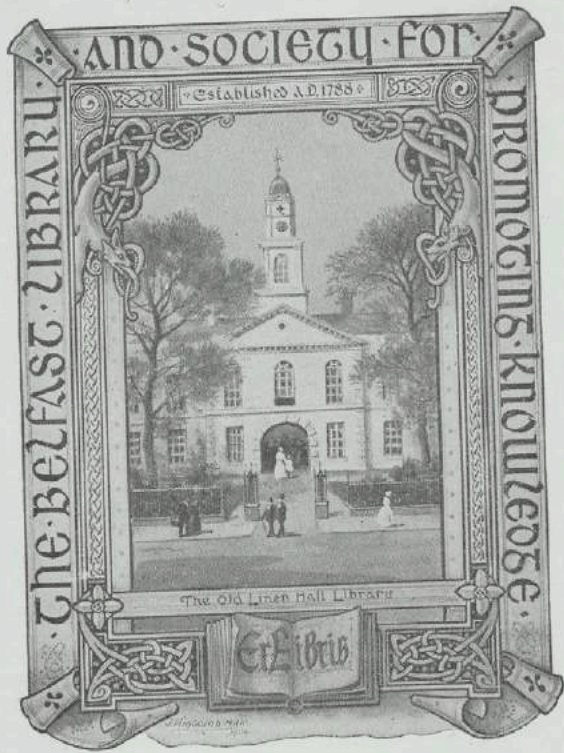


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ALLAN RAMSAY

BY
ANDREW GIBSON

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PREFACE.

This Work, which is in Two Parts, does not extend beyond clearly-defined restricted limits which I have perforce prescribed to myself.

Nevertheless the First Part contains much that is entirely new in print regarding the life of Allan Ramsay from his birth in 1685 until the close of 1720 ; includes a considerable amount of authentic documentary evidence that has never before been utilised ; supplies abundant proof, from official records of transactions between 1712 and 1715, that many hitherto uncontradicted assertions made by widely-known biographers of the poet, concerning the Easy Club and his connection with it, are altogether groundless ; provides a careful examination of heretofore unchallenged statements made by Lord Woodhouselee, Dr. Robert Chambers and others, that Ramsay published his early detached pieces in the form of single sheets or broadsides ; presents various reasons for the belief held by me, as the result of personal investigation, that certain extant broadsides of a few early detached pieces are spurious reprints of editions which had not been issued in broadside form by Ramsay ; and affords corrections of numerous errors of a miscellaneous nature committed by men who are generally accepted as authorities on Ramsay and his writings.

With respect to the Second Part, it gives the titles, sizes *et cetera* of all the editions of Ramsay's poetical compositions that I am able to say are genuine editions which were printed prior to 1721 ; and those particulars, which are furnished from copies of the editions in my own possession, except in the case of the edition last recorded, are supplemented to a large extent by notes which embrace a number of facts that are now for the first time stated.

But matters that I quote from old unpublished manuscripts, and from rare editions published more than two hundred years ago, are transcribed without being subjected to any alteration, orthographically or otherwise, whereby their appearance precisely as they stand in the original may best serve the purpose of enlightenment.

ANDREW GIBSON.

FAIRFIELD, LANSDOWNE ROAD,
BELFAST, *February*, 1927.

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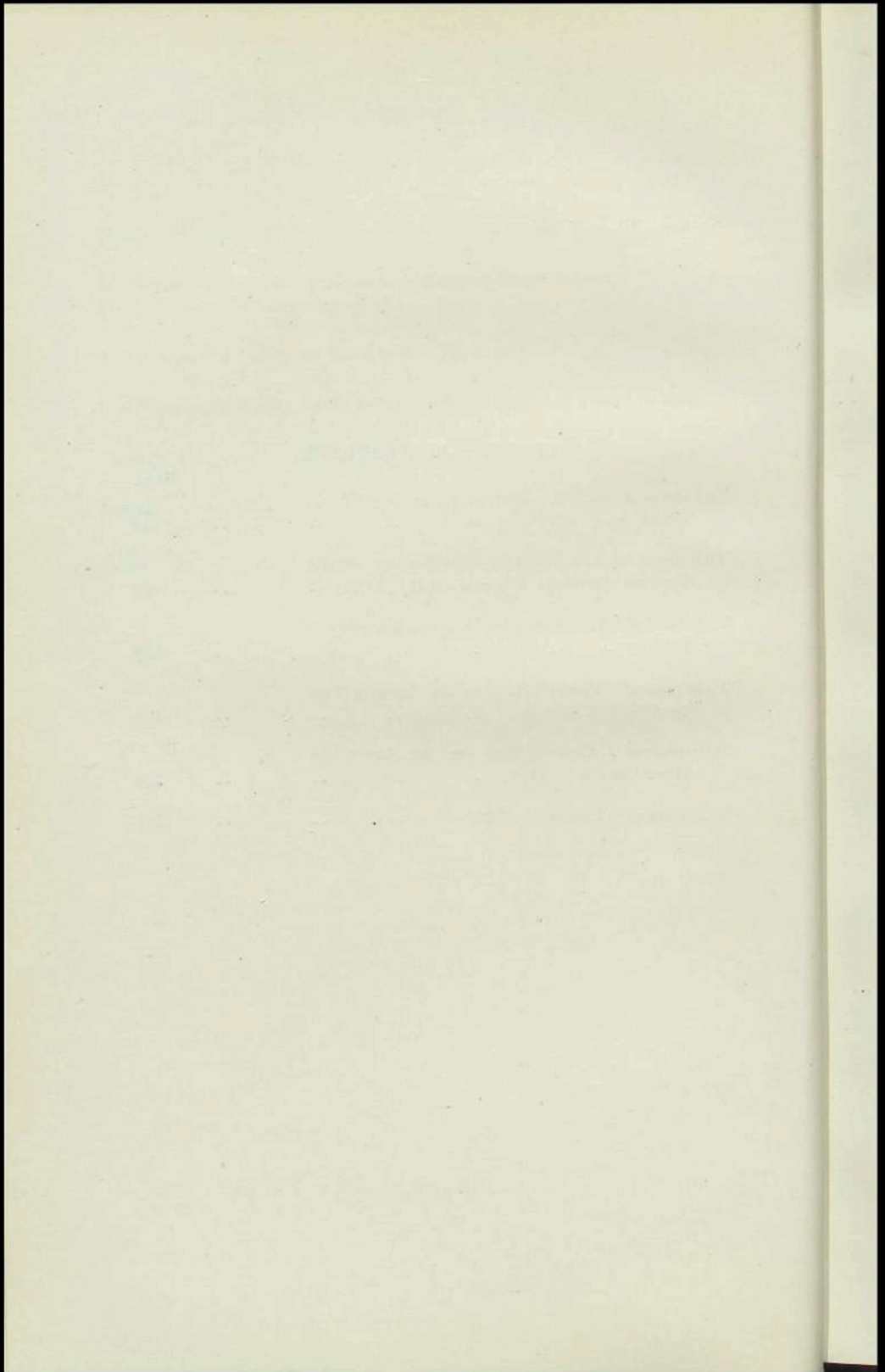
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PART I, BIOGRAPHICAL.



CHAPTER I.

RAMSAY'S PARENTAGE; BIRTH; BIRTHPLACE; AND BOYHOOD YEARS UNTIL 1704.

ALTHOUGH many biographies of our poet have been produced during a now somewhat lengthened period, and several of those which have appeared within comparatively recent years are probably considered to be superior to the best of their predecessors, it may, perhaps, be said that the one written by Mr. George Chalmers, entitled *The Life of Allan Ramsay*, and prefixed to the two-volume edition of Ramsay's collected poems published by Cadell and Davies, London, in 1800, contains more directly-acquired information, of an essential nature, regarding persons and matters prior to 1721, than is furnished in all the others put together.

At the same time that information is impaired by errors of various kinds, including some that are seriously misleading; and the most of those errors have never been in any way corrected.

Mr. Chalmers rightly observes, however, in the third paragraph of his *Life*, that "a zealous genealogist could easily trace Ramsay to the family of the Earl of Dalhousie."

But in the next sentence he commits a slight mistake by giving an erroneous Christian name in the case of Ramsay's father. Nearly all later biographers who introduce the father's name repeat that mistake. And a number of the latter badly err concerning certain of the bard's progenitors on both sides.

For these reasons, and also for others, we must state exactly that which is partly the pedigree of the poet before proceeding further.

On the paternal side his great-great-grandfather was Ramsay of Cockpen, whose family was a branch of the Ramsays of Dalhousie; his great-grandfather was Captain John Ramsay; his grandfather was Robert Ramsay; and his father was John Ramsay.

On the maternal side his grandfather was Allan Bower; and his mother was Alice Bower.

An ancestress was Janet Douglas; but whether on the paternal side or on the maternal side has never, apparently, been proved by any evidence supplied by any writer later than Mr. Chalmers, who, upon giving the genealogy of the poet in the male line on the paternal side, goes on to say: (1) "His mother was Alice Bower, whose father had been brought from Derbyshire, to instruct Lord Hopton's miners in their art; his grandmother was Janet Douglas, a daughter of Douglas of Muthil; and our bard was careful to remember, with the exultation of genius, that

He was a poet sprung from a Douglas loin."

Indeed, we believe that some biographers are entirely wrong as regards both the genealogical position of Janet Douglas and the nationality of Alice Bower.

It is therefore necessary for us to open up matters in divers ways; and we begin by quoting certain statements made by Dr. Robert Chambers and Mr. Oliphant Smeaton.

In the 'Biographical Notice' prefixed to *Select Poetical Works of Allan Ramsay, including his Gentle Shepherd*, 1838, (reprinted 1859), Dr. Chambers says (p.i): "Like many other persons in humble or middling circumstances in Scotland, the poet was inclined to boast of 'gentle blood,' his father being descended from a cadet of the Ramsays of Dalhousie, . . . and his grandmother on that side being a daughter of Douglas of Muthil"—thereby representing that she was the wife of the poet's paternal grandfather, Robert Ramsay.

In *Cyclopædia of English Literature*, edited by Dr. Chambers, and published by William and Robert Chambers in 1843, we read the following, under "Allan Ramsay" (Vol. I, p. 598):—"His [Ramsay's] mother, Alice Bower, was of English parentage, her father having been brought from Derbyshire to instruct the Scottish miners in their art. Those who entertain the theory that men of genius usually partake largely of the qualities and dispositions of their mother, may perhaps recognise some of the Derbyshire blood in Allan Ramsay's frankness and joviality of character."(2)

In *Allan Ramsay* (Famous Scots Series), 1896, Mr. Smeaton says (p. 14): "Allan Ramsay was born on the 15th of

(1) Cadell and Davies ed. Vol. I, p. v.

(2) This is repeated in later editions of the work.

October 1686, in the little town of Leadhills, situate in the parish of Crawfordmuir, in the upper ward of Lanarkshire, and in the very heart of the bleak, heathy Lowther hills. . . . The industry of the district, then as now, was almost entirely devoted to leadmining. The superior of the parish was the Earl of Hopetoun, and on his behoof the mines were wrought. . . . To this 'out-of-the-way' corner of the planet there was sent, towards the close of the year 1684, as manager of Lord Hopetoun's mines, a gay, happy-hearted resourceful young Scotsman, by name Robert Ramsay. The poet, when detailing his pedigree to the father of his *inamorata*, had boasted that he was descended, on the paternal side, from the Ramsays of Dalhousie (afterwards Earls of that Ilk). Such was literally the case. Ramsay of Dalhousie had a younger brother, who, from the estate he held—a small parcel of the ancestral acres—bore a name, or rather an *agnomen*, yet to be historic in song, 'The Laird of Cockpen.' Whether in this case, like his descendant of ballad fame, the said laird was 'proud and great'; whether his mind was 'ta'en up wi' things o' the State,' history doth not record. Only on one point is it explicit, that, like his successor, he married a wife, from which union resulted Captain John Ramsay⁽¹⁾ whose only claim to remembrance is that he in turn married Janet Douglas, daughter of Douglas of Muthil, and thus brought the poet into kinship with yet another distinguished Scottish family. To the captain and his spouse a son was born, who devoted himself to legal pursuits, was a writer in Edinburgh, and acted as legal agent for the Earl of Hopetoun. Through his interest with the earl, Robert Ramsay, his eldest son, was appointed manager of the lead mines in the Lowther hills, and set out to assume his new duties towards the close of the year 1684. . . .

"Apparently the young mine manager found the lines of his life by no means cast in pleasant places amid the rough semi-savage community of Leadhills in those days. He felt himself a stranger in a strange land. To better his lot, though he was still very young, he determined to marry. The only family with which he could hold intercourse on terms of equality, was that of William Bower, an English mineralogist who had been brought from Derbyshire to instruct the Scottish miners more fully in the best methods then known for

(1) The *great-grandfather* of the poet.

extracting the metal from the refractory matrix. But to Robert Ramsay the chief attraction in the family was the eldest daughter of his colleague, Alice Bower, a vivacious, high-spirited girl, with a sufficient modicum, we are told, of the Derbyshire breeziness of nature to render her invincibly fascinating to the youth. Alone of all those around she reminded him of the fair dames and damsels of Edinburgh. Therefore he wooed and won her. The marriage took place early in January 1686. In the October of the same year the future poet was born."

Well, apart from other things that are thus quoted—some of which will be dealt with at later stages—it is shown that Mr. Smeaton differs from Dr. Chambers as to the genealogical position of Janet Douglas, and agrees with him as to the nationality of Alice Bower.

But Mr. Chalmers, in conjoining Janet Douglas with the poet's mother and maternal grandfather, in the manner stated in the passage quoted in page 4, seems to imply that she was the wife of Allan Bower; and we find by hitherto unpublished evidence, which will be given immediately, that Allan Bower had been brought from Derbyshire to Leadhills by Sir James Hope, who died in 1661—forty-two years before a Hope became Lord Hopetoun.

It must, however, be also taken into account that as early as 1715 Ramsay composed *The Gentleman's Qualifications*, wherein he referred to himself as being "a poet sprung from a Douglas loin"—thereby meaning, it may be reasoned, in the absence of any evidence to the contrary, that he was descended from a Douglas on the maternal side, for it was evidently not until about six years thereafter that he wrote his epistle to the Earl of Dalhousie, whom he therein addressed as

"Dalhousie of an auld Descent,
My Chief, my Stoup and Ornament";

and none of our biographers, including Mr. Smeaton, have furnished the slightest proof that he had ever claimed to be descended from the Ramsays of Dalhousie before he had begun to make an imperishable name for himself as a poet.

If, then, Janet Douglas, the daughter of Douglas of Muthil, was the grandmother of Allan Ramsay, as the wife of his maternal grandfather, Allan Bower, his mother, Alice Bower, was the daughter of a Scotswoman, and must surely have been born in Scotland.

In any case, John Ramsay and Alice Bower were married in the early part of January, 1685, at the latest, for their son, Allan Ramsay, was born on the 15th of October, 1685.

The birthplace of our poet was, as has always been known, the village of Leadhills, in the parish of Crawfordmuir, and in the upper ward of Lanarkshire—a village which was built chiefly for the accommodation of the workers on the estate from which it took its name.

The mines on the estate were, however, famous for gold as well as for lead.

That estate belonged at an early period to Robert Foulis ; but became the property of Sir James Hope through his marriage, in 1638, with the daughter of Foulis.

As to matters between 1638 and the death of Sir James Hope, in 1661, we quote a few of the statements that we find in the second volume of *Sharpe's Genealogical Peerage of the British Empire*: "Sir James Hope . . . having obtained . . . the property of the valuable mines of Leadhills . . . applied himself to the study of mineralogy with such success that he brought the art of mining to a degree of perfection before unknown in Scotland ; and not only greatly advanced his fortune, but procured also the office of governor of the Mint, with a power, by act of parliament, to hold courts in the Mint House, 1641. He died of an epidemic called the 'Flanders sickness,' on his landing from Holland, where he had been to extend the consumption of his staple produce, act. 47."

On the death of Sir James Hope the estate of Leadhills descended, it is said, to his son, John Hope, who was lost on board the frigate "Gloucester" in 1682 ; and the latter was, it is also said, succeeded in the ownership of the estate by his one-year-old son, Charles Hope, who was raised to the peerage in 1703, when he was created Earl of Hopetoun—eighteen years after the poet's father married the daughter of Allan Bower.

Robert Ramsay, the paternal grandfather of the poet, besides being a lawyer resident in Edinburgh, was agent for the Hope estate in Crawfordmuir ; and, shortly after the death of John Hope in 1682, he appears to have sent his son, John Ramsay, to be the Hope estate factor, and the superintendent of the lead mines there.

But Mr. Chalmers says :⁽¹⁾ "His [the poet's] father was

(1) Cadell and Davies ed. (Vol. I, p. v)

Robert Ramsay, who inherited, as it were, the management of Lord Hopton's lead mines in Crawford-moor; his grandfather was Robert Ramsay, a writer in Edinburgh, who had the management of the same mines. . . . He [the poet] was born on the 15th of October 1686."

With respect, however, to these statements, together with others made by Mr. Chalmers, and with respect also to a number of the statements made by Mr. Smeaton, which we have quoted in pages 4 to 6, there is some refuting evidence provided by several of the facts contained in a record which we reproduce from volume twelve of the *Lanark Testaments*, preserved in the General Registry Office at Edinburgh:

"Testament Dative and Inventory of the goods, etc., which pertained to umquhile John Ramsay in Leidhills, within the parish of Craufurd and Sheriffdom of Lanark, the time of his decease who deceased in the month of May last.

Given up by Alison Boar relict and Executrix Dative, surrogat to said Defunct by Decreet dated 11th August 1685.

Debts due by Thomas Ross in Leidhill, James Whyte, writer in Douglas, David Telfer in Newtoun of Wigtoun, Mathew Baillie in Craufurd.

Sum of the Inventar— £96

Debts due to Allan Boar in Leidhill, William Lockup in Dumlanerk.

Sum of the Debt owand by Dead— £230

So the debts exceed the goods.

Confirmed 11th August 1685—Allan Boar in Leidhill cautioner."

But this evidence is altogether of very great importance; and includes just the kind of proof that we had resolved to obtain, if possible, upon reading, many years ago, in Edinburgh University Library (Laing Collection), an unpublished *Life of the poet*, commencing with these sentences: "Allan Ramsay, one of the extraordinary instances of the power of uncultivated genius, was born at Leadhills on the 15 of October, 1685. His father, John Ramsay, descended of the Ramsays of Cockpen, an ancient and respected family in Mid Lothian, was factor to the Earl of Hopeton,⁽¹⁾ and

(1) That is, George Hope, who was not created Earl of Hopetoun until 1703.

Superintendent of his lead mines. His mother, Alice Bower, was daughter of Allan Bower, a gentleman of Derbyshire, who, on account of his great skill in mining, had been invited by Sir James Hope of Hopeton to set his valuable lead mines in motion."

We accordingly made earnest effort to obtain additional documentary evidence of an authentic nature, and were ultimately rewarded upon acquiring proof that *Allan Ramsay was a posthumous child*, it being recorded in the *Lanark Testaments* that his father, John Ramsay, died in *May, 1685*, and stated, as we had previously read, in the *Life* in the Laing Collection, that the poet was born on the *15th of October, 1685*—a *Life* from which we will again quote presently, whereupon we will endeavour to show that the author thereof was the poet's son and namesake.

