie" are not overtly developed by Hogg, although it is possible that his original audience were more susceptible to their implications. Incidentally, there are further hints here of Highland influences on the Ettrick musical tradition. But Hogg's reworking goes beyond the traditional precedents to make a personal observation on the (perhaps allegorical) dangers of illicit love.

Hogg also wrote many other songs modelled on traditional lyrics, especially songs in praise of love: the popular "When the Kye Comes Hame", originally published as "The Sweetest Thing The Best Thing" in Perils of Man (291-93), for example. In "Bonnie Mary", introduced by a stanza which sets the scene in Yarrow, a shepherd sings of his lover Mary, "sae mild and sweet". Although there are many elements from artsong here--Mary's couch is watched over by "sweet guardian spirits" and, in romantic Scots, "Phoebus keeks out-o'er the muir"--Hogg includes many more lines in the traditional idiom. As in Burns's "My Love is like a Red Red Rose"--itself modelled on folksong--the narrator makes extravagant promises with respect to his devotion:

> The exile may forget his home,
> Where blooming youth to manhood grew,

The bee forget the honey comb,
Nor with the spring his toil renew:
The sun may lose his light and heat,
The planets in their rounds miscarry;
But my fond heart shall cease to beat,
When I forget my bonnie Mary. (Hogg 1973, II: 268)

To turn to another type of song, Hogg stated that he was inspired to write songs in the ballad style after observing the poor quality of Scott's attempts in the Minstrelsy:

> On the appearance of the "Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border", I was much dissatisfied with the imitations of the ancient ballads contained in it, and immediately set about imitating the ancient ballads myself--selected a number of traditionary stories, and put them in metre by chanting them to certain old tunes. In these I was more successful than in any thing I had hitherto tried, although they were still but rude pieces of composition. (Hogg 1972a, 16)

"Sir David Graeme", for instance, in The Mountain Bard, is set in the ballad style. It opens with lines remodelled from a carol in Margaret Laidlaw's repertoire:

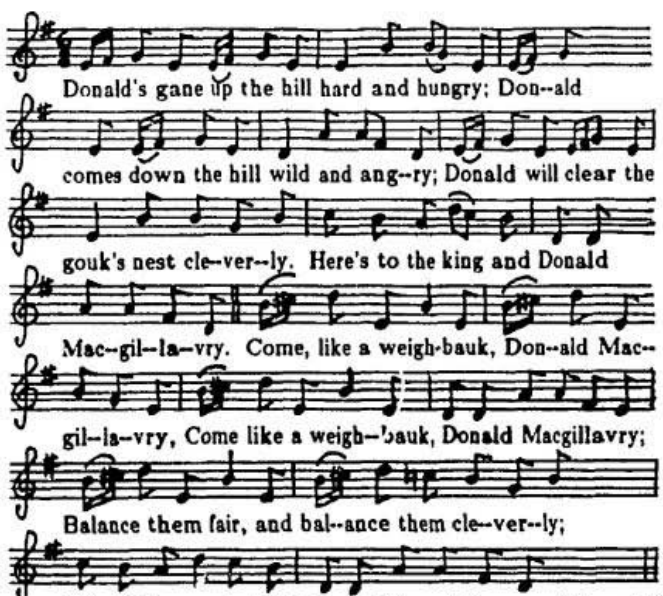
The dow flew east, the dow flew west,
The dow flew far ayont the fell;
An' sair at e'en she seemed distrest,
But what perplex'd her could not tell. (Hogg 1973, II: 61)

The original, "The heron flew east, the heron flew west,/ The heron flew to the fair forest", is a haunting allegory of the Holy Grail legend (Hogg 1973, I: 62). "Sir David Graeme" was also inspired by "The Twa Corbies" (related to "The Three Ravens" Ch 26), although Hogg admits "the original is not improved in the following ballad" (Hogg 1973, II: 62). Hogg subverts the "Corbies" plotline for romantic ends: in the original the lady plots her lover's death, here she is a victim of circumstances. There are echoes of several other local songs: "The Dowie Dens of Yarrow" (Ch 214) in which brothers murder their sister's lover, "The Lament of the Border Widow" with its grisly discovery. This is clearly the stylised ballad world, where knights and ladies wear splendid silk and embroidered garments, yet lovers tryst like shepherds by night, and a lady kilts up her skirts to walk, like a rural maiden going to church.

In reworking his models here, Hogg intermingles traditional and artsong models with his own creative notions; an ambiguous mixture of styles is reminiscent of his treatment of traditional narratives. In the first instance, he develops the thematic richness of the song by adding traditional symbols: the dove's innocence parallels the lady's and makes her enlightenment doubly disturbing. The macabre, unearthly quality is emphasised by the ballad convention of incremental repetition: the dow, for instance,

makes several visits to the lady. Hogg uses standard ballad phrases, such as the lock of her "yellow hair". Furthermore, he successfully integrates the ballad idiom with artsong notions. Intermixed with the ballad idiom are romantic elements: comments on love like the lady's statement, "But ae kind press to his manly breast,/ An' ae kind kiss in the moorland glen,/ Will weel atone for a' that is past:/ O wae to the pawkie snares o'men"; editorial judgements of feminine behaviour such as "Alack! whatever a maiden may say,/ True has't been said, an' aften been sung,/ The ee her heart's love will betray,/ An' the secret will sirple frae her tongue"; romantic imagery like "The sun had drunk frae Keilder fell,/ His beverage of the morning dew". Lastly, there are naturalistic touches, for instance, the lady's embarrassment on realising she approaches her knight without her stockings or shoes, and Hogg includes one of his personal favourite motifs, the living body which lacks a soul, as the lady explores her state of mind: "There's a sleep as deep as the sleep outright,--/ 'Tis without a feeling or a name;.... 'Tis a dull an' a dreamless lethargye,/ For the spirit strays owre vale an' hill,/ An' the bosom is left a vacancy,/ An' when it comes back it is darker still". This is a theme Hogg also explores with Gatty's experience in Three Perils of Woman, discussed in Chapter 2, and with Merlin's experience in "The Profligate Princes" (1817a). "Sir David Graeme", then, is designed to suit a literary audience, using a mixture of traditional and artsong elements; the example epitomises Hogg's sophisticated approach to song-writing.

It is a compliment to Hogg's talent at creating political songs in the folk idiom that "Donald MacGillavry" (Song LX, in the Relics), could pass as a traditional song. It is a rousing call to battle, a repetitive song with a rollicking air:



The song incorporates a Jacobite battle-cry: "Up wi' King James and Donald MacGillavry", and Donald is a skilful soldier, compared to various tradesmen in his talents: he should "Come like a weaver.... elwand sae cleverly"; "Come like a tailor... thimble them cleverly"; "Come like a cobbler... lingel them cleverly"; and finally "come like the devil.. skelp them and scaud them". Hogg makes clever use of this incremental repetition, as well as the rousing air of this song. The air, in 6/8 and the Aeolian mode, with a minim, or shorter note, to each syllable, provides an exuberant basis for the confident words.

As already mentioned, Jeffrey, critic for the Edinburgh Review, singled out "Donald MacGillavry" as the finest, most authentic song in the entire collection (Jeffrey, 1820). Hogg found Jeffrey's error highly amusing, and wrote to John Wilson:

> After all, between ourselves, "Donald MacGillavry", which he has selected as the best specimen of the true old Jacobite song, 'and as remarkable above its fellows for 'sly, characteristic Scotch humour'", is no other than a trifle of my own, which I put in to fill up a page. (Qtd. in Batho 1969, 29)

That Hogg derived satisfaction from outwitting the Edinburgh intelligentsia, who treated him, patronisingly, as a social inferior, is easy to understand. Furthermore, he was humiliating the Edinburgh Review, his own magazine Blackwood's main rival. Hogg authenticates the song with straight-faced notes, for instance: "Donald MacGillavry" is "a capital old song, and very popular". Donaldson convincingly argues that Hogg intended "Donald MacGillavry" as bait to trap the unwary folksong scholar, as "a skit on the unsmiling pedantry apt then, as now, to afflict popular folksong scholars" (Donaldson 1988, 109).[32] Other writers have been less sympathetic towards Hogg's actions in this instance. Batho believes that Hogg "learned the lesson of forging for fun" through bad examples, such as Allan Ramsay. Johnson calls Hogg a "charlatan" (Batho 1969, 14; Johnson 1972, 103). Fundamentally, the present writer sees the affair as one more instance of Hogg's typically Border sense of humour; he was enjoying himself and twisting a knife in the back of the Whig intelligentsia at the same time.

Many of Hogg's songs entered into the Scottish folk repertoire, for instance "Donald MacDonald", composed in 1800 as Scotland faced the threat of Napoleonic invasion. The song is set to the air "Woo'd an' married an' a". It combines the sentimentality of late Jacobite song with the current necessity for loyalty to the Hanoverians in view of the imminent possibility of French invasion. The French are defied, pride in Scotland is emphasised and the Highland soldier presented as brave and loyal:

> Wad Bonaparte land at Fort-William,
> Auld Europe nae langer should grane;
> I laugh when I think how we'll gall him,
> Wi' bullet, wi' steel, an' wi' stane;
> Wi' rocks o' the Nevis an' Gairy,
> We'll rattle him off frae our shore
> Or lull him asleep in a cairny,
> An' sing him "Lochaber no more!" (Hogg 1973, 283).[33]

Hogg had the song privately engraved, introducing it by singing "Donald MacDonald" to friends at the Crown tavern in Edinburgh. The song was well received, and rapidly passed into oral circulation, especially among the military (Hogg 1972a, 14). When a General MacDonald was present at Edinburgh Castle the song was performed two or three times during every meal period, and Hogg believed "Donald MacDonald" was "Perhaps the most popular song ever written" (Hogg 1972a, 15). Viewed more objectively, it is "an effective combination of diplomacy, politics and high spirits" (Groves 1988, 7).

Another song which passed into sustained oral circulation is "O Shepherd the weather is misty and changing", originally published in Scottish Pastorals (1801), and subsequently reprinted as a composition by Burns, in an 1809 collection of the latter's works (Batho 1979, 183). Perhaps reflecting Border contacts with the Highlands, the song was recorded by collectors in Scotland throughout the nineteenth and into the twentieth century, mainly in the North-East, but as far South as Peeblesshire. Lady Priestly states in The Story of a Lifetime (1908) that the simpleton David Gallatly (Jock Gray), a native of Peeblesshire, "had evidently a great love for James Hogg, the Ettrick Shepherd, whom he sang into notice. One of these songs was the well-known lyric, 'Love is like a dizziness', and the other was 'Oh Shepherd the weather is misty and changing'" (qtd. in Strout 1946, 159). The last recorded version of the latter song was found in Aberdeenshire in 1907, and appears to have been a common song in the area, where it was known as "Jeannie o' Planteenie". Under this title, five versions of the song appear in the Greig-Duncan collection. The song begins, in Hogg's version:

O Shepherd the weather is misty and changing,
Will ye shew me over the hills to Traquair?
I will, gentle stranger, but where are you ranging?
So brisk a young gentleman walking is rare.
I came to the Forest to see the fine lasses
And sing wi' the shepherds on ilka green hill;
And now I am leaving this modern Parnassus,
Of ilka thing in it I have got my fill. (Hogg 1988, 35)

The stranger tells the shepherd how he has courted many local girls; best of all, was young Jeannie, from Tyma, a beautiful young girl whom he managed to sleep with in her parents' house and who, it transpires, is the shepherd's sweetheart. When the shepherd swears to kill both Jeannie and the stranger, the stranger reveals herself as Jeannie, playing a prank on the shepherd in men's clothes and taking revenge for his recent neglect of her. The lovers are reunited, and the song ends with the shepherd vowing to live with his Jeannie on the banks of the Tyma, "the langer I ken her I'll love her the mair". Bearing out the linguistic point made in the last chapter, it is noticeable that the young woman can feasibly speak in an anglicised manner, while the young man speaks in broad Scots. The motif of a lover in disguise testing a sweetheart's fidelity is traditional, often associated with the "broken ring" songs where the lover reveals his identity through the love token he gave her years before, often half of a broken ring. There are also precedents for women cross-dressing in men's work clothes, often the "blue jacket and white trousers" of a sailor, to follow a lover to sea.

Having established that the song is set in the traditional idiom, it can further be demonstrated that it has entered into oral circulation, exhibiting the major features of the folksong, including minor variations through transmission. Logically enough, the song has been "retraditionalised": many of the changes are substitutions of traditional formulae for Hogg's romantic touches: the A, B and D versions in Greig-Duncan all change the the seventh line about Parnassus, for instance. Instead the young man admits that "noo I'm resolved to give over my rovin'". The line in Hogg's second stanza, which refers to Jeannie as "one pretty creature" is also changed to "bonnie lassie" (A and D). There are localisations in the Greig-Duncan versions, to suit North East tastes: "Traquair" becomes "Strathsquare" in the C version; "Tyma", where Jeannie lives, is "Planteenie" in the remade type. The language reflects local dialect: "lasses" become "girlies" (A and B) for instance. In the A version the shepherd has become a Highlandman: he hails the stranger with "Hoch yes! shentle stranger, pe where are ye rovin'?" and continues in the same

vein. The E version has two additional introductory stanzas, to set the scene. The first is entirely new: "There lived a young maiden on the braes o' Traquair/ She loved a young shepherd who also dwelt there/ One day he did leave her and she thought he'd deceive her/ So to find him she'd try on the braes o' Traquair" ; the second modifies one line from Hogg's last stanza--to the effect that the woman borrowed men's clothes from a neighbour--and adds that the woman went "a-ranging" till she met with her laddie (Greig-Duncan 1981, I: 433). The A and B versions add a new, final stanza, almost identical in both except that the B version refers to "they" rather than "We": "So now we are wedded and married together,/ We live no more single on the Hill o' Traquair,/ So now we are wedded and married together,/ Of peace and of plenty we've now had our share" (Greig-Duncan 1981, I: 430). The song was sung in the North-East to two main airs. The first, in the A text, was a variation of "Bishop Burnet's Descent into Hell" (Hogg 1874, I: 72). The second, used for the B and C versions, is a variant of "The Lass of Glenshee" (Greig-Duncan 1981, I: 540).

Several Hogg songs have survived well into the twentieth century, such as the "economic courtship" song, "Birniebouzle". This first appeared in The Mountain Bard (1807), and was recorded by Isobel Sutherland in the 1960s.[34] Jean Redpath has also recorded this song, which she learnt from the singing of Scottish folklorist Hamish Henderson, "changed and developed considerably by oral transmission" (Redpath 1977). The song is set to the air "Braes of Tullimett":

Will ye gang wi' me, lassie,
To the braes o' Birniebouzle?
Faith the yird an' sea, lassie,
Will I rob to fend ye.
I'll hunt the otter an' the brock,
The hart, the hare, an' heather-cock,
An' pu' the limpet aff the rock,
To fatten an' to mend ye. (Hogg 1973, II: 277)

Redpath's version is substantially the same as Hogg's. However, she alters the order of the stanzas, and the emphasis of the song, combining elements from Hogg's fourth, fifth and sixth stanzas into a new first stanza:

Gin ye'll marry me lassie,
At the kirk o' Birniebouzle.
Till the day ye dee lassie,
Ye shall ne'er repent it.
Ye will wear when ye are wed,
A kirtle an' a heeland plaid,

Sleep upon a heather bed,
Sae couthy and sae canty. (Redpath 1977)

The marriage aspect (which is not explicitly mentioned in Hogg's original until the fourth stanza, is strongly stressed in Redpath's version: she sings the first four lines, quoted above, as a chorus, four times in the song in toto.

Redpath's second stanza is Hogg's fourth, beginning "Ye will gang sae braw, lassie,/Tae the kirk o' Birniebouzle" in the former's version. Having already used the last four lines of Hogg's fourth stanza in her first, Redpath substitutes four new lines: "Your wee bit tocher is but sma'/ But hodden grey will wear for a'/ I'll save my siller to mak ye braw,/ Ye will ne'er repent it". In her third stanza she begins with another four, new, lines: "We'll hae bonnie bairns an' a',/ Some lasses fair and laddies braw,/ Like their mither, ane an' a/ When your faither, he's consented". The final stanza in Redpath's version uses the last four lines of Hogg's first stanza, finishing with her "Gin ye'll marry me lassie" chorus. In the version discussed here, she then merges the song into "Johnny Lad" (Redpath 1977). Such a reworking of Hogg's original "Birniebouzle" stands as an eloquent testimony to his ability to create acceptable songs in the oral mode, and as evidence of the survival of his work within the oral tradition. Moreover, the recorded reworking of a Hogg song by a major artist like Redpath, brings the song into the twentieth century social context (reshaping its moral stance to contemporary tastes) and gives it a new lease of life, within the folksong revival movement and beyond.

Furthermore, at least in Ettrick Forest, Hogg's songs appear to have constantly survived through being recited orally. This can be partly attributed to their being recited in schools, and at social events like the concerts which took place between the wars in Selkirkshire. James Mitchell of Henderland and Mrs Isabelle Shaw, who were brought up in the Forest in the first half of the present century, have both performed "The Skylark" publicly. It is noticeable that Mr Mitchell and Mrs Shaw each performs the poem word for word as Hogg wrote it; no doubt this is related to the formal context in which they learnt it.

Bird of the wilderness,
Blithesome and cumberless,
Sweet be thy matin o'er moorland and lea!
Emblem of happiness,
Blest is thy dwelling-place--
Oh to abide in the desert with thee. (Hogg 1874, II: 411)

Thus, as well as Hogg's songs being revived, there is a sustained tradition of their being performed in Ettrick, especially as recitations which are learnt from published versions of Hogg's work.

And in the past ten years the Macalmans' record of Hogg's songs in the traditional idiom, entitled "The Ettrick Shepherd" (1980) has contributed to, as well as being a product of, the revived interest in Hogg's works in Selkirkshire. The selection includes a Jacobite item, "Macleans Welcome", the ever-popular "Donald MacDonald", comic items like "The Witch of Fife" from The Queen's Wake, and the tragic love song "The Moon was a-Waning" from The Forest Minstrel. Furthermore, just as Hogg's songs were set to art music in the past, by artists ranging from Bishop to Beethoven (Groves 1986), so too Hogg's songs are still being set to new music; Helen J. Lockhart, for instance, recently composed the air "Jim Coltman's Pen", for "Auld Ettrick John" (Lockhart 1990, 14). Mrs. Lockhart's husband, Wallace Lockhart and his group, the Quern, perform a variety of Hogg's music to traditional airs, and modern settings (Lockhart 1989). Ronald Stevenson has set "A Year ower Young" for violin and mezzo soprano (see Stevenson 1987; Appendix D), and this was performed at the 1987 Border festival.

The recent Border Festivals have been crucial in reviving traditional material, often as art song, and often performed by local artists. During the 1989 festival Leonard Friedman again played Hogg's violin, now the property of Edinburgh University, and recently restored by Gordon Stevenson. This combination of interest in Hogg's work among the folk revival movement, artsong composers, and at the local level suggests that Hogg's songs will continue to be performed in years to come. The final chapter will consider the modern revival of Hogg's works in greater detail, and focus on the development of Hogg's public image as "The Ettrick Shepherd".

Notes

[26]Games which involved forfeits.

[27]The tradition of the oversexed Highlander has retained its appeal, as witnessed by the recent revival of "Donald Where's Your Troosers".

[28]Actually July 1802.

[29]Minister of Ettrick and author of Human Nature in its Fourfold State (1720).

[30]Donald being the generic name for Highlandmen.

[31]Probably John Balfour of Burly (Hogg 1874, II: 282).

[32]Donaldson points out that Scott had tried, and failed, to pull off a similar ruse, designed to humiliate the Edinburgh Review with the fake traditional narrative, "The Bridal of Thien" (Donaldson 1988, 108).

[33]See the McCalmans' recording The Ettrick Shepherd.

[34]I am grateful to David Buchan for drawing my attention to Sutherland's recording.

Chapter 5

HOGG IN TRADITION: THE ETTRICK SHEPHERD

I do not well understand this man; his significance is perhaps considerable. His poetic talent is authentic, yet his intellect seems of the weakest; his morality also limits itself to the precept 'be not angry.' Is the charm of this poor man to be found herein, that he is a real product of nature, and able to speak naturally, which not one in a thousand is? An unconscious talent, though of the smallest, emphatically naïve.... The man is a very curious specimen. Alas, he is a man; yet how few will so much as treat him like a specimen, and not like a mere wooden Punch or Judy. (Carlyle 1972, 251)

5.1. The literary image

The image of "The Ettrick Shepherd" would have immense impact on the future perceptions of Hogg in literary, oral and popular tradition. "The Ettrick Shepherd" is a notion which draws on the romantic ideal of the "peasant poet" as a natural genius. Precedents include Burns (with whom Hogg was invariably compared) as heaven-taught "plooman poet". English parallels such as Southey's Uneducated Poets (1831) Stephen Duck and John Jones, as well as the "Thresher Poet" John Clare, bolstered the category and established a standard hagiography. Peasant poets, in this schema, struggled against immense odds and, through their personal strength of character, moral worth and patronage, they succeeded in being examples for their class; more interesting as social phenomena, than as writers. According to these well-established principles, real elements of Hogg's personality were adapted into a literary persona, obscuring his real worth with a plethora of perceived attributes. As "The Ettrick Shepherd" Hogg was depicted as coarse but poetic: unrefined genius personified. Lockhart's description, in Peter's Letters to His Kinsfolk (1819) offered a prototype:

> His face and hands are still as brown as if he lived eternally sub dio. His very hair has a coarse stringiness about it, which proves beyond dispute its utter ignorance of all arts of the friseur; and hangs in playful whips and cords about his ears, in a style of the most perfect innocence imaginable. His mouth, which, when he smiles, nearly cuts the totality of his face in twain, is an object that would make the Chevalier Ruspini die with indignation; for his teeth have been allowed to grow where they listed, and as they listed, presenting more resemblance, in arrangment, (and colour too,) to a body of crouching sharp-shooters, than to any more regular species of array. The effect of a forehead, towering with a true poetic grandeur above such features as these, and of an eye that illuminated their surface with the genuine lightnings of genius...these are the things which I cannot so easily transfer to my paper. Upon the whole, his appearance reminded me of some of Wordsworth's descriptions of his pedlar. (Lockhart 1977, 44-5)

Hogg as noble savage, to borrow an analogy from Gillian Hughes (1981), steps out of Lockhart's writings fully formed, perpetuating the very image which Lockhart, in the 1831 Quarterly Review, claimed to despise: Hogg as "boozing buffoon". The image, as Hughes perceptively comments, had certain advantages: "the Shepherd is a representative peasant as well as a nature-inspired poet. This gives him a particular authority in speaking of country matters, folklore and the supernatural, and the views and habits of the Scottish peasantry" (Hughes 1981, 143-44). Hogg exploited this position for limited financial gain, writing for all the major periodicals as "The Ettrick Shepherd". But it also

had its limitations: Hogg was not to be taken seriously as, for example, a writer of innovatory novels. This is witnessed by the poor contemporary reception of the Confessions. Nor was he publicly respected for his scholarly work, as evidenced by Jeffrey's depreciative review of the Jacobite Relics. It is only in the twentieth century that Hogg has begun to be truly appreciated as a writer of note in a variety of genres. David Groves has recently identified three phases in Hogg's traditional image: Hogg as Nothing, Hogg as Something, and Hogg as Everything (Groves, 1990).

The most potent force in the formation of Hogg's contemporary image was his treatment in Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine. In this periodical, familiarly known as Maga, Hogg was exposed to a bewildering mixture of savage attack and superficial laudation. In the magazine of August 1821, with respect to The Mountain Bard, his poetic talents were savagely assaulted; in the December 1821 number "Maginn" (Morgan O'Doherty) ridiculed Hogg's supposed alcoholic tendencies. But on the other hand, in the February 1819 issue Hogg was favourably compared with Burns, as "the poet laureate of the Court of Faery", although it was made clear that Hogg was the lesser poet of the two. Most importantly Hogg was a major figure in the "Noctes Ambrosianae", a series of sketches which ran in Maga between 1822 and 1835, and were largely the work of John Wilson, known in the "Noctes" as Christopher North.[35] The Shepherd of the "Noctes" is a well-realised character, and all the more insidious for being so. Because many of the attributes are recognisable from Hogg's self-presentation, the caricature had credibility and its presentation did immeasurable damage to Hogg's reputation socially and as a writer. Moreover, it did Hogg an immense financial disservice: being saddled with the "Ettrick Shepherd" image probably cost Hogg the Royal Literary Society pension which he sought so desperately to secure.

It is as well to describe the "Noctes" Hogg in detail, as so many later writers on Hogg drew from this source. "The Shepherd" is consistently presented as an untaught genius, classed with Cunningham and Burns in a triumvirate of "Scottish peasant poets", and sometimes compared with English "peasant poets", Clare and Duck. He is completely antipathetic to any signs of erudite rationalism, short of book-learning, but full of natural inspiration, often expressed in verbose romantic outbursts:

> I hae little or nae knowledge at my finger-ends, or my tongue-tip either--it lies a' in my brain and in my heart. When, at times, the ideas come flashing out, my een are filled wi' fire--and when the emotions come flowin up, wi' water; at least in the ae case

> there's brichtness, and in the ither a haze. Aften the twa unite, like a cloud veilin, but not hidin, the sun-like radiance on dew...like bees obeyin their instincks, that lead them, without chart or compass, to every nook in the wilderness where blaws a family o' heather-bells. (Wilson 1863, III: 240-41)

The Shepherd is portrayed as a man of Ettrick Forest, a "The Wild Huntsman" (Wilson 1863, IV: 24) who, as of course Hogg did, puts great faith in oral tradition. But the statements placed in his mouth are insulting rather than realistic, as, for instance : "an oral tradition out o' the mouth o' an auld grey-headed man or woman is far best, for then you canna dout the truth o' the tale"; and "by nature and education baith, ye ken, I'm just excessive superstitious" (Wilson 1863, I: 200). The Shepherd is a family man: he loves "wee Jamie" his son, and claims (a statement Hogg endorsed in his Life of Burns) to lead a temperate lifestyle (Wilson 1863, I: 337).