Furthermore, it is proved by the record in the *Lanark Testaments* that John Ramsay died in debt; and the circumstances in which the mother of the unborn son was placed by the death of her husband were sadder than has heretofore been realised.

But whatever may have been the experiences of the widow of John Ramsay, she was led to marry a second time; and in this connection we quote that which is stated by Mr. Chalmers: ⁽¹⁾ "His [the poet's] first misfortune consisted in losing, while he was yet an infant, his father, who died before he had himself passed his five-and-twentieth year; and his next unhappiness arose from the marriage of his mother, soon after the death of his father, to Mr. Chrichton, one of the very small land-holders of the country, which is occupied by the great families of Hamilton, and Douglas."

Through the latter occurrence young Ramsay was transferred to the house of his stepfather in Crawfordmuir.

Regarding his boyhood there, Mr. Chalmers says: "In these wilds did our bard remain during fifteen years, deriving from the parish schoolmaster such lore as he possessed, and learning from experience,

How halesome 'tis to snuff the cawler air,

And all the sweets it bears, when void of care.

"But this felicity did not last long. . . . And while Scotland was not yet busied with manufactures, nor enriched by commerce, the best resource which occurred to his relations,

(1) Cadell and Davies ed. (Vol. I, p. vii)

who had other objects of affection, was to bind him an apprentice to a wig-maker."

Long prior to the publication of these statements, however, the following had been written in the *Life* in the Laing Collection:—"When Allan Ramsay was about a year old his father died, and his mother, being but ill provided for, soon after married another husband in the neighbourhood, by whom she had several children. In this situation, young Ramsay could not be supposed to have much care or expense bestowed upon him; he had, however, access to all the learning a village school could afford; and it was during this period, the first fifteen years of his life, that he had an opportunity of stocking his mind with those rural images which were afterwards so agreeably exhibited in his writings.

"About the year 1700 his mother died; upon which his step-father, to get him out of his way, sent him to Edinburgh. . . .

"Before he left Leadhills he had no opportunity of reading any books but such as were then in the hands of the country people all over Scotland. Amongst those were the *History in Verse of King Robert the Bruce*, the exploits of Sir William Wallace, and the *Poems of Sir David Lindsay*, a favourite of King James the Fifth, which, coming at an early period to one not distracted by a variety of studies, made a deep impression upon his mind, and gave a cast to all his after sentiments, particularly with regard to the dignity and independency of the Kingdom of Scotland, in the history and antiquities of which he became very knowing."

Now, preceding the *Life* by Mr. Chalmers in the Cadell and Davies edition, is an "advertisement" by the publishers of that edition, and the last paragraph thereof reads thus: "It is understood, that Allan Ramsay, the painter, left some account of his father for publication: but it is hoped, that the Public will be full as well pleased with the perusal of the *Life of the Author*, and the *Remarks on his Poems*, which have been written by the neutral pen of a stranger."

Seemingly, therefore, the publishers never attempted to obtain the account referred to.

All the same, it is very remarkable that the author of the *Life* in the Laing Collection correctly states that Ramsay was born on the 15th of October, 1685, but incorrectly states that he was about a year old when his father died; and that Mr. Chalmers correctly states the day

and month of his birth, but incorrectly states the year thereof, and incorrectly states that he was an infant when his father died.

Granting, however, that it was solely from an outside source that Mr. Chalmers obtained his imperfect information, it may, perhaps, be considered highly probable that the statement that Ramsay was born before the death of his father originated in the *Life* in the Laing Collection, whatever may have caused the error therein to be made.

That *Life* is one of the Manuscripts in the Collection of David Laing, LL.D., in Edinburgh University Library that are entered thus in the Library Catalogue :

“Valuable collection of original poems and letters by Allan Ramsay, author of ‘The Gentle Shepherd,’ etc., viz. :—
Original MS. (holograph) of ‘The Gentle Shepherd,’ differing somewhat from the later versions; with a duplicate *Life* of the Author. (Three papers.)

Autograph letter by Allan Ramsay, an ‘Epithalamium’ and other poems, holograph; with several copies, and one or two original rhyming epistles to him. (Twenty-four papers.)

Papers of; or referring to, the Easy Club, by Allan Ramsay and other members. (Fifteen papers.)”

As to the statement that the “*Life* of the Author” is in “duplicate,” the two manuscripts are in the same handwriting; and one of them contains only the first paragraph and the first portion of the second paragraph as they are given in the other manuscript, which affords a good deal of information about the poet, down to the date of his death.

On the former appear two notes, in the handwriting of Dr. Laing, one reading thus: “Dupl. Original Scroll”; and the other reading thus: “I believe written by his son—A. R. the Painter.”

Moreover, the handwriting of the *Life* in the Laing Collection is the same as the handwriting of two letters by the poet’s son and namesake that are now in our possession, dated, respectively, “London, Feb. 18, 1782,” and “London, August 13, 1782.”

Furthermore, Dr. Robert Watt had evidently read the *Life*, and accepted it as authentic, before it became one of the papers in the Laing Collection, for, in the second volume of his *Bibliotheca Britannica*, published by Constable and

Company, Edinburgh, in 1824, is the entry (p. 789) : "*Ramsay, Allan, a distinguished Scotch poet, and one of the extraordinary instances of the power of uncultivated genius, was born at Leadhills, in Lanarkshire, 1685, died 1758.*"

This being said, we further quote Mr. Oliphant Smeaton, who, in continuation of that which we transcribed in pages 4 to 6, writes thus : "But, alas! happiness was not long to be the portion of the wedded pair. At the early age of twenty-four Robert Ramsay died, leaving his widow, as regards this world's gear, but indifferently provided for, and, moreover, burdened with an infant scarce twelve months old.

"Probably the outlook for the future was so dark that the young widow shrank from facing it. Be this as it may, we learn that three months after Robert Ramsay was laid in his grave she married David Crichton, finding a home for herself and a stepfather for the youthful Allan at one and the same time.

"Much has been written regarding the supposed unhappiness of Ramsay's boyhood in the household of his step-parent. For such a conclusion there is not a tittle of evidence. Every recorded fact of their mutual relations points the other way. David Crichton was evidently a man of high moral principle and strength of character. Not by a hairbreadth did he vary the treatment meted out to Allan from that accorded to his own children by the widow of Robert Ramsay. To the future poet he gave, as the latter more than once testified, as good an education as the parish school afforded. That it embraced something more than the 'three R's,' we have Ramsay's own testimony, direct and indirect—direct in the admission that he learned there to read Horace 'faintly in the original'; indirect in the number and propriety of the classical allusions in his works."

The "we learn" information presented by Mr. Smeaton is, however, very different from anything on the subject that is stated by any other writer that is known to us; and it will, we think, be impossible for any one, with a knowledge of the proofs now furnished by us, to believe that the mother of the poet married a second time only three months after the death of her first husband.

Moreover, considering the statement made by Mr. Chalmers, in the Cadell and Davies edition, that Ramsay's stepfather was a "Mr. Chrichton," we question the accuracy of the

statement made by Mr. Smeaton, that the stepfather was "David Crichton."

And we look upon Mr. Smeaton's character of the stepfather as being most largely imaginary.

But in saying this, we must also say, in justice to the stepfather, that the author of the *Life* in the Laing Collection commits an unfortunate error, (as will be proved by evidence in our next chapter), in stating that, upon the death of Ramsay's mother, "about the year 1700," the stepfather, in order to get Ramsay out of his way, sent him to Edinburgh.

That author doubtless correctly states, however, that Ramsay "had access to all the learning a village school could afford." Yet he does not state that Ramsay was taught Latin in the school at Crawfordmuir. And Ramsay does not make his "admission" in the way that is asserted by Mr. Smeaton, who quotes a portion of the following, which, written by Ramsay about seventeen years after he had left Crawfordmuir, appeared in the preface to the quarto edition of his collected poems published in 1721:—"I understand Horace but faintly in the Original, and yet can feast on his beautiful Thoughts dress'd in British"—that is, translated into English.

But Mr. Chalmers also comments on Ramsay's learning, and, after correctly quoting the foregoing words in the quarto edition, that biographer says:⁽¹⁾ "He [Ramsay] is equally explicit as to his ignorance of the Greek: 'The Scoticisms, which perhaps may offend some over-nice ear, give new life, and grace, to the poetry; and become their places as well as the Doric dialect of Theocritus, which is so much admired by the best judges: when I mention that tongue, I bewail my own little knowledge of it.'"

Mr. Chalmers therefore attributes to Ramsay words which, along with others, are furnished by the latter in his quarto edition of 1721, wherein he states that they are quoted by him from "a Preface" to a London edition of one of his pastorals—a preface which, he adds, was written by "the learned Dr. Sewel"; and the error thus committed by Mr. Chalmers has been allowed to stand uncorrected in various reprints of the Cadell and Davies edition.

(1) Cadell and Davies ed. (Vol. I, p. lv)

CHAPTER II.

RAMSAY'S EARLIEST YEARS IN EDINBURGH ; AND HIS FIRST KNOWN POETICAL COMPOSITIONS. FROM 1704 UNTIL MAY 11TH, 1712.

DEFINITE as are the most of the statements made by the biographers of Ramsay, we cannot find that any one of them has correctly given the year in which he began his new life in Edinburgh; or the year in which he completed his apprenticeship; or the year in which he was admitted a burghess of the city; or the year in which he commenced in business for himself—not to mention at the moment other statements wrongly made regarding events in his life in the earliest years after his removal from Crawfordmuir, which was of later date than has been constantly represented.

Among those who have erred in various ways are four whom we deem it necessary to quote before beginning to show, as far as possible, the true position occupied by Ramsay within the period now requiring to be dealt with.

Firstly. In the Cadell and Davies edition of 1800, Mr. George Chalmers says (Vol. I, p. viii): "Ramsay was sent to Edinburgh in 1701, during the fifteenth year of his age. Had he behaved himself amiss as an apprentice, we should have heard of his misconduct, when he was attacked, as a writer, by those who spared none of the asperities of reproach. The silence of a satirical enemy an author may well enjoy as praise."

Secondly. In *Poems by Allan Ramsay*, 1887, Mr. Logie Robertson says (p. xv): "Boyhood and the freedom of country life for Allan came to an end with the century. The worst misfortune of his life, the death of his mother, is said to have happened at the same time. This sad event, which threw the care of a family of young children upon the husband, may have hastened the date of Allan's departure from home. He was now in his fifteenth year, and the subject of a 'trade' or occupation for him had doubtless been exercising the minds of his parents. It was at last decided, but by what process of judgment we can only guess, that he should go to Edinburgh and learn to make wigs for a livelihood. . .

"The period of Ramsay's apprenticeship must be passed over for the best of reasons—we know nothing definite of the five or six years to which it probably extended. It is neither known who his apprentice-master was, nor where he lived, nor whether he fell in with any of his own relatives—for connections of lawyer Ramsay's family there must have been, resident at that time in Edinburgh."

Thirdly. In *Edinburgh Sketches and Memories*, 1892, Professor David Masson says (p. 88): "Born in 1686, of humble parentage, in the village of Leadhills, in the wild inland parish of Crawfordmuir, in Lanarkshire, and educated in the ordinary fashion at the parish school there, Ramsay was brought to Edinburgh in 1701, when he was in his fifteenth year, and apprenticed to a periwigmaker. . . . In or about the year 1708, or just after the Union, young Ramsay, having concluded his apprenticeship, started in business for himself, in some shop in the High Street, or one of its offshoots."

Fourthly. In *Allan Ramsay*, 1896, Mr. Oliphant Smeaton says (p. 24): "Henceforth Edinburgh was to be Ramsay's life's home. He was enrolled as an apprentice early in January 1701. Although, as an apprentice, he was obliged to undertake duties distinctly domestic and menial,—for, in those days of strict social and ecclesiastical discipline, a master was expected to discharge towards those indentured to him much that appertains solely to the province of the parent,—still, there would be many spare hours wherein he would be free to devote himself to such pursuits as his taste led him.

"What induced him to select wig-making as his life's *métier* is unknown. Perhaps his stepfather may have had some friend in that line of business who for 'auld lang syne' was willing to take the boy and teach him his trade. There is, of course, the other side of the question to be taken into account; that the work did not demand much bodily strength for its successful prosecution, and that it was cleanly, neat and artistic. . . .

"Another consideration probably influenced him in his choice to proceed to Edinburgh. The change to lighter labour would enable him to filch from hours allocated to sleep precious moments for private reading, which the arduous nature of his employment at Crawfordmuir had pre-

vented. Besides, he was in a 'city of books'—books only waiting to be utilised. That he did take advantage of his opportunities during his apprenticeship, and that it was at this period that the poetic instinct in him took fire, on coming in contact with the electric genius of Shakespeare, Spenser, Milton, and other master-minds of English literature, is a fact to which he refers more than once in his poems.

"From 1701-7,—in other words, from his fifteenth to his twenty-first year, —while he was serving his apprenticeship, there is a gap in the continuity of the records we have of the poet; a *lacuna* all the more regrettable as these were the true germinating years of his genius. Of the name of his trade-master, of the spot where the shop of the latter was situated, of his friends at that time, of his pursuits, his amusements, his studies, we know little, save what can be gathered from chance references in after-life. . . . Whether or not his fashionable Edinburgh relatives took any notice of him, whether he was a guest at his grandfather, the lawyer's house, or whether the latter and his family, hidebound by Edinburgh social restrictions, found it necessary to ignore a Ramsay who soiled his fingers with trade, is unknown. Probably not, for it is matter of tradition that it was the fact of his family connections which weighed with Writer Ross in consenting to the union of his daughter with a tradesman.

"In the spring of 1707 Allan Ramsay received back his indentures, signed and sealed, with the intimation from the ancient and honourable 'Incorporation of Wigmakers' that he was free of the craft. He appears almost immediately thereafter to have commenced business on his own account in the Grassmarket, being admitted at the same time, in virtue of being a craftsman of the town, a burghess of the City of Edinburgh. Though no trace can be found that the wig-makers ranked amongst the forty-two incorporated Societies or Guilds of the city (for their name does not appear), that they must have enjoyed the same privileges as the other trades, is evident from the fact of Ramsay being enrolled as a burghess, the moment he had completed his apprenticeship."

Now, in the first place, we learn by the Burgess Roll of Edinburgh that "Allan Ramsay, lawful son of the late John Ramsay, Overseer to Lady Hopetoun's Lead Works," was entered an apprentice to Jerome Robertson, for five years, on the 17th of March, 1704.

Seeing, then, that Ramsay was born on the 16th of October, 1685, as we have proved in our preceding chapter, he passed his eighteenth summer before October, 1703. It may, therefore, be most reasonably concluded, we think, that he was not sent from Crawfordmuir to Edinburgh until a few days or weeks before he began his apprenticeship in March, 1704, notwithstanding the statement made, long afterwards, in his petition to the Whin-bush Club, that he was bred only fifteen summers in Crawfordmuir.

In the second place, we also learn by the Burgess Roll that Ramsay was not admitted a burgess of the city until the 19th of July, 1710—that is, not until sixteen months after he had, we may safely say, completed his apprenticeship in March, 1709.

But, in addition to that which we have quoted from *Poems by Allan Ramsay*, Mr. Logie Robertson therein says: "Let us suppose that Ramsay's apprenticeship is over. In virtue of that apprenticeship he is enrolled a burgess of Edinburgh. . . . He is free of domestic service, and can now saunter of an evening when work is done for the day, southwards over Bruntsfield, where the golfers are driving their balls, to Maggie Johnston's, where there is always blithe company. There he will taste the white ale which has made the little farmhouse-hostel so famous, and then in the company of a friend return to town before the gates are closed for the night."

Referring also to the time immediately preceding Ramsay's marriage, which Mr. Robertson antedates by nearly a year, that writer further says: "It is conjectured that Ramsay was now [in 1711], a master wigmaker, attempting to gather a business for himself in a shop of his own. He had left the Grassmarket, a short but spacious street under the Castle Rock, in which a doubtful tradition has placed the scene of his apprenticeship and journeyman'ship, and was now located in the heart of the town at a spot in the long, single, stately street of which Edinburgh then mainly consisted, nearly midway between its two termini—the palace on the plain and the castle in the air, as Robert Chambers has picturesquely put it."

And in his *Allan Ramsay*, Mr. Oliphant Smeaton additionally says (p. 34): "The five intercalary years between Ramsay's commencing in business on his own account and his

marriage, were those which may properly be designated his intellectual seedtime. . . . From 1707 until 1711, during the dreary depression of the time immediately succeeding the Union, when Scotsmen preferred apathy to action, Ramsay sought surcease from his pangs of wounded patriotism by plunging into studies of various kinds, but principally of English poetry. In a letter, hitherto unpublished, addressed to his friend Andrew Gibb, who appears to have resided at or near West Linton, he remarks: 'I have rowth of good reading to wile my heart from grieving o'er what cannot be mended now,—the sale o' our unhappy country to the Southron alliance by a wheen traitors, who thought more o' Lord Somers' gold than Scotland's rights. In Willie Shakespeare's melodious numbers I forget the dark days for trade, and in auld Chaucer's Tales, and Spenser's 'Queen', in John Milton's majestic flow, in Giles and Phineas Fletcher, in rare Ben and our ain Drummond, I tine the sorrows o' the day in the glories o' the days that are past'."

Well, the letter that is thus quoted by Mr. Smeaton may be a spurious production—perhaps it is one of the numerous documents manufactured by Alexander Howland Smith ("Antique Smith"), who, in the High Court of Justiciary at Edinburgh, on the 27th of June, 1893, was, on an indictment charging him with fabricating and disposing of historical and literary MSS., found guilty and sentenced to imprisonment for twelve calendar months.

If, however, the letter is extant, the holder of it may be willing to have its character determined by an expert in Edinburgh, to whom would be available for handwriting comparison the early Ramsay manuscripts in the Laing Collection.

But Mr. Smeaton also says (p. 40): "About a year before his marriage, Ramsay had left the shop in the Grassmarket, where he had commenced business in 1707, and had established himself in the High Street in premises already described, and which exist to this day."

Ramsay had no shop anywhere, however, until after the completion of his apprenticeship in 1709; and, as no proof is furnished by Mr. Smeaton that he had a shop in the Grassmarket from which he removed to the shop in the High Street about a year before his marriage, which is erroneously stated by Mr. Smeaton to have been "celebrated during the New

Year festivities of 1712," we appropriately ask our readers, at the stage which has now been reached, to ponder the following words contained in the *Life* in the Laing Collection, regarding the lot of the poet after his settlement in Edinburgh:—"Here his native liberality of mind had, for a considerable time, to struggle with the poverty of his circumstances."⁽¹⁾

Furthermore, Mr. Smeaton states that the following was Ramsay's position poetically between 1707 and 1711:—"Though his studies must have kindled poetic emulation in him; though the vague unexpressed longings of a richly-gifted nature were doubtless daily present with him, no thought ever seems to have entered his mind of relinquishing trade for poetry. On his ambition, also, he kept a steady curb, determining to publish nothing but what his more matured judgment would approve. Not to him in after years would the regret come that he had cursed his fame by immaturity."