The Shepherd is a Tory through and through, and expresses his down-to-earth local loyalties in endearing, if gruff, terms:

> I bless Heaven I am a Borderer. Here's the Duke's health--here's the King's health--here's North's health--here's your health--here's my ain health--the health o' a' the contributors and a' the subscribers. That was a wully waught! I haena left a dribble in the jug. I wuss it mayna flee to my head--it's a half-mutchkin jug. (Wilson 1863 I: 99)

Other loyalties include an unswerving devotion to Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine--a misleading representation considering Hogg's frequent estrangements from the magazine.

But the "Noctes" endows the Shepherd with far more than the relatively harmless traits above. Despite the immense ego of this self-professed "man o' genius" the Shepherd is presented as ignorant, a semi-moron prone to utterances such as "Wha'?", "Eh?" and "Na", and with a severely limited knowledge of the English language. He is prone to malapropisms and misunderstandings:

> Shepherd. Genius--Genius, wull a' the metafhizzians in the ward ever expound that mysterious monysyllable?
> Tickler. Monosyllable, James, did you say?
> Shepherd. Ay--Monysyllable! Doesna that mean a word o' three syllables? (Wilson 1863, I: 254)

He is ignorant of many subjects: political economy (Wilson 1863, II: 307); geography--he thinks that America lies North of the Firth of Forth-- (Wilson 1863, IV: 58) and natural history--being unaware what a puma is--(North 1863, I: 364). The Shepherd is an ingenu who is out of his depth in educated society. As North accurately expresses Hogg's position in the "Noctes": "Shepherd, you are like the fly, unwittingly caught in the spider's web" (Wilson 1863, IV: 221).

It is implicit in the "Noctes", just as in Southey's Uneducated Poets, that peasant poets should know their place in society, and keep to it. The Shepherd is portrayed as well out of his social league, frequently accused of being coarse, and unaware of the realms of decency. He is bucktoothed and hirsute; North remarks, snidely, "Heavens! James, is that a brilliant among the hair of your little finger" (Wilson 1863, I: 283). He lacks any social graces: his laugh is "coarse" and "offensive" (Wilson 1863, I: 242) and his hands are dirty; as he examines a book by Captain Melville Grindlay, North warns, "take care, James, that you don't soil it;--it shall have an article to itself soon. There, lay it down gently" (Wilson 1863, I: 297). The Shepherd is at his happiest "cooming" his friends' faces with burnt cork as they sleep (Wilson 1863, II: 312; III: 299) and "bamming" the Opium Eater (on April Fool's Day) with the story of his mythical bull, the Bonassus (Wilson 1863, II: 340-47).[36] His manners "may do in Ettrick--or the Forest--where the breed of wild boars is not wholly extirpated--but in Edinburgh", of course, a higher level of gentility is expected (Hogg 1863, II: 96). Hogg personally suffered from this stereotyping many times, as is witnessed in his treatment by Wordworth, discussed in Chaper 1.

Even more offensively, Hogg's literary judgement is frequently called into question. In what is probably a realistic encapsulation of Wilson's two-faced relationship with Hogg, the Shepherd reads "The Great Muckle Village of Balmaquahapple", provoking the following reaction:

> North. (to Tickler, aside) Bad--Hogg's!
> Shepherd. What's that you twi are speaking about? Speak up.
> North. These fine lines must be preserved, James. Pray, are they allegorical? (Wilson 1863, I: 150)

The "Noctes", being widely read, did real damage to Hogg's reputation. Meeting Hogg, when only acquainted with him through the "Noctes", could be a major revelation: William Howlett, in Homes and Haunts of the Most Eminent British Poets (1847) recalled: "Such was my own opinion, derived from this source [the "Noctes"] of Hogg...with open mouth and huge straggling teeth, in full roars of drunken laughter, that, on meeting him in London, I was quite amazed to find him so smooth, well-looking, and gentlemanly" (qtd. in Gifford 1976, 232).

As William Tennant, himself a poet of low social origin, put it: "I see you in Blackwood, fighting and reaping a harvest of beautiful black eyes from the fists of

Professor John Wilson" (NLS MS 2245, f150) and in 1821, John Aitken of Dunblane sympathised with Hogg as a victim of "the unceasing cruelty of these damned magazine gentry" (NLS MS 2254, f64). Hogg entered into several disputes with the Blackwoods circle, further to his treatment, even considering litigation in 1821. Although he was reconciled each time, he maintained an ambivalent attitude to the hand which fed, but frequently struck, him. Hogg summed up his relationship with Wilson in a letter to Blackwood on January 25th 1825, "I have a strange indefinable sensation with regard to him, made up of a mixture of terror, admiration and jealousy, just such a sentiment as one deil might be supposed to have of another" (NLS MS 4014, f287).

Hogg both conformed to, and rebelled against, his stereotype. As already mentioned, he constantly used "The Ettrick Shepherd" persona, as a key to success with periodicals like Blackwoods magazine. Many of the traditionary tales are directly the product of Hogg's financial exploitation of his status as an authority on rural affairs, and his self-presentation (discussed in chapter 1) as an untutored child of nature was certainly a contributing factor to the literary Shepherd. Hugh MacDiarmid argues that Hogg's reaction to the "Noctes" portrait reveals a trait of "self-contradictoriness" in the Shepherd: "He rejoiced in the process and assisted it, seeing it did him no harm, and fed the great legend of the Ettrick Shepherd as a public character" (MacDiarmid 1972, 93). Yet, as early as 1813, Hogg wrote to Constable, in connexion with his proposed collection of "traditionary tales": "as I think the Ettrick Shepherd is rather become a hackneyed name and imagine that having gained a character as a bard is perhaps no commendation to a writer of prose tales I am determined to publish them under a fictitious title--J.H. Craig of Douglas" (NLS MS 7200, f203). But this was a passing thought; the "Ettrick Shepherd" was too commercially viable for "traditionary" matters to be rejected then.

On a lighter note, it can be argued that an awareness of his image within literary circles sometimes prompted the Shepherd to act out self-parodies, which his audiences were largely too dense to appreciate. There are several anecdotes in Lockhart's Life of Sir Walter Scott (1836) where the "rude peasant" Hogg acts the clown, as for instance when he tries to jump onto his "wall-eyed" pony after taking a stirrup-cup at the Abbotsford Hunt, breaking his nose in the process (Lockhart 1901, III: 481). The following defamatory incident has been quoted by most subsequent writers on Hogg, thereby passing into literary folklore:

> The next time that Hogg's business carried him into Edinburgh, he waited upon Scott, who invited him to dinner in Castle Street, in company with William Laidlaw, who happened also to be in town, and some other admirers of the rustic genius. When Hogg entered the drawing-room, Mrs. Scott, being at that time in a delicate state of health, was reclining on a sofa. The Shepherd, after being presented, and making his best bow, forthwith took possession of another sofa placed opposite to hers, and stretched himself thereupon at all his length; for, as he said afterwards, "I though I could never do wrong to copy the lady of the house." As his dress at this period was precisely that in which any ordinary herdsman attends cattle to the market, and as his hands, moreover, bore most legible marks of a recent sheep-smearing, the lady of the house did not view with perfect equanimity the novel usage to which her chintz was exposed. The Shepherd, however, remarked nothing of all this--dined heartily and drank freely, and by jest, anecdote and song, afforded plentiful merriment to the more civilized part of the company. As the liquor operated, his familiarity increased and strengthened; from "Mr. Scott," he advanced to "Sherra," and thence to "Scott," "Walter," and "Wattie,"--until, at supper, he fairly convulsed the whole party by addressing Mrs. Scott as "Charlotte." (Lockhart 1901, I: 379-80).

This story is usually interpreted as evidence of Hogg's lack of social graces. Yet previous writers have missed an important point here; even if the story is true it is possible that the aspect of Hogg's personality which it really illustrates is his irrepressible sense of humour. As Walter Elliot, himself from Eskdalemuir, pointed out to the present writer, it is a well-known Borderers' trick to play up to self-styled social superiors. Is it not possible that Hogg was enjoying a quiet laugh, at the upper classes' expense, by acting the part of the rural bumpkin? Certainly, considering his treatment in the Noctes and elsewhere, he had every right to do so. And exploiting the ambiguous position he held as a Shepherd among the upper classes, perhaps he realised that the only way to (limited) acceptance was in acting up to a role which they had created, and therefore understood.

However the image was soon to be in transition, and by the later nineteenth century an increasingly romantic alternative to the "Noctes" Hogg was being offered. The "buffoon" element was being forgotten, and the patriotic elements exaggerated. Professor Veitch, for instance, considered Hogg to be:

> one of the Scotchmen of truest finest genius, filling a place in Scottish poetry which is unique, having done certain things which no other Scottish poet has done so well.... When shall we see such another Shepherd? There is not in all Border history a more complete type of a man of power, nourished by the Border glens and streams, haughs and hills, story, ballad, and tradition, than he. There is no more complete example anywhere of the rise to intellectual eminence of a nearly entirely self-taught man. What exquisite sweetness, melody, and truthfulness to nature in many of his lyrics and descriptions. (Veitch, qtd. in Russell 1894, 195-96)

Hogg had now entered into the second phase of his literary image: Hogg as Something. His daughter, Mrs Garden, was instrumental in this change, writing of her father:

> Whatever be the merits of the picture of the Shepherd therein delineated--and no one will deny its power and genius--it is true, all the same, that this Shepherd was not the Shepherd of Ettrick, or the man JAMES HOGG.... Nor are the habitual bombast and boasting with which the Shepherd of the "Noctes" is endowed to be regarded as serious characteristics of the man. (Garden 1885, v-vi)

While paying respect to her father's "robust peasant ancestry" and Ettrick heritage, Garden goes beyond the peasant stereotype (with the aid of her father's correspondence) to present an intimate view of the poet, demonstrating his far from coarse psyche.

To Thomson, Hogg's editor and biographer, the Shepherd was a pastoral original, unique in being the only true Shepherd poet:

> He was the only poetical shepherd of note which as yet Scotland or England had produced; and as such, men wondered at the coming of music from such a quarter, and that he should sing so eloquently and so well. This circumstance is especially worthy of note among the claims of the Ettrick Shepherd to our admiration. It was not by, but in spite of, his profession, that he became a great poet, and raised himself to an eminence which none of his brethren have attained. (Thomson 1973, ix)

For Border writers, this element was particularly exaggerated, emphasising the Shepherd as a favoured son of the Forest. Craig-Brown, the historian of Selkirkshire, combines the basic peasant-poet elements derived from Hogg's Memoirs, with selected "Noctes" attributes, to present the poet as a likeable, intelligent romantic. Certain motifs from Hogg's life were rapidly becoming obligatory in Hogg's literary image: his solo "lad o' pairts" rise to fame, and the magic spell his poetry cast over Yarrow and Ettrick. For Craig-Brown, speaking as a local enthusiast:

> Of all her sons who have achieved distinction, not one is so thoroughly identified with the Forest as James Hogg, shepherd and poet. In Ettrick he was born, in Yarrow he lived and died. The mountains and the valleys of the Forest inspired his song, her legends gave form to his poems, her fairies were the bright prompter of his fancy, and the fame of her warriors fired his patriotic lays. Nor can it be denied that he repaid the inspiration. He left her fields greener where he trod, her gloamings lovelier and more glamorous. True son and hereditary freeman of the Forest he worshipped its every burn and "hope" and tottering "keep". (Craig-Brown 1886, I: 337).

Several anecdotes were now establishing themselves in literary circulation. Craig-Brown, for instance, recounted the legendary meeting of Hogg and the Scottish painter, David Wilkie. Hogg, initially unaware of the identity of his young visitor, is supposed to have remarked: "Mr. Wilkie, I cannot tell you how proud I am to see you in my house--and how glad I am to see you so young a man" (Craig-Brown 1886, I: 345). Hogg's

namesake, and the friend of Southey, writing of De Quincey retold a version of this anecdote, with a variation in the setting, and in Hogg's remark:

> When Wilkie showed Hogg some of his pictures, the latter looked over them one by one, and when it was apparent that he was expected to say something, he looked first at the works and then at the painter several times, as though comparing them together, and then said, "It's weel you're so young a man." The expression bore two constructions. Wilkie took it as a compliment, and bowed. (Hogg 1895, 85)

Another notion which proved persistent, related to the Burns cult and ignoring the precarious conditions of contemporary farming, is that Hogg was a poor farmer. Related to this is the notion that he spent the time he should have been working, in carousing. An anecdote derived from Donald Carswell hints at this notion, recording how:

> Having heard very little of the Shepherd for some time, Scott grew uneasy, and asked John Morrison, a surveyor, to call on Hogg at his farm. When he arrived, Hogg was not at home, but Morrison had some conversation with his housekeeper, a very pretty girl. On his second visit, it was clipping-time, and Hogg and his assistants were sitting round a keg of whisky, drinking it raw, out of teacups. (Hill 1971)

The "Noctes" Hogg was being drastically reevaluated by the time of George Douglas's biography in the "Famous Scot" series: "it certainly behoves us to remember that, as a general rule, it is not only misleading, but unjust to the real Shepherd, to confound him with his counterfeit presentment of the "Nights at Ambrose's" (Douglas 1899, 31). Undoubtedly the most important early work in reassessing Hogg was Edith Batho's The Ettrick Shepherd (1927). Batho was the first to present Hogg as an original writer of real significance, but even she falls into the trap of considering Hogg as one of a category including other "peasant poets", failing to appreciate that writers cannot be classed by their social origins alone. Even more insidiously, given her general stance of rational and genuine appreciation, Batho presents the "Noctes" Shepherd as representing a somewhat finer image than the real Hogg:

> There can be no doubt that the Noctes portrait of Hogg did him some harm; it may not be entirely accurate to say that he is ever represented simply as a boozing buffoon, but he certainly disposes of a pretty large quantity of toddy, and he is frequently in ridiculous situations. On the other hand, the Ettrick Shepherd of those delightful dialogues is more consistently poetical and witty in his conversation than the Shepherd of real life. His account of his adventures with that remarkable animal the Bonassus, or his dreams, or his experiences in a previous existence as the Terrible Tawney of Timbuctoo, even his literary and moral judgements, have the accent of Hogg, with a smaller proportion of valueless matter than Hogg's own prose writings (Batho 1969, 101-02)

To be fair, such an assessment was possible given the poor quality of the editions of Hogg's work then available (but not easy to understand, coming from the scholarly

Batho). At this period Hogg's texts were severely bowdlerised. The magnificent supernatural passages of Perils of Man were ommitted in the edited Siege of Roxburgh. The Confessions, in Victorian editions, was retitled the Confessions of a Fanatic. In 1927 T.E. Welby produced, for the first time since the original publication, an unexpurgated and sympathetic edition of the Confessions, and this was vitally important in allowing Hogg's work to be fully appreciated. But, it was not until 1947, when André Gide wrote the preface to a new edition of Hogg's Confessions, that Hogg would begin to be seriously re-evaluated as an national writer of international stature. Here, for the first time, a foreign writer was giving Hogg the credit he deserved and, as so often in Scotland, an outsider's opinion gave the writer a far higher status than credit from home could possibly have done. Gide, at long last, treated Hogg as a major writer, and furthermore, he offered a new interpretation of the Confessions, as a personal statement from Hogg, concealing his true intentions because of repressive contemporary markets:

> No doubt it was necessary that this book should try or feign to be edifying.... Otherwise it would not have been tolerated. But I doubt whether Hogg's personal point of view is that of true religion whether it is not rather that of reason and common sense and a natural Tom Jones-like expansiveness, which is that of the "justified" sinner's brother, whom the "justified" murders out of a jealous and brooding hatred, and, moreover, with the desire of getting hold of the elder brother's shares of their father's inheritance. All this he does with the inspired claim of committing not so much a murder as a pious deed. (Gide 1959, xii)

Gide's argument tends to corroborate the present writer's belief that Hogg's often dismissive attitude towards traditional culture was the product of a desire to mollify his contemporaries.

But despite Gide's provocative remarks, the romantic image lingered long. A Ph.D thesis like Abby Sutherland's, comparing Burns and Hogg, shows an appalling level of ignorance both of Hogg's work and, incidentally, of Scottish geography:

> Robert Burns and James Hogg, born within a few miles of each other, eleven years apart (1759 and 1770) were both Lowland Scots. The land of Bibles and whisky, the land of sentiment and thrift, the land of David Hume and Walter Scott, of Adam Smith and Thomas Carlyle, of William Wallace and Bonnie Prince Charlie, of John Knox and Mary Stuart, gave them its ways to roam, its heroes to cherish, its songs to sing. The varying modes and eager ambition, the thirst for romance, the whimsical changes of plans, the restless pioneering spirit, the sentimental and the practical, together with hard-headed independence and poetry, constitute the background of both poets as of many Scottish peasants. (Sutherland 1957, 4)

John Carey's Oxford edition of the Confessions in 1969 continued the process of re-evaluating Hogg: as his original texts became more accessible, so too Hogg was

increasingly respected. And in recent years, the literary mythologisation has received a sharp kick from an energetic group of writers who have striven to rehabilitate Hogg. The movement, led by the "Big Four" of the Hogg Society, Douglas Mack, Gillian Hughes, Elaine Petrie and Robin MacLachlan, along with Douglas Gifford and David Groves have caused Hogg to be drastically re-evaluated as a writer, and as an individual. Douglas Mack and Douglas Gifford have continued the service of publishing respectful editions of Hogg's prose, editing, respectively, the Brownie of Bodsbeck and Three Perils of Man. Mack's editions, in particular, are notable for their textual scrupulousness, and in addition to the Brownie, he has edited Hogg's Memoirs of the Author's Life and Familiar Anecdotes of Sir Walter Scott, Selected Poems and [Selected Stories]. David Groves's selection of Hogg's Songs made available a number of out of print texts and, under the auspices of the Hogg Society, the Three Perils of Woman is scheduled to reappear this year. To use Groves's classification, Hogg has now attained the status of "Everything": a major writer, appreciated at the international level.

In France Hogg has gained enough credibility to be studied as part of the Scottish studies programme in the BA year, and at the MA level at Grenoble University. In Germany, Hogg has been studied at the doctoral level and in Holland (where there is a branch of the Hogg society) J. E. Grübauer's James Hogg 1770-1835: een biographische schets (Arnhem: Antiquariaat Leida, 1987) will no doubt encourage a wider appreciation of the writer among Dutch-speakers. If the attendance at the Hogg Society Conferences can be taken as an indication of the burgeoning interest in Hogg as a writer, then it is clearly a hopeful sign that at the 1987 and 1989 Conferences at Bowhill there have been speakers and participants from Canada, America, France, the Netherlands, and Italy, as well as Scotland.

5.2. The oral tradition

Hogg has long been remembered in Ettrick oral tradition, and his image in this context has been influenced by the literary development of the "Ettrick Shepherd". It is impossible to establish the origin of the oral tales which surround Hogg. Some are clearly of literary provenance, others are found only in Ettrick. Some of the earliest oral tales about Hogg were recorded in the Border Magazine. The anecdotes which made it into print, influenced by Hogg's literary status as a second-rate Burns, tend to be the

anecdotes which involve other writers, especially Walter Scott. For instance, Sir Adam Fergusson, a friend of Scott's, used to tell the following dinner table tale:

> During one of my visits there [Abbotsford].... among other guests was Hogg, the Ettrick Shepherd. I heard a horrible noise in an adjoining room, and, after listening some moments to it, became alarmed, and said to my host: "What is that noise?" "Oh!" said he, "It's Hogg--just Hogg composing his verses. He always sings them as he writes them". ("Anecdotes of Sir Walter" 1897, 99)

This tale clearly reveals the influence of the literary "peasant poet" notion: Hogg is portrayed as a coarse, but natural, songster, retiring to compose when the inspiration descends on him. Such a portrayal is hardly surprising given Fergusson's literary background.

There were also those who remembered the Shepherd as a familiar figure in Ettrick. In his lifetime, he seems to have been well liked locally, seen more as a romantic "character" than the coarse literary buffoon. Hogg was portrayed in the early oral tradition as a bit of a charmer, and in the late nineteenth century his works were still being recited locally by those who remembered the man. For instance, Margaret Fletcher, as a girl, spoke to an elderly relative who had known Hogg:

> Mrs Fletcher herself had more than once seen the Ettrick Shepherd on a Fair Day in Selkirk with his collies at his heel, a lass on each arm, and a kindly joke for every one he met. The mention of Hogg was invariably the signal for long recitations from his poems. Mrs Fletcher had a keen appetite for poetry, and she would recite by the hour unweariedly the bits I best loved to hear. The "Queen's Wake" was much in favour, and over and over again I would listen delightedly to "Queen Mary's landing at Leith," to "Mary Scott, the Flower of Yarrow," or to "The Witch of Fife," that most blood-curdling of poems. "The Macgregor" more than any, I believe, appealed to my thirst for the supernatural; there was a ghostly horror about the closing verses which I felt to be particularly satisfying. (Fletcher 1902, 168)

This image of Hogg, and the practice of reciting his works, has persisted in modern Ettrick, and today Hogg is seen essentially as a lesser Burns, although as a man of Ettrick Forest he is closer to the hearts of the people. To those with the closest personal links with Hogg, like Tibbie Shaw (formerly of Tibbie Shiel's Inn), Hogg is "every bit as famous as Burns" (T89-5). Alex Cameron, who has written a book on Yarrow, still holds the traditional view of Hogg which he received while being brought up in Selkirk and Yarrow. It is a combination of the image Hogg himself tried to perpetuate, the "Jamie the Poeter" notion of the natural songster beloved by local lassies, as well as the boozy adventurer derived from the "Noctes" and from Burns's public image. Added to this is the local conviction that Hogg was religiously devout, and a basically good man:

> Hogg was a coorse man. Well, he was born in a very humble home, you know his background, you've studied it, you know it better than I do about it. He barely went to school in his entire life. Not uncommon at that time in history. The Bible and the Pilgrim's Progress would be the sum total of most people's reading. Mind you, anyone who's versed in the Bible is well read. Even George Bernard Shaw, I've heard it said he, that anyone who's versed in the Scriptures is well versed, you know. They understand words, meanings, and eh, can converse in a good language, albeit old time English, there's something very beautiful about it. (Cameron T90-6)

In the Ettrick tradition, Hogg is a bit of a lad, who appreciated a good drink, and the charms of an attractive woman. Documentary evidence is sometimes cited to back up this image: the Mitchells, for instance, possess a letter in which Hogg claims to have often faced the cutty stool ("Letter to Tibbie Shiel"). But in this context, given that Hogg modelled his self-image on Burns (as seen in chapter 1), the present writer would like to suggest that Hogg may have exaggerated his own promiscuity in an attempt to appear like Burns. Certainly the letters he wrote to women before his marriage suggest a certain gallantry, without any sexual innuendo. And after his marriage there is no evidence to suggest infidelity. But Hogg as a great lover has proved a persistent image. James Barrie mentions that he has many international visitors at Eldinhope: "We get a lot of people claiming to be descendants. All over, New Zealand, Australia, Canada, the States, em, some of them probably will be, but no all of them can be" (Barrie, T89-3).

Unlike Burns, the familiar "Rabbie" of oral tradition, Hogg is treated in Ettrick with a great deal of respect. He is always referred to as "James Hogg" or "Hogg", and while his personal failings (with women for instance) are freely acknowledged, the people of Yarrow know enough about farming to accord the Ettrick Shepherd a measure of sympathy. Hogg's agricultural skills are sometimes called into question: Mrs Shaw believes, "He was a romantic and I think why he never made good in farming--always failing--was that his thoughts were aye on verse and song" (personal communication). But the sheep-farming community is painfully aware of the potential problems in shepherding, and allow for the possibility that Hogg's poverty was related to circumstance rather than the negligence which the literary tradition suggests. With regard to Hogg's professional abilities, Walter Barrie comments:

> I think he'd be a good enough practical farmer, right enough. I mean, he would know the job. He was brought up to it. He was brought up among sheep all his days, and, as a young chap he worked among sheep, as a shepherd. His father was a shepherd, and that counts for a lot, you know. You pick up a lot from your father. (Barrie T89-4)

The Barries and the Mitchells have considered Hogg's Shepherd's Guide (of which Mr

Barrie possesses a copy) and drawn the conclusion that Hogg's knowledge of sheep diseases is as effective as his period would allow. And so in the oral tradition the literary innuendos that Hogg was a poor farmer have been, at least partially, rejected.