As, however, these statements are not supported by any evidence, they are just on a par with some which had been made by certain earlier writers.

Take, for instance, the statements in *The Works of Allan Ramsay*, published in three volumes in 1848 by A. Fullarton & Co., London, Edinburgh and Dublin—an edition which is a reprint of the Cadell and Davies edition, including the *Life* by Mr. Chalmers and the *Remarks on the Genius and Writings of Allan Ramsay* by Mr. A. F. Tytler (who became Lord Woodhouselee in 1802), but also contains many new footnotes to the poems, and a considerable amount of original editorial matter in the third volume, wherein the editor says (p. 270): "Ramsay had begun to compose at a very early age, and when he commenced his literary career he had a stock of poetry on hand which none had read but himself. Had his object in constructing or publishing his earlier verses been merely the gratification of a poetic ambition, he was capable, we may venture to say, of producing at the very first, poems which would have gained him a name among the learned and refined of his day."

Well, we strongly believe that there are no grounds for these statements.

(1) The date of Ramsay's marriage will be given in Chapter III, when a few remarks on the question of his shops will be added,

But the editor of the Fullarton edition, in connection with conjectures of his, that Dr. Archibald Pitcairn, Thomas Ruddiman and Dr. Patrick Abererombie were original members of the Easy Club, further says (Vol. III, p. 302) :—
 “Could these conjectures be confirmed, it will follow that, so far from having associated with the mob, Ramsay, even in the *earliest* period of his life of which we have any trace, had, as his companions men of whom any individual of any age and country might well be proud.

“They are founded upon the analogy between these characteristic names, and the occupations or habits of the parties, as well as their common friendship, and similarity in political opinions. In the case of Ramsay, we find his first *club* designation was the then familiar name of Isaac Bickerstaff,—of the propriety of the selection of which Chalmers seems to doubt, but which to us seems of easy explanation. We have only to suppose,—what is otherwise highly probable that either the ‘Elegy on John Cowper,’ or ‘The Morning Interview,’ or both, had been produced by him—although not in so perfect a state as that in which they ultimately appeared before the world,—prior to 1712, and—as was then the general practice, been exhibited to his friends the fellows of the club.”

And, in a footnote, thereto, he says: “The number of anonymous and fugitive pieces circulated by Dr. Pitcairn—who it is probable was the founder of the Easy Club,—amongst his friends, is referred to in his Life (Anderson’s Scottish Biography) (1). It is needless here to say, that the date of their first publication cannot in almost any instance be assumed as that of the *composition* of Ramsay’s pieces. ‘The Gentleman’s qualifications debated,’ first published—if we can suppose these dates to be correct—in 1715, must have been written three years earlier. The lines on Wit, published in 1716, must have been composed during the existence of the club, and indeed soon after its establishment in 1712. It is therefore quite possible, and indeed very likely, that the ‘Elegy on John Cowper,’ although published so late as 1714, was written before 1712, and indeed soon after the account of Partridge’s death appeared.”(2).

(1) Dr. Pitcairn was neither the founder of the Easy Club nor a member of it at any time, as will be proved in Chapter IV.

(2) Swift satirically predicted that Partridge’s death would occur on the 29th of March, 1708.

Statements are thus made by the editor of the Fullarton edition regarding four specific compositions of Ramsay's; and we answer them in the next few paragraphs.

"*The Gentleman's qualifications debated.*" This was not published "in 1715," and it was not "written three years earlier." Entitled "*The Gentleman's Qualifications, as debated by some of the Fellows of the Easy Club, April, 1715,*" and first published in the quarto edition of 1721, the poem was composed in April, 1715, to commemorate the debate on the subject at a meeting of the Easy Club on the 16th of March, 1715.

"*The lines on Wit.*" These lines were composed on the 29th of June, 1715, but were not "published in 1716"; and they only appeared in print for the first time in the quarto edition of 1721.

"*Elegy on John Cowper.*" This was not "produced," even in an imperfect state, "prior to 1712"; and, as to the assertion that the piece was "published" in "1714," there is no evidence that it appeared in print until 1718, after Ramsay had added to it the postscript written in 1717. See also our notes to No. 6 in Part II.

"*The Morning Interview.*" In the Fullarton edition this work is dated 1721, the same as in the Cadell and Davies edition of 1800, and the editor of the former attaches to the date the following note, (Vol. I, p. 275):—"This date is certainly erroneous. An 8vo edition of 'The Morning Interview,' bearing to be the second, has the date 1719 appended to it. 'The Rape of the Lock' was published in 1712; and Ramsay's imitative faculty is here awakened into activity by the ambitious design to produce a companion-piece to Pope's delicately finished poem."

While, however, 1721 is erroneously given as the date in the Cadell and Davies edition, it is not a misprint for 1712, as is stated in the Fullarton edition, (Vol. III, p. 296 note), the editor of which says in his text, as above quoted, that it is "highly probable" 'The Morning Interview' was produced "prior to 1712"; whereas the work was published for the first time in 1716; and there is no evidence that it had been composed before, or even in, 1715.

But most erroneous statements are also made by some other biographers regarding the dates of composition and publication of early Ramsay pieces.

We must therefore see what proofs there are that our bard exercised himself in writing poetry before the Easy Club was established.

In 'Answer I' of the *Familiar Epistles between Lieutenant William Hamilton and Allan Ramsay*, the latter says to the former :

“ When I begoud first to cun Verse,
And cou'd your *Ardry Whins* rehearse,
Where *Bonny Heck* ran fast and fierce,
It warm'd my Breast ;
Then Emulation did me pierce,
Whilk since ne'er ceast.”

Therein Ramsay refers to Hamilton's production entitled *The Last Dying Words of Bonny Heck, a Famous Grey-hound in the Shire of Fife*, which appeared in *A Choice Collection of Comic and Serious Scots Poems both Ancient and Modern*, printed by James Watson, Edinburgh, in 1706.

But no one has ever been able to name, with any proof, the particular year in which Watson's *Collection* reached the hands of Ramsay.

Mr. Chalmers states, we admit, that “ Ramsay only began to read poetry in his twentieth year, to feel the influence of emulation, and to lay the foundation of his fame and fortune.”⁽¹⁾

But Mr. Chalmers wrote these words in the mistaken belief that Ramsay was born in 1686, and on the mere supposition that Ramsay read Watson's *Collection* as soon as it appeared in 1706—which was about three years before Ramsay completed his apprenticeship.

Other evidence, however, is furnished by Ramsay, for in his letter to John Smibert, dated May 10th, 1736, he says :

“ Frae twenty-five to five and forty,
My Muse was neither sweer nor dorty.”

We may consequently understand that Ramsay wrote verse freely after entering into his twenty-fifth year, on the 15th of October, 1709.

Still, with two exceptions, none of the pieces which Ramsay composed before November, 1713, when he produced his *Poem to the Memory of the Famous Archbald Pitcairn, M.D.*, were ever allowed by him to appear in print, so that all the

⁽¹⁾ Cadell and Davies ed. (Vol. I, p. xi)

early pieces which he consigned to oblivion must have been of very inferior quality.

The first of the two exceptions is the ode in English verse, entitled *Written beneath the Historical Print of the wonderful Preservation of Mr. David Bruce, and others his School-fellows, St. Andrews, August 19, 1710*. But the date given by Ramsay is that of the wonderful preservation—not that of composition; and the historical print could not have been produced until a little time had elapsed after the date of the event which it commemorated. The ode may therefore be said to have been written about the end of 1710 or the beginning of 1711. It is not known, however, to have been printed until it appeared in the third edition of *The Morning Interview*, published in 1720.

The second of the two exceptions is the *Elegy on Maggy Johnston, who died Anno 1711*. That piece is a composition in the Scottish vernacular and in the bob-wheel form of verse, like Hamilton's *Bonny Heck*, and it must have been written in 1711 or in the early part of 1712, (before the Easy Club was founded), when, in all probability, Ramsay merely handed manuscript copies of it to a few of his intimate friends.

We therefore state that the only known compositions which belong to the period of Ramsay's earliest efforts in the art of poetry are the said ode and the said elegy.

As, however, we are dealing in this chapter with matters down to the eve of the establishment of the Easy Club on the 12th of May, 1712, and have read everything that is contained in the official records that are called by Mr. Chalmers the "MS. transactions of the Easy Club,"⁽¹⁾ we also express our conviction that the whole of the assertions made by Mr. Smeaton, in his *Allan Ramsay*, that are specified in the next four paragraphs, are entirely erroneous.

1. That the Easy Club was "originally founded under a different name"; that it underwent "reconstruction in 1711"; and that it then "became a Jacobite organisation pure and simple."

2. That Ramsay was "prompted to embody his petition for admission into the Club in a poetical address"—namely "the poem addressed to 'The Most Happy Members of the Easy Club'"; that the said poem, 'Were I but a Prince or

(¹) Cadell and Davies ed. (Vol. I. p. x, note).

King,' "takes rank as the earliest of his published poems"; and that the members of the Club "printed and published his *Address*, [namely the poem in question], at their own expense."

3. That "the next pieces [after the *Address*] which our poet read to his patrons [of the Easy Club] were two he had written some time previous—to wit, a little Ode on the preservation from death by drowning of the son of his friend John Bruce, on August 19, 1710; and the *Elegy on Maggy Johnston*, the alewife."

4. That "the critics of the Easy Club gave unstinted praise" to the "*Elegy on Maggy Johnston*."

But the passages which contain Mr. Smeaton's assertions will be quoted in later pages; and facts which fully warrant our conviction will in due course be furnished.

CHAPTER III.

RAMSAY'S COURTSHIP; MARRIAGE; AND EARLIEST YEARS OF WEDDED LIFE. FROM ABOUT JULY 1712 UNTIL 1715.

MR. GEORGE CHALMERS makes no reference to the poet's courtship; and all that he says about his marriage is contained in the second of these two sentences: ⁽¹⁾ "Ramsay was now [after completing his apprenticeship] to enter into life, with an honest trade, and a fair character, for his livelihood. And he was induced, as much by his sociability of temper as by the example of other citizens, to marry, in 1712, Christian Ross, the daughter of an inferior lawyer in Edinburgh."

But on 5th December, 1846, *Hogg's Weekly Instructor* came out with an article by an anonymous contributor, bearing the title of *Revival and Progress of National Literature in Scotland*, and the sub-title of *Allan Ramsay*.

By the publication of that article many most unqualified statements regarding the life and works of Ramsay were widely circulated. ⁽²⁾

For our present purpose, however, we quote from it only the following:—"Allan was born in 1686, and was brought in to Edinburgh about the beginning of 1701, being then in his fifteenth year, and apprenticed to a wig-maker. . . . What a pretty young lady of two-and-twenty could see about 'a small, stunted, dwarfish wig-maker of twenty-four,' to induce her to take the fancy of getting married to him, we cannot say. Such, however, was the case. Before Allan had published a single verse, while he was yet obscure, unfriended, and unknown, he succeeded, by some species of poetic 'glamourie' or other, in captivating at a tea-party the affections of a certain Miss Ross, daughter to one of the

⁽¹⁾ Cadell and Davies ed. (Vol. I, p. viii)

⁽²⁾ *Hogg's Weekly Instructor*—described as "a periodical of a respectable and religious character" in the Fullarton edition of *The Works of Allan Ramsay* (Vol. III, p. 253, note)—was, in addition to being issued weekly, made up into half-yearly volumes, and Vol. IV, which contains the article in question, bears this imprint: "Edinburgh: Published by James Hogg, 122 Nicholson Street; James M'Leod, Glasgow; W. Curry, Jun. & Co., Dublin; and R. Groombridge & Sons, London 1847."

city writers.⁽¹⁾ We have the authority of Moore for asserting, that when the heart of a young lady has once gone amissing, the lady herself will soon go in search of it. And so it was here : old Ross, the lady's father, was crowned with one of the most formidable wigs of his day. Allan put it in curl, we are told, once a fortnight, and kept all 'snod.' Miss Ross, till the tea-party night, had never found her way to the tonsor's shop, allowing the servant to call. Now, however, she made frequent visits, and all about 'papa's wig.' Allan had discernment enough to see how matters stood. He had forty times the genius of Andrew Wylie, and was ten degrees 'pawkier.' Mustering in a month or so the necessary amount of fortitude, he made direct proposals to the young lady, and succeeded, though horribly 'blackavized,' and only five feet four, in bearing away, under a terrific fire from the batteries of some five-and-twenty enraged rivals, his invaluable prize⁽²⁾—for so it proved. The union was an exceedingly propitious one ; and the poet's domestic felicity was, in the course of the subsequent year, increased by the birth of a son, destined in a sister art to all but rival his father—we mean *the* Allan Ramsay who was afterwards portrait-painter to George III."⁽³⁾

With the omission of the first passage, the portion of the article thus quoted by us was reproduced by the editor of *The Works of Allan Ramsay*,⁽⁴⁾ under the title of *Ramsay's Courtship*, but with the parenthetical explanation that the account of the courtship was that of "a lively writer in Hogg's Weekly Instructor, basing his statement apparently on some well authenticated traditionary report."

The story of the courtship is also given—somewhat differently, however—by Mr. Logie Robertson, in *Poems by Allan Ramsay*, with the following prefixed thereto, (p. xxii) : "An account of the courtship of Ramsay has been published which, though it must be set down as purely imaginary, may perhaps serve to illustrate, and will at all events aid us in realising, this interesting episode in his life."

(1) Having stated that Ramsay was born in 1686, the writer of the article thus makes it appear that it was in 1710 that the "pretty young lady" took the fancy of getting married to Ramsay.

(2) This is made to appear to have been in 1710 as well.

(3) Here the writer represents that the union also took place in 1710, and that the birth of the son was in 1711.

(4) Fullarton ed. 1848. (Vol. III, p. 215.)

But, while we find that the account first spread abroad in *Hogg's Weekly Instructor* is grossly incorrect, we feel that it almost sinks into insignificance in comparison with the one that is furnished by Mr. Oliphant Smeaton, who, in his *Allan Ramsay*, thus begins Chapter I, entitled "The Family Tree"; "'Ye'd better let me gang doon wi' the wig, Miss Kirsty,' said Peggy, the 'serving-lass' in the household of Mr. James Ross, writer, of the Castlehill.

"'Oh, no! I'd as leif take it doon mysel' to Allan Ramsay's, for the sake o' the walk and the bit crack wi' the canty callant,' replied the young lady, a blush crimsoning her fair, rounded cheek.

"And Peggy would retire from these periodical but good-humoured passages-at-arms, with a knowing smile on her face, to confide the fact, mayhap,—of course as a profound secret,—to her cronies in the same stair, that Miss Kirsty Ross was 'unco ta'en up wi' that spruce genty wigmaker, Maister Allan Ramsay, doon ayont the Tron Kirk.'

"Yea! verily, it was a love drama, but as yet only in the first scene of the first act. The 'Miss Kirsty' of the brief dialogue recorded above—for the authenticity of which there is abundant evidence—was Miss Christian Ross, eldest daughter of Mr. James Ross, a lawyer of some repute in his day, whose practice lay largely in the Bailie's and Sheriff's Courts, and with minor cases in the Justiciary Court, but not with civil business before the Court of Session, an honour rigorously reserved for the members of that close Corporation—the Writers to His Majesty's Signet.

"But though not belonging, in slang phrase, 'to the upper crust' of the legal fraternity, James Ross was a man of some social consideration. Though he appears to have had a strain of the fashionable Pharisee in him, and to have esteemed gentle birth as covering any multitude of sins and peccadilloes, he manifested, throughout his intercourse with Ramsay, certain countervailing virtues that render him dear to the lovers of the poet. He made distinct pretensions to the possession of culture and a love of *belles-lettres*. To the best Edinburgh society of the period he and his had the *entrée*, while his house in Blair's Close, on the southern slope of the Castlehill, was the rendezvous for most

of the *literati* of the city, as well as for the *beaux esprits* of the Easy Club, of which he was a member.

“His acquaintance with the young wigmaker—whose sign of the ‘Mercury,’ situate in the High Street, or, as the poet himself writes, ‘on Edinburgh’s Street the sunside,’ was almost immediately opposite Niddry’s Wynd, and at the head of Halkerston’s Wynd, and within sixty yards of the Tron Church—had originated in the weekly visits paid by him to Allan’s shop for the purpose of getting his wig dressed. While waiting until this important item in an eighteenth-century gentleman’s toilet was accomplished, he had enjoyed many a ‘crack’ with the young craftsman, so shrewd, so witty, so genial, yet withal so industrious. The man of pleas and precepts discovered him of powder and perukes to be as deeply interested and, in good sooth, as deeply versed in the literature of his own land as the lawyer himself. Chance acquaintance gradually ripened, on both sides, into cordial esteem. James Ross invited Ramsay to visit him at his house, and there the young *perruquier* beheld his fate in Christian, or Kirsty, Ross.

“If Allan were fascinated by Kirsty’s rare beauty and piquant *espièglerie*, by her sweet imperiousness and the subtle charm of her refined femininity, exercised on a nature whose previous experience of the sex had been limited to the bare-legged Amazons of Leadhills or the rosy-cheeked ministering Hebes, whom the high wages of domestic service attracted to town; she, in turn, was no less captivated by the manly, self-possessed demeanour, and the ingratiating qualities, both social and intellectual, of her father’s guest. If he had mingled too little with society for his manners to be tinged with the polish of the *débonnair* gallant, his natural good-breeding and ready tact, united, it must be confessed, to a not inconsiderable spice of vanity, doubtless prevented any lapse into those nervous *gaucheries* wherewith a youth’s first appearance in good society is often accompanied.”

Mr. Smeaton next gives a pen picture of Ramsay, and in that connection says: “Such was the youth that presented himself to bonny Kirsty Ross at her father’s tea-table.”

Then he goes on in this fashion: “The acquaintance soon expanded into friendship. Before long, as has been stated, the household observed, not without amusement, that whenever Saturday came round, on which day James Ross’

wig was sent down to receive its week's dressing from young Ramsay, Kirsty found she needed a walk, which always seemed to take her past the sign of 'the flying Mercury,' so that she could hand in the wig and call for it as she returned. Ah, artful Miss Kirsty! As the idyll progressed, the interim walk was abandoned, and the fair one found it pleasanter, as she said, to pass the time in conversation with the young *coiffeur* as he combed the paternal wig. The intercourse thus commenced on both sides, more as a frolic than aught else, speedily led to warmer feelings than those of friendship being entertained, and in the spring of 1711 Allan Ramsay asked the daughter of the lawyer to share life's lot with him.

"The lovers were, of course, too well aware of the dissimilarity in their social stations to hope for any ready acquiescence in their matrimonial projects by the ambitious Edinburgh lawyer. To win consent, the matter had to be prudently gone about. The position Ramsay's family had held in the past reckoned for something, it is true, in the problem, but the real point at issue was, What was the social status of the swain at that moment? Ah, there was the rub! All very well was it for a literary-minded lawyer to patronise his wigmaker by inviting him to drink a dish of tea with his family, or to crack a bottle with him over Jacobite plots or the latest poems of Swift or Pope; but to give him his daughter in marriage, that was altogether another question. Mrs. Grundy was quite as awe-inspiring a dame then as now. James Ross and his spouse would require to make a careful investigation into the pedigree of the 'mercurial' artist in crinology—to import a trade term of the present into the staid transactions of the past—before such an alliance could be thought of. Many and long were the family councils held. Every item of his descent, his relatives, his character, his prospects, was discussed, and this is what they discovered."