The people of Ettrick are very well informed about Hogg's activities, better so than most literary critics, and judging by the fact that there was a copy of the 1794 edition of the "Scots Magazine" preserved by James Mitchell's grandfather, the authorship of the "Mistakes of a Night" was known in Ettrick long before it was in common literary knowledge. Walter Barrie, living in Hogg's house, is well aware of the literary traditions, and agrees with the notion (recorded by R.P. Gillies and commented on in Chapter 1) that while Hogg was plagued with innumerable visitors, he was always a gentleman:

> A lot of folk would come tae see him. He says in, one o' his letters that when they drew the plan, they wanted a' the reek to come out o' one lum! So that folk wouldna ken if he was in or not, and they wouldnae come in! [BOTH LAUGH] Whether it would work or not, I don't know! But he was hospitable, I think. Pleased to see folk at ony time. (Barrie, T89-4)

The Yarrow orthodoxy shows clear input from the literary image: from Hogg's Memoirs, and from his writings, for instance the Confessions. And James Barrie has clearly considered Hogg's use of local traditions. As he told the present writer:

> His mother knew a lot of those, you know, the ballads, the Scots border ballads, I suppose, and eh, he maybe learnt a lot of them, and a lot of the folklore he'd get from Hogg's mother, and, according to her, spoiled them by writing them doon [BOTH LAUGH] the best were handed down from mouth to mouth I suppose.... He embroidered a lot of these stories. Used them in his, in his essays, and em, writings, the Brownie of Bodsbeck, and the Covenanters, and so forth, and, eh, bits and pieces in the Justified Sinner, I would think. About the, eh, body bein' dug up [VB. That's right] up, em, oh, where three laird's lands meet, by the [unintelligible] three cairns. Eh. Whether that was a folktale or not, I don't know. But, interesting just the same. (Barrie T89-4)

Of the literary anecdotes which have entered into the oral tradition, as would be expected, many have undergone variation along the way. For instance, Lockhart's story about the Abbotsford Hunt where Hogg broke his nose (quoted above) features several additional details in Cameron's version:

> The nice stories of course, were, Hogg was always down at Abbotsford, the Abbotsford Hunt, you know, it was a big deal. When, eh, prodigious eaters, oh dear, and drink. And you get that story of Hogg, when the night was finished, nobody knew quite when it was finished. And he was taking a stirrup cup before he jumped on his horse, out in the yard at Abbotsford, and he reckoned that he could loup over the horse, and get on to its back you see, and he met his face off a tree, an he broke his nose! [BOTH LAUGH] So they put him on his horse, and the horse took him to Altrive, eighteen miles away, up from Selkirk, right up Yarrow, Abbotsford to Selkirk, right the horse took him there.

> And his wife told the story, she says, "When he got in, he didnae know where he was, quite drunk I suppose, and he says, "put me to bed, and don't waken me till the next Abbotsford Hunt! [LAUGHS] They heard about that days afterwards. (Cameron T90-6)

By giving Hogg a homing horse, and a humorous remark, Cameron turns an insulting story into a lively portrayal of a raucous Shepherd. The changes are the the product of the skilful raconteur's desire to embroider.

Similarly, Cameron changes the emphasis of several tales, including the following, from Hogg's Memoirs. Hogg tells the story of a visit Scott paid to his family:

> Mrs Hogg was a favourite of his.... As for her poor woman she perfectly adored him. There was one day when he was dining with us at Mount Benger on going away he snatched up my little daughter Margaret Laidlaw and kissed her and then laying his hand on her head said "God Almighty bless you my dear child!" on which my wife burst into tears. On my coming back from seeing him into the carriage that stood at the base of the hill I said "What ailed you Margaret."
> "O" said she "I thought if he had but just done the same to them all I do not know what in the world I would not have given!" (Hogg 1972a, 113-14)

Alex Cameron also tells a version of this tale, with the same message, but a reversal of roles:

> And Wattie Scott came visiting him, and Hogg had 2 children at the time, and Scott had laid his hands on one of them, and gave him his blessing, when Hogg wasn't present, but his wife was. And when she told him, he says "Why did you not get him to do it to the other boy?" you see, it was so important to him that Scott should do that . (Cameron, T90-7)

As Cameron is a highly literate man, his version, with Hogg's assumption of the petitioner's role is, I would argue, symptomatic of a desire to put Hogg in the literary "Shepherd's" role: simple-hearted and as devoted to Scott as he is in the "Noctes". Just as the Mitchells and the Barries are familiar with both the literary and the oral Hogg, so Alex Cameron's anecdote is symptomatic of the blending of these two traditions. Literary traditions are accepted as authorative in the same way that oral traditions are. This attitude, in the wake of wide-spread literacy, indicates a drastic change in outlook from the traditional loyalty to oral over written texts, indicated by Hogg in his writings on oral history.

Another group of anecdotes focusses on Tibbie Shiel's perceptions of Hogg. Some of these may be wholly literary. For instance, Thomas Tod Stoddart recalled Tibbie as saying she had been courted by Hogg: "Yon Hogg, the Shepherd, ye ken, he was an awfu' fine man. He should hae ta'en me, for he cam coortin' for years, but he just gaed away and took another" (Stoddart 1889, 42, qtd. in Robson 1986, 9). This is unknown to

the Mitchells (descended from Tibbie) or to the Barries, or to Tibbie Shaw (whose family worked and lived in the Inn from Tibbie's time on). Although it is possible that the anecdote has been forgotten, it is also possible that it was Stoddart's invention.

However Tibbie's oft quoted remark "Aye, Hogg was a gey sensible man, for all the nonsense he wrat" is well known locally, as is an anecdote about Hogg being drunk, and asking Tibbie the next day to "bring in the Loch" for him to drink. Other traditions survive only orally: Mrs Shaw has an interesting story about how Tibbie had a specially designed settle/bed: when Hogg was paralytically drunk she could open a gate at the back of the settle, and tip the poet into a box bed behind--the gate can be clearly seen in the photograph (plate 2). As a poet herself, Mrs Shaw has put many of these local traditions into verse; and she sums up the Tibbie Shiel "loch" story in "James Hogg--The Ettrick Shepherd Poet", composed for, and read at, the 1985 Hogg supper:

He drank and sang wi' guests--
    Ignoring time and tide--
But the Hoor approached at
    Dead o' nicht--
When surely James must ride--
    As "Tibbie" smoked her cutty pipe
An' belched o'ot clouds o' smoke
    An gein the fire a poke--
Re-charged each glass an tankard'
    Gein the fiddler ane mair jar
Till his arm went like a piston
    On "McGinty's" motor car--
But come the hoor when James
    Must ride--he reeled around a bit
An Tibbie in her wisdom thought
    He was'na just quite fit--
So she tipped him in the box bed
    And slid the shutters ticht
Nay wey would Tibbie let him ride
    That horse back hame that nicht
The morning brought its problems--
    Tho' he'd nane the nicht before
His heid throbbed like a threshing mill
    His mouth was dry and sore--
His tongue like emery paper--
    --Croaked "Tibbie wummin"
Step ootside, an bring me the Loch!
(Personal Communication)

Mrs Shaw recalls several unrecorded humorous tales her grandfather told of Hogg. One time, for example, Hogg went out onto the hills in a particularly foggy day: it was so dense that he filled his pipe with fog (field notes). Such a tale could obviously be applied

to anyone, but it is significant that local anecdotes have tended to accrue around Hogg. Attributing an action to Hogg, as in this tale illustrating Yarrow weather, adds a wealth of rich associations: the image of Hogg on the hillside makes the tale inherently more interesting, and is symptomatic of the high level of local enthusiasm and friendly respect for Hogg. Furthermore, it places him firmly in his Ettrick setting, allowing the local people to identify with the Shepherd.

As another instance of the oral tradition, the Barries told me how Hogg and his family very nearly went to Canada, after the Immigration Agent tried to attract people to emigrate in 1829. Barries crossed over to Canada at that date (Barrie T90-5). Again, Hogg is talked about in terms of his local background: because of his links with the ancestors of the living, in the Forest he is almost like a venerated member of the family. And Alex Cameron recalls what is probably the residue of nineteenth century gossip: about Hogg's relationship with his patroness, the Duchess of Buccleuch, "People read things. He had his patron, the Duchess of Buccleuch [COUGHS]. People would read into that relationship things. I don't think there was any. These ladies had these relationships. They were patrons for the poets. They liked to be" (Cameron, T90-7).

Hogg's traditional image is epitomised in material culture, as well as narratives. There are many well-preserved local relics of Hogg. His sportsmanship is recalled by his curling-stone, already mentioned, in Tibbie Shaw's possession. His plaid, in the Bowhill museum, stands witness to his very real working relationship with the Forest. Hogg's watch, in the possession of the Mitchells, was given to their ancestress Tibbie Shiel, and testifies to the personal care she gave to the poet during his last illness. As evidence of Hogg and Tibbie's friendship, this gives the Mitchells a personal bond with the poet. Manuscripts such as the Crookwelcome Book, the Selkirkshire Agricultural Society Books and Hogg's letter to Tibbie Shiels are treasured heirlooms which serve to foster a sense of local pride, of a shared heritage in material links with James Hogg. This sense of a shared heritage, backed up by oral and literary tradition means that Hogg is held in very high estimation in modern Ettrick, as a great literary figure, and a man with whom the people of Ettrick have a personal connexion.

As Hogg, in the last decade, has been rehabilitated at the literary level, so local pride in Hogg has grown. The Hogg Society has consistently striven to attract a local membership, and the Barries are among those who have attended past Conferences. The

Mitchells were extremely active in promoting the 1985 Hogg Supper, as will be seen below. The high cultural and traditional images, through the Hogg Society and the republication of Hogg's works, may become closer in years to come. But in any case, given this local element, intermingled with literary enthusiasm, it is likely that Hogg will continue to enjoy admiration, and respect, in the oral tradition.

5.3. The cult

In addition to the literary and oral folklore surrounding Hogg, there is a popular image drawing on, and perpetuating, Hogg's literary and oral images. Much of the paraphenalia, and many of the customs which have been associated with this (admittedly intermittent) cult are modelled on that of the Burns' cult.

A number of "Hogg Suppers" have been held in the past, modelled on the calendar customs surrounding Burns. One of the earliest versions of these occasions was the Burns Supper held in Edinburgh on 23rd February 1819. The speeches drew explicit parallels between the two "peasant poets" and Wilson's toast to "Rabbie" depicted Hogg, the guest of honour, as successor to Burns. The choice of imagery was a popular one:

> His theme was indeed the very best that the occasion could have thrown in his way; for what homage could be so appropriate, or so grateful to the Manes of Burns, as that which sought to attain its object by welcoming and honouring the only worthy successor of his genius... The high and lofty connection which exists between the dead and the living peasant--both sprung from the very bosom of the people; both identifying themselves in all things with the spirit of their station, and endeavouring to ennoble themselves only by elevating it. (Lockhart 1977, 39-40)

And the comparison of Hogg to Burns, reinforced by the custom of a celebratory dinner, would give rise to a number of parallel occasions in the future.

The 1832 visit of Hogg to London further perpetuated the notion of Hogg as Burns's successor (an attribute which certainly must have pleased the Shepherd, given his avowed intention, in the Memoirs, to better Burns). Hogg was highly appreciated in the London literary circles, as was seen in chapter 1. The image he achieved was produced by a mixture of the "Noctes" viewpoint, and the realisation that Hogg in person transcended his stereotype. S.C. Hall, the writer and magazine editor recalled the visit, fifty years later:

> It is scarcely too much to say that the sensation he produced in literary circles might have been created by the temporary presence of Ben Nevis on Blackheath. A striking sight it was to see the Shepherd fêted in aristocratic salons, mingled with the learned and polite of all grades--clumsily but not rudely. He was rustic without being coarse;

> not attempting to ape the refinement to which he was unused; but seemed perfectly aware that all eyes were upon him, and accepting admiration as a right. (Hall, qtd. in Garden 1885, 204)

Hogg was credited in England with a higher ranking genius than the "kent his faither" school in Scotland would ever allow.

During Hogg's visit a public dinner was held which two hundred eminent people attended, including peers, MPs, scientists and men of letters. The occasion, to make the comparison with Burns explicit, was held on the 25th of January. Two of Burns's sons were present, and Hogg himself brewed punch in Burns's punch bowl. It was a memorable occasion, enlivened with an unexpected touch of humour:

> At the dinner in the Freemason's Tavern, on January 25th, 1832, given nominally to commemorate the birth-day of Robert Burns, but really to receive the Shepherd, many men of note were present; the Scottish element naturally predominating. When the usual toasts had been given, the toast of the evening was announced, or rather should have been. But the toast-master had no idea that the guest thus honoured was originally a simple shepherd, and consequently conceived that he was satisfactorily fulfilling his duty when he called on the assembled company for 'A bumper toast to the health of Mister Shepherd.' A roar of laughter throughout the hall was the result, and the hero of the evening joined in as heartily as the rest. (Hall, qtd. in Garden 1885, 205)

Therefore, the repeated identification of Hogg with Burns was starting to take a concrete shape. The Burnsian dinners became a natural way, in the popular imagination, to celebrate Hogg.

In August 1834, at the Tontine Hotel in Peebles, the Burns/ Hogg celebration developed one step further. A public dinner was then held exclusively in Hogg's honour. At this well-attended banquet Hogg, whose health was now in decline, made an eloquent speech, containing the ultimate comparison with Burns. Just in case the analogy had been lost (given the fact that the dinner was not on Burns's anniversary) Hogg took care to mention that he shared Burns's birthday. Furthermore, given that Hogg was Burns's natural successor, he voiced his desire to have had a son born on the 25th January, who would undoubtedly be the best poet of the three!

The habit, drawn from the Burns customs, of celebrating Hogg's genius with a meal was continued on the 100th anniversary of Hogg's birth with a public dinner at Yarrow, on December 8th 1871. And, more recently, it was revived by the Mitchells when they organised a Supper to celebrate the 150th anniversary of Hogg's death in 1985. It was held in Tibbie Shiel's, and filmed by Border TV, with Mrs. Shaw as the guest of honour. The occasion, as an attempt to celebrate Hogg's genius, in local style, replaced the

traditional Burns Supper menu of haggis, neeps and chappit tatties with an Ettrick variation:

> D.M. On the anniversary of his death. We decided.
> J.M. I don't know whether it's the right thing to do to celebrate anybody's death! [ALL LAUGH]
> D.M. Well, I know, it's to celebrate his life and writings. And it was on the anniversary.
> J.M. Awh!
> D.M. Of his death. No, it was on the 150th anniversary of his death. That's what it is.
> J.M. Oh.
> D.M. And we tried to have a, a, what he sort of might have eaten! Mutton and greens, it's quite a favourite sort of thing. And clootie dumpling, clootie dumpling. And this fellow from Lockerbie, he did a very good, very good, it was a very down to earth sort of one, it wasn't a scholarly [ALL LAUGH] one, we didn't go into what he had written and it, it was excellent, it was.
> J.M. And the lad from Dumfries played the violin.... When, ah, when we welcomed the folk to the supper, ah said that, uh, if anybody ga'ing oot o' this establishment tonight [PAUSE: 2 secs] doesnae see the fairies floatin' round his pedestal, [ALL LAUGH], they hadnae enjoyed themselves [ALL LAUGH]--ah think quite a few of them saw them! [ALL LAUGH]. (Mitchells, T89-1)

While the Mitchells had hoped that this might become a regular event, in view of the amount of work it took to organise (artists who performed at the event contributed their services gratis), they have not repeated the experience publicly. But a glass is still raised in Hogg's memory in Yarrow, especially on Burns Night.

Again Hogg is personally toasted, on occasion, with whisky and food. The Conference dinners of the James Hogg Society should be mentioned in this context. Although, of course, such affairs are standard conference practice, the Society has taken care to make them something more significant: dedicated to Hogg. The food is accompanied by performances of Hogg's compositions, especially his songs, and the dinners are held in the resonant (for Hogg fans) setting of the Gordon Arms, accompanied by celebratory speeches. Moreover, at the last Conference in 1989, the Secretary of the Burns Federation made a lunchtime toast at Bowhill, to standard Burnsian fare and in standard Burnsian fashion, including the dedication "To a Haggis" given in The Shepherd's name.

Every cult must have its graven images, and the image of Hogg in the visual arts reinforces the literary and oral nuances. It would obviously be a mistake to attribute too great a significance to portraits which are familiar primarily to an educated elite. But as some of the portraits have been reproduced relatively frequently, it can be argued that as well as expressing the Shepherd stereotype, they have to some extent reinforced the image.

Hogg in art is a highly stylised figure. He is invariably dressed in the clothes of his profession; and the artists contemporary with Hogg followed current romantic practices in depicting the writer with the high forehead of genius, and the faraway look of someone who has been touched by the Muse. Of his several portraits, probably the most flattering to Hogg is the A. Croquis portrait; D. Maclise's drawing based on this has been reproduced several times (see NLS MS 5319). Hogg is represented full length, a tall man (as is evidenced by his extant green Borders Bowmen uniform, owned by the town of Selkirk) with his hand on his hip. He looks about fifty years old, and has the mane of hair and high, poetic forehead with which Lockhart and Wilson credited him. As a Shepherd should, Hogg wears the plaid, but underneath this he has an elegant suit and cravate. He carries a Shepherd's staff and hat, and is given a determined, but friendly expression. It is not surprising that this relatively assertive portrait of Hogg should be one that is favoured in the Forest, and it was featured on the cover of the popular edition, A Selection of Poems by James Hogg The Ettrick Shepherd produced by James Dunlop of the Glen Cafe (Hogg 1985a).

Sir John Watson Gordon painted Hogg for Blackwood: in this portrait the inevitable crook and plaid are featured, as is the mane of hair and the towering forehead. The hair is somewhat wilder than in the Croquis portrait, and Hogg's expression a touch more docile. The face is plumper, and the suit more countrified: altogether what one might expect for the publisher of the "Noctes". This portrait, again, has been reproduced several times: in the collected edition of the "Noctes", for example (Wilson 1864).

The William Nicholson portrait, now in the National Portrait Gallery of Scotland, is probably the best-known image of Hogg, and the most stereotyped. The portrait is half-length, and Hogg, as usual, is dressed in the plaid, with a serviceable country suit beneath it. He has a romantic expression on his face, with downturned eyebrows, wistful eyes and a suspiciously shiny nose. His forehead is a poetic tower, his hair a shaggy mane, his lips are rosy, and he has a firm chin and sideburns. This has been used as the frontispiece for several works on Hogg, including Nelson Smith's James Hogg (1980). Nicholson's portrait shows strong parallels with the best-known paintings of Burns, particularly the Naismith portrait. Hogg's hairstyle, for instance, draws on Burns's side-parted look, albeit more unruly. His long face, and mournful brows are clearly drawn from the archetypical peasant poet's. The image of Scott in art, as a fellow Borderer, also

influenced the artistic representations of Hogg. The Wilkie portrait of Scott with his little dog bears clear resemblance to the romantic portrait, now in Selkirk Town Hall, of Hogg, with a collie dog at his heels. This is probably the picture Hogg sat for in Edinburgh in February 1815. On that occasion he wrote in despair to Laidlaw, to bring up Hogg's dog Lion as soon as possible, or he would be forced to model with a butcher's dog (qtd. in Garden 1885, 185). The literary parallels drawn in the "Ettrick Shepherd" image, then, are pursued in the visual arts.

Hogg himself exploited the artistic possibilities of his image by having a seal designed featuring a romantic harp. And recently Hogg's visual image has been given the popular treatment. The Hogg society has produced tea towels, on sale at the Glen Cafe at the head of St. Mary's Loch, as well as through the Society. This Hoggarabilia features the Society logo: a wild-haired Shepherd, complete wi h plaid. It will be interesting, in this respect, to see what merchandise, if any, is offered at the Steels' proposed museum at Oakwood Tower.[37]

In Ettrick there are a number of monuments to the Shepherd. Hogg's gravestone in Ettrick Churchyard is a relatively simple affair. His harp is represented in a panel at the top, the stone itself is square-cut, engraved with the words, "Here lie the mortal remains of James Hogg, The Ettrick Shepherd, who was born at Ettrick Hall in the year 1770 and died at Altrive Lake the 21st. day of Novr. 1835". Here too Margaret Phillips, Hogg's wife, is commemorated, although she is buried in Warriston Cemetery, Edinburgh. Nearby, showing Hogg's identification with his traditional background, is the stone he erected in memory of his grandfather, "William Laidlaw. The Far famed WILL o' PHAUP. Who for his feats of frolic, agility & strength Had no equal in his day".

More elaborate is the monument to Hogg in Yarrow, presented to the public on 28 June 1860, and overlooking St Mary's Loch (see plate 8). At the inauguration ceremony, a significant day locally, two of Hogg's children were present, and Sherriff Bell gave the address. Alex Currie of Darnick was the sculptor, and the stone was provided by the Duke of Buccleuch, from his White Quarry at Thirlestane. An estimated two thousand attended, and the following is an eye-witness report:

> On the day of its inauguration Yarrow road was so crowded with vehicles and foot passengers that it was likened to Epsom Road on Derby Day. During the preliminary proceedings, peels of thunder reverberated along the hills; but shortly after the withdrawal of the curtain had revealed the monument, the dark clouds also opened to let the sun shine full upon the Shepherd's face, the happy coincidence evoking great

> enthusiasm. Hogg is represented sitting on a grassy knowe, shepherd's staff in hand, plaid over one shoulder, and holding in his left hand a scroll with the words--"He taught the wandering winds to sing." Verses from the Queen's Wake are cut on either side the pedestal, the front panel of which bears the simple inscription--"James Hogg, the Ettrick Shepherd; born 1770, died 1835". (Craig-Brown 1886, I: 349)

The Rev James Russell led the prayers, and Tibbie Shiel apparently exclaimed that it was a "clay cauld likeness". The party sojourned to a marquee outside Tibbie Shiel's for dinner (Robson 1986). This statue, in the heart of Yarrow, still attracts a number of summer visitors, functioning almost as a shrine for the great poet.

Another Memorial to the Shepherd was erected on 28th July 1898. People came from the valley as well as from Selkirk, Gala, Hawick, and elsewhere, including many sent by the Edinburgh Border Counties Association. This monument is at Ettrickhall, where previously there was only a stone set in the wall, marked "J.H." to indicate the site of Hogg's birth. It is a 20ft high obelisk, featuring a bronze medallion of the poet by Mr. Hubert Paton, made in red C[illegible]ill freeston. Mr R. Stenhouse of Hawick ornamented it and a Mr Hector, an architect, prepared the design. The inscription reads, "Erected on the site of the cottage in which James Hogg the Ettrick Shepherd was born 1770. Died 1835. The Edinburgh Border Counties Association". The monument was festooned with flags and bunting for the occasion of its inauguration, and a ceremony was performed by the Rev G. Mackenzie, of Ettrick, including the singing of the appropriate 100th psalm. Lord Napier and Ettrick presided, sitting in one of Hogg's chairs, lent for the occasion by Mr Thomas Amos of Yarrow, whose mother had been a servant of the Hoggs. Napier gave the address, referring to the example Hogg set--a "pattern" for others--and pointing out his uniqueness in comparison with Burns who had culture, and Ramsay who came from a family of gentle folk. Continuing in this vein, Napier emphasised that Hogg's intellectual and religious instruction was the minimum--at 25 he had not heard of Burns. Napier had personal memories of Hogg which, unfortunately, he chose not to expand on, but finished with an inspiring sentiment:

> I have often observed that the song is remembered and the poet is forgotten. That is the best service that you can render to your Shepherd. Give him the human heart as a living shrine. I believe that if you could now raise him for a moment from rest, he would tell you that he would rather survive in the memory and in the voice of an Ettrick girl, than to attach his name to an obelisk of bronze. ("The Ettrick Shepherd's Memorial" 1898, 169)

Other speeches included a spiel by R. Borland, the local antiquarian, who followed Napier's lead by stressing Hogg's upbringing, and the influence of local legend and

landscape on Hogg the writer. The ceremony thus invested the Memorial with a wealth of literary allusions, and a directive to the local people, and visiting enthusiasts, to remember Hogg.

The presence of the Shepherd's monuments in Yarrow, like the statues in Selkirk of Walter Scott and Mungo Park the African explorer, are visible symbols of community pride, and no doubt contribute to the sense of local identity as well as commemorating these individuals. Sadly, the Hogg monuments have been frequently vandalised. At the 1883 meeting of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club, James Hardy's "Report of Meetings" commented that:

> The members felt indignant at the profanation Mr Currie's work was undergoing from the thoughtless public and covetous visitors. They have commenced cutting their names, and scribbling their ribaldry on the pedestal, and have even knocked off and appropriated one of the horns of one of the ornamental ram's heads (of the Leicester breed by the bye), that terminate each upper corner. Several subsequently subscribed to the fund for erecting an iron-railing to preserve the statue from further profanation. (Hardy 1883, 275)

Yet despite such apparent signs of disrespect, the monuments are still highly regarded. The resurgent interest around the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Hogg led to a subscription list being taken to improve the monument, and both memorials have been restored several times since.

Hogg has remained a well-known and much-loved figure in Ettrick Forest, consistently referred to in local celebrations, for instance, the Blanket Preaching. This religious service is believed to commemorate the open air conventicles held by the Covenanters and is held annually in St. Mary's Churchyard in Yarrow. One hundred and fifty years after Hogg's birth, the Preaching held on 28th July 1935 focussed on Yarrow, and its literary figures:

> The whole group is of course overshadowed by the beloved figure and towering genius of Sir Walter Scott. But second to Sir Walter, if indeed second to him in local biographical interest, must be placed without doubt the homely, plaided form of James Hogg. Yarrow would not be the Yarrow that we know, nor Ettrick the Ettrick, were we to eliminate from their story all that has been contributed to their attractiveness by the imagination, the poetry, the songs, the tales, and, not least, the individuality, character and idiosyncracies of the Ettrick Shepherd.: and a Natural Poet, despite his too facile pen, his excess of production, his inability to exercise self-criticism, the inequality of merits which his works display.... And to have given birth to a National Poet, to one who in the Scottish tongue has found expression for the patriotic, social, domestic sentiments of the Scottish heart, to one whose songs are still sung with enthusiasm and delight wherever Scotsmen gather--that is no trifling distinction, and that vaunt the Ettrick Forest can make. (K. n.d., 58-59)

The press have also contributed to the formation of the Hogg cult. Hogg's popular image, as might be expected, draws largely on his literary image. Typical of the treatment Hogg has received in the local media is the article which appeared in the Kelso Chronicle "Poet's Album" series, in 1931. The Shepherd is portrayed as "the bard of the fairies", and "the Wordsworth of Scotland", with a fixed birthdate (based on the date Hogg was baptised): December 9 1770. His profession and mere six months of schooling, as usual, are dwelt on:

> He was bred from a shepherd ancestry, but the muse, impartial in the selection of gifted ones, has spread her choicest wreaths over a wide diversity of occupations. Virgil was a courtier, Ramsay a barber, Burns a ploughman, Tannahill a weaver, Akenside a doctor, Broomfield a cobbler, Clay a labourer, and Macfarlane a packman. So it was nothing strange for the mantle of poetry to fall on the shoulders of a shepherd lad. (Purdie 1931, 7)

The Shepherd's claim to descent from the Haugs of Norway is accepted uncritically, and his Laidlaw ancestors mentioned. Hogg, says Purdie, was a carefree and resilient man: "Hope that springs eternal in the human breast was a strong ingredient in the Shepherd's nature, the next venture would counterbalance the calamities of the past. In his case it never did, but who could wish that a poet should leave a fortune? Genius is more than an equivalent for worldly possessions" (Purdie 1931, 7). The inevitable comparison with Burns is made, and a romantic (and locally patriotic) conclusion is drawn:

> Great as the two poets were, they have little in common, and they stand wide apart on different pedestals. Burns' poems were short and pictured the joys and sorrows of every day life in the sweetest of doric, the native tongue of Caledonia. Hogg on the other hand wandered in the realms of imagination with long spun stories evolved in his fertile brain, and he imitated more the English style of composition...in his own domain in Scottish poetry, with the exception of Burns, he occupies the highest position. Dunbar, Ferguson, Scott and Ramsay can give no points to the Ettrick Shepherd. He stands on a lofty principle of his native heath surveying the Border landscape with the vivacious eye of a true poetic king. (Purdie 1931, 8)

And at the time of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Hogg's birth, in 1935, there was a flurry of interest in the newspapers. The Scotsman carried the following analysis of Hogg:

> there was something in Hogg, amidst much dross, that was the genuine gold. You see it in that stirring song "Cam' Ye by Athol" that we still sing, or in the winning "Come owre the Stream, Charlie, and Dine wi' Maclean".... He was not one of the first masters of song, whose taste never errs. But he could bring it off now and then: even surprisingly enough when you come to think of it, in the English. You'll know Kilmeny, "the pearl of them all". (Keith 1935, 8)

Hogg was "no Shelley", the piece continues, but his world was "the Ballad World". This romantic depiction of Hogg was typical of the contemporary press viewpoint.

Hogg has, more recently, been profiled on TV and radio, as the result of the modern revival. In Spring 1988 Tom Weir filmed interviews with James Mitchell and Walter Barrie, which were shown on his BBC Scotland series, "Weir's Way". "McGregor's Gathering" has also devoted a programme to Hogg; Border TV and radio have both featured programmes on the Shepherd, and so has Radio Bristol. While these shows have done little beyond show the magnificent Borders' scenery on TV, and detail the events of Hogg's life, they have contributed in no small way to reviving Hogg's name, and enhancing the sense of local pride in the Shepherd.

A similar effect has been produced, at least at the local level, by the recent live performances of Hogg material. The one man show "The Shepherd Justified", based on Hogg's letters and Memoirs and written by Frederic Mohr, has been performed by Donald Douglas (who, incidentally, based Hogg's voice on Walter Elliot's) both locally at Bowhill in 1985, and in Edinburgh at the Traverse Theatre. There has also been a stage adaptation of "The Confessions of a Justified Sinner", performed at the Edinburgh Lyceum Theatre in 1984. And at Eldinhope in 1985 there was a reading of the letters which passed between Hogg and his wife Margaret. Hogg's own dramatic work has also been revived, "All Hallow's Eve" being performed at the 1985 Border Festival of Ballads and Legends, for instance.

Hogg's life and work were given especial prominence during the October 1988 Borders Festival, co ordinated by the indefatigable Judy Steel. "The Ettrick Shepherd's Festival" opened with a concert in Yarrow Kirk. The music performed was largely of Hogg's period, rather than his own work: Neil and Nathaniel Gow were both featured composers, as were Alexander Givan of Kelso, Anton Reicha, Mozart, Beethoven, Simon Fraser and William Marshall. Only three compositions were by Hogg out of twenty seven items (including one which was traditional): "When the Kye comes hame", "Auld Jo Nicholson's Bonnie Nannie" and "My love she's but a lassie yet". At another event, at Traquair House, Archie Fisher gave a concert exclusively of Jacobite songs, most culled from the Relics. The concert of "Songs of the Borderland", moreover, featured Beethoven's settings of Hogg songs, and again during the Festival, Leonard Friedman played Hogg's violin, including some pieces from the Relics. Dramatic performances at the festival included versions of Hogg's works "The Witches of Traquair", "Katie Cheyne", "Kilmeny" and "The Justified Sinner". Michael Robson lectured on Hogg and

Ettrick, and the "at home" Candlelit Readings of 1985 were repeated. Such a concentration of events, focussing on Hogg, clearly promotes his image as a major, and prolific, writer. The effect is felt at all levels: local, literary, and the popular "cult", and will no doubt have repercussions on Hogg's future image. Hogg, then, is finally transcending his image as "The Ettrick Shepherd" and he is beginning to be appreciated as a great writer deserving of celebration.

Notes

[35]Wilson was born in 1785, the son of a wealthy Paisley gauze manufacturer, and a mother of gentle birth. He was educated at Oxford, and called to the bar in 1815, but he found a literary career more to his tastes, composing poetical works like The Isle of Palms (1812), and making numerous contributions to Maga under his pseudonym, Christopher North. Wilson was appointed Professor of Moral Philosophy at Edinburgh University in 1820.

[36]The incident with the Bonassus, "The Flight to Moffat", is a parody of a humorous episode in Hogg's tale "The Marvellous Doctor" in which the protagonist is also chased by a bull (Hogg 1827f).

[37]The Hon. David and Judy Steel have recently purchased Oakwood Tower from the Duke of Buccleuch, with the intention of renovating it as a dwelling house and museum. At least part of the museum will be devoted to Hogg.

Conclusions

James Hogg's contribution to the traditional culture of the Scottish Borders is multifaceted and complex. Raised in Ettrick among a family of tradition-bearers, Hogg drew on traditional culture as a deep thematic source, moulding oral narrative forms to literary ends. In his early literary career, as "Jamie the Poeter", Hogg composed verses in a variety of traditional styles, achieving some satisfaction through the resounding success of "Donald MacDonald", although this popular song was not then known to be his composition. A turning point in his literary career came with his involvement with Scott's Border Minstrelsy and it has been argued here that Hogg presented texts, such as "Old Maitland" and "Otterburn", with a high degree of accuracy. Scott, on the other hand, altered the spelling, punctuation, and emphasis of Hogg's texts, and Scott's treatment of Hogg's texts is reproduced in Appendix C.

The Shepherd's early acquaintance with the antiquarian standards of the Minstrelsy provided him with a model for his own presentation of traditional culture. Raised in the isolated Ettrick Forest, and living in a period when traditional culture was in transition, Hogg realised the importance of preserving local folklore. "The Ettrick Shepherd" became a recognised authority on rural affairs, and his work provides a wealth of ethnographic information on folk life in late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Scotland. His essays in the Quarterly Journal of Agriculture provide a profile of contemporary working life in Ettrick, and his Shepherd's Guide is a fascinating compendium of current veterinary practices. Hogg provides as much detailed information on Ettrick social life as he did about working life. He was personally involved in at least two Ettrick agricultural societies, as well as actively promoting Borders' sporting events, such as the St. Ronan's Games. His descriptions are both comprehensive and entertaining: often adopting the stance of an impartial observer so as to avoid giving his personal position, the Shepherd recreates Ettrick customs and beliefs from birth, to courtship, to marriage, to death. Hogg is fascinated by the psychological implications of traditional customs and beliefs, detailing for instance the trauma and subsequent death of the shepherd Gemel in "All Hallows Eve" after a divination ritual goes terribly wrong.

Furthermore, Hogg is adept at capturing local attitudes towards changes in contemporary society. For instance, Daniel Bell in Perils of Woman disapproves of

current trends in song, dance and language. Bell seeks to have his daughter educated in traditional performance styles, though paradoxically he chooses to do so in Edinburgh. Bell disapproves of the current move in refined society towards speaking English, and Hogg makes a strong case for the primacy of Scots (especially Ettrick Scots). But the conflict between the desire to "get on" and a nostalgia for traditional expressive culture is representative of the Ettrick Shepherd's personal dilemma: on one hand seeking personal progression and economic success, on the other realising the virtues of his traditional upbringing in Ettrick.

In general, the Shepherd maintains a dualistic attitude towards traditional culture: on the one hand he exhibits some loyalty to the culture he was raised with, on the other he is committed to agricultural progress. In conforming to nineteenth century antiquarian attitudes, Hogg found it was acceptable to express nostalgia for selected aspects of traditional culture (song and athletic contests in particular), but unacceptable to condone other elements of this culture ("backward" agricultural practices and supernaturalism). With respect to traditional oral history, though, Hogg is uncompromisingly faithful to Ettrick accounts. He exhibits a sincere faith in traditional accounts of the past, recording Ettrick versions of a range of nationally significant events, especially those which relate to the Covenanting period. Hogg reveals a distinctively oral attitude to local history: he perceives events as they relate to local life and ranks them accordingly, rather than following the diachronic literary approach. He develops this perceptual stance into an exciting narrative device, equivalent to flashback, in, for instance, The Brownie of Bodsbeck. In this work, as elsewhere, Hogg combines supernatural legends and beliefs, proverbs and anecdotes adding verisimilitude to the work and simulating oral traditions in a reflective literary style. The Shepherd shows consummate artistry in moulding oral cultural ideas to modern literary aesthetics, presenting Ettrick traditions in a fashion which appeals to a literary audience.

Hogg also provides a huge amount of information with respect to the rich musical heritage of the Borders, especially the lyric and ballad traditions. "On the Changes in the Habits, Amusements, and Conditions of the Scottish Peasantry" describes current changes in musical culture. Hogg's collection of Jacobite Relics was a seminal work on the history of Scottish political song. Utilising Highland and Lowland material (which suggested cultural contacts between Ettrick and the North of Scotland) and modelling his

collection techniques on Scott's and his presentation techniques on Joseph Ritson's, Hogg provides a comprehensive record of the Jacobite song (and a small collection of their Whig counterparts).

While doubts may be expressed regarding the absolute authenticity of all the items of the Jacobite Relics, and while the inclusion of composite texts offends rigorous modern standards, Hogg's collecting must be seen in the contemporary context. The Shepherd was no worse than his peers with respect to his tampering with texts. By including texts by contemporary writers--Allan Cunningham for instance--and from printed collections, with evaluative comments about the popularity of the material, he gives a clear picture of the state of Jacobite song in his lifetime. Moreover, Hogg performed an invaluable service, with the aid of William Stenhouse, in transcribing the music for most of these Jacobite songs. The Relics was produced while the Jacobite cult was undergoing major changes, its imagery becoming more socially acceptable and more romanticised. As well as documenting these changes, the Relics played a vital role in establishing a Jacobite song canon, being the first major collection of this genre.

Hogg's mastery of the musical idioms of the Scotland meant many of his songs entered into the oral tradition. "Donald MacDonald", already mentioned, was immensely popular. And some of Hogg's compositions have survived in oral circulation. "O Shepherd the Weather is Misty and Changing" was collected in the North East of Scotland in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, with the localised title, "Jeannie o' Planteenie"; "Birniebouzle" has been revived and recorded in the 20th century, notably by Jean Redpath. Variations and alterations have occurred in these texts, as might be expected, including some "retraditionalisation" in language and imagery from the literary elements in Hogg's original. In Selkirkshire there are still those who can recite Hogg's work, for instance, "The Skylark", often through having learned Borders' poetry in the formal context of the local school. Hogg s work has also survived as artsong, from his own period set by composers including Beethoven, and recently by the Scottish composer Ronald Stevenson. At a popular level, The Ettrick Shepherd recording by The McCalmans has brought Hogg further attention, as has the revival of his musical and dramatic work at recent Borders Festivals.

In his own lifetime, as has been demonstrated, the compelling romantic myth of Hogg as inspired ignoramus damaged his credibility as a serious writer, and affected his

artistic evolution. Following precedents such as Burns as "plooman poet" and parallels like Southey's "peasant poets" Hogg was presented by his contemporaries, especially in John Wilson's "Noctes Ambrosianae" as a coarse and ignorant, if divinely inspired, peasant. The iconography of Hogg, "The Shepherd", reinforced this image. Overall, Hogg stood in a liminal position in contemporary society: after his early failures as a farmer he was not accepted as a shepherd and after the move to Edinburgh he was still not wholly accepted by the intelligentsia. Sometimes, as has been seen, Hogg played up to his image, no doubt enjoying the humorous potential of acting the coarse rural bumpkin. But his assumption, under pressure, of the role of "The Ettrick Shepherd" stereotyped him as a social phenomenon; his creativity was conditioned by the need to accept the patronage of his self-styled intellectual superiors and by his economic dependence on the Duke of Buccleuch. To the folklorist's advantage, Hogg was forced to concentrate on the traditional material which was expected from him, but the Confessions bears witness to a rich vein of talent which Hogg was never left free to develop. Paradoxically, by accepting the role of inspired genius, Hogg had to remain on the fringes of the established literary elite. He was regarded as a fascinating specimen, not as an intellectual equal. Hogg's ambiguous attitude towards traditional culture is symptomatic of his divided allegiances to his traditional background, and his desire for success.

However Hogg has undergone recent rehabilitation, both at the literary and the local level. After the pioneering work of Edith Batho's The Ettrick Shepherd and André Gide's preface to the Confessions, Hogg gained new credibility. More recently the Hogg Society, especially Douglas Mack, as well as David Groves and Douglas Gifford have made a concerted effort to clear Hogg's good name as a man and as a writer. The oral tradition has showed the influence of this literary rehabilitation and while Hogg was never the coarse "Shepherd" to the people of Ettrick Forest, his prestige has increased recently in Ettrick and Yarrow. A number of relics of the Shepherd are preserved locally and a cult has grown up round the poet, drawing on elements of the Burns cult, most notably Burns Suppers ("Hogg Suppers" have been intermittently held from the early nineteenth century until the 1980s). With the increasing interest in Hogg, both at the national and international levels, it seems that "The Ettrick Shepherd" will soon gain the prestige he so richly deserves.

As I have attempted to show, Hogg was infinitely more than the caricature of "The Ettrick Shepherd" implies. He was a national writer of international stature, as Gide recognised in his introduction to the Confessions. There are many subtleties to Hogg's work. With respect to traditional culture, there is the accomplished documentation of The Shepherd's Guide, the seminal collection of Jacobite Relics, and the verbal virtuosity in exploring the supernatural world of Perils of Man. Hogg in his treatment of traditional texts was both respectful and innovative. In this context, a comment made by the late Ewan MacColl is particularly illuminating:

> I believe that it is necessary to make a distinction between those men and women who are regarded by their communities, and by themselves, as singers and those who are 'song-carriers', that is people who can carry a tune and who carry in their heads a repertory of old songs. The singers, naturally know the songs and regard them as their own, their private property on which they have put a personal stamp in the form of melodic ornaments and cunning rhythmical variations. (MacColl 1990, 342)

Hogg, by these criteria, was most definitely a "singer" of the traditional culture of Ettrick. He reworked traditional material into the literary context, adding the "personal stamp" of his own artistic genius.

There are still unexplored aspects of Hogg's influence on traditional culture. For instance, a subject which was beyond the scope of this thesis is Hogg's role as a transmitter of traditional culture within the larger literary context. Dostoevsky's psychological thriller The Double shows certain parallels with the Confessions. Hogg's portrayal of the traditional culture of Ettrick, and particularly his supernaturalism, has influenced several modern novels: for instance Muriel Spark's The Ballad of Peckham Rye (1960) and, as Gillian Hughes points out, Emma Tennant's The Bad Sister (1978) and Hunter Steele's Chasing the Gilded Shadow (1986). By preserving and presenting the oral culture of Ettrick in a high cultural context, Hogg perfomed an invaluable service to posterity and it is hoped this thesis has demonstrated that James Hogg is a historically and artistically unique figure.

Appendix A

ETTRICK FOODWAYS

The following collection of traditional Ettrick recipes was provided by Mrs Isabelle "Tibbie" Scott, in a personal communication to the present writer. Mrs. Scott is directly descended from Tibbie Shiel's last maidservant; her family continued to work in the inn after the original Tibbie's demise, and Mrs Scott herself ran Tibbie Shiel's Inn in the first half of the twentieth century. The recipes were passed down from Tibbie Shiel, through Mrs Scott's family, and so provide a fairly accurate picture of Ettrick foodways during Hogg's lifetime.

A Favourite Dish of Hogg's

One chump chop for each person--marinated (or in the days gone by--it was called "steeped" over night in PORTER--but as Porter is difficult to obtain now--my mother used to "steep" the chops--overnight in STRONG ALE. Next day--cook in the liquid very slowly--with lots of chopped onions + black pepper, when done (this depends on the size + thickness of the chops. Garnish with truffles or mushrooms. (or we used to use any green veg.) However as a side dish--when available--go out in the backyard if you have an Elder tree--if not go into the countryside in a basket with a clean towel in cut the cream coloured flower heads off the elder tree--making sure there are NO leaves. Keeping the flower head whole--drop them into boiling water (oil nowadays) and cook until crisp + light brown--then dip the flower head into caster or granulated sugar. Serve piping hot on side dish--they are really so good. P.S. All the chops were cooked in a "hanging oven on a SWEE" now can be done in a casserole.

Tibbie Shiel's Brown Bannock

My grandmother made this in a large quantity in the hanging oven on the "Swee" over a peat fire, but in modern times I do this in my electric oven and have reduced the recipe.

METHOD
1/2 lb. Carrs coarse WHOLEMEAL FLOUR plus
1. Teaspoon SALT.
1/2 " " Bi. carb. Soda.

1 " " Cream of tartar.
1 oz. Butter (rubbed in)
Fully 1/2 pint warmed milk to which 1. Teaspoon golden syrup has been added.

Make a well in the centre of the flour--and add the liquid ALL AT ONCE. Tip out Kneed lightly have a loaf tin well greased--and floured--pour in the mixture--sprinkle some of the Brown flour over the top--with a knife--draw a crack along the top of the loaf--
Bake 350o--for apprx. 1/2 an hour or until firm to the touch. Remove from tin cover with clean towel. When cold slice + spread with Butter,

Hare Soup

Catch a "Brown" hare--open the stomach--and catch the blood in a bowl. Set aside--Skin the animal--cut into pieces-- (joint it)--cook slowly with carrots + onions--and a few potatoes cut up. When ready--(meat soft when tried with a fork) lift out the meat on to a hot dish--Keep warm. Then into the bowl with the blood--add a small quantity of corn flour mixed to a paste--when smoothe--add this to the "soup" and care must be taken to stir continually so as NOT to curdle it, otherwise it does not look well-- then when this has boiled without curdling--add 1 Teacup PORT WINE
Serve with wholemeal bread cut thick or into cubes--or with savoury cheese sticks--I make mine this way
Roll puff pastry so thin that it is almost transparent-- Brush with beaten egg--Crumble 1 OXO cube over this and some grated cheese--place another piece of pastry on top. Press down--then cut into very narrow strips--then twirl each strip place on baking tray--and cook until crisp and light brown. Place these sticks upright in a narrow vase like container. + serve that way.

Scotch Pancakes

6 ozs. S.R. flour plus
TEASPOON BAKING Powder.
1/2 " " SALT
2 ozs. sugar.
1/2 Pint milk
1 oz. BUTTER OR MARG.
plus--knife of syrup.
all rubbed in.
1 Egg beaten with milk.
Beat the mixture well leave to Stand 1/4 hour.
Then grease very lightly hot gridle--and
lift one spoonful at a time pour over from point
of spoon to make them round. DO NOT BEAT
THE MIXTURE AGAIN--as this breaks the air bubbles.
Turn pancakes--when they look high cook on other
side--when cooked both sides--lay them on wire rack
covered with kitchen paper Spread with Honey or
home made jam--for afternoon tea.

Appendix B

HOGG'S PROVERBS

Hogg uses a number of proverbs, some of which are documented elsewhere, and some which are probably his own invention. The first group includes "a hungry louse bites wicked sair", "beggars should nae be choisers", "blood's aye thicker than water", "it's never lost that a friend gets", "to make the hay while the sun shines", "slaw at the meat, slaw at the work", "to make a kirk and a mill of someone" and "speak o' the deil he'll appear". There are also proverbs which appear to be modelled on traditional apothegms: "wha wad sit i' Rome and strive wi' the pope? or misca' a Macdonald in the raws o' Lochaber" is a variation on "Ne'er misca' a Gordon i' the raws o' Strathbogie". The following is a preliminary listing of Hogg's proverbs.

a hungry louse bites wicked sair (1823b, 311)

a Scot never gies up his trust as lang as his arm
can dimple at the elbow (Hogg 1972b, 46).

a wight man never wants a weapon (Hogg 1972b, 155).

ane may ward off a blow at the breast, but a prod on
the back's no fair (Hogg 1972b, 102)

beggars should nae be choisers (Hogg 1972b, 126).

blood's aye thicker than water (Hogg 1972b, 95).

fouk sude aye bow to the bush they get biekd frae
(Hogg 1972b, 26).

he is like the tod's whelps, that grow aye the
langer the waur. (Hogg 1972b, 156).

hunger has sharp een (Hogg 1972b, 386)

it is better to let sleeping dogs lie, they may

rise and bite you (Hogg 1976, 19-20; 1972b, 157).

if he dinna work by wiles he'll never pouch the profit (Hogg 1972b, 6)

it's never lost that a friend gets (Hogg 1823e, II: 26).

lippen tae a Corby, an' he'll pike out your een (Hogg 1972b, 101).

the lord forbid, Will Martin (Hogg 1972b, 332).

may Baronsgill's Benison be your mead--sernons and sour crout till you turn to a haberdine (Hogg 1823e, III: 221).

out of your sight, out of your pay and out of your service (Hogg 1972b, 103).

pith can do muckle, but art can do mair (Hogg 1972b, 152).

she that wad hae a close cog sude keep a hale laiggen (Hogg 1972b, 101).

slaw at the meat, slaw at the wark (Hogg 1972b, 219).

the swine that is the most eager to feed itself is the first slaughtered to feed others (Hogg 1972b, 257).

the tod kens his ain whalps amang a' the collies' bairns, an' gets that gowl in the Garn (Hogg 1823e, II: 145).

there's muckle good water runs by when the miller sleeps (Hogg 1823e, III: 82)

they'll soon be blythe to leave the lass an' loup at the ladle (Hogg 1972b, 6)

to be determined either to spill a spoon or make a horn (Hogg 1823e, I: 31).

to be no better than Jok Jerdin's bitch, who wad neither stay wi' him nor fri him (Hogg 1823e, I: 108).

speak o' the deil he'll appear (Hogg 1972b, 142).

to be weazel blawn (Hogg 1823e, I: 98).

to come with piper's news which the fiddler has tauld before you (Hogg 1972b, 12).

to feel what drinkers dree (Hogg 1823e, I: 53).

to have mair discretion in his little finger than you hae i' your hale bouk (Hogg 1976, 46).

to lose a filly and find a foal (Hogg 1823e, II: 67).

to make a kirk an' a mill of someone (Hogg 1976, 8).

to make lang lugs (Hogg 1972b, 134).

to make the hay while the sun shines (1823b, 311-2).

to screw one's courage to its sticking place (Hogg 1976, 159).

to stand like a shot turnip runt, up amang the barley and grein clavers (Hogg 1823e, I: 108).

wha wad sit i' Rome and strive wi' the pope? or misca' a Macdonald in the raws o' Lochaber (Hogg 1972b, 167).

when hoddy-craws turn into doos, they're unco' ill for picking out focks' een (Hogg 1823e, II: 144).

who can tell what is to fall out between the cup and the lip? (Hogg 1972b, 192).

words are but peughs o' wind, they'll no blaw far (Hogg 1823e, II: 144).

Appendix C

HOGG AS INFORMANT: ETTRICK BALLADS

This Appendix demonstrates the exact instances of changes made in Hogg's manuscript texts when published in the Minstrelsy. Scott's changes are given here within square brackets; as are words and phrases deleted in, or omitted from, the manuscript. When the reading from the manuscript is unclear, I have indicated this with a question mark. In addition, Scott punctuated the text heavily. His accidentals are not indicated here, on the grounds that including all such changes makes the text almost unreadable, when one of the main reasons behind this Appendix is to help make Hogg's texts more accessible.