Thereupon Mr. Smeaton gives details of the things that were, he asserts, "discovered" by "James Ross and his spouse"—details which we required to partly quote in Chapter I, beginning with the erroneous statement that "Allan Ramsay was born on the 15th of October, 1686," and ending with the erroneous statements that the marriage of "Robert" Ramsay and Alice Bower "took place early in

January, 1686," and that "in the October of the same year the future poet was born."

At length, after entering into many other things of a miscellaneous nature, Mr. Smeaton says in Chapter III, (p. 39): "From 1707 to 1711 thus did Allan Ramsay 'live and learn'—a youth whose nature, fired by the memories of Scotland's greatness in years gone by, already longed to add something of value to the cairn of his country's literature. Such, too, were the facts of which, at his request, the worthy lawyer, Mr. James Ross, was placed in possession when he was called on to decide whether his friend, the 'poetically-minded wigmaker,' should be regarded as a *persona grata* from the point of view of a prospective son-in-law. That the 'pedigree' of the young aspirant was accepted as satisfactory may be regarded as certain from the fact that the marriage of Allan Ramsay and Christian Ross was celebrated during the New Year festivities of 1712."

Now, in the first place, we do not believe that there is, or ever was, "abundant evidence," or any evidence, of any weight whatever, for the "authenticity" of the "brief dialogue" that is "recorded" by Mr. Smeaton at the beginning of his *Allan Ramsay*.

In the second place, Ramsay could not have told Ross and his spouse that the Christian name of his father was Robert, for it was John, as we have proved in Chapter I.

In the third place, Ramsay could not have told Ross and his spouse that the Christian name of his maternal grandfather was William, for it was Allan, as we have also proved in Chapter I.

In the fourth place, the Christian name of Ross was Robert, not James, as will at once be proved.

In the fifth place, Ross was never a member of the Easy Club, as will be proved beyond all question of doubt in Chapter IV.

In the sixth place, "the marriage of Allan Ramsay and Christian Ross," instead of being "celebrated during the New Year festivities of 1712," was an event of a later date by more than eleven months, as is proved by the following copy of an official document which we obtained in the course of our researches:—

“EXTRACT OF AN ENTRY IN A REGISTER
KEPT AT THE GENERAL REGISTRY OFFICE, EDINBURGH.

	16th November, 1712.	Married.
Allane	Ramsay Wigemaker burges in N. K. paroch and Christian Ross daughter to the deceast Robert Rosse wryter in S. S. E. paroch.	14th December.

Extracted from the Register of Proclamations and Marriages for the Parish of Edinburgh in the County of Edinburgh, this 1st day of October, 1906.

Stair Agnew, Registrar-General.”

But this document also proves that Robert Ross was dead before the marriage occurred; that Ramsay was an unmarried man when he and two others founded the Easy Club in May 1712; and that he continued to be a bachelor for fully seven months thereafter.

We have been unable, however, to find any authentic account of Ramsay's courtship; and we only assume, after studying matters in every way, that the courtship began about July, 1712.

As to Ramsay's wedded life from December 1712 until October 1715, we quote helpful extracts furnished by Mr. Chalmers in the Cadell and Davies edition (Vol. I, p. li): “At Edinburgh the sixth day of October, 1713. Registrate to Allan Ramsay, periwige-maker, and Christian Ross, his spouse, New Kirk parish, a son, Allan. Witnesses, John Symer, William Mitchell, and Robert Mein, merchants, burgeses; and William Baxter.⁽¹⁾”

“Registrate to Allan Ramsay, weegmaker, burges, and Christian Ross his spouse, North East (College Kirk) parish, a daughter named Susanna. Witnesses, John Symers, merchant, and John Morison, merchant. The child was born on the first instant. 3d October 1714.

“Registrate to Allan Ramsay, weegmaker, and Christian Ross his spouse, North East parish, a son, Niell. Witnesses, Walter Boswell, sadler, and John Symer, merchant. 9th October 1715.”

⁽¹⁾ Despite this proof Mr. Logie Robertson states in *Poems by Allan Ramsay* (p. xxvi), that the poet's eldest child, Allan, “was born in October, 1712.”

Now, seeing that Ramsay was a wigmaker in "N.K. paroch" when he married Christian Ross on the 14th of December, 1712, as we have already proved, we venture to say that he may have removed from a shop in an undiscovered spot to the shop in High Street, opposite Niddry's-Wynd, after the birth of his son, Allan, in "New Kirk parish," on the 6th of October, 1713, and before the birth of his daughter, Susanna, in "North East (College Kirk) parish," on the first of October, 1714.

In any case, Mr. Logie Robertson, in *Poems by Allan Ramsay*, adds the following to his erroneous statement that Ramsay's marriage took place during the festivities that ushered in the new year of 1712, :—"We may here pause to take a survey of the bridegroom as, standing on the threshold of his door, he bids his wife welcome home, and invites her to the management of his house. His house, be it remembered, is beside his shop on the sunny side of the High Street."

But, leaving Mr. Robertson, and coming again to Mr. Smeaton, we must further state that we cannot accept the assertion of the latter in his *Allan Ramsay* (p. 40), that the sign of the poet's shop from 1711 was the "Flying Mercury," one reason being that Ramsay never used that particular title, and another being that the sign in 1712 was the "Wig and Mercury," according to the statement made in the following, which is the third in order of seven queries sent to the Easy Club in a letter by "an unknown hand," and copied into the minutes of a meeting of the Club on the 1st of July, 1712 :—"Whether or not if your member Isaac [Bickerstaff] (1) should pull down his sign of ye Wig and Mercury, and instead thereof hang up ye venerable effigies of Maggie Johnston it would be a more effectuall Method to perpetuate her Memory than ye late elegy made by that Author upon her death,"—that is, Ramsay's *Elegy on Maggy Johnston, who died Anno 1711*.

The question as to the name of the sign will, however, be further dealt with in Chapter V.

Unfortunately, very little additional to that which we have proved can be said about Ramsay between the date of

(1) The Club name of Ramsay, until he substituted for it "Gawin Douglas" on November 5th, 1713.

his marriage and 1715, beyond the facts to be stated in Chapter IV.

It is therefore all the more interesting to note in the extracts which we have quoted from the Cadell and Davies edition the names of the persons who were witnesses when Ramsay got the births of his children Allan, Susanna and Niell registered, for those witnesses were evidently among his most intimate friends at the period in question.

Still, while there is not, apparently, any first-hand information respecting the life led by Ramsay and his spouse together in their earliest years of matrimony, it cannot possibly be doubted that their union was uniformly a singularly happy one.

At the same time, we look upon the account of the poet's helpmate by Mr. Oliphant Smeaton, in his *Allan Ramsay*, as being to some extent imaginary: "A woman, at once of considerable personal attractions, sound common sense and practical knowledge of the world, a capital housewife withal, and though not dévoid of a certain modicum of literary appreciation, by no means a blue-stocking, such, in brief, was the lady who for thirty years was to be the faithful partner of Ramsay's fortunes, rejoicing with him in success, sympathising with him in reverse—one who merited to the full the glowing lines wherein he described her. The song of 'Bonny Chirsty' was written after nearly seven years of wedded life. The sentiments therein expressed speak better than comment as to the happiness of Ramsay's marriage. One verse of it may be quoted—

'How sweetly smells the simmer green!
Sweet taste the peach and cherry;
Painting and order please our een,
And claret makes us merry:
But finest colours, fruits, and flowers,
And wine, though I be thirsty,
Lose a' their charms and weaker powers,
Compared wi' those of Chirsty.' "

Certainly the latter part calls for criticism in two respects.

1. Mr. Smeaton asserts that the song was written nearly seven years after the beginning of January, 1712.

But *Bonny Christy* did not appear in the edition of Ramsay's *Scots Songs* published in 1719, or in the one published in 1720. Neither did it appear in the quarto edition of

Ramsay's collected poems published in 1721. And it is not known to have been printed until it appeared in the first volume of *The Tea Table Miscellany*, published in 1724.

2. Mr. Smeaton asserts that Ramsay wrote the song on his wife.

But "the glowing lines" of the first three stanzas are those that were sung by a bashful lover in praise of the maiden whom he adored, as is proved by the words contained in the first of the two succeeding stanzas.

To this we may add that certain writers earlier than Mr. Smeaton had stated that the heroine of the song was Miss Christian Dundas, the daughter of Sir James Dundas of Arniston.

CHAPTER IV.

THE EASY CLUB; AND RAMSAY'S FURTHER POETICAL PROGRESS. FROM MAY 12th, 1712, UNTIL 1715.

MUCH has been written in very positive terms by widely-known biographers of the poet regarding the creation, composition and character of the Easy Club.

But we are fully convinced that Mr. George Chalmers is the only one who gives an account of matters that is the result of a personal perusal of official records—records that are called by him the “MS. transactions of the Easy Club”; and it is sufficient in the meantime to explain that he had undoubtedly read those “transactions” in a still unpublished volume which bears this title-page: “Journal of the Easy Club, containing The History and proceedings of that Modern Society for their first three Years. Recorded and Written By Mr. George Buchannan Secretary and Clerk Register to the Club. Revised and Approven 1715.”

Mr. Chalmers does not, however, give his account until after stating that Ramsay was induced to “marry, in 1712, Christian Ross, the daughter of an inferior lawyer in Edinburgh;” and until after stating the following⁽¹⁾:—“The same disposition for sociability [as for wedlock] prompted him [Ramsay] to court the society of clubs, during a clubical period.⁽²⁾ Among his poems he has left a petition for admittance into the Whin-bush Club, a society of gentlemen in Lanarkshire, who met partly to enjoy the pleasure of mirth, perhaps as much to exercise the beneficence of charity to indigent persons of the same shire.”⁽³⁾

Thereupon Mr. Chalmers writes thus: “It was an age of clubs, when Ramsay began to enter into life, with a strong desire to give, and to receive, the pleasures of conviviality.”⁽⁴⁾

⁽¹⁾ Cadell and Davies edition. (Vol. I, p. ix).

⁽²⁾ We have no evidence that Ramsay courted the society of clubs either while he was a bachelor or during the early years of his married life.

⁽³⁾ The petition is not known to have been printed until it appeared in the quarto edition of 1721; and it was probably not written until very shortly before that date.

⁽⁴⁾ We believe that Ramsay began in life with no such desire.

In May, 1712, there was established at Edinburgh the Easy Club, consisting of young men, who possessed talents, and vivacity, and who wished to pass stated evenings in free conversation, and social mirth.⁽¹⁾ Of this club, Ramsay appears to have been an original member:⁽²⁾ and as the fundamental constitution of it required that each member should assume some characteristic name, he chose, though I know not with what propriety, the well-known appellation of Isaac Bickerstaff.⁽³⁾ After a while, the Easy Club, affecting great independence, resolved to adopt Scottish patrons, in place of English names:⁽⁴⁾ Ramsay now chose for his new denomination the more poetical name of Gawin Douglas. Our representative of the learned Bishop of Dunkeld, the Scottish translator of Virgil, occasionally amused the Club with appropriate poetry; and, on the 2d of February, 1715, he was chosen poet-laureat to the club, whose hilarity, however, was suppressed by the rebellion of 1715. One of its last acts, on the 12th [11th] of May, was to declare 'that Dr. Pitcairn and Gawin Douglas [Ramsay] having behaved themselves three years as good members of this club, were adjudged to be gentlemen.' From this declaration, we may easily perceive, what is indeed apparent on their recorded transactions, that Ramsay regarded his attendance on the club, as part of the business of life; while his associates, as they were young, had their studies to prosecute, and their establishments to form.

"As a juvenile poet, Ramsay has left nothing which could bring to our recollection the infantine performances of Cowley, Milton, or Pope, who lisped in numbers, at the dawn of life. Ramsay only began to read poetry in his twentieth year, to feel the influence of emulation, and to lay the foun-

(1) They met for mutual improvement as well.

(2) In a footnote Mr. Chalmers says: "I quote the MS. transactions of the Easy Club." As he therefore had before him the evidence which those "transactions" furnished he could have faithfully stated definitely that Ramsay *was* an original member.

(3) The first minute of the said "transactions" reads thus: "May 12, 1712. Those who founded ye Club Call'd on [e] another by ye Names of Rochester, Isaac Bickerstaff and Tom Brown—they were in a few days Join'd by three who assum'd ye Names of Sir Roger L'estrance Sir. Isaac Newton and—Heywood."

(4) The "after a while" was not until the 5th of November 1713; and the circumstances under which it was resolved "to adopt Scottish patrons in place of English names" will in due course be shown.

dition of his fame, and fortune.⁽¹⁾ He first began to write in 1711; for in his letter to Smibert, the painter, he says

Frae twenty-five to five-and-forty,
My muse was neither sweet nor dorty.⁽²⁾

Yet, his earliest production, which is at present known, was presented by him, in 1712, to 'The most happy members of the Easy Club':—

Were I but a prince or king,
I'de advance ye, I'de advance ye;
Were I but a prince or king,
So highly's I'de advance ye.
Great sense and wit are ever found
'Mong you always for to abound,
Much like the orbs that still move round,
No ways constrain'd, but easy.

Were I, &c.

[Other five stanzas follow.]³

"While he was yet unknown to fame, and unpractised in the art of book-making, our poet-laureat made use of the Easy Club, as a convenient place of publication.⁽⁴⁾ In this

⁽¹⁾ We quoted this, and commented on it, in page 22.

⁽²⁾ Ramsay entered into his twenty-fifth year on the 16th of October 1709, and was forty-five years of age in 1730. His letter to Smibert was written in 1736.

⁽³⁾ Well, 'Were I but a prince or king' is only the third-earliest poetical composition of Ramsay's that is known down to the present. It is, however, his first known venture in song-writing. But it was not written until after the establishment of the Easy Club. And, as the piece was a very poor production, Ramsay wisely refrained from ever printing it.

The whole of the six stanzas are transcribed correctly by Mr. Chalmers from the "MS. transactions of the Easy Club."

But, having only the stanzas so transcribed to work on, Mr. Smeaton, in his *Allan Ramsay*, gives extractively stanzas 1, 2, 4, and 6 without break; and somewhat alters the text. For instance, two of the lines in the first stanza he renders thus:

'Great wit and sense are ever found
Among ye always to abound'.

Mr. Smeaton therefore makes it appear that the song is a composition of a higher standard than it really is; and he actually goes the length of stating that it was written "in a felicitous strain of gentle satire, blended with genial humour not unlike Gay at his best."

More, however, will be disclosed presently.

⁽⁴⁾ Ramsay merely read some of his few poetical pieces, as they were composed by him, after the 12th of May, 1712, to the members of the Easy Club, at their regular stated meetings,—read them just in the same way as two or three other members read several of *their* poetical pieces.

familiar society he produced his satirical elegy on Maggy Johnston ; which, with similar poems, he soon after revised, and published.⁽¹⁾ In the club too, he read an elegy on the death of the celebrated Dr. Pitcairn, who died in 1713 ; which, though printed by the Club, was rejected by the author, when he re-published his poems, because it was at once political, and personal ; and he perhaps regarded it merely as

—the moanings of an infant muse,
Who wants its nurse : he's gone who did infuse
In us the principles of wit and sense."

Now, Mr. Chalmers would have rendered far greater service if he had written more in detail, and taken the precaution to see that he was strictly accurate in all his statements.

But he correctly states, on the authority of the "MS. transactions of the Easy Club," that the Club was established in May, 1712.

Yet the editor of the Fullarton edition of *The Works of Allan Ramsay*, 1848, has the temerity to state that which is contained in the latter part of the last sentence of the following, (Vol. III, p. 299) :—"The Easy club is so associated with the early life of Ramsay, that his biographers have generally hazarded a few remarks as to its membership and proceedings ; and considering, as we now are, how far he merited the opprobrious epithets of Pinkerton, or is correctly described as 'one of the lowest of the mob in associates and mind,' we have been led to look at these remarks with a greater degree of attention than we might otherwise have bestowed upon them. It appears to have been formally constituted in 1712 ; but, like its many successors, it is probable that it had been in existence for some years previous, and then took its precise name and peculiar features from the characteristics developed in its earlier proceedings."

As to the identity of any one of the members of the Club, besides Ramsay, Mr. Chalmers is altogether silent. But

⁽¹⁾ As stated in Chapter II, the *Elegy on Maggy Johnston* must have been written late in 1711 or early in 1712, before the Easy Club was founded.

Moreover, there is no proof whatever in the minutes of the Easy Club that Ramsay soon after published the elegy and similar poems ; and we would require positive evidence to convince us that he published any of them until years after the Club had ceased to exist.

one of those politico-convivial societies that sprang into existence early in the century, and were conspicuous features in the social customs of the period. (1) . . . Not to be supposed is it that Ramsay had lived six-and-twenty years of his life without having practised, and we have no doubt enjoyed, the widespread conviviality of the period. Hence, though the Easy Club was the first of the social gatherings wherewith he actually informs us he was connected, we have no reason to doubt he had been associated with several of them before. . . .

“ But to the Easy Club must be assigned the honour of having stimulated the nascent genius of the poet to achieve something that would convey to its members the fact that it was no ordinary tradesman who solicited admission into the charmed circle of the Society. James Ross, whose zeal for the poetic young wig-maker’s social recognition was now materially increased, used all his influence to obtain for his son-in-law an *entrée* into the Club of which he was himself a member. Questionable, indeed, it is, when we consider the exclusive character of the association in question, the high social position of its members, and their avowed Jacobitical tenets, if even the influence of James Ross, powerful though it was, would alone have secured for Ramsay admission. But an inspiration, as happy as it was original, prompted him to embody his petition for admission into the Club in a poetical address. (2). Such a course was of itself sufficient to recommend him to men like Dr. [sic] Ruddiman and Dr. Pitcairn. . .

“ The benefits received by the self-confident young poet were not alone of an intangible character. Praise is an excellent thing of itself, but a modicum of pudding along with it is infinitely better. To Ramsay the Easy Club was the means of securing both. The *role* of his literary patrons was at once assumed by its members. They printed and

(1) The order of events is thus transposed by Mr. Smeaton, he having stated in his preceding chapter that the marriage was celebrated during the New Year festivities of 1712, whereas it did not take place until nearly eleven months thereafter. And he is totally incorrect in stating not only that Ramsay was introduced to the Easy Club in the early months of 1712, but also that the Club was a politico-convivial society.

(2) ‘ Were I but a prince or king.’

published his *Address* at their own expense, ⁽¹⁾ appointed him, within a few months' time, their 'Poet Laureate', and manifested, both by counsel and the exercise of influence, the liveliest interest in his welfare. ⁽²⁾

"Originally founded, under a different name, as a means of frustrating, and afterwards of protesting against, the Union, the Club, after its reconstruction in 1711, became a Jacobite organisation pure and simple. As Ramsay himself stated in after years: 'It originated in the antipathy we all of that day seemed to have at the ill-humour and contradiction which arise from trifles, especially those which constitute Whig and Tory, *without having the grand reason for it*'. ⁽³⁾ The grand reason in question was the restoration of the Stuarts. To give a *souçon* of mystery to their proceedings, as well as to veil their identity when thus plotting against the 'powers that be', each member assumed a fictitious name, generally that of some celebrated writer. The poet, as he himself relates, at first selected Isaac Bickerstaff, suggestive of Steele and the *Tatler*. Eventually, however, he altered his *nom-de-guerre* to Gawain Douglas, one more in accordance with his patriotic sentiments.

"The membership was limited to *twelve*, but at the time when Ramsay made his application we only know the names of five of those who belonged to it. Hepburn of Keith, in

⁽¹⁾ The whole facts regarding the "Address" are given in the following portion of the minutes of a meeting of the Easy Club on the 27th of June, 1712:—"The Club met [and] chose Isaac Bickerstaff [Allan Ramsay] praeses, who after his Election Complimented ye Club with a Song ['Were I but a prince or king'] Composed by himself to ye tune of Wert thou but my ane thing, imagin'd to be writ by one who is not but desirous to be a member of ye Society as follows

"To the Most happy Members of ye Easy club.

[Then appear the six stanzas transcribed by Mr. Chalmers.]

"This song was appointed to be kept and Sung sometimes for Diversion after which Isaac Bickerstaff Received ye Thanks of ye Club."

It is therefore not the case that the song was presented by Ramsay as a "petition for admission into the Club." Neither is it the case that the members of the Club "printed and published his *Address* at their own expense."

⁽²⁾ Ramsay was not appointed "Poet Laureate" to the Club until he "demanded" to be so appointed on the 2nd of February 1715—the date that is given correctly by Mr. Chalmers, as shown in page 36, and which was nearly two years and nine months subsequent to the establishment of the Club.

⁽³⁾ What Ramsay "stated in after years" is quoted by us, fully, in page 50.

East Lothian, an antiquarian of no mean standing; Professor Pitcairn, late of Leyden, but at that time in the enjoyment of one of the largest practices as a physician in the Edinburgh of the period; Dr. Patrick Abercrombie, the eminent historian and antiquarian, author of *The Martial Achievements of the Scottish Nation*; Dr. Thomas Ruddiman, philologist, grammarian, printer, and librarian of the Advocates' Library,—one of the few Scottish polymaths over and above the admirable Crichton and George Buchanan,—and James Ross, the lawyer. Tradition has stated that Hamilton of Gilbertfield was also one of the 'Easy fellows,' as they dubbed themselves, but no confirmation of this fact could be discovered."

Well, we have already proved that only six members, including Allan Ramsay, constituted the Easy Club at its establishment on the 12th of May, 1712; and the following are the Club names adopted by those six original members, together with the substituted Club names of five thereof from the dates specified, one of the six, No. 5, not having changed his Club name at any time:—

1. Lord Rochester.
Lord Napier, from December 4, 1713.
2. Isaac Bickerstaff.
Gawin Douglas, from November 5, 1713.
3. Tom Brown.
Samuel Colvill, from November 5, 1713.
4. Sir Roger L'Estrange.
Michael Scot, from November 5, 1713, or a later date.
5. Sir Isaac Newton.
6. Sir Thomas Heywood.
Sir Thomas Killigrew, from July 21, 1712.
Robert Colinson, from August 1, 1712.
Dr. Arch'd Pitcairn, from December 15, 1714.

But more about them we state in the next six paragraphs.

No. 1.—"Lord Rochester". He was a person whose real name was James Stewart, for, in the Laing Collection, Edinburgh University Library, there is the manuscript of a poem which is docketed "On Andw. Brown Hanging himself. By Allan Ramsay and Ja: Stewart—Roch"; and "Roch" means Stewart's Club name, "Lord Rochester", which he changed to "Lord Napier" on the 4th of December, 1713,

upon his return, apparently, from Glasgow, whither he had gone about July or August, 1713.

No. 2.—“*Isaac Bickerstaff*,” He was, of course, Allan Ramsay.

No. 3.—“*Tom Brown*”. He was deprived of membership at a meeting of the Club on the 5th of January 1715. His real name is given as “Andrew——” in a memorandum in the Laing Collection—evidently owing to the fact that he is referred to as “A——w” in a rhyming epistle, from an outsider, read at a meeting of the Easy Club on the 6th of June, 1712.

No. 4.—“*Sir Roger Le Estrange*.” He was a Mr. Edgar, who, at the end of April, 1713, left for Leyden, as stated in No. 5. The substituted Club name of “Michael Scot” was assigned to him in his absence; and he remained at Leyden for two years and two months or more. ⁽¹⁾

No. 5.—“*Sir Isaac Newton*.” He is lost sight of by us after the appearance of the last of the following entries in the MS. *Journal of the Easy Club*, at a place where there is no record of any meetings between the 8th of August, 1712, and the 5th of November, 1713;—“Upon ye 29 and 30th April 1713 Sr. Roger L'estrage took Journey for London in order to go to Leyden to prosecute his study of ye Law and was Convoyed half a days Journey By Mr. George Buchannan.

“About 3 or 4mo. after Mr. Colinson went for France, and L: Rochester to Glasgow.

“Sr. Isaac Newton being obliged to [give] such attendance upon Business as would not allow him to wait upon ye meetings of ye Club, desires to be excused and no more Regarded as a Sitting Member. But craved he may be allowed to come when he cou'd.” Doubtless he wished to be exempt from the payment of fines for occasional non-attendance at meetings of the Club thereafter; and his name was probably retained for a time on the roll of membership, considering that it is not recorded that his request was refused. He was at least a member until July or August, 1713; and this most clearly proves that *he was not Robert Ross*, who had died before the marriage of his daughter to Ramsay in December 1712. But what his real name was we are unable to say.

⁽¹⁾ Copy of letter from “George Buchannan” to Mr. Edgar in the Laing Collection, Edinburgh University Library. This we quote from in page 60.

No 6.—“*Sir Thomas Heywood.*” The first change in his Club name is recorded thus in the minutes of July 21st, 1712: “Sr Thomas Heywood having severall times Signified his not being satisfied of Heywood for his patron this day Renounced for ever that Name and at his own desire is to be called by ye name of Sr Tho: Killigrew.” The second change is recorded thus in the minutes of August 1st, 1712, “Sr Tho: Killigrew having [at] ye former meeting declared his dislike to that name was allowed to Choose another who accordingly chose Mr. Ro^t Colinson some time teacher of Book-holding in Edr.” The third change is recorded thus in the minutes of December 15th, 1714: “That Member hitherto call’d Mr. Colinson objected against his name saying he had never formally chosen that Author for his patron and Crav’d he might be allowed to choose, which was granted whereupon he Chose the Dead Dr. Archd Pitcairn (a man of great parts and much of ye humour of this Society) for his patron and at the same time subscrib’d the Laws By his Name.” He continued to be a member until at least the 29th of June, 1715; and, like “Sir Isaac Newton,” he remains unidentified.

But Mr. Smeaton further says in his *Allan Ramsay*, (p. 49): “We reach now the commencement of Ramsay’s literary career. For four years—in fact, until the breaking up of the Society after the Rebellion of 1715—all he wrote was issued with the *imprimatur* of the Easy Club upon it. That they were proud of him is evident from the statement made by Dr. Ruddiman in a letter to a friend: ‘Our Easy Club has been increased by the admission of a young man, Ramsay by name, *sib* to the Ramsays of Dalhousie, and married to a daughter of Ross the writer. He will be heard tell o’ yet, I’m thinking, or I am much out of my reckoning.’”

The assertion made in the second of these three sentences is, however, groundless. (1)

As to the letter that is quoted in the third sentence, we characterise it as a bogus production.

This we do because Ramsay was one of three who founded the Easy Club in May, 1712, so that the Club was not “increased” by his “admission”; because he was not “married to a daughter of Ross” until the 14th of December, 1712; and because Ruddiman was not a member of the Easy Club.

(1) See also page 50, note.

Merely adding, then, that the author of the letter may have manufactured it in the erroneous belief that Mr. Logie Robertson was correct in asserting, in 1887, not only that Ruddiman was an original member of the Easy Club, but also that Ramsay's marriage was celebrated "during the festivities that ushered in the new year of 1712," we proceed to state numerous other things, including many that have never before been published.

In the preface to his *Allan Ramsay*, Mr. Smeaton says: "Since this Volume was in type, I have received some additional information which I feel constrained to lay before my readers. With reference to the Easy Club, I have been favoured, through the courtesy of the Rev. Dr. A. B. Grosart, with a sight of the complete Minutes of the Club. From them I observe that Ramsay was one of the earliest members admitted, and that his song, 'Were I but a Prince or King,' was formally presented to the Club after his admission not before, though its rough draft must have been shown to the members prior to that event."

The statement therein made by Mr. Smeaton is therefore of the highest importance, inasmuch as it shows that none of his statements in the text of his *Allan Ramsay* were the outcome of any information obtained by him in the said "complete Minutes of the Club."

A few years after the publication of his *Allan Ramsay*, however, Mr. Smeaton, in his *Allan Ramsay and "the Gentle Shepherd,"* (Thistle Library Series), says: "The year 1712 is interesting to us not only as being that of Ramsay's marriage, but as being the date of his introduction to the Easy Club, one of those numerous politico-convivial societies that came into being early in the eighteenth century and continued to be notable characteristics of the social customs of the town until its eighth and ninth decades . . . The Easy Club was an institution founded by a group of Tories and Jacobites, and their minutes, which are in the possession of the writer, show what a highly cultured, wit-loving, humorous company the members of it were. Ramsay owed his introduction to the influence of his father-in-law, James Ross, and though he was one of the earliest members admitted, it is probable his claims were pretty closely scanned . . . The Easy Club was originally founded, under a different name, as a means of frustrating, and afterwards of protesting against, the Union, but became,

after its reconstruction in 1711, a Jacobite organisation pure and simple."

But the statements about the Easy Club in that later work appear to us to be mostly reproductions, with variations, of some of those which Mr. Smeaton had made in his earlier work.

Furthermore, the minutes which Mr. Smeaton, in the later work, states were in his possession, cannot have differed from the minutes in the MS. *Journal of the Easy Club*.

That volume, which had been owned successively by a number of gentlemen in Scotland, England, Ireland, and the United States of America, including the late Rev. Dr. A. B. Grosart, Dublin, was sold by Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge, Auctioneers, London, in July, 1907, to a bookseller in Edinburgh, from whom we purchased it in September, 1907—about ten years after we had called upon Dr. Grosart in Dublin, and been informed by him that the minutes of the Easy Club were still in the hands of Mr. Smeaton.

Three at least of the owners of the volume were in the United States, the first one being, probably, the late Mr. A. A. Smets, a noted collector in Savannah, Georgia, whose collection was sold by George Leavitt & Co., New York, and the last one being Mr. John Anderson, junior, of the Anderson Auction Company, New York, who, in a letter now before us, dated February 27th, 1909, states that the volume did belong at one time to the late Dr. Grosart.

Attached to the inside of the front board is a cutting from a printed catalogue in which the volume is incorrectly described thus: "An account of the establishment and meetings of a social club, which numbered among its members the chief poets and wits of the day. The number was limited to twelve, and each of the members assumed the name of some eminent Scots author or hero. The volume contains their laws and several poems contributed by the members; the whole being the autograph of the celebrated Allan Ramsay."

But, while the volume is not in Ramsay's handwriting, it contains, we believe, the only evidence that could have enabled anyone to disprove many utterly erroneous statements made in print regarding the life of the poet from a time prior to the establishment of the Easy Club on the 12th of May, 1712, until a time in 1715.

Journal
of
The Easy Club

Containing
The History and proceedings of
that Modern Society for their
first three years

Recorded and Written By
Mr George Buchanan
Secretary and Clerk Register to the Club

Revised and Approved 1768

Reduced facsimile of the title-page of the MS. Journal of the Easy Club.

Size of original $7\frac{1}{2}$ ins. x 6 ins.

Hitherto, however, we have not made reference to an all-important introduction in the volume (pp. 1-2) ; and, with the explanation that that introduction does not contain anything of a political nature, we quote from it the following :—

“Journall of the Easy club,
established in Edinburgh May 1712.

“The Gentlemen who Compose this Society Considering how much ye immaturity of years want of knowing ye world and Experience of living therein Exposes them to ye Danger of Being Drawn away by unprofitable Company To the waste of the most valuable part of their time Have Resolved at sometimes to Retire from all other Business and Company and Meet in a Society By themselves in order that by a Mutual improvement in Conversation they may become more adapted for fellowship with the politer part of mankind and Learn also from one anothers happy observations On ye second day of their Meeting after some deliberation it was unanimously determined their Society should go under the name of the Easy Club designing thereby that their denomination should be a Check to all unruly and disturbing behaviour among their Members. To prevent which also each of them are stil'd with a particular name taken from some eminent person whose Character tho they are sensible of their own insufficiency fully to Maintain yet every One knowing something of his patrons history have him before them as an example which as the wise say is more prevalent in Reformation than precept. And each member being always call'd by his Patrons Name at the meeting makes it impossible he should forget to Copy what is Laudable in him and what is not so to Reject.”

The contents of the *Journal* are most largely the minutes of the meetings of the Club from its commencement on the 12th of May, 1712, until the 11th of May, 1715, beginning on page 3 and ending on page 122.

But we have proof that there were no meetings from the end of April, 1713, until the 5th of November, 1713, and from the 22nd of December, 1713, until the 6th of December, 1714.

There is also no record in the *Journal* of any meetings between the 8th of August, 1712, and the end of April, 1713 ; and we are unable to say definitely whether any meetings were or were not held within that period.

On the 21st of July 1712, Ramsay was "appointed Keeper of ye original letters and other writs belonging to ye Club," and "George Buchannan," the compiler of the *Journal*, was not appointed "Secretary and Clerk Register" until the 12th of November, 1713.

Probably the minutes of the meetings from the commencement were originally in loose sheets; and if any meetings were held between the 8th of August, 1712, and the end of April 1713, the minutes thereof may have been lost while in the care of Ramsay, who, it will be remembered, was married in December 1712.

The minutes of the meeting on the 8th of August, 1712, are on page 45, and end thus: "This day also it was ordered that one Spektator be Read at every meeting till all be Read, and Isaac Bickerstaff [Ramsay] to provide the 1st Volume." The entries which we have quoted under "No. 6—Sir Isaac Newton," are on page 46. Pages 47 to 50 are blank. And the minutes of the meeting on the 5th of November, 1713, ⁽¹⁾ begin on page 51.

But from the 12th of May, 1712 until the 11th of May, 1715, comparatively few poetical pieces were composed by Ramsay; and, with two exceptions, none are known to have been printed within those dates.

The first exception is *A Poem to the Memory of the Famous Archbald Pitcairn, M.D.*; and it was printed in 1713, under circumstances that are stated in Part II, in our notes to No. 1.

The second exception forms the second half of a sheet printed on one side, the first half being a forecast of the sun's eclipse on the 22nd of April, 1715, and the second half being headed thus: "On this Great Eclipse. A Poem by A.R."

In this connection, we quote from the minutes of a meeting of the Club on the 13th of April, 1715: "Two Poems ⁽²⁾ were presented By Gawin Douglas [Ramsay] One upon The Debate or discourse In ye club ye 16 of March about the Requisites necessary to Constitute a Gentleman. The other upon the Eclipse of ye Sun to happen the 22d Currant. Both were approven and the Author Thanked after which was Read a letter from Mr. Joⁿ Symers ⁽³⁾ desiring the Club

⁽¹⁾ See page 55.

⁽²⁾ In English verse.

⁽³⁾ Probably the same John Symers who figured as one of the witnesses when Ramsay got the births of some of his children registered—see Chapter III (p. 31).

might allow the printing of ye poem upon ye eclipse with a Calcull of ye same a friend of his had sent him from Kelso—which was granted him—and G:D. appointed to intimate ye same."

The Easy Club, therefore, had nothing whatever to do with the printing and publishing of the sheet containing the forecast and Ramsay's poem.—a sheet which was printed by James Watson, Edinburgh, and sold at "One Penny," as is proved by a copy inserted in the MS. *Journal of the Easy Club*, between pages 118 and 119.

Furthermore, the Easy Club neither printed the poem "upon the debate or discourse," nor gave authority for it to be printed.⁽¹⁾

That production—dated 1715 in the Cadell and Davies edition—was first published in the quarto edition of 1721, when it appeared under the title of *The Gentleman's Qualifications, as debated by some of the Fellows of the Easy Club, April 1715,*" and it was accompanied by an explanation not before furnished by Ramsay: "*Easy Club*. A juvenile Society, of which I am a Fellow, from the general Antipathy we all seem'd to have at the ill Humor and Contradictions which arise from Trifles, especially those which constitute *Whig* and *Tory*, without having the grand Reason for it; this engaged us to take a Pleasure in the Sound of an *Easy Club*.

"The Club, by one of our special Laws, must not exceed Twelve, and any Gentleman at his Admission was to take the Name of some *Scots* Author, or one eminent for something extraordinary, for obscuring his real Name in the Register of our Lucubrations, such as are named in this Debate, *Tippemaloch, Buchanan, Hector Boece, &c.*"⁽²⁾

But the minutes of the Club record that, at a meeting on the 16th of March, 1715, upon "discoursing the Character of a Gentleman, it was found and Concluded that Continuing Three years a good Easy Fellow of this Society Constitutes a Gentleman without any other pretensions."

⁽¹⁾ We are careful to state this because of the assertion made by Mr. Oliphant Smeaton in his *Allan Ramsay* and "*The Gentle Shepherd*" (?1907), that the Easy Club "issued everything he [Ramsay] wrote as 'Printed by Order of the Easy Club,'"—an assertion which is without the least foundation.

⁽²⁾ The "special Laws" referred to were revised laws adopted on the 12th of November, 1713.

Afterwards in the minutes of a Club meeting on the 11th of May, 1715, it is stated that "Dr. Pitcairn and G. Douglas were declar'd Gentlemen having behaved themselves 3 years honest fellows and good members of this Club."

In the poem, however, four members are named or referred to as having taken part in the debate, as is shown by the lines which we quote from the copy in the quarto edition of 1721.

"First *Tippermaloch* pled with *Spanish* Grace
That Gentry only sprung from antient Race,
Whose Names in old Records of Time were fix'd,
In whose rich Veins some royal Blood was mixt.
I being a Poet sprung from a *Douglass*' Loin,
In this proud Thought did with the Doctor join ;
With this Addition, if they could speak Sense,
Ambitious I, ah ! had no more Pretence.
Buchanan, with stiff Argument and bold,
Pled Gentry took its Birth from powerful Gold.
Him *Hector Boece* join'd, they argued strong,
Said they, to Wealth that Title must belong."

What, then, are the facts regarding those four members ?

Fortunately we have no difficulty in stating them, with the MS. *Journal of the Easy Club* in our possession.

The first—"Tippermaloch"—was the one whose Club name was originally "Sir Thomas Heywood," secondly "Sir Thomas Killigrew," thirdly "Robert Colinson," and fourthly "Dr. Archibald Pitcairn." The second—"a poet sprung from a Douglass' loin"—was, of course, Allan Ramsay. The third—"Buchanan"—was elected on the 27th of June 1712, when he adopted the Club name of "George Buchannan," which he never afterwards changed. And the fourth—"Hector Boece"—was elected on the 12th of January, 1715.