Most of these texts are reproduced by Child: "The Battle of Otterburn" in Child IV: 499-502, "Lamkin" in Child IV: 480-81, "The dowy houms of Yarrow" is Child's E text, "Lord Barnaby" is in Child IV: 467-7 and the final untitled song is in Child IV: 489-91. Macmath's transcriptions, however, show a number of differences from mine. He punctuates the texts heavily and rearranges the orthography: the dialogue in "The dowy houms o' Yarrow" is put within inverted commas, for example, and "spy'd" becomes "spied". The texts here are taken from the MS book of "Scotch Ballad Materials" in the National Library of Scotland (NLS MS 877).

The Battle of Otterburn (Ch 161)

It fell about the Lammas time[tide]
When the muir-men won[win] their hay
That[omitted] the doughty carl[omitted] Douglas went
Into England to catch[drive] a prey

He chose the Gordons and the Graemes
With the[them] Lindsays[Lindesays] light and gay
But the Jardines wadna wi' him[wald not with them] ride[38]

And they rued[rue] it to this day

And he has burnt[burn'd] the dales o'[of] Tine
And part of Almon Shire[Bamboroughshire]
And three good towers on Roxburgh fells
He left them all on fire

Then[And] he march'd up to Newcastle
And rode it round about
O whaes[wha's] the lord of this castle
Or whae's[wha's] the lady o't

But up spake proud lord Piercy[Percy, passim] then
And O but he spak hie
I am the lord of this castle
And[omitted] my wife's the lady gaye

If you are[thour't the] lord of this castle
Sae sweet[weel] it pleases me
For ere I cross the border again[fells]
The ane[tane] of us shall die

He took a lang spear in his hand
Was made[Shod] of the metal free
And for to meet the Douglas then[there]
He rade most[rode right] furiouisly[furiouslie]

But O how pale his lady look'd[39]
Frae off[aff] the castle wa'
When down before the Scottish spear
She saw brave[proud] Piercy fa'

How pale and wan his lady look'd
Frae off[aff] the castle hieght
When she beheld her Piercy yield
To doughty Douglas might
[Scott omits this stanza]

Had we twa been upon the green
And never an eye to see
I should have[wad hae] had ye[you] flesh and fell
But your sword shall gae wi' me
40
But gae you[ye] up to Otterburn[Otterbourne, passim]
And there wait dayes[dayis, passim] three
And if I come not ["at" deleted in MS] ere
three dayes end
A fause lord[knight] ca' ye me.

The Otterburn's a bonny[bonnie, passim] burn
'Tis pleasant there to be
But there is naught[nought] at Otterburn
To fend my men and me

The deer rins wild owr[on] hill and dale
The birds fly wild frae[from] tree to tree
And[But] there is neither bread nor kale
To feed my men and me

But[Yet] I will stay at Otterburn
Where you shall welcome be
And if ye come not ere[at] three days end
A coward[fause lord] I'll ca' thee

Then gae your ways to Otterburn
And there wait dayes three
And if I come not ere three days end
A coward ye's ca me
[Scott exchanges this stanza for a less repetitive one: "'Thither will I come,' proud Percy said/ 'By the might of Our Ladye!'--/ 'There will I bide thee,' said the Douglas/ 'My trowth I plight to thee.'"]

They lighted high on Otterburn
Upon the bent so[sae] brown
They lighted high on Otterburn
And threw their pallions down

And he that had a bonny boy
Sent his horses[out his horse] to grass
And he that had not a bonny boy
His ain servant he was

But up then spak[spake] a little page
Before the peep of the[omitted] dawn
O waken ye waken ye my good lord
For Piercy's hard at hand

Ye lie ye lie ye loud liar[liar loud]
Sae loud I hear ye lie
The Piercy hadna[had not] men yestreen
To dight my men and me

But I have seen[hae dream'd] a dreary dream
Beyond the isle o' Sky
I saw a dead man won the[win a] fight
And I think that man was I

He belted on his good broad[braid] sword
And to the field he ran
Where he met wi' the proud Piercy
And a' his goodley train
[Scott substitutes, in place of the two last lines, "But he forgot the helmet good/ That should have kept his brain".]

When Piercy wi' the douglas met
I wat he was right keen[fu' fain]
Thy swakked their swords till sair they swat
And the blood ran them between[ran down
like rain]

But Piercy wi'[with] his good broad sword
Was made o' the metal free
[That could so sharply wound]
Has wounded Douglas on the brow
Till backward he did flee
[Till he fell on the ground]

Then he call'd on his little page[foot-page]
And said run speedily
And bring my ain dear sisters son
Sir Hugh Montgomery

This ballad which I have collected from two different people a crazy old man and a woman deranged in her mind seems hither to considerably entire but now when it becomes more interesting they have both failed me and I have been obliged to take much of it in plain prose however as none of them seemed to know any thing of the history save what they have learned from the song I took it the more kindly any few verses which follow are to me unintelligible.

He told Sir Hugh that he was dying and ordered him to conceal his body and neither let his own men nor Piercey's know which he did and the battle went on headed by Sir Hugh Montgomery and at length

[In The Minstrelsy version at this point there are six extra stanzas: in the first Douglas tells the dream to his nephew, in the second, third and fourth his corpse is hidden beside the bush. In the fifth, by the clear light of the moon, the Scots slay many of the English; in the sixth the "Gordons good" steep their shoes in English blood, while the Lindsays "fly like fire" for the rest of the fray.]

When stout Sir Hugh wi' Piercy met
I wat he was right fain
They swakked their swords till sair they swat
And the blood ran down like rain
[The Percy and Montgomery met,/ That either of other were fain;/ They swapped swords, and they twa swat,/ And the blude ran down between.]

O yield thee Piercy said Sir Hugh
O yield or ye shall die
Fain wad I yield proud Piercy said
But ne'er to loun like thee
["Yield thee, O yield thee, Percy!" he said/
"Or else I vow I'll lay thee low!"/ "To whom
shall I yield," said Earl Percy/ Now that I
see it must be so?"]

Thou shalt not yield to knowe nor lown[lord nor loun]
Nor shalt thy[yet shalt thou] yield to me
But yield ye[thee] to the breaken[bracken] bush
That grows on yonder[upon yon lilye] lee

I will not yield to bush nor brier[to a braken bush]
Nor [yet] will I yield to thee[to a brier]
But I will[would] yield to Lord[Earl] Douglas
Or Sir Hugh Montgomery
[Or Sir Hugh the Montgomery, if he
were here.]

Piercy seems to have been fighting devilishly in
the dark indeed! my reciters added no more but
told me that Sir Hugh died on the field but
that
He left not an Englishman on the field
* * *
That he hadna either kill'd or ta'en
Ere his hearts blood was cauld.[Scott has
two final stanzas to Hogg's one; Piercy
surrenders to Montgomery, who raise him by
the hand, then the deed is placed at
Otterbourne and Douglas buried]

Alman Shire may probably be a corruption of
Banburghshire[41] but as both my relations called
it so I thought proper to preserve it The towers
on Roxburgh fells may not bee [sic] so improper as
we were thinking there may have been some strengths
on the very borders (Hogg NLS MS 877 f243-44).

Old Maitland a very antient Song

There lives[lived] a king in southern land
King Edward hicht[hight, passim] his name
Unwordily he wore the crown
Till fifty years was[were]gane
[Scott splits the ballad into four-line
stanzas]
He had a sisters son o's ain
was large o'[of] blood and bane
And afterwards[afterward] when he came up
Young Edward hicht his name
One day he came before the king
And kneeld low on his knee
A boon a boon my good uncle
I crave to ask of thee.
To[At] our lang wars i'[in] fair Scotland
I lang hae lang'd to be
[I fain hae wished to be]
If fifteen hunder[hundred, passim] wale[waled] wight men
You'll grant to ride wi' me
Thou sal[sall, passim] hae thae thou sal hae mae
I say it sickerly[sickerlie]
And I mysel[mysell] an auld grey[gray] man
Array'd your host sal see
King Edward rade King Edward ran
I wish him dool and pain[pyne]
Till he had fifteen hunder men
Assembled on the Tyne
And twice as many at North Berwick[Berwicke][42]
was[were] a' for battle bound[Scott includes
Hogg's extra lines here: "Who, marching forth with false Dunbar,/A
ready welcome found"]
They lighted on the banks of Tweed
And blew their coals sae het.
And fir'd[fired] the Merce[Merse] and Tevidale[Teviotdale]
All in an evning[evening] late
As they far'd up o'er Lammermor[Lammermore]
They burnt baith towr and town
[They burned baith up and down]
Till[Untill] they came till[to] a dirksome[darksome] house
Some call it Leaders town[Leader-Town]
Whae[Wha, passim] huds[hauds] this house young Edward cry'd
Or whae gae's't[gies't] owr to me.
A grey[gray] hair'd knight set up his head
And cracked[crackit] right crously
Of Scotlands king I haud my house
He pays me meat and fee
And I will keep my gaud[gude] auld house
While my house will keep me
They laid their sowies to the wall
Wi' mony [a] heavy peal
But he threw owr[ower, passim] to them again

Baith pick[pitch] and tar barille[barrel]
With springs:wall[springwalds] stanes and gaod of
ern[gads of airn]
Amang[Among] them fast he threw
Till many[mony, passim] of the English men
About the wall he slew
Full fifteen days that braid host lay
Sieging old Maitland[auld Maitland, passim] keen
then[Syne] they hae left him safe and hale[hail and fair]
Within his strength o[of] stane:
Englands our ain by heritage,
And whae[what] can us gainstand[withstand]
When[Now] we hae conquer'd fair Scotland
Wi bow buckler and brande:
[Scott reverses the order: the preceding four lines
are interchanged with the following four lines.
The last line becomes "With buckler, bow,
and brand"]
Then fifteen barks all gaily good
Mett[met] them upon a day,
Which they did lade with as much spoil
As they could bear away
Then they are on to the land o' France
Where auld king Edward lay
burning each town and castle strong
[Burning baith castle, tower, and town]
that ance[he] came[met] in his way
untill he came unto that town
Which some call Billop-Grace
There were Old Maitland's sons, a' three
Learning at school alas
The eldest to the others[youngest] said
Oh see you[ye] what I see
if[Gin] all[a', passim] be true[trew] yon standard says
Were fatherless a'[all] three
For Scotland's conquer'd up and down
Landsmen we'l[we'll, passim] never be
Now will ye go my brethren two
And try some jeopardy
Then they hae saddled two[twa, passim] black horse
Two black horse and a grey,
And they are on to [King] Edward's host
Before the dawn[break] of day
When they arriv'd before the host
They hover'd on the ley[lay]
Will you[thou] lend me our kings standard
To carry[bear] a little way
Where was[wast] thou bred Where was[wast] thou born
Wherein[Where or] in what country
In the north of England I was born
What[It] needed him to lie
A knight me got[gat] a lady bore
I'm a squire of high renowne

I well may bear't to any king
That ever [yet, included by Scott, crossed out in MS.] wore a crown
He ne'er came of an English man
Had sic an ee or bree
But thou art [the] likest auld Maitlin
That ever I did see
But sic a gloom on ae brow head
Grant I ne'er see again
For many of our men he slew
And many put to pain
When Maitlan heard his father's name
An angry man was he
Then lifting up a gilt dager
Hung low down by[upon] his knee
He stab'd[stabb'd, passim] the knight the standard bore
He stabb'd him cruelly[cruellie, passim]
Then caught the standard by the neuk
And fast away rade[rode] he
Now is'tna time brothers he cried
Now is'tna time to flee
Aye[Ay] by my sooth they baith reply'd
We'l bear you company
The youngest turn'd him in a path
And drew a burnish'd[burnished] brand
And fifteen o' the formost[foremost] slew
Till back the lave did stand
He spurr'd the grey unto[into] the path
Till baith her[his] sides they bled
Grey thou maun carry me away.
Or my life lies in wed[wad]
The captain lookit ower the wall[wa']
Before[About] the break o day
There he beheld the three Scots lads
Pursued alongst[along] the way
Pull up portculzies[portcullize] down
draw briggs[draw-brigg]
My nephews are at hand
And they shall[sall] lodge with[wi'] me to night
In spite of all England
When e'er they came within the gate
They thrust their horse them frae
And took three lang spears in their hands
Saying here sal[sall] come nae mae
Then[and] they shott[shot, passim] out and they shott in
Till it was fairly day
When many of the Englishmen
About[Along] the drawbrigg lay
Then they had yoked carts and wains
To ca' their dead away
And shot auld dykes aboon the lave
In gutters where they lay

The king in[at] his pavilion door
Was heard aloud to say
Last night three o' the lads o' France
My Standard stole away
Wi' a fause tale disguis'd they came
And wi' a fauser train[trayne]
And to regain my gaye standard,
These men were a' down slaine
It ill befits the youngest said
A crowned king to lie
But or that I taste meat or[and] drink
Reproved shall[sall] he be
He went before King Edward straight[strait]
And kneel'd low on his knee
I wad hae leave my liege[lord] he said
To speak a word wi' thee
The king he turn'd him round about
And wistna what to say
Quo' he man thou's hae leave to speak
Though thou shaud[should] speak a' day
You said that three young lads o France
Your standard stole away
Wi' a fause tale and fauser main[trayne]
And many men did slay
But we are nane the lads o' France
Nor e'er pretends[pretend] to be
We be[are] three lads o' fair Scotland
And Maitlin's sons a' three[sons are we]
Nor is there men in a' your host
dare[Daur] fight us three to three
Now by my sooth young Edward cry'd[said]
Well[Weel] fitted sall ye be[ye sall be]
Piercy shall[sall] wi' the eldest fight
And Ethert Lunn wi' thee
William of Lancaster the third
And bring your fourth to me
[Scott adds Hogg's "modern" lines: "Remember Piercy,
aft the Scot/ Has cower'd beneath thy hand" and,
completing the two lines to create a stanza,
adds, "For every drap of Maitland blood,/ I'll
gie a rig of land".]
He clanked Piercy owr the head
A sharp stroke[deep wound] and a sair
Till a' the blood[Till the best blood] o' his body
Came rinnin owr[rinning down] his hair
Now I've slain[Now I have slayne ane;] one slaye
ye the twa
And that's good[gude] company
And tho'[if] the two[twa, passim] should[suld,
passim] slay ye both
Ye's[Ye'se, passim] get nae[na] help o' me
But Ethert Lunn a baited bear
Had many[unaltered] battles seen

He set the youngest wonder sair
Till th'[the] eldest he grew keen
I am nae king nor nae Sic thing
My word it sanna[shanna] stand
For Ethert shall[sall] a buffet bide
Come he aneath[beneath] my brand
He clanked[clankit] Ether owr the head
A sharp stroke and a sair
[A deep wound and a sair]
Till a the blood o' his body
[Till the best blood of his bodie]
Came rinnin[rinning] owr his hair
Now I've slain two slay ye the ane
Isna that good company[companye]
And though[tho'] the ane should slay
ye both[ye baith]
Ye's get nae help o' me
The twa-some they hae slayne the ane
They maul'd them cruelly
Then hung them owr[over] the draw bridge
That a'[all] the host might see[43]
They rade their horse they ran their horse
Then hover'd[hovered] on the ley
We be three lads o' fair Scotland
We[That] fain wad fighting see
This boasting when Young Edward heard
To's uncle thus said he
[An angry man was he]
I'll take[tak] yon lad I'll bind yon lad
And bring him bound to thee
But[Now] God forbid King Edward said
that ever thou should try
Three worthy leaders we hae lost
And you the fourth shall be
[And thou the fourth wad lie]
If thou wert hung owr[shouldst hang on] yon draw bridge
Blythe wad I never be
But wi the pole axe in his hand
Out owr the bridge[Upon the brigg] sprang he
The first stroke that young Edward gae
He struck wi' might and main[mayn]
He clove the Maitlins[Maitlan's] helmet stout
And near had pierc'd his brain
[And bit right nigh the brayn]
When Matlin saw his ain blood fa'
An angry man was he
He let his weapon frae him fa
And at his neck[throat] did flee
And thrice about he did him swing
Till on the ground he light
Where he has hadden[halden] Young Edward
Though[Tho'] he was great in might
Now let him up Young Edward[King Edward] cry'd

And let him come to me
And for the deed that ye hae[thou hast] done
Ye shall[Thou shalt] hae earldoms three
Its ne'er be said in France nor Ire[e'er]
Nor[In] Scotland when I'm hame
That Edward ance was[once lay] under me
And yet wan up again
[And e'er gat up again]
He stabb'd him thro' and thro' the heart
[He pierced him through and through the heart]
He maul'd him cruelly
Then hang[hung] him owr the drawbridge
Beside the other three
Now take from[frae] me that featherbed
Make me a bed o' strae
I wish I nee'r had seen[hadna lived] this day
To make my heart sae wae
If I were ance at London town[tower]
Where I was wont to be
I never mair should gang frae hame
Till borne on a bier tree.

You may insert the two following lines any where you think it needs them or else substitute two better

And marching south with curst Dunbar
A ready welcome found
(Hogg NLS MS 877 f144-45)

Lamkin (Ch 93)

Lamkin was as good a mason
As ever liftit stane
He built to the laird o' Lariston
But payment gat he nane

?It he came an' ay he came
to that good lords yett
But neither at dor nor window
Ony entrance could get

Till-ae wae an' weary day
early he came
An' it fell out on that day
That good lord was frae hame

He bade steek dor an' window
An' prick them to the gin
Nor leave a little nice hole
Else Lamkin wad be in

Noorice steekit dor an' window
She steekit them to the gin
But she left a little wee hole
That Lamkin might win in

O where's the lady o' this house
Said cruel Lamkin
She's up the stair sleepin
Said fause Noorice then

How will we get her down the stair
Said cruel Lamkin
We'll stogg the baby i' the cradle
Said fause Noorice then

She stoggit an' she rockit
Till a' the floor swam
An' a the tor's o' the cradle
Red wi' blude ran

O still my son Noorice
O still him wi' the kame
He winna' still madam
Till Larriston come hame

O still my son Noorice
O still him wi' the knife
["He winna still madam" crossed
out in the MS]
I canna still him madam
If ye sude tak my life

O still my son Noorice
O still him wi' the bell
He winna still madam
Come see him yoursel'

Wae an' weary rase she up
Slowly pat she on
Her green claethin o' the silk
An' slowly came she down

The first step she steppit
It was on a stane
The first body she saw
Was cruel Lamkin

O pity pity Lamkin
Hae pity on me
Just as meikle pity madam
As ye paid me o' my fee

I'll g'ye a peck o' good red goud
Streekit wi' the wand
An' if that winna please ye
I'll heap it wi' my hand

An' if that winna please ye
O' goud an' o fee
I'll g'ye my eldest daughter
Your wedded wife to be

Gae wash the bason lady
You wash't an' mak it clean
To kep your mothers hearts blude
For she's of noble kin

To kep my mothers hearts blude
I wad be right wae
O tak mysel' Lamkin'
An' let my mother gae

Gae wash the bason Noorice
Gae wash 't an' mak it clean
To kep your lady's hearts blude
For she's o' noble kin

To wash the bason Lamkin
I will be right glad
For mony mony bursen day
About her house I've had

But oh what dule an' sorrow
Was about that lord's ha'
When he fand his lady lyin'

As white as driven snaw

O what dule an' sorrow
Whan that good lord cam in
An' fand his young son murder'd
I' the chimney lyin'
(Hogg NLS MS 877 f245).

The dowy houms o' Yarrow (Ch 214)

Tradition placeth the event on which this song is
founded very early that the song hath been written
near the time of the transaction appears quite
evident altho like others by frequent singing the
language is become adapted to an age not so far
distant The bard does not at all relate particulars
but only mentions some striking features of a
tragical event which every body knew this is
observable in many of the productions of early times
at least the secondary hands seem to have regarded
their songs as purely temporary

The Hero of the ballad is said to have been of
the name of Scott and is called a knight of
great ?mery. He lived in Ettrick some say Oakwood
others Kirkhope but was murderously slain by his brother
in law as related in the ballad who had him at ill will
because his father had parted with the half of all his
goods and gear to his sister on her marriage with such a
respectable man the name of the murderer is said to be
Annand a name I believe merely conjectural from the name
of the place where they are said both to be buried which
at this day is called Annan's Treat a low -muir lying
to the west of Yarrow church where two huge tall stones
erected below which the least child that can walk the road
will tell you the two lords are buried that were slain in
a duel[4]

Late at e'en drinkin'[drinking] the wine
Or early in a mornin'
[And ere they paid the lawing]
The[They] set a combat them between
To fight it in the dawnin'[dawning]

O stay at hame my noble lord
O stay at hame my marrow
My cruel brother will you betray
On the dowy[dowie, passim] houms o'
Yarrow

O fare-ye-weel my lady gaye
O fare-ye-weel my Sarah
For I maun gae Tho'[tho'] I ne'er return
Frae the dowy banks o' Yarrow

She kiss'd[kissed, passim] his cheek she
kaim'd his hair
As [oft] she had done before O
She belted on[him with] his noble brand
An' he's awa to Yarrow

O he's gane up yon high high hill

I wat he gae'd wi' sorrow
An' in a den spie'd nine arm'd men
I'[In] the dowy howms o' Yarrow
[As he gaed up the Tennies bank,/
I wot he gaed wi' sorrow,/ Till, down
in a den, he spied nine arm'd men,/ On
the dowie houms of Yarrow.]

O in ye come to drink the wine
As ye hae doon before O
Or in ye come to wield the brand
On the bonny banks o' Yarrow
["O come ye here to part your land,/ The
bonnie Forest thorough?/ Or come ye here
to weild your brand,/ On the dowie houms
of Yarrow?"]

I im[I'm, passim] no come to drink the wine
As I hae doon before O
[I come not here to part my land,/
And neither to beg or borrow]
But I im come to wield the brand
On the dowy houms O'Yarrow

[The Minstrelsy version has another
stanza here: the challenger comments on
the unequal odds of nine to one]

Four [has] he hurt an'[and] five he[has] slew
On the dowy houms o' Yarrow
[On the bloody braes of Yarrow]
Till that stubborn knight came him behind
An' ran his body thorrow[bodie thorough]

Gae hame gae hame Good-brother John
An'[And] tell your sister Sarah
To come an'[and] lift her noble[leafu'] lord
Who's[He's] sleepin' sound on Yarrow

Yestreen I dream'd a dolefu' dream
I kend there wad be sorrow
[I fear there will be sorrow!]
I dream'd I pu'd the heather green
On the dowy banks o' Yarrow
[Wi' my true love, on Yarrow.]
45
[Scott's composite version has two additional stanzas
here: Sarah sends a kiss to her lover in the first;
in the second she realises her knight is slain]

She gae'd up[As she sped down] yon high high hill
I wat she gae'd wi' sorrow
[She ga'ed wi' dole and sorrow,]

An' in a den spy'd nine dead men[ten slain men]
On the dowy houms[banks] o' Yarrow

She kiss'd his cheek she kaim'd his hair
As aft she did before O
[She search'd his wounds all thorough,]
She drank the red blood frae him ran
[She kiss'd them, till her lips grew red,]
On the dowy houms o' Yarrow

O[Now] haud your tongue my douchter[daughter]
dear
For what maeds a' this sorrow
[For a' this breeds but sorrow;]
I'll wed you on[ye to] a better lord
Than him you[ye] lost on Yarrow

O haud your tongue my father dear
An' dinna grieve your Sarah
[Ye mind me but of sorrow]
A better Lord was never born
Than him I lost on Yarrow
[A fairer rose did never bloom
Than now lies cropped on Yarrow".]
46
Tak hame your ousen tak hame your kye
For they have bred our sorrow
I wiss that they had a' gane mad
Whan they cam first to Yarrow
[Scott omits this final stanza]
(NLS MS 877, f250).

A Fragment on Cockburns death
(related to Ch 106)

My love he built me a bonny bow'r[bower, passim]
An' clad it a' wi' lily-flowr[lilye flour]
A brawer bow'r ye ne'er did see
Than my true love he built to[for] me

There came a man by middle day
He spy'd[spied] his sport an' went away
An' brought the king that very night
Who brak[brake] my bowr an'[and] slew my knight

He slew my knight to me sae dear
He slew my knight an' poin'd his gear
My servants all for life did flee
An left me in extemity[extremitie.]