The "Tippermaloch" and the "Doctor" of the poem were one and the same ; and, in revising the manuscript of the poem for the quarto edition of 1721, Ramsay substituted "First Tippermaloch" for "The Learn'd Pitcairn," the latter being the rendering in a copy of the poem embodied in the minutes of a meeting of the Club on the 13th of April, 1715.

We therefore find that the first of the four members who took part in the debate was the one who bore the altered Club name of "Dr. Archd. Pitcairn" from the 15th of December, 1714.

Seeing, however, that the Club consisted of six members at its establishment, on the 12th of May, 1712, why were only two thereof declared at the meeting of the Club on the 11th of May, 1715, to be "gentlemen" of the description stated?

With our inside information this question also is easily answered.

Of those six original members, some had removed from Edinburgh, one had been expelled, and only two remained in Edinburgh as sitting members at the end of the three years, on the 11th of May, 1715, namely "Dr. Pitcairn" and "Gawin Douglas."

Matters being thus explained with respect to the members of the Easy club who took part in the debate commemorated by *The Gentleman's Qualifications*, there is the less for us to say in dealing with the statements contained in the Fullarton edition of *The Works of Allan Ramsay* (Vol. III, p. 301): "That Dr. Archibald Pitcairne, the celebrated physician, wit, and Latin poet, was an influential and honoured member of the Easy club, is implied, if not directly asserted, in Chalmers' biography. The reference to, if not rather the quotation from, Ramsay's Elegy on the death of that distinguished individual, first read before and afterwards printed and circulated by them,

'the moanings of an infant muse

Who wants his nurse; he's gone who did infuse,

In us the principle of wit and sense,'

admits of no other conclusion. But Pitcairne in 1712 was in the 59th or 60th year of his age, a Professor in the University, and at the head of his profession. In 'The Gentleman's Qualifications debated,' Dr. Pitcairne may be recognised as the 'Tippermalloch' in that controversy, having republished with a supplement by himself, a collection of simple remedies suitable for the poor, by John Moncrief, Esq., of Tippermalloch, a gentleman of an eccentric but benevolent disposition. If, at the distance of nearly 140 years, a conjecture may be hazarded as to the other personages in that debate, it would not be difficult to recognise in 'Buchanan' that most learned printer and scholar Thomas Ruddiman, and perhaps also in 'Hector Boece,' his friend Dr. Patrick Abercrombie, author of the 'Martial Achievements of the Scots Nation.' Ruddiman was then, however, in his 38th year, and Abercrombie—born in 1656—56 years old. Rather unseemly associates

these for a select club of students or young men entering into life !!”

Well, we give in the next three paragraphs the most direct replies in answer to these conjectural statements regarding the three specified members who took part in the said debate, which occurred in 1715, not in 1712.

“Tippermalloch” was the member who thrice changed his club name, the last change being from “Mr. Colinson” to “Dr. Archibald Pitcairn” on the 15th of December, 1714—almost fourteen months after the death of the real Dr. Pitcairn.

“George Buchannan”—misprinted “Buchanan” in *The Gentleman's Qualifications*—was elected a member on the 27th of June, 1712, became “Secretary and Clerk Register,” and wrote the MS. *Journal of the Easy Club*, which he completed in 1715, when he was probably about twenty-five years of age. His real name was John Fergus, as is proved by a stitched manuscript of twenty leaves, in the handwriting of “Buchannan,” that is now in our possession. Its title-page reads partly thus: “Discourse of George Castriot, King of Albany (by the turks called Scanderbeg) to his Captains. Written in french by Mr. De Scudery. Translated September 5, 1709.” On the third page is written: “Edinburgh July 20, 1715 Mr. Geo: Buchannan dedicate.” On the fourth page is written: “This Translation being ye work of some leisure hours when I was a student of the French Language is humbly Dedicate to my fellows the gentlemen of the Easy Club. Geo: Buchannan, July 20, 1715.” And on the title-page, below “Translated September 5, 1709,” appear the words “By John Fergus”—words which were obviously added by “Buchannan” when he wrote the dedicatory matter in 1715.

“Hector Boece” was elected a member on the 12th of January, 1715. Dr. Abercrombie was then 59 years old, or almost double the age of Allan Ramsay, whose fellow-members were, as stated by Mr. Chalmers, *young* men.

Such are the facts; and we quite believe that if the above-quoted fallacious conjectures from the pen of an editor with a most exuberant imagination had not appeared in the Fullarton edition, Mr. Logie Robertson would not have stated thirty-nine years later that Dr. Archibald Pitcairn, Thomas Ruddiman and Dr. Patrick Abercrombie were positively original members of the Easy Club.

It is unnecessary, however, to enlarge on this.

And we may only remark in reference to some of the assertions made by Mr. Smeaton, that those noted in the next five paragraphs, are proved by us to be unfounded.

1. That Professor Pitcairn, Dr. Patrick Abercrombie, "Dr." Thomas Ruddiman, and "James" Ross were original members of the Easy Club.⁽¹⁾

2. That the Easy Club was "originally founded under a different name, as a means of frustrating, and afterwards of protesting against, the Union," and, "after its reconstruction in 1711, became a Jacobite organisation, pure and simple."

3. That the house of Ross, was "the rendezvous . . . for the *beaux esprits* of the Easy Club, of which he was a member"—meaning in 1711, before, as alleged, he gave his consent to the marriage of his daughter to Ramsay—which marriage is represented to have been "celebrated during the New Year festivities of 1712."

4. That "James Ross, whose zeal for the poetic young wig-maker's social recognition was now materially increased, [by the marriage of his daughter at the alleged time stated], used all his influence to obtain for his son-in-law an *entrée* into the [Easy] Club of which he was himself a member"—the facts being that no influence was used by any one on behalf of Ramsay, inasmuch as he and two others founded the Easy Club in May, 1712; that Ramsay was not married to Ross's daughter until the 14th of December, 1712; that Ross was dead before the marriage took place; and that Ross never was a member of the Easy Club.

5. That the six original members of the Easy Club employed themselves in "plotting against the 'powers that be,'" and that, in order to "veil their identity, each member assumed a fictitious name"—the fact being that those six members assumed fictitious names for very proper reasons, which had no relation to Jacobitism, anti-unionism, or anything inimical to good government.

Mr. Chalmers states, however, as we quoted in page 36, that, "after a while, the Easy Club, affecting great independ-

(¹) We leave out the name of Hepburn of Keith because we have not directly proved that the gentleman so named by Mr. Smeaton was not one of the six original members of the Club. But we are quite certain that he was neither of the two members who remain unidentified—the one called "Sir Isaac Newton," and the other "Sir Thomas Heywood."

ence, resolved to adopt Scottish patrons in place of English names."

But the "after a while," was not until almost eighteen months subsequent to the establishment of the Easy Club, which was in a dormant condition for a considerable time prior to the 5th of November, 1713.

On that date, (four weeks after Ramsay had become a father), the first meeting of a new session was held, and the minutes of that meeting read partly thus: "Sr. Richd. Blackmore⁽¹⁾ Isaac Bickerstaff Mr. Geo. Buchannan⁽²⁾ and Tom Brown meeting accidentally fell a talking of the Club and finding themselves a quorum and that there were no more members for ye Time at Edinbh Resolv'd their meeting into the Easy Club and Chose Isaac Bickerstaff praeses. Then proceeded to Consider the state of the Club and the Reason of their so long Vacance (which was much Regrated by them) and beginning to Concert new Regulations and Methods for the Better uniting the society One and all of them Expressed a sincere Regard to the Constitution of ye club and hearty Resolution to adhere to and pursue all ye approvable designs of the establishment after which Mr. George Buchannan Representing what Scotland has suffered what we now in a More inglorious manner do are like to suffer by the Perfidy, pride, and hatred of England and how great an affront was put upon ye Scots Nation by Contemning our own Countrey and Choosing English men for our Patrons he said if they continued in this he had Reason to fear their easiness would dwindle into stupidity and Concluded declaring That he thought it would be an honnourable article in the Constitution of a Club of Scots men (who have Resolved to be called by other names than their own) To pay a dutifull Respect to the heroes and authors of their own Nation by Choosing them for their patrons. And proposed it might be an Article in ye fundamental Constitution of this Society—as a Mean to Maintain in us Love to our Native Countrey which we see dayly decaying and animate us to projects for her interest.

Scots Blood was fire and flaming fir'd itself

In other Breasts which kindly took ye Blaze.

"All took ye hint and it was Unnanimously Resolv'd in

⁽¹⁾ The Club name of the member elected on June 12th, 1712.

⁽²⁾ The Club name of the member elected on June 27th, 1712.

warm expressions by each that none of this Club shall have english but Scots Patrons. So immediately Renouncing their former deliberate upon ye Choice of new patrons and that Member formerly nam'd Isaac Bickerstaff did choose Gawin Douglas sometime bishop of Dunkeld and a famous old Scots poet for which he is chosen by that member. Tom Brown is now Samuell Colvill a Scots poet and humorist Sr. Richd. Blackmore choosed Blind Harry an old Scots poet author of ye Epique poem on Wallace. Mr. Geo: Buchannan continues the same."

In this connection, additional information is furnished in the minutes of the next meeting, on the 12th of November, 1713, from which we quote the following:—"Mr. George Buchannan presented The Laws and Constitution of ye Society Methodised and put into form by him according to appointment of the Last Meeting. They were Read, approved and Confirm'd By an Act of Ratification to be Regarded as the standing fundamentall Constitution and irreversible Laws of the Club.

Lex 1 mo. It is Resolved Statute and Enacted That the name and designation of ye Society shall be the Easy club as most expressive of the humour of the members and design of the Establishment As also That each member shall choose some Eminent Scots Author or Heroe (who is dead) for his patron by whose Name he shall be called in ye club."

But, notwithstanding the efforts of "George Buchannan," the session came to a close on the 22nd of December, 1713, and therefore lasted less than seven weeks altogether.

The Club then became dormant for almost a year, for the next session did not begin until the 6th of December, 1714.

That session continued, however, with a meeting every Wednesday evening, until at least the last week of June 1715, although the minutes recorded in the MS. *Journal of the Easy Club* end with those of the meeting on the 11th of May, 1715.

But only a few of the things that are entered in those minutes need here be quoted.

The minutes of a meeting on the 2nd of February read partly thus: "Gawin Douglas demanded his Patent as Poet Laureat to ye club who being all acquaint with his Naturall abilities for poetry and some of his performances it was unananimously agreed he should be honoured with ye Character

of Poet Laureat to ye Easy club upon q^{ch} ye Secretary was appointed to give him one extract of this Act as an evidence of their favour and his dignity—and to expedite his patent in due form as soon as possible—after which Mr. Easy with advice of ye Club desired of him that a poem upon Ease might be his first performance—After some discourse on Publick affairs and ye Ruined Circumstances of Scotland by the late Union it was Resolv'd the Club should Address ye King for ye Dissolution of it—upon which Mr. Easy appointed L. Beilhaven, Joⁿ Barelay, H : Boece and Geo: Buchaman each of them to form an address against ye next meeting. Then after some conversation q^r in it was Resolv'd the Club should next meeting partake of ye Diversion of the times in an easy imitation of party humour . . . ye club adjourn'd."

From the minutes of a meeting on the 9th of February, 1715, we give the following:—"Wedensday feby 9 all The Ten Members now at Edinburgh being Conven'd—Hector Boece chosen praeses Rolls call'd and Minuts of last Scederunt Read. . . . Then the Club proceeded to elect a Member to Represent them in Parliament to Maintain ye fundamentall Laws honours and priveleges of the Society if impung'd there and after a litle imitation of Party struggle chose Mr. George Buchaman who after returning The Club Thanks for the honour Confer'd upon him assur'd them he was of no party at all But would Study in this Employ to Behave as an easy fellow and Then as Secretary he produced a Poem upon ease compos'd by G: Douglas at the Desire of ye Last Meeting—which was Read, approv'd the Author Thank'd and Ordered to be Recorded—after which he also presented 3 addresses drawn in obedience to order of ye last Meeting two of them by himself one of which was approv'd he was ordered to present to ye King as parliament Man and appointed to be Recorded. After 2 hours easy Diversion with Politicks without any ill humour it was Enacted that the Club shall never be actors or intermedlers in politicks as a Society—q^{ch} was ordered to be Registrare as an act of Sederunt. Then after a dram to ye health of ye 2 absent members we walk't out of our Dome and it Being Moon light, Mr. Easy, L.B. B:H. D:L. G:D. and G:B, Convoyed Z: Boyd half way to Leith Returning in good humour and very Blyth ye Praeses."

In this case, the last of the words quoted are at the foot of

page 102 (unnumbered); and the minutes have the appearance of being complete, for the minutes of the first succeeding meeting, on 16th February, begin at the top of the next page, which is numbered 109.

But we have discovered that the jump in the numbering from 102 to 109 is due to the absence of pages 103 to 108, containing matter on three soiled leaves inserted, without any explanation, at the end of the *Journal*. The first, third and fifth pages thereof are numbered 103, 105 and 107 respectively. On the first three pages is a composition by Ramsay, in the handwriting of "Buchanan," headed "A Poem upon Ease. By Gawin Douglas poet Laureat to the Easy Club." On the last three pages is the following, also in the handwriting of "Buchanan":—"Address to the King for ye Dissolution of the Union Drawn by G: Buchannan approved by the Club and ordered to be sent.

"Sign'd in ye club feby 9, 1715.

"Sir,

"Allow us your Majesties subjects of the Easy Club Natives of the Most Ancient Kingdom of Scotland to Address your Majestie as a Society full of Patrial love and acted by principles truly calculated for ye benefit of mankind which cannot be better and more fully expressed than by our Name. Though we are Restricted by our Constitution from Concerning or Declaring ourselves in Publick affairs and Nationall politicks (being of no party) Yet when our Countreys grievances are proclaim'd by all factions we allow our Selves to appear and as true Sons of Fergusia have Courage to own our sentiments and adhere to our first Resolution of Contributing all our powers for ye advancement of ye Interest of our Countrey— And there being now an Unhappy Occasion for our Appearance— As we pray Almighty God to Deliver us, and preserve our posterity from the Miseries Scotland now groans under So we hope to Receive the Mercy by your Majesties hands which brings us to The Throne at this time to Expose the Cause of ye Lamentable declining Condition of our Countrey under all ye Ruining Discouragements imaginable. And to plead— Which we are the more encouraged to do as the Antiquity of the Royall line of Scotland is ye most Splendid Jewell in Your Majesties Crown Bright and blazing with heroes and Saints attracting and Commanding Respect from all the Princes of Christendom as a Dutifull Acknowledgement of Cadets to

their Common Chief and as your Subjects of Scotland have been Remarkably Loyall and faithfull to your Royall predecessors by a dutifull adherence in ye worst of times which with their own Heroick Valour and Conduct under ye favour of providence has kept a Scepter in their hands these 2000 years which few nations or families can Boast of. The Consideration of which we hope will determine Your Majestie to do all possible for ye interest of a people you are so much Concern'd in and Maintaining that Naturall Love and Loyalty we have always express'd to your Royall Family and as our interest cannot be effectually promoted, our Love maintain'd and our Loyalty secur'd But by your Majestie's dissolving our late Union with England the first cause and fountain of all the greatest ills Scotland Suffers or fears We earnestly Beg with all ye Concern a sense of the greatest Evil can be imagined to affect us with You will Employ your Sovereign Power and influence to do as soon as possible and Restore to us that freedom and independency we so long Enjoyed under the fatherly Administration of your Royall ancestors By doing this your Majestie will declare yourself the descendent and truly worthy ye Offspring of the great Fergusii who first founded the Scots Monarchy and after Restor'd it from ye worst of Circumstances Your Memory will be truly glorious and your Reign a bright Exemplar of ye Love and duty of a Scots monarch. We shall not determine who is to blame for this greatest Misfortune ever happen'd to Scotia Your Royall Wisdom can best Judge of it But we hope there there few thinking Men in England but will grant (now after tryal) that peace and friendship with all their advantages may be better established and secur'd between Scotland and England otherways than by this Union which will certainly maintain Eternal discord and discontent to ye prejudice of Both which may be put to an end and a solid peace and good Understanding settled and secured by a federacy between ye parliaments of ye 2 Kingdoms Begging your Majesties pardon for our importunity we Beg Leave only to add this which we are assur'd of from many sad proofs—That if this Union be not speedily dissolv'd Scotland will be Ruin'd ye name of Scots men which was life and soul to armies and Confederacies will be buried and ye glory of ye Best of Royall families must fall hoping your majestie will hear us and graciously hasten to Relieve and Redress us we are May it please &c."

JAMES HAMILTON
RELEASE

The last minutes in the *Journal* (pages 121, 122), are those of the meeting on the 11th of May, 1715, at which "the thest Reported that he had been at ye house where they propos'd to Solemnize and keep their anniversary—that he found good wine there and had prepar'd every thing for their entertainment."

Pages 123 to 126 (unnumbered), are blank.

Pages 127 to 136 (also unnumbered), consist of an appendix, in the handwriting of "Buchanan," entitled "Poems By Gawin Douglas Poet Laureat to the Easy club," and the piece occupying the premier position therein is a revised edition of the elegy on Maggy Johnston—particulars of which will be found in Part II, in our notes to No. 6 (page 111).⁽¹⁾

The next leaf (also unnumbered), is blank.

Finally are three insertions.

The first insertion contains the poem on "Ease" already referred to, and the "Address to the King" already quoted.

The second insertion is a sheet which contains a fac-simile of Ramsay's handwriting, together with some explanatory manuscript notes initialled "A.F.T.," and the writer of the latter was, seemingly, Alexander Fraser Tytler, who became Lord Woodhouselie in 1802. But the sheet has no connection with the Easy Club.

The third insertion is a scroll in the handwriting of Ramsay entitled "Dr. Pitcairn's Welcome to Ellizium" and docketed "Originall of Gawin Douglas on Pitcairn."⁽²⁾

Now we come to the letter in the Laing Collection from "George Buchanan" to Mr. Edgar, one of the six original members of the Easy Club, who had chosen as his Club name "Sir Roger L'Estrange," and had left for Leyden at the end of April 1713, "to prosecute his study of the law," as we showed in page 43.

That copy is dated "At the Easy Dome Edinburgh June 29 1715, and of our club ye 4th year," has "Mr. Edgar" written underneath thereof; is signed "Your Loving fellow and Most humble servant Geo: Buchanan Secretary;"

(1) The other pieces are: "A Pastoral Epithalamium"; "To the Memory of Alexr. Monteith, Chyrurgeon in Edr. who died—"; "upon New mills Manufactory. A hall being taken to Lodge monstrous wild beasts in for show March 1715"; and "Continuation of 2 verses By Mr Pope". They were never printed.

(2) See Appendix page 151.

and is docketed "1st Copie Letter. To Michaell Scot. To the care of Mons^r. Oublie at ye castle of Antwerp in Leyden."

Therefrom we quote the following :—"Last Wedensday The Subject of our Conversation in The Easy club was Friendship ⁽¹⁾ we had not long discours'd of it and considered our selves as engaged to one another by that nearest Relation till we found we are Justly Blameable for being so much wanting to our selves and unfaithfull to our obligations to you as a friend and fellow Member of this Society By so long neglecting epistolary Correspondence Upon which I was appointed to write you as I here do without any ceremony That we excuse you as not knowing whether ye club yet subsisted and frankly acknowledge our selves in the wrong But we hope that your good humour and agreeable easy temper will easily pardon this neglect.