I sew'd his sheet making my moan[mane]
I watch'd his corpse mysel alone[alane]
I watch'd his body night and day
No living creature came that way

I took the corpse[body] then[omitted] on my back
And whiles I gae'd and whiles I sat
I dig'd[digg'd] a grave and laid him in
And hap'd[happ'd] him wi' the sod sae green

But thinkna ye my heart was sair
When I laid the mool[moul'] on his yellow hair
O thinkna ye my heart was wae
When I turn'd about away to gae
[Two final lines are crossed out in the MS,
probably "Nae living man I'll love again/
Since that my lovely knight is slain". Scott
completes this stanza, adding "Wi' ae lock of
his yellow hair/ I'll chain my heart
for evermair"]
(NLS MS 877 f.245)

Lord Barnaby (Ch 81)

I have a towr in Dalesberry
Whilk now is dearly dight
And I will gie it to young Musgrave
To lodge wi' me a night

To lodge wi' thee a' night fair lady
Wad breed baith sorrow and strife
For I see by the rings on your fingers
Ye're good Lord Barnaby's wife

Lord Barnaby's wife although I be
Yet what is that to thee
For we'l beguile him for this ae night
He's on to fair Dundee

Come here come here my little foot page
This guinea I will give thee
If ye will keep this secrets closs
'Tween young Musgrave an' me

But here I hae a little pen knife
Hings low down by my gane
If ye dinna keep thir secrets closs
Ye'll find it wonder sair

Then she's taen him to her chamber
An' down in her arms lay he
The boy koost off his hose an' shoon
An' ran for fair Dundee[47]

When he came to the wan water
He slack'd his bow an' swam[48]
An when he wan to growan gress
Set down his feet an' ran

An' whan he came to fair Dundee
could nouther rap nor ca'
But set his braid bow to his breast
An' merrily jump'd the wa'

O waken ye waken ye my good lord
Waken an' come away
What ails what ails my wee foot page
He crys sae lang or day

O is my towers burnt my boy
Or is my castle won
Or has the lady that I loe best
Braught me a daughter or son

Your halls are safe your towers are safe

An' free frae all alarms
But Oh the lady that ye loe best
lyes sound i' Musgrave's arms

Gae saddle me the black he cry'd
Gae saddle me the gray
Gae saddle me the milk white steed
To hie me out the way

O Lady I heard a wee horn tout
An' it blew wonder clear
An' ay the turnin' o' the note
Was Barnaby will be here

I thought I heard a wee horn blaw
An' it blew loud an hie
An' ay at ilka turn it saud
Away Musgrave away

Lye still my dear lye still my dear
Ye keep me frae the cold
For it is but my fathers shepherds
Drivin' there [sic] flocks to the fold

Up they lookit an' down they lay
An' they're fa'n sound asleep
Till up start good Lord Barnaby
Just closs at their bed feet

How do you like my bed Musgrave
An' how like ye my sheets
An' how like ye my fair lady
Lyes in your arms an' sleeps

Weel I like your bed my lord
An' weel I like your sheets
But ill like I your fair lady
Lyes in my arms an' sleeps

You got your wale o' se'en sisters
An' I got mine o' five
So take ye mine an' I's tak thine
An' we nae mair shall strive

O my woman's the best woman
That ever brake worlds bread
But your woman's the worst woman
That ever drew coat o'er head

I have two swords in my scabbart
They are baith sharp an clear
Take ye the best and I the warst
An' we'l end the matter here

But up an' arm thee young Musgrave
We'l try it hand to hand
It's ne'er be said o' lord Barnaby
He struck at a naked man

The first stroke that Young Musgrave got
It was baith deep an' sair
An' down he fell at Barnaby's feet
An word spak never mair

A grave a grave lord Barnaby cry'd
A grave to lay them in
My lady shall lye on the sunny side
Because of her noble kin

But O how sorry was that good lord
For a' his angry mood
When he espy'd his ain young son
All weltering in his blood[19]
(NLS MS 877, f246)

Untitled (Ch 99)

O Johny's up thro England gane
Three quarters of a year
An' Johny's up thro' England gane
The kings banner to bear

He had not been in London town
But a very little while
Till the fairest lady in the court[50]
By Johny gaes wi' child

But word is to the kitchin gane
An' word's gane to the Ha'
An' word's gane to yon high high court
Amang our nobles a'

An' when the king got wit o' that
An angry man was he
On the highest tree in a' the wood
High hangit shall he be

An' for the lady if it's true
As I do fear it be
I'll put her in yon castle strong
An' starve her till she die

But Johny had a clever boy
A clever boy was he
O Johny had a clever boy
His name was Gregory

O run my boy to yon castle
All windows round about
An' there you'l see a fair lady
At a window looking out

Ye maun bid her take this silken sark
Her ain hand sew'd the gare
An' bid her come to the green wood
For Johny waits her there

Away he ran to yon castle
All windows round about
Where he espy'd a lady fair
At a window looking out

O madam there's a silken sark
Your ain hand sew'd the gare
An' haste ye to the good green wood
For Johny waits you there

O I'm confined in this castle

Though lighted round about
My feet are bound with fetters strong
That I cannot win out

My garters are off stubborn ern
Alas baith stiff and cold
My breastplate of the sturdy steel
Instead of beaten gold

Instead of silken stays my boy
With steel I'm lac'd about
My feet are bound with fetters strong
And how can I get out

But tell him he must stay at home
Nor venture here for me
Else an Italian in our court
Must fight him till he die.

When Johny he got wit o' that
An angry man was he
But I will gae wi' a' my men
My dearest dear to see.

But up then spake a noble lord
A noble lord was he
The best of a' my merry men
Shall bear you company

But up then spake his auld mother
I wat wi' meikle pain
If ye will gae to London son
Ye'l ne'er come back again

But Johny turn'd him round about
I wat wi' meikle pride
But I will gae to London town
Whatever may betide

When they were a' on horseback set
How comely to behold
For a' the hairs o' Johny's head
did shine like threads o' gold

The first ae town that they gae'd through
They gart the bells be rung
But the neist town that they gae'd through
They gart the mass be sung

But when they ga'ed to London town
The trumpets loud were blown
Which made the king and a' his court
To marvel at the sound

Is this the Duke of Morebattle
Or James the Scottish king
No Sire I'm a Scottish Lord
McNaughton is my name

If you be that young Scottish Lord
As I believe you be
The fairest lady in my court
She gaes wi child by thee

And if she be with child by me
As I think sae may be
It shall be heir of a' my land
And she my gay lady

O no O no the king reply'd
That thing can never be
For ere the morn at ten o' clock
I'll slay thy men an' thee

A bold Italian in my court
Has vanquish'd Scotchmen three
And ere the morn at ten o' clock
I'm sure he will slay thee

But up then spake young Johny's boy
A clever boy was he
O master ere that you be slain
There's mae be slain than thee

The king and all his court appear'd
Neist morning on the plain
The queen and all her ladies came
To see young Johny slain

Out then step'd the Italian bold
And they met on the green
Between his shaulders was an ell
A span between his een[51]

When Johny in the list appear'd
Sae young and fair to see
A prayer staw frae ilka heart
A tear frae ilka e'e

And lang they faught and sair they faught
Wi' swords o' temper'd steel
Until the blood like draps o' rain
Came trickling to their heal

But Johny was a mannle youth
And that he weel did show
For wi' a stroke o' his broad sword

He clove his head in two

A priest a priest then Johny cry'd
To wed my love and me
A clerk a clerk the king reply'd
To write her tocher free[52]

Notes

[38]It is a Border ballad convention that one group will not ride. See "Jamie Telfer" (Ch 190).

[39]The rapid scene change to a close-up of Lady Piercy is a sign of the "montage" technique which is common in ballads. See Hodgart 1962, 27.

[40]Scott notes "Douglas insinuates that Percy was rescued by his men."

[41]This is corroborated by Percy's reference to Bamboroughshire.

[42]Scott comments that "some reciters" say North Berwick.

[43]The repeated imagery of flowing blood functions incrementally, to demonstrate the irrepressible might of the Maitland brothers. Hogg uses the image of enemy corpses draped in sight of the opposing host in Perils of Man.

[44]Scott's note on "The Dowy Dens of Yarrow" is largely derived from Hogg's note here (See Scott 1931, 402-3).

[45]Ballads often refer to precognitive dreams. Compare this to Douglas's dream in "Otterburn".

[46]In Child's J,K and L versions the lover is a servant lad from Galla. In other versions of "The Dowie Dens", Sarah's Lord is a ploughman, and so the motivation of the murder is social rather than economic. See, for instance, Ord 1930, 426.

[47]As was seen in Chapter 2, shoes were often removed in Scotland when travelling on foot.

[48]This is a formulaic stanza, as is stanza 12.

[49]This ballad is a chilling mixture of realism, morality and medieval manners. The shepherd driving his flock into the fold and the necessity for human warmth in a cold keep give the type a sound grounding in Borders life; the powerful image of the cuckold confronting the lovers and the slaughter of the Lady and Musgrave is both morally correct and practical. By killing Musgrave, Barnaby avoids the necessity of engaging in a feud with his family.

[50]Usually the king's daughter.

[51]The Italian champion is an even more formidable figure in Child's L text: "Between his brow three women's spang, /His shoulders was yards three.

[52]In over half the versions Johny refuses gold: all he wants is the woman.

Appendix D

A NOTE ON JAMES HOGG'S MUSIC

By Ronald Stevenson, Personal Communication

James Hogg contributed significantly to the tradition, pioneered by Burns in Scotland, of poet as folkloric field-worker. Both were musically literate; both played the fiddle. But whereas Burns notated music by others, Hogg was able to notate his own compositions. In this he was aided by William Stenhouse, acknowledged by Hogg in the Preface to Jacobite Relics (Edinburgh, 1819). His original airs in Border Garland (Edinburgh, n.d., 1813? 1819?) evince a grasp of rhythms (notably the 'Scots snap'), wide-leaping intervals (derived from cross-string violin-playing) and archaic modes--all characteristic of Scots folksong. All are exemplified in Hogg's air I'll no wake wi Annie, which is set in the Aeolian mode transposed to G.

The poetic content of the songs is mainly bucolic lyricism, sometimes elegaic. One song indicates Hogg's fascination for disturbed states of mind: A year ower young, which Hogg learnt from 'the female maniac Billy, who wandered about the Borders', referred to as 'a puir thing' in Alexander Campbell's Journal of a Tour in the Scottish Border in 1816 (Edinburgh, 1816) + I myself have made a version of this song for mezzo soprano and violin; the violin part exploring the dark aspects of a dissturbed psyche. In this song Hogg reproduces the verses and air as sung by 'Billy' and adds verses of his own to the strophic tune. In this he is doing what Burns often did--and, indeed, he exercises the licence of all folksingers to vary an original or traditional tune and verbal text.... Beethoven thought highly enough of some of Hogg's melodies to publish settings of them.

Appendix E

Photographs

Plate 1. Tibbie Shiel's Inn, Yarrow

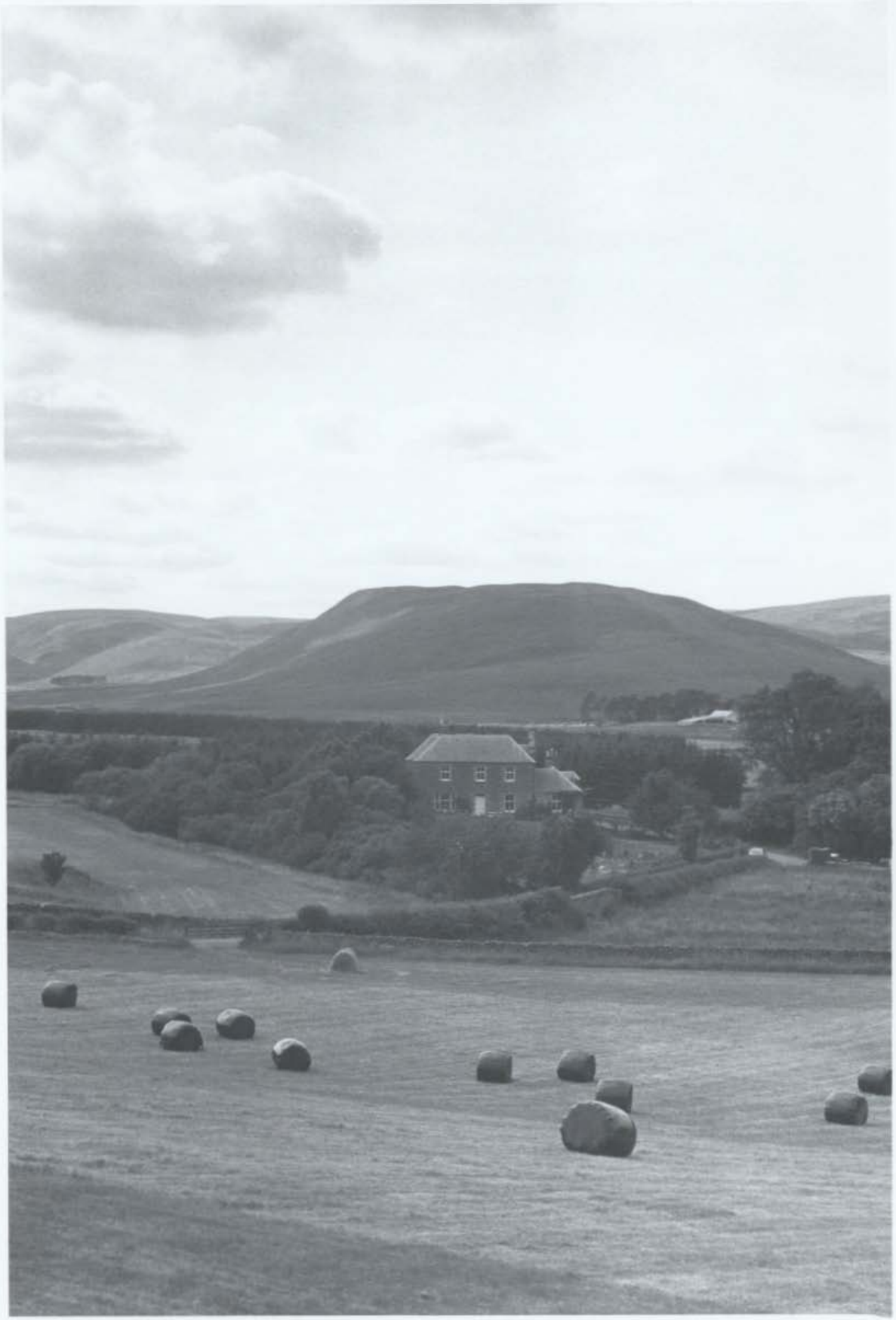


Plate 2. Tibbie Shiel's Inn, c. 1900

Note the gated settle, opening into the box bed.

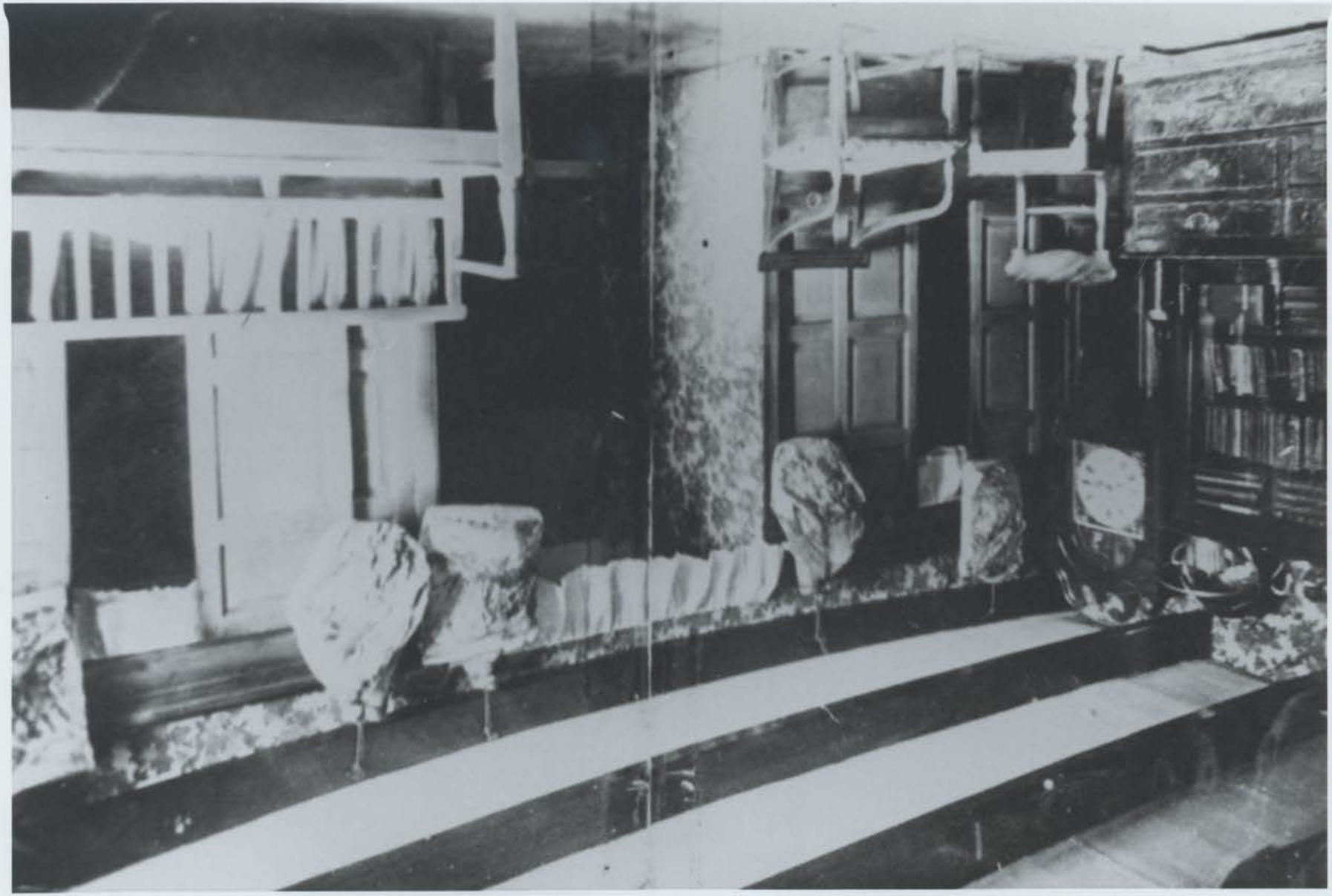


Plate 3. Tibbie Shiel's quern, courtesy of Mrs. Isabelle Shaw

Plate 4. The Loch of the Lowes

Plate 5. Eldinhope (formerly Altrive), James Hogg's house

The third storey is modern.

Plate 6. James Hogg's curling stone, courtesy of Mrs. Isabelle Shaw

Plate 7. Oakwood Tower, Ettrick

Plate 8. The James Hogg Monument, St. Mary's Loch

Bibliography

Printed Sources

Aarne, Antti, and Stith Thompson. 1961. The Types of the Folktale. A Classification and Bibliography. 2nd rev ed. FFC No 184. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedakatemia Academia Scientarium Fennica.

About the Scottish Borders. 1982. Berwickshire: Borders Regional Council.

Aitken, Hannah. 1973. A Forgotten Heritage. Original Folktales of Lowland Scotland. Edinburgh: Scottish AP.

Allen, Barbara. 1979. "The Personal Point of View in Orally Communicated History." Western Folklore 38: 110-18.

Anderson, A.O., and M.O. 1936. The Chronicle of Melrose. London: Percy, Lund, Humphries & Co.

Anderson, Jamie, and Edward Swinglehurst. 1982. Scottish Walks and Legends. The Lowlands and East Scotland. London: Granada.

"Anecdotes of Sir Walter." 1897. The Border Magazine 2: 99.

Angus, William. 1894. Ettrick and Yarrow. A Guide. Selkirk: George Lewis.

Anon. 1907. "Border Anecdotes and Stories." The Border Magazine. 12: 111-20.

Arensberg, Conrad M., and Solon T. Kimball. 1965. Culture and Community. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World.

Azadowski, Mark. 1974. A Siberian Tale Teller. Trans. James R. Dow. Monograph Series 2. Austin: U of Texas P.

Aytoun, William Edmonstoune. 1865. Lays of the Scottish Cavaliers and other Poems. Edinburgh: Blackwood.

Banks, M. Macleod. 1937-41. British Calendar Customs. Scotland. 3 vols. London: Glaisher.

Barnes, Daniel R. 1979. "Towards the Establishment of Principles for the Study of Folklore and Literature." Southern Folklore Quarterly 43: 5-16.

Barnett, Radcliffe. 1943. Border By-Ways and Lothian Lore. Edinburgh: Grant.

Barry, Phillips. 1987. "Some Aspects of Folk Song." Journal of American Folklore 100: 70-80. Rpt. from Journal of American Folklore. 25 (1912): 247-88.

Bathgate, Janet. 1898. Aunt Janet's Legacy to her Nieces. Recollections of humble life in Yarrow in the beginning of the century. 3rd ed. Selkirk: Lewis; Edinburgh: Menzies.

Batho, Edith. 1969. The Ettrick Shepherd. 1927. New York: Greenwood.

Bell, William. n.d. "Herding a Hill Hirsel." Herding a Hill Hirsel. n.p.: 31-46.

Benedict, Williston Russell. 1973. A Study of the Second Self in James Hogg's Fiction, with reference to its employment in German Romantic Literature. Unpub. Ph.D thesis. U of Columbia.

Bennett, Gillian. 1987. Traditions of Belief. London: Penguin.

Berwickshire. n.d. Berwick: Berwick District Council.

Blackie, John Stuart. 1976. Scottish Song. Its Wealth, Wisdom and Significance. 1889. New York: AMS.

Blacklock, Ambrose. 1840. A Treatise on Sheep; with the best means for their improvement, general management and the Treatment of their Diseases. Glasgow: McPheen; London: Cotes; Edinburgh: White.

Blencowe, R.W. 1911. "A Sussex Sheep Shearing." Gossett: 206-20.

Blehr, Otto. 1968. "The Analysis of Folk Belief Stories and its Implications for Research in Folk Belief and Folk Prose." Fabula. 9: 259-63.

Bloedé, Barbara. 1988. "Hogg Studies in France." Newsletter of the James Hogg Society. 7: 23.

B.M.. 1898. "The Ettrick Shepherd's Memorial." The Border Magazine 3: 166-69.

Bohlman, Philip V. 1988. The Study of Folk Music in the Modern World. Bloomington: Indiana.

"Border Raids and Reivers." 1898. The Border Magazine 3: 38-40.

Borland, Robert. 1898. Border Raids and Reivers. Dalbeattie: Fraser.

_____. 1890. Yarrow. Its Poets and Poetry. Dalbeattie: Fraser.

Boston, Thomas. 1964. Human Nature in its Fourfold State. 1720. Edinburgh: Banner of Truth.

_____. 1988. Memoir of the Life, Time, and Writings of the Reverend and Learned Thomas Boston, A.M.. 1776. Edinburgh: Banner of Truth.

Bouchier, Jonathon. 1904. "Local and Personal Proverbs in the Waverley Novels." Notes and Queries 10th series. 1: 383-84.

Boyd, Halbert J. 1948. Strange Tales of the Borders. Old and New. Edinburgh: Moray.

Briggs, Katharine M. 1959. The Anatomy of Puck. An Examination of Fairy Beliefs among Shakespeare's Contemporaries and Successors. London: Routledge.

_____. 1970-71. A Dictionary of British folk-tales in the English Language, incorporating the F.J. Norton Collection. Part A: 2 vols. Part B: 2 vols. London: Routledge.

_____. 1972. "Folklore in Nineteenth-Century English Literature." Folklore 83: 194-209.

_____. "Possible Mythological Motifs in English Folktales." Folklore 83: 265-71.

_____. 1976. An Encyclopaedia of fairies, hobgoblins, brownies, bogies, and other supernatural creatures. New York: Pantheon.

Bronner, Simon J., ed. 1981-82. "Special Section on Historical Methodology in Folkloristics." Western Folklore 40-41: 28-52.

Bronson, Bertrand Harris, ed. 1959-72. The Traditional Tunes of the Child Ballads. 4 vols. Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP.

Brown, David. 1979. Walter Scott and the historical imagination. London: Routledge.

Brown, Mary Ellen. 1981. " 'Another Rabbie Burns.' The Social Significance of the Burns' Legend." ARV: 11-17.

_____. 1984. Burns and Tradition. London: MacMillan.

Brown, Mary Ellen, and Paul S. Smith. 1982. Ballad and Folksong. CECTAL Research Guide No. 3. Sheffield: U of Sheffield P.

Brown, P. Hume. n.d. Early Travellers in Scotland. 1891. New York: Burt Franklin.

Brunvand, Jan Harold. 1986. The Study of American Folklore, an Introduction. 3rd ed. New York; London: Norton.

Buchan, David. 1972. The Ballad and the Folk. London: Routledge.

_____. 1984. Scottish Tradition. London: Routledge.

_____. 1985. A Book of Scottish Ballads. 1973. London: Routledge.

[Burn, James Dawson]. 1855. The Autobiography of a Beggar Boy. London: Tweedie.

Burns, Robert. 1959. The Merry Muses of Caledonia. Ed. James Barke and Sydney Goodsir Smith. Edinburgh: MacDonald. S.G. Smith. London:

_____. 1968. The Poems and Songs of Robert Burns. Ed. J. Kinsley. Oxford: Oxford UP.

Burns, Thomas. 1970. "A Model for Textual Variation in Folksong." Folklore Forum. 3: 49-56.

Butler, Marilyn. 1981. Romantics, Rebels & Reactionaries. English Literature and its Background (1760-1830). London: Oxford UP.

Waugh, Butler. 1966. "Structural Analysis in Literature and Folklore". Western Folklore 25: 152-64.

Byers, John. 1952. Liddesdale, Historical and Descriptive. Galashiels: John Macqueen.

Byron, George Gordon Noel. 1973-82. Byron's Letters and Journals. Ed. Jerome J. McGann. 12 vols. Oxford: Clarendon.

Cameron, David Kerr. 1978. The Ballad and the Plough. London: Gollancz.

Campbell, J.F., 1984. Popular Tales of the West Highlands. 4 vols. 1862. London: Wildwood.

Campbell, John Gregorson. 1902. Witchcraft and Second Sight in the Highlands & Islands of Scotland. Glasgow: Maclehose.

Campbell, John Lorne. 1984. Highland Songs of the Forty-Five. Edinburgh: Scottish AP.

Carlyle, Thomas. 1972. Two Note Books of Thomas Carlyle From 23d March 1822 to 16th May 1832. Ed. Charles Eliot Norton. 1898. Mamaroneck, N.Y.: Appel.