"To make some amends I shall give you a short account of the state of the club for these 2 last years We had no meeting for 6 months after you left this place Then we had about 2 months session In which we made some improvements upon our Constitution We Rejected english patrons and Chose Scots authors or heroes. Roch is now Ld. Napier Is Bick is Gaw Douglas Richd. Blackmore is Blind Harry, Heywood is Dr. Pitcairn, Tom Brown chose Samuell Colvil But he is now ejected and extruded the Club ⁽²⁾ I continue the same We have added Zach Boyd Sir Wm. Wallace L. Beilhaven Davie Lindsay Hect Boethius and John Barclay, all of your acquaintance We call you By the name of Mich: Scot if you are not pleased you have the liberty of choice.

"During this session there was a poetick war between Gawin and Ld. Napier we were often amused with Letters and Poems and spent many evenings very agreeably After this we had 10 months vacance till the 6th of Decr. last from which time we have not failed to meet once a week.

"The Corporating spirit gains upon us and we grow every day more Sociable & as a proof of it by a special act have appointed the 12th day of May being the day this our Societic first met and was constituted An Anniversary Feast to be

⁽¹⁾ Doubtless immediately afterwards Ramsay composed his poem *On Friendship*, which first appeared in print in the quarto edition of 1721.

⁽²⁾ "Lord Rochester" (James Stewart), "Isaac Bickerstaff" (Allan Ramsay), "Sir Thomas Heywood" and "Tom Brown" (Andrew —), were four of the six original members.

observ'd in all time coming By the Club and accordingly spent ye 12th of Last month in Countrey Diversions mirth and Jollity and ended it as true gallick Juice inspir'd we Remembred you frequently that day.

"Our Correspondence and friendship is so settled and secured that we now meet in a hall or Dome of our own where we enjoy our selves at large free from tavern noise and the Slavish obligations of drinking contrary to our inclinations. Here we are in no fear of being overheard By such who are Ready to misconstruct our innocent Mirth But have all the advantage of a private Retreat.⁽¹⁾

"Our Conversation is as free of party as ever But upon all other subjects we express our selves with a great deal of freedom."

In the Laing Collection is also a manuscript, in Ramsay's handwriting, dated "June 29 Anno 4th," and docketed "On Witt. By Gawin Douglas P[oet] L[aureate] E[asy] C[lub]"—a poem which is of the same date as the letter from "George Buchannan" to Mr. Edgar, but which remained unprinted until it appeared in the quarto edition of 1721.

Another piece—one far surpassing any other early piece of Ramsay's—was likewise composed in 1715, but was not then printed, namely the second canto of *Christ's Kirk on the Green*, which, not referred to anywhere in the MS. *Journal of the Easy Club*, is dated 1715 in the quarto edition of 1721.

But the Club must have continued to meet for a time after the 29th of June, 1715, seeing that "Geo. Buchannan" (John Fergus) presented to it his translation manuscript on the 20th of July, 1715.

Mr. Chalmers states, however, that the "hilarity" of the Club "was suppressed by the rebellion of 1715."⁽²⁾

And Mr. Oliphant Smeaton, after stating in Chapter IV of his *Allan Ramsay* that the years 1715-16 were evidently periods of great activity on Ramsay's part, begins Chapter V

⁽¹⁾ At a meeting of the Club on the 6th of June, 1712, there was read a rhyming epistle from an outsider which lampooned the six original members, and which was headed thus: "To the Honourable Lord Praeses and other Demented Members of Ye Easy club assembled in a Subterranean apartment at Edr June 6th 1712."

At a meeting of the Club on March 30th, 1715, "the Secretary reported that according to order he had taken a house for a Dome to ye club upon which he gave earnest at ye cross in the presence of Jon. Barclay"—one of the newer members.

⁽²⁾ Cadell and Davies ed. (Vol. I. p.x).

thus : " Ramsay's fame as a poet, writing in the Scots vernacular was now thoroughly established. Though the patronage of the Easy Club could no longer be extended to him, as the Government of the Elector of Hanover—lately crowned King of England under the title of George I—had directed its suppression, the members of it, while in a position to benefit him, had laid the basis of his reputation so broad and deep that virtually he had now only to build on their foundation."

But Ramsay owed very little of his success to the so-called " patronage " of those who, along with himself, constituted the Easy Club.

Besides, Ramsay's " fame as a poet, writing in the Scots vernacular," was not, in our opinion, established until two years after 1716.

As to the statement of Mr. Smeaton that the Government of the Elector of Hanover directed the suppression of the Easy Club, we do not believe that it has any foundation in fact. Neither do we believe that the authorities ever had any cause to trouble themselves about the Easy Club in any shape or form.

Lastly, Mr. George Chalmers, upon ending his account of the Easy Club, says : " From the year 1715, our poet seems to have paid less attention to his amusement, and more regard to his interest."

But no meetings of the Club were held for nearly twelve months prior to the 6th of December, 1714 ; and the meetings from that date until at least the 29th of June, 1715, were held only on the evening of each Wednesday.

It cannot therefore be alleged, with any degree of fairness, that the time which Ramsay spent at those meetings caused him to neglect either his domestic duties or his business.

CHAPTER V.

EDITIONS OF SOME OF RAMSAY'S DETACHED PIECES; BOOK-SELLING BUSINESS; DISCONTINUANCE OF WIGMAKING; EARLIEST EDITIONS OF 'SCOTS SONGS'; AND FIRST OCTAVO EDITION OF COLLECTED 'POEMS.' FROM 1715 UNTIL THE END OF 1720.

In the Fullarton three-volume edition of *The Works of Allan Ramsay*, the editor thereof states, as we showed in Chapter II, that it is "highly probable" "The Morning Interview" was produced by Ramsay "prior to 1712;" and in a footnote regarding that production he says (Vol. III, p. 296): "By its position⁽¹⁾ in the quarto edition,⁽²⁾ and internal evidence, as well as the date of the second edition (1719), it is evident the date here given 1721 is a misprint for 1712, and that this elegant poem was among his early compositions when Pope and English verse were the model and object of his ambition."

But "the date here given 1721" is not "a misprint for 1712;" and erroneous dates to many of the pieces in the Fullarton edition were copied literally and without criticism from the Cadell and Davies edition edited by Mr. George Chalmers, who had no knowledge of the most of the editions published by Ramsay prior to 1721.

For instance, in the first volume of the Cadell and Davies edition (p. 3), *Tartana, or The Plaid* is dated 1721; whereas in the quarto edition it is undated; and editions of the piece had been printed in 1718, 1719 and 1720.

Again, for instance, in the same volume (p. 203), *The Morning Interview* is date 1721; whereas in the quarto edition it is undated; and the first edition had appeared in 1716, under the title of *The Battel: or, Morning-Interview*.

Yea, regarding a very much greater work, Mr. Chalmers says:⁽³⁾ "He [Ramsay] was, indeed, diligent to gain friends by panegyrics, and attentive to lose none by his satire; as his satiric muse properly confined her reprehensions to crimes, and not to persons."

⁽¹⁾ The premier one.

⁽²⁾ Of Ramsay's collected poems, 1721.

⁽³⁾ Cadell and Davies ed. (Vol. I. p. xv).

“On those principles, he published, about the year 1716, the ‘Christ’s Kirk on the Green,’ a ludicrous poem of James I of Scotland; ‘from an old manuscript collection of Scots poems, wrote an hundred and fifty years ago.’ This allusion is obviously to the well-known collection of Scottish poetry by Bannatyne. Ramsay had confidence enough in his own powers, to add a second canto; and ‘this second part having stood its ground, he was induced to keep a little more company with those comical characters,’ by adding a third canto. The three cantos were by Ramsay published together in 1718.”

Well, we do not hesitate to express our firm belief that the first edition of the work in two cantos is one of thirty-two pages, bearing the following title-page:—“Christ’s Kirk on the Green in Two Canto’s. Edinburgh: Printed by William Adams Junior, for the Author of the Second Canto, at the Mercury opposite to Nidderie’s Wynd, MDCCXVIII.”

In the same year Ramsay published another edition, of thirty-two pages, bearing the following title-page:—“Christ’s Kirk on the Green, in Three Cantos. [Motto in Greek]. Edinburgh, Printed for the Author, at the Mercury, opposite to Niddry’s-Wynd, M.DCC.XVIII.”

But Mr. Chalmers makes it appear, as we have shown, that the first canto in the two-canto edition was ascribed by Ramsay to “James I of Scotland,” whereas it was ascribed by him to “King James the Fifth.”

In addition to this, the version of the first canto in the three-canto edition, in which it is ascribed to “King James I” differs somewhat from the version in the two-canto edition; and it is, of course, the version in the three-canto edition that is reprinted in the quarto edition of Ramsay’s collected poems published in 1721.

The version of the first canto in the Cadell and Davies edition is not, however, the one in the quarto edition, but is one to which is added this note by Mr. Chalmers (Vol. I, p. 239): “The edition of the first canto is here printed from that which is given in ‘Poetical Remains of James I,’ printed at Edinburgh 1783; together with the notes of the ingenious and learned editor.”

Another thing. In his *Life* of Ramsay, in the Cadell and Davies edition, Mr. Chalmers says (Vol. I, p. xv): “Whether Ramsay critically understood the poetical language of the royal poet, I know not: but he certainly published, without

a commentary, what has puzzled all the commentators; though king James's ludicrous language may have been understood by the vulgar, who did not fetch their knowledge from so distant a source."

And Mr. Chalmers appends thereto another note: "Ramsay prefixed, as a motto, a couplet from 'the maist reverend Virgil' of Gawin Douglas:

Consider it werly, rede offer than anys,
Weil at ane blenk sle poetry not tane is.

As if this language were not sufficiently obscure, our editor wittily caused this couplet to be printed in Greek types, with blundering inaccuracy: from that time to the present the blunders have been continued, as the meaning was misunderstood. (See Vol. I, p. 239). The truth is, that the powers of the Greek letters are inadequate to convey the sound, and sense, of Gawin Douglas's Scottish."

Nor is this all, for Mr. Chalmers also says (p. lvi): "Yet, Ramsay, like other half-learned men, was studious at times to shew his erudition. He cultivated the acquaintance of Ruddiman, who was always ready to spare to the needy, and helpless, a part of his own stores of classic lore. From this fountain of learning, Ramsay easily drew the Latin and Greek mottos, which he frequently prefixed to his separate pamphlets; and which, as unsuitable to such poems, by such a bard, have been excluded from these volumes: scholars did not want such mottos; and the unlearned wish such obstructions out of their way."

But the motto in Greek that is given on the title-page of *Christ's Kirk on the Green*, in three cantos, printed in 1718, is nowhere given in the edition of *Christ's Kirk on the Green*, in two cantos, printed earlier in 1718, by William Adams, junior.

And the three-canto edition of 1718 was undoubtedly printed by Thomas Ruddiman.

Between Ramsay and Ruddiman there had never been, however, so far as we know, any previous transactions of any kind.

It is at least indisputable that Ruddiman was a member of only two clubs; that the first one was not the Easy Club; and that the second one was not established until 1718—see *The Life of Thomas Ruddiman, A.M.*, by Mr. George Chalmers (pages 83 and 274).

We therefore hold that late in 1718 must be accepted as the starting point with Ruddiman in the printing of editions of Ramsay's poems until proof to the contrary is forthcoming.

Besides, if Ramsay drew from Ruddiman the Latin and Greek mottoes for his pamphlets, Ruddiman drew from Ramsay money for the printing of the pamphlets which, from 1718, contained those mottoes; and we think that Mr. Chalmers is quite unjustified in alleging that Ramsay was the cause of the "blundering inaccuracy" referred to, in the case of *Christ's Kirk on the Green*.

Moreover, Mr. Chalmers himself is guilty of blundering inaccuracy in prefixing date 1721 to *Christ's Kirk on the Green* in the Cadell and Davies edition (Vol. I, p. 239); and he also therein acts inconsistently in giving the motto in Greek—which he places after the title and before "Canto I"—seeing that he excludes all other mottoes from the Cadell and Davies edition.

But a number of later biographers also make erroneous statements regarding the first edition of *Christ's Kirk on the Green*, including Mr. Oliphant Smeaton, who, in his *Allan Ramsay*, (p. 53) says: "The years 1715-16 were evidently periods of great activity on Ramsay's part, for at least five other notable productions of his pen, [over and above *The Gentleman's Qualifications* and *The Great Eclipse of the Sun*], are to be assigned to that date."

"During the years in question Ramsay produced in rapid succession his poem *On Wit*, the Club being again responsible for this clever satire (1); and also two humorous *Elegies*, one on John Cowper, the Kirk-Treasurer's-Man(2), . . . the other, an *Elegy on Lucky Wood*, alewife in the Canongate."

"Finally, in 1716, he achieved his great success, which stamped him as unquestionably one of the greatest delineators that had as yet appeared, of rural Scottish life amongst the humbler classes. As is well known, a fragment is in existence consisting of one canto of a poem entitled *Christ's Kirk on the Green*. Tradition and internal evidence alike point to King James I as the author. The theme is the description of a brawl at a country wedding, which breaks

(1) *On Wit* was composed on the 29th of June 1715. It is dated 1716 in the Cadell and Davies edition. But, as we stated in Chapter IV, it first appeared in print in the quarto edition of 1721.

(2) This, without the 'Postscript,' dated "June 1717," was seemingly composed in 1714, while the Easy Club was dormant.

out just as the dancing was commencing. 'The king,' says Ramsay, 'having painted the rustic squabble with an uncommon spirit, in a most ludicrous manner, in a stanza of verse, the most difficult to keep the sense complete, as he had done, without being forced to bring in words for crambo's sake where they return so frequently, I have presumed to imitate His Majesty in continuing the laughable scene. Ambitious to imitate so great an original, I put a stop to the war, called a congress, and made them sign a peace, that the world might have their picture in the more agreeable hours of drinking, dancing, and singing. The following cantos were written, the one in 1715 (O.S. corresponding to January 1716), the other in 1718, about three hundred years after the first. Let no worthy poet despair of immortality,—good sense will always be the same in spite of the revolutions of fashion and the change of language.' "

Mr. Smeaton therefore makes it appear that he quotes Ramsay's words just as they stand in the original, whereas "O.S. corresponding to January 1716," in his second-last quoted sentence is his own; and he ends his last quoted sentence with "the revolutions of fashion and the change of language," instead of with "the revolution of words," as given by Ramsay in the quarto edition of 1721.

In the former case his action seems to us to be altogether indefensible, for the date given by Ramsay in the quarto edition is simply 1715, and there does not appear to be anything whatever to warrant the assertion that "1715 O.S." is "corresponding to January 1716."

As to the statement also made by Mr. Smeaton, that Ramsay "achieved his great success" with *Christ's Kirk on the Green* "in 1716," we will have more to unfold in Chapter VII about the first edition of the work in two cantos; and, with this explanation, we revert to the question of the sign at Ramsay's shop, which we partly dealt with in Chapter III, when we showed that the sign was called "the Wig and Mercury" in a communication to the Easy Club, from an outsider, in July, 1712, and also showed that it was twice called "the 'Flying Mercury'" by Mr. Smeaton in his *Allan Ramsay*.

Among other titles given to the sign at Ramsay's shop in High Street, opposite Niddry's Wynd, by several recognised writers earlier than Mr. Smeaton is "Mercury's Head," which is, for instance, the title given to it by Sir Daniel Wilson in his *Memorials of Edinburgh in the Olden Time*, second edition, 1891 (Vol. I, p. 256).

But the imprint of *The Battel : or, Morning-Interview* shows that that work, issued in 1716, was "printed for George Stewart at the Book and Angel in Parliament Close ;" the sign was called the "Mercury" by Ramsay for the first known time in print in 1718 ; and no one need ever hope to find copies of any early pieces which show that they were printed for Ramsay at the "Flying Mercury" or at "Mercury's Head."

This also being recorded, we now venture to say that Ramsay's reputation as a poet was not established throughout his native Scotland until some of the following works, published in 1718, had been read by the people generally :—*Elegies on Maggy Johnston, John Cowper and Lucky Wood ; Tartana, or The Plaid ; Scots Songs ; and Christ's Kirk on the Green.*

One of his readers was William Hamilton of Gilbertfield, near Glasgow, who addressed to him the laudatory production dated "Gilbertfield, June 26th, 1719," which is the first of the *Familiar Epistles between W— H— and A— R—* (1).

More than five months, however, before Hamilton wrote his first epistle to Ramsay, the latter's works, published in 1718, must have greatly impressed an Irishman named Arbuckle, between whom and Ramsay a very warm friendship existed—so much so, that Ramsay addressed to him his most enlightening autobiographical composition entitled *An Epistle to Mr. James Arbuckle of Belfast, A. M.*, and dated "Edinburgh, January 1719."

Indeed, it was probably about the same time that Ramsay's poetry captivated Josiah Burchett, Secretary of the Admiralty, who, before the close of 1719, as well as we can judge, wrote to Ramsay the epistle which ultimately became the first in order of the four commendatory poems prefixed to the quarto edition of 1721.

Burchett begins the epistle by greeting Ramsay thus :

"Hail Northern Bard ! thou Fav'rite of the Nine,
Bright, or as Horace did, or Virgil shine.
In ev'ry Part of what thou'st done we find
How they, and great Apollo too, have joyn'd
To furnish thee with an uncommon Skill,
And with Poetick Fire thy Bosom fill."

(1) This title was changed to *Familiar Epistles between Lieutenant William Hamilton and Allan Ramsay* in the quarto ed. of 1721.

Thereupon he expresses his sentiments in reference to the following productions:—*The Morning Interview*; *Edinburgh's Address to the Country*; *Elegy on John Cowper*; *Lucky Spence's Last Advice*; *Tartana, or The Plaid*; *Scots Songs*; *Christ's Kirk on the Green*; *The Scriblers Lash'd*; *Content*; and *Richy and Sandy, a Pastoral on the Death of Mr. Joseph Addison*.

That being done, in other ninety-two lines, he concludes thus:

“ Go on, fam'd Bard, thou Wonder of our Days,
And crown thy Head with never-fading Bays,
While grateful Britons do thy Lines revere,
And value, as they ought, their Virgil here.”

Naturally, so great a compliment from an Englishman of position in London was very highly prized by Ramsay, who evinced his keen appreciation by inscribing to Burchett his pastoral of *Patie and Roger*, which he signed “Allan Ramsay,” and dated “Edinburgh March 26, 1720,” as we hope to prove in Part II, in our notes to No. 26 (p. 131).

But this delightful pastoral—which came in time to form the first scene of *The Gentle Shepherd*—was, after being sent, as we believe, to Burchett in manuscript, published by Ramsay in 1720, without a title-page, without a date, and even without his name to it; and the fixation of the date of its composition is a matter of special import, in view of certain statements to be quoted in our next chapter.

Various other works were published without a title-page; but many in and after 1718 were published with a title-page; and copies of the latter, in our possession, bear, in the imprint, with one exception, the words “Printed for the Author at the Mercury, opposite to Niddry's Wynd.”