Carment, Samuel. 1898. "Yarrow: Its Scenery, People and Traditions." The Border Magazine 3: 7-8.

Carswell, Donald. 1971. Scott and his Circle. 1930. Freeport, N.Y.: Books for Libraries P.

Chambers, Robert. 1847. Popular Rhymes of Scotland. 1826. 3rd ed. Edinburgh: Chambers.

_____. 1870. Traditions of Edinburgh. 1824. Edinburgh: Chambers.

_____. 1975. The Scottish Songs. 1829. New York: AMS.

Chambers, William. n.d. Memoir of William and Robert Chambers. 8th ed. Edinburgh: Chambers.

Child, Francis James, ed. 1965. The English and Scottish Popular Ballads. 1882-98. 5 vols. New York: Dover.

Childers, J.S. 1925. "Introduction." in Southey: vii-xv.

Christiansen, Reidar Thoralf. 1958. The Migratory Legend. FFC No 185 Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedakatemia Academia Scientarium Fennica.

Clare, John. 1983. John Clare's Autobiographical Writings. Ed. Eric Robinson. London: Oxford UP.

_____. 1935. The Poems of John Clare. Ed. J.W. Tibble. 2 vols. London: Oxford UP.

"Claverhouse". 1934. Irregular Border Marriages. London: Moray.

Cobbett, William. 1984. Cobbett's Tour in Scotland. Ed. Daniel Green. Aberdeen: Aberdeen UP.

Cocchiara, Guiseppe. 1980. The History of Folklore in Europe. 1952. Trans. John N. McDaniel. Philadelphia: Institute for Human Issues.

Collins, Carvel. 1957. "Folklore and Literary Criticism" in "Folklore and Literature: A Symposium": 9-10.

Collinson, Francis. 1970. The Traditional and National Music of Scotland. 1966. London: Routledge.

Colville, James. 1909. Studies in Lowland Scots. Edinburgh: Green.

Cooke, Peter. 1986. The Fiddle Tradition of the Shetland Isles. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

The Concise Scots Dictionary. 1987. Ed. Mairi Robertson. 1985. Aberdeen: Aberdeen UP.

Corona, Daniela. n.d. Le figure della Disarmonia. James Hogg. La Metafora dell 'Identità Distorta. Palermo: Flaccovio.

Corson, James C. 1979. Notes and Index to Sir Herbert Grierson's Edition of the Letters of Sir Walter Scott. Oxford: Clarendon.

Cowan, Edward T., ed. 1980. The People's Past. Edinburgh: Polygon.

Craig, David. 1961. Scottish Literature and the Scottish People. London: Chatto.

Craig-Brown, Thomas. 1886. A History of Selkirkshire or Chronicles of Ettrick Forest. 2 vols. Edinburgh: Douglas.

Craigie, William Alexander. 1978. The Scottish Tongue. 1924. Maryland: McGrath.

Crawford, Thomas. 1976. Love, Labour and Liberty: The Eighteenth Century Scottish Lyric. Cheshire: Carcanet.

_____. 1976. Society and the Lyric. A Study of the Song Culture of Eighteenth Century Scotland. Edinburgh: Scottish AP.

Crockett, W.S. 1902. The Scott Country. London: Blackie.

Cunningham, Allan. 1874. Traditional Tales of the English and Scottish Peasantry. New Ed. London: Kerslake.

_____. 1975. The Songs of Scotland, Ancient and Modern. 1825. 4 vols. New York: AMS.

Daiches, David. 1984. God and the Poets. The Gifford Lectures, 1983. Oxford: Clarendon.

Danielson, Larry. 1979. "Towards the Analysis of Vernacular Texts: The Supernatural Narrative in Oral and Popular Print Source." Journal of the Folklore Institute 3: 130-55.

Davidson, H.R. Ellis. 1974. "Folklore and History." Folklore 85: 73-92.

_____. 1975. "Folklore and Literature." Folklore 86: 73-93.

Dechert, Mary Louise. 1981. My Spectre Around Me: The Reluctant Rebellion of the Gothic novelists. Unpub. Ph.D thesis. Vanderbilt University.

Degh, Linda. 1969. Folktales and Society. Storytelling in a Hungarian Peasant Community. 1962. Trans. Emily M. Schossberger. Bloomington: Indiana.

Degh, Linda. et al. 1976. Folklore Today. Bloomington: Indiana.

Delargy, J.H. 1945. "The Gaelic Storyteller. With some Notes on Gaelic Folktales." Proceedings of the British Academy XXXI: 3-47.

Derwent, Lavinia. 1980. Another Breath of Border Air. 1977. London: Arrow.

_____. 1989. A Breath of Border Air. 1975. London: Arrow.

Devine, T.M., and Rosalind Mitchison, eds. 1988. Vol I of People and Society in Scotland. 1760-1830. Edinburgh: John Donald.

Dibdin, James C. 1897. Scottish Border Life. A Series of Original Sketches. London: Methuen.

Donaldson, William. 1988. The Jacobite Song. Political Myth and National Identity. Aberdeen: Aberdeen UP.

Dorson, Richard M. 1951. "Five Directions in American Folklore". Midwestern Folklore 3: 149-63.

_____. 1968. The British Folklorists. A History. London: Routledge.

_____, ed. 1972. Folklore and Folklife. An Introduction. Chicago; London: U of Chicago P.

Dostoevsky, Fyodor. 1985. The Double: two versions. 1846. Trans. Evelyn Harden. Michigan: Ann Arbor.

Douglas, George. 1899a. James Hogg. Famous Scots Series. Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier.

_____. 1899b. "The Wife of the Ettrick Shepherd." The Border Magazine 4: 223.

Douglas, George. 1967. [George Douglas Brown]. The House with the Green Shutters. 1902. London: Cassell.

Douglas, Mary, ed. 1970. Witchcraft Confessions and Accusations. London: Tavistock.

Douglas, Robert. 1798. General View of the Agriculture of the Counties of Roxburgh and Selkirk, with Observations on the Means of their Improvement. Edinburgh: The Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement.

Dryerre, J. Meldrum. n.d. Heroes and Heroines of the Scottish Covenanters. Kilmarnock: John Ritchie.

Duck, Stephen. 1973. Poems on Several Occasions. 1736. Menston, Yorkshire: Scolar.

Dugaw, Diane. 1987. "The Popular Marketing of 'Old Ballads': The Ballad Revival and Eighteenth Century Antiquarianism Reconsidered." Eighteenth Century Studies 21: 71-90.

Dunbar, John Telfer. 1974. The Costumes of Scotland. London: Batsford.

Dundes, Alan, ed. 1965. The Study of Folklore. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.

Dutt, Sukumar. 1972. The Supernatural in English Romantic Poetry, 1730-1830. 1938. Folcroft, Pa.: Folcroft Library Editions.

Elliot, Jock. 1908. "'The Blanket Preaching.' Yarrow." The Border Magazine 13: 208-9.

_____. 1921. "Yarrow." The Border Magazine 26: 78-80.

Elliot, Stuart Douglas. 1896. "The Edinburgh Borderers' Union." The Border Magazine. 1: 4-5.

Eskdale, George. 1893. "A Border Tinker Family." The Border Magazine 3 :185-86.

"The Ettrick Bard." 1901. "Curling." The Border Magazine 6: 20.

The Ettricke Garland. Being Two Excellent New Songs on the Lifting of the Banner of Buccleuch at the Great Foot-ball Match on Carterhaugh Dec. 4, 1815. 1971. 1815. Greenock: Grian-Aig.

The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland. [Rotuli scaccarii regum Scotorum 1264-1600]. 1878-1908. 23 vols. Edinburgh: H.M. General Register House.

"'Extempore Effusion' Wordsworth's Dead Friends: The Ettrick Shepherd." 13 Dec. 1935. Times Literary Supplement: 845-46.

Farmer, Henry George. 1970. A History of Music in Scotland. New York: Da Capo.

Fenton, Alexander. 1962-3. "Early and Traditional Cultivating Implements in Scotland." Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland XVCI: 264-317.

_____. 1976. Scottish Country Life. Edinburgh: John Donald.

_____. 1985-86. The Shape of the Past. 2 vols. Edinburgh: John Donald.

Fenton, Alexander, and Bruce Walker. 1981. The Rural Architecture of Scotland. Edinburgh: John Donald.

Ferguson, William. 1973. "Tales and Traditions form a Morvern Gaelic Speaker." Tocher 9: 18-25.

Fiske, Roger. 1983. Scotland in Music. A European Enthusiasm. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

Fletcher, Margaret. 1902. "Old World Superstitions and Stories of Ettrick and Yarrow." The Border Magazine 7: 166-69.

"Folklore and Literary Criticism: A Symposium." 1957. Journal of American Folklore 70: 1-65.

Fowler, David C. 1966. "'The Hunting of the Cheviot' and 'The Battle of Otterburn'" Western Folklore 25: 165-71.

Fraser, Duncan. 1898. "The Hidden Nooks of Meggat." The Border Magazine 3: 24-26.

Fraser, George MacDonald. 1974. The Steel Bonnets. 1971. London: Pan.

Funk & Wagnall's Standard Dictionary of folklore, mythology and legend. Ed. Maria Leach. 1949-50. New York: Funk & Wagnall.

Galpin, F.W. 1911. "Shepherd's Pipes." in Gossett: 282-85.

Galt, John. 1984. Ringan Gilhaize or the Covenanters. 1823. Ed. Patricia E. Wilson. Edinburgh: Scottish AP.

Garden, Mrs. 1885. Memorials of James Hogg, The Ettrick Shepherd. London: Gardner.

Garland, Wodehouse R.H. 1911. "A Shepherd's Bush." Gossett: 18-19.

Gerould, Gordon Hall. 1932. The Ballad of Tradition. Oxford: Clarendon.

Gibson, A. and T.C. Smout. 1989. "Scottish Food and Scottish History 1500-1800." Houston and Whyte: 59-84.

Gide, André. 1959. "Introduction" to The Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner. 1947. Trans. Dorothy Bussy. London: Cresset.

Gifford, Douglas. 1970. James Hogg. Edinburgh: Ramsay Head.

Gilbert, J.M. 1979. Hunting and Hunting Reserves in Medieval Scotland. Edinburgh: John Donald.

Gillies, R.P. 1851. Memoirs of a Literary Veteran. 3 vols. London: Bentley.

Glassie, Henry., Edward D. Ives, and John F. Szwed. 1970. Folksongs And Their Makers. Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green U Popular Culture P.

Glen, John. 1976. Early Scottish Melodies. Including examples from Mss. and early printed works, along with a number of comparative tunes, notes on former annotators, English and other claims, and biographical notices, etc.. 1900. New York: AMS.

Gmelch, George, and Ben Kroup. 1978. To Shorten the Road. Dublin: O'Brien.

Gogol, N.V. 1975. The Portrait. 1834. Ed. Arian Kiriloff. Letchworth, Hertfordshire: Bradde.

Goldstein, Kenneth S. "On the Application of the Concepts of Active and Inactive Traditions to the Study of Repertory." Journal of American Folklore 84: 62-67.

Gossett, Adelaide L.J. 1911. Shepherds of Britain. Scenes from Shepherd Life Past and Present. London: Constable.

Graham, Henry Grey. 1901. Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century. London: Black.

_____. 1908. Scottish Men of Letters in the Eighteenth Century. London: Black.

Grant, I.F. 1930. Social and Economic Life in Scotland before 1603. Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd.

Greig, Gavin. 1925. Last leaves of traditional ballads and ballad airs. Ed. Alexander Keith. Aberdeen: Buchan Club.

_____. 1963. Folk-song in Buchan and Folk-song in the North-east. 1909-14. Harboro, Penn.: Folklore Associates. Rpt. from The Buchan Observer Dec. 1907-June 1911.

Grobman, Neil R. 1979. "A Schema for the Study of the Sources and Literary Simulations of Folklore Phenomena." In "Special Issue: Folklore and Literature.": 17-37.

_____. "Introduction" to "Special Issue: Folklore and Literature.": 1-2.

Groves, David. 1986. "Stepping Back to an Early Age: James Hogg's Three Perils of Woman and the Ion of Euripides." Studies in Scottish Literature 21: 176-96.

_____. 1987. James Hogg and the St. Ronan's Border Club. Dollar: Douglas Mack.

_____. 1988. James Hogg, The Growth of a Writer. Edinburgh: Scottish AP.

_____. 1990a. "Early Nineteenth Century, excluding Scott." The Year's Work: 1986. Scottish Literary Journal: 18-24.

_____. 1990b. "James Hogg's 'Historical Ballads'." The Library 12: 137-40.

Grübaeur, J.E. 1988. "James Hogg in Holland." Newsletter of the James Hogg Society 7: 21-22.

Haldane, A.R.B. 1968. The Drove Roads of Scotland. 1952. Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP.

Hall, Robert. 1900. "The Blanket Preaching--A Day in Yarrow." The Border Magazine. 5: 195-99.

Hand, Wayland D., ed. 1971., American Folk Legend. A Symposium. Berkeley: U of California P.

Handley, James E. 1963. The Agricultural Revolution in Scotland. Glasgow: Burns.

Hardy, James. 1831-41. "Additions to the Popular Rhymes of Berwickshire." The History of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club I: 217-19.

Hardy, Thomas. 1987. Figures in a Wessex Landscape. Ed. Joanna Cullen Brown. London: Allison & Busby.

Harker, Dave. 1985. Fakesong. The Manufacture of British 'folksong' 1700 to the present day. Milton Keynes: Open UP.

Hart, Francis Russell. 1978. The Scottish Novel. From Smollett to Spark. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP.

Henderson, Hamish. 1972. "Jeannie Robertson as Storyteller." Tocher 6: 169-78.

_____. 1980. "The Ballad, The Folk and Oral Tradition." in Cowan, ed.: 69-107.

Henderson, Geor . 1831-41a. "The Proverbs and Popular Sayings of Berwickshire."

The History of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club I: 119-23.

_____. 1831-41b. "The Popular Rhymes of Berwickshire; to which are added, a few illustrations." The History of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club I: 119-23.

_____. 1842-49. "Addenda to the Local Proverbs, &c. of Berwickshire." The History of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club 2: 99-105.

_____. 1977. The Popular Rhymes, Sayings, and Proverbs of the County of Berwick. 1856. Folcroft, Penn.: Folcroft.

Henderson, William. 1879. Notes on the Folklore of the Northern Counties of England and the Borders. London: Satchell and Peyton.

Hendry, Ian D., and Graham Stephen. 1978. Scotscape. Lore, Legends and Customs of Scotland. Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd.

Herd, David. 1904. Songs from David Herd's Manuscript. Ed. Hans Hecht. Edinburgh: Hay.

Herding a Hill Hirsel. n.d. Edinburgh: n.p.

Heron, R. 1975. Scotland Delineated, Or a Geographical Description of Every Shire in Scotland, Including the Northern and Western Isles. With Some Account of the Curiosities, Antiquities, and Present State of the Country. 1799. Edinburgh: James Thin.

Hervey, James. 1877. Meditations and Contemplations. London: Tegg.

Herzog, George. "Song, Folk Song and the Music of Folk Song." In Funk & Wagnall II: 1032-50.

Hill, Dr J. 1969-71. "'A Lamb and a Pair of Shoes.' A Bicentenary Tribute to the

Ettrick Shepherd." Transactions of the Hawick Archaeological Society: 3-12.

Hislop, Alexander. n.d. The Proverbs of Scotland. 3rd ed. Edinburgh: Livingstone.

Hobbs, Sandy. 1978. "The Folk Tale as News." Oral History 6: 74-86.

Hodgart, M.J.C. 1964. The Ballads. 1962. London: Hutchinson.

Hoffmann, E.T.A. 1829. The Devil's Elixir. Trans. R.P. Gillies. Edinburgh: Blackwoods.

Hogg, James. 1805a. "The Hay Making." The Scots Magazine 67: 56.

_____. 1805b. "Love Abused." The Scots Magazine 67: 295

_____. 1805c. "Letters on Poetry." The Scots Magazine 67: 352-4.

_____. 1807. The Shepherd's Guide. London: Murray.

_____, ed. 1810-11. The Spy. Edinburgh: Constable.

_____. 1812a. "The History of Rose Selby." The Scots Magazine 74: 179-83.

_____. 1812b. "On the Surest Means of Improving the Breeds of Sheep, and the Quality of the Wool. The Farmers Magazine. A Periodical Work, Exclusively Devoted to Agriculture and Rural Affairs 13: 173-76.

_____. 1812c. "On the Causes, Prevention, Symptoms. and Cure, of a Destructive Malady Among Sheep." Farmers Magazine 13: 209-12.

_____. 1812d. "On the Diseases of Sheep." Farmers Magazine 13: 475-80.

_____. 1817a. Dramatic Tales. 2 vols. Edinburgh: Ballantine; London: Longman.

_____. 1817b. The Long Pack. Newcastle: John Bell.

_____. 1817c. "On the Present State of Sheep-Farming in Scotland." Farmer's Magazine 18: 144-49.

_____. 1817d. "Tales and Anecdotes of the Pastoral Life." Blackwoods Edinburgh Magazine. 1: 143-47; 247-50.

_____. 1818. "The Hunt of Eildon." Rpt. in Hogg 1837.

_____. 1819a. "Storms." Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine. 3: 75-81; 210-16. Rpt. in Mack 1982: 1-21.

_____. 1819b. The Queen's Wake. 1813. Edinburgh: Blackwoods; London: Murray.

_____. 1821. Winter Evening Tales. 2 vols. 2nd ed. Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd.

_____. 1822. The Royal Jubilee. A Scottish Mask. Edinburgh: Blackwood; London: Cadell.

_____. 1823a. "The Hon. Captain Napier and Ettrick Forest." Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine 14: 175-88.

_____. 1823b. "The Shepherd's Calendar. Class II. Deaths, Judgements, and Providences." Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine 13: 311-20.

_____. 1823c. "The Shepherd's Calendar. Class II. Deaths, Judgements, and Providences." Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine 13: 629-40. Rpt. in Hogg 1829 as "Mr Adamson of Laverhope."

_____. 1823d. "A Scots Mummy. To Sir Christopher North." Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine 14: 188-90.

_____. 1823e. The Three Perils of Woman. 3 vols. London: Longman.

_____. 1824a. "The Shepherd's Calendar. Class IV. Dogs." Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine 15: 177-83. Rpt. in Hogg 1829.

_____. 1824b. "The Shepherd's Calendar. Class V. The Lasses." Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine 15: 296-301. Rpt. in Hogg 1829.

_____. 1827a. "The Shepherd's Calendar. General Anecdotes. Sheep, Prayers, Odd Characters." Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine 21: 434-48. Rpt. in Hogg 1829.

_____. 1827b. "The Shepherd's Calendar. Dreams and Apparitions, Containing George Dobson's Expedition to Hell, and the Souters of Selkirk." Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine 21: 549-62.

_____. 1827c. "The Shepherd's Calendar. Dreams and Apparitions. Part II. Containing Tibby Hyslop's Dream, and the Sequel." Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine 21: 664-76.

_____. 1827d. "The Shepherd's Calendar. Dreams and Apparitions. Containing Smithy Cracks, &c. Part III. Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine 22: 64-73.

_____. 1827e. "The Shepherd's Calendar. Dreams and Apparitions. Part IV." Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine 22: 173-85. Rpt. as "The Laird of Cassway" in Hogg 1829.

_____. 1827f. "The Marvellous Doctor." Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine 22: 349-61.

_____. 1828a. "The Shepherd's Calendar. Class IX. Fairies, Brownies and Witches. Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine 23: 214-27. Rpt. as "Mary Burnet" in Hogg 1829.

_____. 1828b. "The Shepherd's Calendar. Class IX. Fairies, Deils and Witches." Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine 23: 509-17. Rpt. as "The Witches of Traquair" in Hogg 1829.

_____. 1828-29. "Mr. Hogg on the Effects of Mole-Catching." The Quarterly Journal of Agriculture 1: 640-45.

_____. 1829. The Shepherd's Calendar. Edinburgh: Blackwood; London: Cadell.

_____. 1829-31. "Remarks on Certain Diseases of Sheep." The Quarterly Journal of Agriculture 2: 697-706.

_____. 1830a. "A Letter from Yarrow. The Scottish Psalmody Defended." The Edinburgh Literary Journal 3: 162-63.

_____. 1830b. "What is Sin?" Ackermann's Juvenile Forget Me Not: 223-27.

_____. 1831a. "The Bogle of the Brae." in The Club Book. Vol. III.: 231-64. London: Cochrane.

_____. 1831b. "A Tale of an Old Highlander." The Metropolitan: 113-20.

_____. 1831c. "The Two Valleys, a Fairy Tale." Remembrance: 121-32.

_____. 1831-32. "On the Changes in the Habits, Amusements, and Condition of the Scottish Peasantry." The Quarterly Journal of Agriculture 3: 256-63. Rpt in Hogg 1985b.

_____. 1833. "An Auld Wife's Dream." Frasers Magazine for Town and Country: 68-72.

_____. 1834a. The Domestic Manners and Private Life of Sir Walter Scott. With a Memoir of the Author. Glasgow: Reid; Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd; London:

Black.

_____. 1834b. "Extraordinary History of a Border Beauty." Frasers Magazine for Town and Country 9: 97-111.

_____. 1834c. "The Frasers in the Correi." Frasers Magazine for Town and Country 9: 273-78.

_____. 1834d. A Series of Lay Sermons on Good Principles and Good Breeding. London: Fraser.

_____. 1835. Tales of the Wars of Montrose. 3 vols. London: Cochrane.

_____. 1836a. "The Ettrick Shepherd's Last Tale, Helen Crocket, with an introduction by Oliver Yorke." Frasers Magazine for Town and Country 14: 425-40.

_____. 1836b. "The Turners." Frasers Magazine for Town and Country 13: 609-19.

_____. 1837. Tales and Sketches by the Ettrick She, rd. Ed. D.O. Hill. 6 vols. Glasgow: Blackie.

_____. 1841. "Memoir of Burns." In Vol. V of The Works of Robert Burns. Eds. The Ettrick Shepherd and William Motherwell.: 1-263. Edinburgh: Fullarton: 1-263.

_____. 1874. The Jacobite Relics of Scotland. 1819-21. 2 vols. Paisley: Gardner.

_____. 1969. The Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner. 1824. Ed. John Carey. London: Oxford UP.

_____. 1970. James Hogg. Selected Poems. London: Oxford UP.

_____. 1972a. Memoirs of the Author's Life and Familiar Anecdotes of Sir Walter Scott. Ed. Douglas S. Mack. New York: Barnes & Noble.

_____. 1972b. The Three Perils of Man. 1822. Edinburgh; London: Scottish AP.

_____. 1973. The Works of the Ettrick Shepherd. 1865. Ed. Robert Thomson. 2 vols. New York: AMS.

_____. 1976. The Brownie of Bodsbeck. 1818. Ed. Douglas Mack. Edinburgh: Scottish AP.

_____. 1981a. Highland Tours. The Ettrick Shepherd's Travels in the Scottish Highlands and Western Isles in 1802, 1803 and 1804. Ed. William F. Laughlan. Hawick, Rox.: Byway.

_____. 1981b. The King's Anthem and Mary Gray. Stirling: U of Stirling Bibliographical Society.

_____. 1982. Selected Stories and Sketches; James Hogg. Ed. Douglas S. Mack. Edinburgh: Scottish AP.

_____. 1983. Anecdotes of Sir W. Scott. Ed. Douglas S. Mack. Edinburgh: Scottish AP.

_____. 1985a. A Selection of Poems by James Hogg the Ettrick Shepherd. The Glen Cafe, St. Mary's Loch: James Dunlop.

_____. 1985b. A Shepherd's Delight. Ed. Judy Steel. Edinburgh: Canongate.

_____. 1985c. Tales of Love and Mystery. Ed. David Groves. Edinburgh: Canongate.

_____. 1988. Scottish Pastorals. Poems, Songs, &c. Mostly Written in the Dialect of the South. 1801. Ed. Elaine Petrie. Stirling: Stirling UP.

Hogg, James. 1895. De Quincey and his Friends. London: Sampson Low, Marston.

Houston, R.A. 1989. "Women in the Economy and Society of Scotland 1500-1800." Houston and White: 118-47.

Houston, R.A. and I.D. Whyte. 1989. Scottish Society 1500-1800. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

Hughes, Gillian. 1981. James Hogg's Fiction and the Periodicals. Unpub. Ph.D. thesis. U of Edinburgh.

_____, ed. n.d. Papers Given at the first James Hogg Society Conference (Stirling, 1982). Stirling: James Hogg Society.

_____, ed. 1988. Papers Given at the second James Hogg Society Conference (Edinburgh 1985). Aberdeen: Aberdeen UP.

Hustvedt, Sigurd Bernhard. 1930. Ballad Books and Ballad Men. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP.

Hutchinson, H.N. 1974. Marriage Customs in Many Lands. 1897. Detroit: Gale Research.

The Illustrated Book of Scottish Songs from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century. 1854. London: Cooke.

James Hogg The Ettrick Shepherd. Memorial Volume. Being the Speeches delivered on the occasion of the Unveiling of the Memorial, erected to commemmorate the Birthplace of JAMES HOGG, the Ettrick Shepherd, at Etttrickhall, on 28th June 1898. n.d. Selkirk: Lewis.

Jansen, Wm Hugh. "Legend: Oral Tradition in the Modern Experience." In Degh et al.: 264-72.

J.A.S. 1901. "Border Stories." The Border Magazine 26: 55-57.

Jason, Heda. 1973. "The Genre in Oral Literature." Temenos 9: 156-60.

J.B.C. 1921. "A Border Shepherd of 70 Years Ago." The Border Magazine 26 :55-57.

Jeffrey, Francis. 1820. "Review of James Hogg's Jacobite Relics." Edinburgh Review 34: 148-60.

Jewell, Brian. 1976. Fairs and Revels. Tunbridge Wells, Kent: Midas.

Johnson, David. 1972. Music and Society in Lowland Scotland in the Eighteenth Century. London: Oxford UP.

_____. 1984. Scottish Fiddle Music in the Eighteenth Century. Edinburgh: John Donald.

Johnson, James. 1962. The Scots Musical Museum. 1853. 2 vols. Hatboro, Penn.: Folklore Associates.

Johnston, Thomas. 1774. General View of the Agriculture of the County of Selkirk, with observations on the means of its improvement. London: the Board of Agriculture.

K., R. S. n.d. The Blanket Preaching. Being occasional sermons preached in St. Mary's Churchyard. Galashiels: Stewart.

Keith, Alexander. 1976. Burns and Folk Song. 1922. Folcroft, Penn.: Folcroft.

Keith, C. 21 Nov 1935. "James Hogg, The Ettrick Shepherd." The Scotsman: 8.

Kodish, Deborah. 1983. "Fair Young Ladies and Bonnie Irish Boys:Patterns in Vernacular Poetics." Journal of American Folklore 6: 131-50.

Kryzanowski, Julian. 1967. "Legend in Literature and Folklore." Fabula 9: 110-17.

Laidlaw William. 1905. "Recollections of Sir Walter Scott." Hawick Archaeological Society Transactions: 66-74.

Lang, Andrew. 1968. Sir Walter Scott and the Border Minstrelsy. 1910. New York: AMS.

Lang, Jean. 1913. North and South of the Tweed. London: Nelson.

_____. 1930. A Land of Romance. The Borders: Its History and Legend. London: Nelson.

Laurenson, Jamie. 1975. "Jamie Laurenson, Oral Historian of Fetlar, with a Selection of his tales, songs, and other traditions." Tocher 19: 81-104.

Leishman, Thomas. 1863-68. "Illustrations of Ancient Customs and Superstitions, extracted from the Records of the Presbytery of Kelso, 1609-1687." The History of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club 5: 330-56.

Lenman, Bruce. 1986. The Jacobite Cause. Glamorgan: Drew.

Letley, Emma. 1988. "'The Management of the Tongue'; Hogg's Literary Uses of Scots." in Hughes, n.d.

Lindsay, Maurice. 1977a. History of Scottish Literature. London: Hale.

_____. 1977b. The Lowlands of Scotland. Edinburgh and the South. 1956. London: Robert Hale.

Lochhead, Marion. 1985. Magic and Witchcraft of the Borders. London: Hall.

_____. 1986. Edinburgh Lore and Legend. Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk: St. Edmunsbury P.

Lockhart, Helen J. 1990. One Woman's Music 1. privately printed.

Lockhart, John Gibson. 1901. Memoirs of the The Life of Sir Walter Scott. 1836. 5 vols. Boston: Fireside.

_____. 1977. Peter's Letters to his Kinsfolk Ed. William Ruddick. Edinburgh: Scottish AP.

Lodge, Philip. 1988. "The Bush Aboon Traquair: The First Version Rediscovered." in Hughes 1988: 68-78.

Logan, Patrick. 1986. Fair Day. Belfast: Appletree.

Lord, Albert. 1960. The Singer of Tales. Cambridge: Harvard UP.

Lucas, John. 1973. "Introductory Note." in Duck: n. pag.

Lüthi, Max. 1976. Once Upon a Time. On the Nature of Fairy Tales. Trans. Lee Chadeayne and Paul Gottwald. 1970. Bloomington: Indiana.

MacColl, Ewan. 1990. Journeyman: An Autobiography. London: Sidgwick & Jackson.

McDermitt, Barbara., and Alan Bruford. 1980. "Duncan Williamson." Tocher 33: 141-87.

MacDiarmid, Hugh. 1972. Scottish Eccentrics. 1936. New York: Johnson.

MacLachlan, Robin W. 1977. The Literary Development of James Hogg. Unpub. Ph.D. thesis. U of Stirling.

MacLaren, A. Allan. 1976. Social Class in Scotland: Past and Present. Edinburgh: John Donald.

Maclaren, Callum. n.d. Strange Tales of the Borders. Kelso: Lang Syne.

McLuhan, Marshall. 1962. The Gutenberg Galaxy. The making of typographic man. Toronto: U of Toronto P.

MacNeill, F. Marian. n.d. Hallowe'en. Its Origin, Rites and Ceremonies in the Scottish Tradition. Edinburgh: Albyn.

_____. 1957-68. The Silver Bough. 4 vols. Glasgow: Maclellan.

Macpherson, Hector. n.d. The Wigtown Martyrs. Edinburgh: Scottish Reformation Society.

Mack, Douglas. 1972. "Introduction" to Hogg 1972a: vii-xviii.

Mackie, Albert. 1967. Scottish Pageantry. London: Hutchinson.

Marchbanks, Agnes. 1892. "Border Bodies." The Border Magazine 4: 221-223.

"Memories of Boston." 1899. The Border Magazine 4: 223.

Mill, Anna Jean. 1969. Medieval Plays in Scotland. 1924. New York: Bloom.

Miller, Josephine L., 1986. "Traditions of Music Making in the Glenkens, Galloway." Unpub. M.Litt thesis. U of Edinburgh.

Miller, T.D. 1902. "Tibbie Shiel's." The Border Magazine. 7: 12-16.

Muir, Edwin. 1980. Scottish Journey. 1935. Edinburgh: Mainstream.

_____. 1982. Scott and Scotland. 1936. Edinburgh: Polygon.

Munn, Pat. 1975. Bodmin Riding & Other Similar Customs. Bodmin, Cornwall:

Bodmin.

Munro, Ailie. 1984. The Folk Music Revival in Scotland. London: Kahn & Averill.

Murray, Robert. 1897. "Hawick Songs and Song Writers." 3rd ed. Hawick: Kennedy.

Naismith, Roger A. 1985. Buildings in the Scottish Countryside. London: Goilancz.

National Proverbs: Scotland. 1913. London: Palmer.

The New Statistical Account. Roxburgh, Peebles and Selkirk. 1845. Vol. 3. of 15 vols. Edinburgh: Blackwood.

Nicolaisen, W.F.H. 1976. Scottish Place Names. Their Study and Significance. London: Batsford.

_____. 1988. "The Linguistic Structure of Legends." In Gillian Bennett, Paul Smith and J.D.A. Widdowson, eds. Perspectives on Contemporary Legend. Sheffield: Sheffield AP.

Oakes, Alma, and Margot Hamilton Hill. 1970. Rural Costume. Its Origin and Development in Western Europe and the British Isles. London: Batsford; New York: Reinhold.

Oliphant, [Margaret]. 1897. William Blackwood and His Sons: Annals of an Edinburgh Publishing House. Edinburgh: Blackwood.

Olrik, Axel. 1965. "Epic Laws of Folk Narrative." 1909. Trans. Jeanne P. Steager. In Dundes 1965: 129-41.

Ong, Walter J. 1982. Orality and Literacy. The Technologizing of the Word. London: Methuen.

O.R. 1921. "Walter Scott and the Covenanters." The Border Magazine 26: 280-83.

Ord, John. 1974. Bothy Songs and Ballads. 1930. Norwood, Penn.: Norwood ed.

Orwin, C.S., and C.S. Orwin. 1954. The Open Fields. 1936. Oxford: Clarendon.

Pache, Walter. 1970. "'Der Ettrickschäfer Hoggs.' A Scotsman's Literary Reputation in Germany." Studies in Scottish Literature 8: 109-17.

Parsons, Coleman O. 1964. Witchcraft and Demonology in Scott's Fiction. Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd.

Percy, Thomas. 1857. Reliques of Ancient English Poetry. 1765. 3 vols. London: Routledge.

Petrie, E.E. 1980. James Hogg: A Study in the transition from folk tradition to literature. Unpub. Ph.D. thesis. U of Stirling.

_____. 1988. James Hogg's The Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner. Scotnotes No. 4. Aberdeen: Association for Scottish Literary Studies.

_____. 1983. "Odd Characters: Traditional Informants in James Hogg's Family." Scottish Literary Journal 110: 30-41.

Petrie, Winifred M. 1950. Folk Tales of the Border. London; Edinburgh: Nelson.

Pollok, Robert. 1861. Tales of the Covenanters. Edinburgh: Oliphant.

Propp, Vladimir. 1988. The Morphology of the Folktale. 1928. 3rd printing. Austin, Texas: U of Texas P.

"Psalmody Rhymes." 1912-19. Miscellanea of the Rymour Club Edinburgh II: 42-3.

Purdie, David W. Dec. 4 1931. "The Poet's Album, no. 9. James Hogg." The Kelso Chronicle: 7-8.

Rae, Thomas. 1966. The Administration of the Scottish Frontier, 1513-1603. Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP.

Ramsay, Allan. 1979. A Collection of Scots Proverbs. 1750. Edinburgh: Paul Harris.

Rannie, David Watson. 1972. Wordsworth and his Circle. 1907. New York: Haskell.

Redekop, Magdalene Falk. 1976. The Narrative Art of James Hogg. Unpub. Ph.D. thesis. U of Toronto.

Reed, James. 1973. The Border Ballads. London: Athlone.

Riddell, Robert of Glenriddell. n.d. A Collection of Scotch Galwegian & Border Tunes for the Violin and Piano Forte, With a Bass for the Violoncello [sic] or Harpsichord. Edinburgh: Johnson.

Ritson, Joseph. 1975. Scottish Songs. 1794. New York: AMS.

Robertson, Andrew. n.d. "Herding a Hill Hirsel." Herding a Hill Hirsel.: 56-61.

Robson, James. 1897. "Border Battles and Battlefields. Battle of Philiphaugh, fought 13th September 1645." The Border Magazine II: 56-59.

Robson, Michael. 1973. "The Story of Gilpin Horner." Hawick Archaeological Society Transactions: 12-19.

_____. 1974. "Sir Walter Scott's Collecting of Ballads in the Borders." Hawick Archaeological Society Transactions: 3-33.

_____. 1986. The Ballads of Liddesdale. Newcastleton, Rox.: Robson.

_____. 1988. Sheep of the Borders. Newcastleton, Rox.: Robson.

_____. 1986. Tibbie Shiel. Newcastleton, Rox.: Robson.

Rodgers, Philip. 1986. " 'A Name Which May Serve Your Turn ': James Hogg's Gil-Martin." Studies in Scottish Literature 21: 176-96.

Russell, James. 1894. Reminiscences of Yarrow. 1841. Selkirk: Lewis.

Russell, [Miss]. 1892-3. "The Gaelic Element in the Spoken Language of the South of Scotland." The History of the Berwickshire Naturalists Club 14: 161-71.

_____. 1901-2. "The Antiquity of the Ballad of Auld Maitland." The History of the Berwickshire Naturalists Club 18: 138-41.

Ryder, M.L. 1983. Sheep and Man. London: Duckworth.

St. Boswells. A Conservation Village. n.d. St. Boswells: St. Boswell's Parish Community Council.

Sanderson, Margaret B. 1982. Scottish Rural Society in the Sixteenth Century. Edinburgh: John Donald.

Sandor, István. 1967. "Dramaturgy of Tale Telling." Acta Ethnographica 16. 3-4: 305-38.

Scott, M.W. 1900. "The Ettrick Shepherd and the Border Games." The Border Magazine 5: 204.

Scott, P.H. 1988. "Borders Festival: All-Hallow's Eve." Newsletter of the James Hogg Society 7: 8-9.

Scott, Walter. 1908. Old Mortality. 1816. London: Dent; New York: Dutton.

_____. 1866. The Poetical Works of Sir Walter Scott. Edinburgh: Black.

_____. 1930. The Private Letter-Books of Sir Walter Scott. Ed. Wilfred Partington. London: Hodder and Stoughton.

_____. 1931. The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border. 1802-03. 3 vols. Ed. Thomas Henderson. London: Harrap.

_____. 1970. Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft. 1831. New York: Citadel.

_____. 1971. The Letters of Sir Walter Scott. 1787-1807. 1932-37. Ed. H.J.C. Grierson. 12 vols. New York: AMS.

_____. 1972. The Journal of Sir Walter Scott. Ed. W.E.K. Anderson. Oxford: Clarendon.

Scott and his Circle. 1964. Edinburgh: National Galleries of Scotland.

The Scottish National Dictionary. 1931-1974. 9 vols. Eds. William Grant and David Murison. Edinburgh: The Scottish National Dictionary Association.

"Selkirk's Ballad Lore." 1915. The Border Magazine 20: 188-190.

Selkirkshire. 1957. Royal Commission of the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland. Edinburgh: HMSO.

Singer, William. 1807. "Report of a Survey of Watered Meadows, situated on, or near the rivers Elk, Ewes, Tiviot, Etterick, and Yarrow. Made in 1804, 1805." Prize Essays and Transactions of the Highland Society of Scotland 3: 257-338.

"Sir Walter and the Ettrick Shepherd's Last Meeting." 1898. The Border Magazine 3: 52-53.

Smith, [George] Gregory. 1919. Scottish Literature. Character and Influence. London: Macmillan.

Smith, Nelson. 1980. James Hogg. Boston: Twayne.

Southey, Robert. 1925. The Lives and Works of the Uneducated Poets. Ed. J.S. Childers. London: Milford.

_____. 1965. New Letters of Robert Southey. Ed. Kenneth Curry. 2 vols. New York: Columbia UP.

"Special Issue: Folklore and Literature." 1979. Southern Folklore Quarterly 43: 1-24.

Spence, Lewis. 1948. The Fairy Tradition in Britain. London: Rider.

Stahl, Sandra K.D. "Style in Oral and Written Narratives." In "Special Issue: Folklore and Literature" : 39-62.

Stanley, David H. 1979. "The Personal Narrative and the Personal Novel: Folklore as Frame and Structure for Literature." In "Special Issue: Folklore and Literature": 107-20.

"Stanley Robertson." 1986. Tocher 40: 170-224.

The Statistical Account of Scotland. The Eastern Borders. 1973. Ed. John Sinclair. Vol. III of 20 vols. 1791-99. East Ardsley, Wakefield: EP.

Stenhouse, William. "Illustrations of the Lyric Poetry and Music of Scotland." In Johnson, II: 1-512.

Stevens, W. 1917. Yarrow. In History, Literature and Romance. Selkirk: Lewis.

Stevenson, David. 1988. The Covenanters. Saltire Pamphlets, New Series 11.

Edinburgh: The Saltire Society.

Stevenson, Robert Louis. 1971. "To S.R. Crockett On Receiving a Dedication." In Robert Louis Stevenson. Collected Poems. Ed. Janet Adam Smith. 1951. London: Rupert Hart-Davis.

_____. 1866. The Pentland Rising. Edinburgh: Elliot.

Stevenson, Ronald. 1987. A Year Ower Young. For medium voice and violin. Words James Hogg. Aylesbury, Buckinghamshire: Bardic Editions.

"The Stewarts of Blair: an Introduction to a gifted travelling family, with tales and songs from three generations." 1976. Tocher 21: 165-88.

Stoddart, Thomas Tod. 1837. Angling Reminiscences. Edinburgh: Edinburgh Printing; Glasgow: Smith; Aberdeen: Brown.

Strout, Alan Lang. 1946. The Life and Letters of James Hogg, The Ettrick Shepherd. Vol I [of I]. Lubbock, Texas: Texas Tech P.

Sutherland, Abby A. 1957. Robert Burns and James Hogg: A Comparison. Unpub. Ph.D thesis. U of Pennsylvania.

"The Story of Auld Ringan." 1904. The Border Magazine 9: 74-75.

Swann, Elsie. 1934. Christopher North (John Wilson). Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd.

Tait, James. "Earlstoun." 1863-8. The History of the Berwickshire Naturalists Club 5: 261-59.

Taylor, Archer. 1962. The Proverb and an Index to the Proverb. 1931 and 1934. Hatboro, Penn.: Folklore Associates; Copenhagen, Denmark: Rosenkilde and Bagger.

_____. 1970. "The Anecdote: A Neglected Genre." In Jerome Mandel and Bruce A. Rosenberg, eds. Medieval Literature and Folklore Studies. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers UP: 223-28.

Thomas, Keith. 1971. Religion and the Decline of Magic. Studies in popular beliefs in sixteenth and seventeenth century England. London: Weidenfeld.

Thompson, Stith. 1932-36. Motif Index of Folk Literature. 6 vols. FFC 106-109, 116, 117. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedakatemia Fennica.

_____. 1977. The Folktale. 1946. Berkeley: U of California P.

Thomson, Robert. Nov. 23 1935. "Centenary of James Hogg, The Ettrick Shepherd." The Weekly Scotsman: 10-11.

Thomson, Thomas. 1973. "Life of the Author." in Hogg 1973, II: ix-lvi.

Toelken, Barre. 1979. The Dynamics of Folklore. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Turnbull, John. 1856-62. "Saint Bathan." The History of the Berwickshire Naturalists Club 4: 194-204.

Urlin, Ethel Lucy Hargreave. 1969. A Short History of Marriage; marriage rites, customs and folklore in many countries and all ages. Detroit: Singing Tree.

Vansina, Jan. 1981. Oral Tradition. A Study in Historical Methodology. Trans. H.M. Wright. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin.

Veitch, John. 1893. The History and Poetry of the Scottish Borders. Their Main Features and Relations. 1878. 2 vols. 2nd ed. Edinburgh: Blackwood.

Vincent, David. 1981. Bread, Knowledge and Freedom. A Study of Nineteenth Century Working Class Autobiography. London: Europa.

Von Sydow, C.W. 1948. "On The Spread of Tradition." in Selected Papers on Folklore. Published on the Occasion of his 70th Birthday. Ed. Laurits Bodker. Copenhagen: Rosenkilde: 11-48.

Watson, Harry D. 1984. "William Tennant, The Ettrick Shepherd and The Psalms of David: A Linguistic Controversy." Scottish Language 3: 60-70.

Watt, Lauchlan Maclean. 1977. Scottish Life and Poetry. 1912. New York: AMS.

Wells, Evelyn Kendrick. 1950. The Ballad Tree. New York: Ronald.

Whittington, G., and I.D. Whyte. 1983. An Historical Geography of Scotland. London: AP.

Wilkie, T. 1916. "Old Rites, Ceremonies, and Customs of the Inhabitants of the Southern Counties of Scotland." History of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club 1: 5-146.

Wilson, J.A.S. 23 Sept. 1932. "The Birds of the Ettrick Shepherd. Notes from Moor and Hill." The Scotsman: 22.

Wilson, John. 1863. Noctes Ambrosianae. 4 vols. Edinburgh: Blackwood.

Wilson, William. 1904. Folklore and Genealogies of Uppermost Nithsdale. Dumfries: Mann; Sanquhar: Laing.

Wodrow, Robert. 1829. The History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland from the Restoration to the Revolution. 1721-22. 4 vols. Glasgow: Blackie.

Wood, H. Harvey. 1952. Scottish Literature. London: Longman.

Wordsworth, Dorothy. 1974. A Tour in Scotland in 1803. 1894. Ed. J.C. Shairp. Edinburgh: James Thin.

Wordsworth, William, and Dorothy Wordsworth. 1967-88. The Letters of William and Dorothy Wordsworth. Ed. Alan G. Hill. 7 vols. Oxford: Clarendon.

Zug, Charles G. 1973. "Scott's 'Jock of Hazeldean': The Re-Creation of a Traditional Ballad." Journal of American Folklore 86: 152-60.

Manuscript Sources

Ballantine, James. "James Ballantine His Musick Book. A Collection of Tunes for the Violin. Decr. 27th 1770." Photocopy of original, courtesy of Mr. Walter Elliot.

"Blackie Papers." NLS MS 1869.

"Blackwoods Papers." NLS MSS 4001-4041; 4310; 4719; 4805-74.

Borders Archaeology Project. "Report on the Yarrow Valley." Personal copy.

"Books of Seissins." SRO ms. and ts.

Brown, James. "Ms notes on the Memoirs of James Hogg (The Ettrick Shepherd) by George Douglas." NLS MS 3369.

"Buccleuch Muniments." SRO GD 224.

Campbell, Alexander. "Fragments of Two Journals, 1802 and 1816." EUL La. II. 378.

"Constable Letter Books." NLS MSS 791, 7200.

The Crookwelcome Club of Ettrick. "MS Book of the Crookwelcome Club." Personal Collection of James Mitchell.

"Dickson Autographs." NLS MS 9657.

Douglas, George. "James Hogg by Sir George Douglas. Famous Scots Series, the

author's own copy with MS notes." NLS MS 10500.

Elliot, Walter. "The Notebook of Walter Elliot." Personal Collection of Walter Elliot.

"Four Letters, James Glen Memorial Collection." NLS MS 2530.

Gilchrist, G. "A Collection of Autographs, etc." NLS MS 861.

Hogg, James. "Autograph Poems, Letters &c. James Hogg." NLS MSS 2245, 9634.

_____. "The Bush Aboon Traquair." NLS MS 189.

_____. "'The Bush Aboon Traquair' and 'Allan Gordon'." NLS MS 6139.

_____. "Hogg Letters." Uncatalogued. Walter Mason Collection.

_____. "James Hogg." EUL MS DC 4 101-3.

_____. "James Hogg Manuscripts." Found in Ettrick Kirk.

_____. "Letter to Tibbie Shiel." Personal Collection of James Mitchell.

"James Glen Memorial Collection." NLS MS 2526.

Lang, Andrew. "Letters." SC/S/16/12.

Laud or Laird. "Estate Plans, drawn for the Duchess of Buccleuch, 1718." SRO RHP 9629.

"Letters 1802-36." NLS MS 1554.

"Letters to Laidlaw." NLS MS 860.

"Letters to Lockhart." NLS MS 924, 934.

"Letters to Scott." NLS MS 1750, 3874, 3912.

"Menzies Papers." NLS MS 9997.

"Minto Papers." NLS MS 13329.

"Miscellaneous." NLS MS 564, 573, 807, 911, 912, 1002, 2956, 3112.

"Miscellaneous Constable Papers." NLS MS 683.

The Pastoral Society of Selkirkshire. "Club Books." 9 vols 1818-1906; thereafter Yarrow and Ettrick Pastoral Society. "Club Books." 10 vols 1906-1989. Personal Collection of Walter Barrie.

"Paton Collection." NLS MS 3218.

Pitcairn, R. "Collection of Ballads." 3 vols. NLS MSS 2913, 2914, 2915.

Plan of Eldinhope. Photocopy in the Personal Collection of Walter Barrie. Original in Stirling University Library.

"Presented Collections." NLS MS 1704, 1758.

"Recollections of Mr Hogg." NLS MS 1870.

"Scotch Ballad Material of the Borders." NLS MS 877.

"Scott and Contemporaries." NLS MS 786.

"Shortreed." NLS MS 8997.

"Single Letters." NLS MS 2251.

"Small Collections." NLS MSS 1809, 3653, 3649, 3925.

"Small Purchases." NLS MSS 3278, 3813, 5319.

"Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. Miscellanea." NLS MS 2207.

Stevenson, Ronald. 1990. "A Note on James Hogg's Music." Personal Communication.

"Watson Autographs, Literary & Scientific." NLS MS 582.

Wilkie, Thomas. "Old Scots Songs &c. Collected mostly in Roxburghshire, Berwickshire and Selkirkshire by Thomas Wilkie. AD 1815. " NLS MSS 122, 123.

Discography

The Eighteenth Century. Baroque and Classical Scotland. 1975. A History of Scottish Music 4. Scottish, SRCM 114.

Lockhart, G. W.. n.d. The Lives and Poetry of Robert Louis Stevenson and Hogg, "The Ettrick Shepherd". Privately Recorded.

The McCalmans. 1980. The Ettrick Shepherd. Greenwich Village, GVR 209.

Mooney, Gordon. 1989. O'er the Border. Music of the Scottish Borders played on the Cauld Wind Pipes. Temple, CTP031.

Redpath, Jean. 1977. The Song of the Seals. Scottish, SRCM 160.

Scottish Philharmonic Singers. 1988. Psalms of Scotland. SCS, SCSTC 2830.

Tape-recordings

A Presentation of James Hogg--THE ETTRICK SHEPHERD by Wallace Lockhart, given in the Adam Room, Cross House, Linlithgow on Saturday 19th August 1989 with the "QUERN". Cassette tape. Rec. 19 August 1989. Personal Collection of Wallace Lockhart.

Barrie, Walter. Cassette tapes. Rec. 18 July 1989, T89-4. 16 Jan. 1990, T90-5.

Cameron, Alex. Cassette tapes. Rec. 15 Feb. 1990, T90-6, T90-7.

Commemorative Service at Holy Linn, Barscobe. Cassette tape. Rec. 4 August 1985. Personal Collection of Jo Miller.

Elliot, Walter. Cassette tapes. Rec. 13 July 1989. T89-2, T89-3. 11 Jan. 1990, T90-1, 90-2.

Mitchell, James, and Doreen Mitchell. Cassette tapes. Rec. 22 June 1989, T89-1. 15 Jan 1990, T90-3, T90-4.

Shaw, Isabelle "Tibbie" Scott. Cassette tapes. Rec. 22 July 1989, T89-5, 89-6.