It is therefore clear that Ramsay combined the selling of his printed works with his wigmaking business in the shop in High Street, opposite Niddry's Wynd, from the year 1718; and it is also clear that he there carried on the two trades concurrently until a time subsequent to the writing of his *Epistle to Arbuckle*, dated “Edinburgh, January 1719,” for, towards the end of that epistle, he says:

‘ I theeke the out, and line the Inside,
Of mony a douse and witty Pash,
And baith Ways gather in the Cash.’

About July, 1719, however, Ramsay apparently discontinued his trade as a wigmaker, whereby he might be enabled to devote himself exclusively to the selling of books, which was becoming a more and more remunerative business with him; and in 1720 he published a number of fresh compositions, including, late in the year, a new collection of *Scots Songs*, with a title-page bearing the imprint: "Edinburgh: Printed for the Author at the Mercury, opposite to Niddy's Wynd; and sold by T. Jauncy at the Angel, without Temple-Bar, London."

Up till then no London bookseller's name had appeared in the imprint of any Ramsay edition with "Printed for the Author" therein; and Ramsay seemingly had two good reasons for the course adopted by him in the present instance—one, that the selling of copies of the work by Jauncy would afford him a certain amount of protection against some piratical booksellers in London; the other, that an "Advertisement" affixed to the publication—see Part II, No. 40 (p. 146)—would probably be the means of his getting more subscribers in England, than he might otherwise hope to obtain, for copies of the projected quarto edition of his collected poems.

But even at this distance of time a copy of the new collection is to be of service, in assisting us to fully settle the question of the earliest editions of Ramsay's *Scots Songs*, after we have quoted statements made by three of Ramsay's biographers writing later than Mr. George Chalmers, who, in the Cadell and Davies edition, 1800, says (Vol. I, p. xx): "Having already published *Scots Songs*, which were so well received as to pass through a second edition, in 1719: in January, 1724, he [Ramsay] published the first volume of the *Tea-Table Miscellany*, a collection of songs, Scottish and English."

Firstly. Dr. Robert Chambers, in *Select Poetical Works of Allan Ramsay, including his Gentle Shepherd*, 1838, says (p. iii): "*The Tea-Table Miscellany*, a collection of Scottish songs, including many of his [Ramsay's] own, published in 1719, and the *Evergreen*, a collection of old Scottish poetry, published in 1724, were works which, if they did not greatly add to his fame, must have at least tended to his profit."

Secondly. Mr. Logie Robertson, in *Poems by Allan Ramsay*, 1887, says (p. xxxix): "1724 yielded . . . the '*Tea-Table Miscellany*,' a collection of choice songs, both Scottish and English . . . *Much* of the '*Tea-Table Miscellany*'

had already appeared under the title of '*Scots Songs*,' and had proved so popular that a second issue was called for in 1719."

Thirdly. Mr. Oliphant Smeaton, in his *Allan Ramsay*, 1896, says (p. 60): "In 1719 [1718] our poet published his first edition of '*Scots Songs*,'—some original,—*others collected from all sources, and comprising many of the gems of Scottish lyrical poetry*. The success attending the volume was instant and gratifying." And he further says (p. 79): "In 1718, as was stated previously, he [Ramsay] had published a volume of *Scots Songs*, some of them original, but a large number of them adapted from older and imperfect copies. So successful had the venture been, that a second edition had been called for in 1719, and a third in 1722."

Well, the facts are furnished in the next three paragraphs.

1. The first edition of the first collection of *Scots Songs* is dated 1718, and it contains only seven songs, which are all in the name of Ramsay—see Part II, No. 8 (p. 118). The second edition is dated 1719, and it includes three additional songs, which are also in the name of Ramsay—see Part II, No. 15 (p. 124). The third edition is dated 1720, and it includes two additional songs, which are likewise in the name of Ramsay—see Part II, No. 33 (p. 139).

2. The first edition of the second collection of *Scots Songs* is undated, but it was published late in 1720, and it contains only nine songs, which are all in the name of Ramsay—see Part II, No. 40 (p. 146).

3. The whole of the items, making twenty-one altogether, appear as '*Scots Songs*' of Ramsay's own composition in the quarto edition of 1721.

There is more, however, to be recorded here against Mr. Smeaton, who, in his *Allan Ramsay*, also says (p. 65): "The quarto of 1721 contained . . . *several pieces that had not been previously printed*. These we will at present only mention *en passant*, reserving critical analysis for our closing chapters. Not the least noticeable of the poems in the volume are those wherein he [Ramsay] lays aside his panoply of strength,—the '*blythe braid Scots*,' or vernacular,—and challenges criticism on what he terms '*his English poems*.' . . .

"In the quarto, therefore, we have a poem, *Tartana, or The Plaid*, written in heroic couplets . . . Then we have *Content* . . . and *The Morning Interview*. . . . Nor is the

'South Sea Bubble,' which ran its brief course from 1718 to 1720, forgotten in *Wealth, or The Woody* (gallows)."

Mr. Smeaton, therefore, continues to make assertions that are entirely erroneous, for the following are the facts relating to the pieces specified by him:—*Tartana: or The Plaid* was published in 1718, 1719 and 1720, the text of the third edition being altered from English into 'braid Scots.' *Content* was published twice in 1719. *The Morning Interview* was published in 1716, 1719 and 1720. *Wealth or The Woody* was published in 1720, the text being partly in 'braid Scots,' as it also is in the quarto edition of 1721.

Then in *Edinburgh and its Story*, 1904, Mr. Smeaton says (p. 212): "Returning to the North Bridge we must glance cursorily at the alleys on the Northern side of the 'Hie Gait.' The first of these is *Halkerston's Wynd*, formerly the main approach from the North. . . . At the head of the wynd, in a picturesque timber-fronted land, only demolished in 1898, Allan Ramsay, Scotland's greatest pastoral poet, commenced business as a wigmaker at the 'Sign of the Mercury.' Gradually as his fame increased he paid less attention to 'polls' and more to poetry and bookselling, until on his removal to the Luckenbooths in 1726, he relinquished wig-making altogether."

Some of these statements are therefore materially different from those which had been made by Mr. Smeaton in his *Allan Ramsay* eight years earlier.

Therein he had stated that Ramsay had commenced business in the Grassmarket in 1707, and had removed therefrom to the shop in the High Street about a year before his marriage.

Therein, too, he had stated the following (p. 62) in commenting on the *Familiar Epistles* between William Hamilton and Ramsay:—"Three epistles were exchanged on either side, bristling with flattery, and with a little poetic criticism scattered here and there. In Ramsay's second letter (¹) his irrepressible vanity takes the bit in its teeth and runs away with him. He appends a note with reference to his change of occupation, as though he dreaded the world might not know of it. 'The muse,' he says, 'not unreasonably angry, puts me here in mind of the favours she had done by bringing me

(¹) Dated "Edinburgh, August 4th, 1719."

from stalking over bogs or wild marshes, to lift my head a little brisker among the polite world, which could never have been acquired by the low movements of a mechanic.' He was a bookseller now, of course, and could afford to look down on wigmakers as base mechanics!"

Mr. Smeaton's later statement, in *Edinburgh and its Story*, that Ramsay did not relinquish wigmaking altogether until his removal to the Luckenbooths in 1726, is consequently quite inconsistent with his earlier one.

But, as we have already said, Ramsay apparently discontinued his trade as a wigmaker about July, 1719.

Furthermore, Ramsay, besides continuing to publish separate editions of his detached pieces, published in 1720 a collected edition of those pieces, under the title of *Poems*—an octavo edition which we fully describe in Part II (p. 140).

And Ramsay was then also engaged in making some of the necessary arrangements for the production of the quarto edition of his collected poems, which came to be published in 1721.

CHAPTER VI.

PRINTED STATEMENTS CONTAINING ASSERTIONS AS TO THE FORM IN WHICH RAMSAY PUBLISHED HIS DETACHED PIECES PRIOR TO 1721 ; AND MATTERS IN CONNECTION THEREWITH.

HEREIN we quote statements made by ten different writers between 1800 and 1910, whereby we may be enabled to show most clearly whether any facts are furnished by any of those writers to prove that Ramsay published any of his early detached pieces in the form of broadsides, and whether any evidence is advanced by any thereof in support of their averments otherwise.

BY THE FIRST WRITER.

In his *Life of Allan Ramsay*, Mr. George Chalmers says :⁽¹⁾ " From the year 1715, our poet seems to have paid less attention to his amusement, and more regard to his interest.⁽²⁾ He wrote many petty poems, which from time to time he published, at a proportionate price. In this form his poetry was at that time attractive : and the women of Edinburgh were wont to send out their children, with a penny, to buy ' Ramsay's last piece.' "

Now, Mr. Chalmers does not assert that any poems were published by Ramsay in the form of broadsides.

He does, however, assert that Ramsay wrote many petty poems which were from time to time published by him at a proportionate price.

But the publishing at a proportionate price was not confined to *petty* poems ; and, taking the period prior to 1721, not one of the genuine editions recorded by us in Part II, from No. 3 inclusive, told its sale price.

Moreover, comparatively few petty poems were published prior to 1721 ; and we quite believe that Mr. Chalmers, having seen, by the copy inserted between pages 118 and 119 of the MS. *Journal of the Easy Club*, that " One Penny " was the price at which the broadside printed by James Watson in 1715 was sold—see Part I (p. 50), and Part II, No. 2 (p. 101)—simply drew on his imagination when he wrote that " at that time,"—meaning, of course, an early time,—“ the

⁽¹⁾ Cadell and Davies ed. 1800 (Vol. I, p. xiv).

⁽²⁾ This we suitably dealt with in Chapter IV (p. 63).

women of Edinburgh were wont to send out their children with a penny to buy Ramsay's last piece."

BY THE SECOND WRITER.

In his *Remarks on the Genius and Writings of Allan Ramsay*, Lord Woodhouselee says :⁽¹⁾ "The earlier of the poems of Ramsay were printed in single sheets of a quarto and octavo form. Of these many copies are yet to be found ; but as they are generally without a date, it is not possible to ascertain with certainty the order in which they were composed."

And therein he also says (p. cxviii) : "In the year 1725, Ramsay published his pastoral comedy of *The Gentle Shepherd*, the noblest and most permanent monument of his fame. A few years before, he had published, in a single sheet, *A Pastoral Dialogue between Patie and Roger*, which was reprinted in the first collection of his poems, in 1721. This composition being much admired, his literary friends urged him to extend his plan to a regular drama : and to this fortunate suggestion the literary world is indebted for one of the most perfect pastoral poems that has ever appeared."

But, regarding our first quotation, Lord Woodhouselee only states in the most general terms that the earlier of the poems of Ramsay were printed in sheets of a quarto and octavo form ; and his statement cannot be accepted as proof that any poems so printed were printed for Ramsay.

With respect, however, to our second quotation, Lord Woodhouselee is certainly definite enough in stating that Ramsay, a few years before 1725, had published in a single sheet, *A Pastoral Dialogue between Patie and Roger*.

But, as is shown by copies in our possession, Ramsay repeatedly published the work separately under the following title :—*Patie and Roger : A Pastoral inscribed to Josiah Burchet, Esq., Secretary of the Admiralty*.

Moreover, the work was published by Ramsay in 1720, when it appeared in the form of a pamphlet of twelve pages—a fact which was obviously unknown to Lord Woodhouselee, who, born only eleven years before the death of Ramsay, and writing eighty years after the publication of the first known edition of *Patie and Roger*, had, in our opinion, merely seen a single-sheet non-Ramsay reprint of a Ramsay pamphlet edition, in which form another edition was published by Ramsay in 1720.

⁽¹⁾ Cadell and Davies ed. 1800 (Vol. I, p. lxx).

BY THE THIRD WRITER.

In the two-volume edition of *The Gentle Shepherd*, printed by Abernethy & Walker, Edinburgh, in 1808, the editor thereof says (Vol. I, p. 49): "Some time before the collection of his poems into a volume, Ramsay had published, as usual, in a single sheet, *A Pastoral Dialogue between Patie and Roger*. This was reprinted in his quarto in 1721. . . . The *Pastoral Dialogue between Patie and Roger* was written about the year 1716, or 1717; and published in a single sheet in 1718."

But the statement in the first portion is, to our mind, merely a repetition of the one made by Lord Woodhouselee, with a little alteration, and the addition of the two words "as usual."

As to the statement in the second portion, there is not one particle of proof that Ramsay wrote his *Patie and Roger* "about the year 1716, or 1717"; and it will be proved in Part II that the pastoral was not inscribed by Ramsay to Burchett until 1720.

BY THE FOURTH WRITER.

In *Lives of Illustrious and Distinguished Scotsmen*, edited by Dr. Robert Chambers, and published by Blackie and Son, Glasgow, 1832-35, we find the following fuller statements (Vol. IV, p. 128): "It was in the year 1712, and in the twenty-sixth year of his age, that he [Ramsay] entered into the state of matrimony; and the earliest of his productions that can now be traced, is an epistle to the most happy members of the Easy Club, dated the same year (1) . . . In the presence of this club, Ramsay was in the habit of reading his first productions, which, it would appear, were published by or under the patronage of the fraternity, probably in notices of its sittings, which would tend to give it celebrity and add to its influence.(2) The elegy on Maggy Johnston seems to have been one of his earliest productions, and is highly characteristic of his genius. An Elegy on the death of Dr. Pitcairne in 1715 [1713] was likewise read before, and published by, the club: but being at once political and per-

(1) Presumably the second half of this sentence was induced by the statement of Mr. Chalmers, which we quoted in Chapter IV (p. 37).

(2) There is positively no evidence in the MS. *Journal of the Easy Club* that anything was printed for the Club beyond Ramsay's poem to the memory of Dr. Pitcairne in 1713, and the "laws" of the Club about a year later. See also our notes to No. 1 in Part II.

sonal, it was rejected by the author, when he republished his poems. . . . Maggy Johnston's Elegy was speedily followed by that on John Cowper, quite in the same strain of broad humour. The publication of king James's 'Christ's Kirk on the Green,' from an old manuscript, speedily followed, with an additional canto by the editor, which, possessing the same broad humour, in a dialect perfectly level to the comprehension of the vulgar, while its precursor could not be read even by them without the aid of explanatory notes, met with a most cordial reception. . . . A second edition of this work was published in the year 1718, with the addition of a third canto, which increased its popularity so much, that, in the course of the four following years, it ran through five editions. It was previously to the publication of this work in its extended form, that Allan Ramsay had commenced the book-selling business, for it was 'printed for the author, at the Mercury, opposite to Niddry's Wynd,' but the exact time when or the manner how he changed his profession has not been recorded. At the Mercury, opposite to the head of Niddry's Wynd, Ramsay seems to have prosecuted his business as an original author, editor, and bookseller, with great diligence for a considerable number of years. His own poems he continued to print as they were written, in single sheets or half sheets, in which shape they are reported to have found a ready sale, the citizens being in the habit of sending their children with a penny for 'Allan Ramsay's last piece.' In this form were published, besides those we have already mentioned, 'The City of Edinburgh's address to the Country,' 'The City of Edinburgh's Salutation to the marquis of Caernarvon,' 'Elegy on Lucky Wood,' 'Familiar Epistle,' &c., &c., which had been so well received by the public that in the year 1720, he issued proposals for republishing them, with additional poems, in one volume quarto."

Dr. Chambers, therefore, not only states that Ramsay continued to print his own poems as they were written, in single sheets or half sheets, but also states that various poems which he specifies were printed in that form by Ramsay; and the actual facts pertaining to the latter are furnished by us in the next four paragraphs.

1. "The City of Edinburgh's address to the Country." This is the erroneous title which had been given in the Cadell and Davies edition. Bearing the title of *Edinburgh's Ad-*

dress to the Country, the piece was first published by Ramsay in 1718, in the form of a four-page tract—see Part II, No. 4 (p. 105); and it next appeared in a reprint of *The Morning Interview* in 1720—see Part II, No. 12 (p. 123).

2. “The City of Edinburgh’s Salutation to the marquis of Caernarvon.” This is the erroneous title which had been given in the Cadell and Davies edition, minus the letter *e* in Caernarvon. Bearing the title of *Edinburgh’s Salutation to the Most Honourable, My Lord Marquess of Carnarvon*, the piece was first published by Ramsay in 1720, in the form of a four-page tract—see Part II, No. 27 (p. 134).

3. “Elegy on Lucky Wood.” This piece is not known to have been published by Ramsay until it appeared in *Elegies on Maggy Johnston, John Cowper and Lucky Wood* in 1718, in a pamphlet of twenty pages—see Part II, No. 6 (p. 111). Reprints thereof, in pamphlet form, are recorded in Part II, as No. 13 (p. 123), and No. 31 (p. 138).

4. “Familiar Epistles.” The first edition of *Familiar Epistles between W———H——— and A———R———* was published by Ramsay in pamphlet form in 1719—see Part II, No. 19 (p. 126). Reprints thereof, in pamphlet form, are recorded in Part II, as No. 20 (p. 127), and No. 36 (p. 143).

We have, however, other comments to make on some later statements made by Dr. Chambers.

In the ‘Biographical Notice of Ramsay,’ prefixed to *Select Poetical Works of Allan Ramsay, including his Gentle Shepherd*, 1838 (reprinted 1859), Dr. Chambers says: “It was at this time [1712] when advanced to twenty-six years of age, and past the initiatory difficulties of life, that he [Ramsay] first allowed himself to exercise his poetical talent. His earliest verses were written for the amusement of various clubs of gentlemen and wits, into which he was admitted. In the course of a few subsequent years, while assiduously prosecuting his humble business, he wrote various pieces, chiefly of a comic nature, which he published in little sheets or broadsides, and which were in some instances sold by hawkers in the streets. It became common, we are informed, for the wives of the citizens of Edinburgh, to send out their children with a penny to buy ‘Allan Ramsay’s last piece.’ The most important of these publications was Christ’s Kirk on the Green, partly consisting of a droll poem supposed to have

been written by James of Scotland in the fifteenth century, and partly of two additional cantoes, in an equally humorous style, by himself. This appeared in 1716."

Well, in the first place, we have proved in Chapter I that Ramsay was born on the 15th of October, 1685, and we have shown in Chapter II, that Ramsay evidently began to write verse freely from about 1709.

In the second place, there is no evidence whatever that Ramsay was admitted into "various clubs of gentlemen and wits" at the period in question, or that he was a member of a club of any kind other than the Easy Club, which he and others established on the 12th of May, 1712. Besides, his only known "earliest verses" are the ode and the elegy stated in Chapter II (p. 23).

In the third place, there is not the slightest proof that, in the course of a few years subsequent to 1712, Ramsay wrote "various pieces" which he "published in little sheets or broadsides."

In the fourth place, we cannot find that it has ever been stated by any other writer that *Christ's Kirk on the Green*, in three cantos, "appeared in 1716."

But Dr. Chambers says, in addition: "Being thus introduced into the business of literature, he [Ramsay] gradually dropped his business as a wig-maker, and adopted that of a bookseller, which must have been much more suitable to his taste. His writings now bore imprints, which stated that they were sold at 'the sign of the Mercury, opposite the head of Niddry's Wynd.'"

Dr. Chambers therefore, seems to imply in the second of these two sentences that all the pieces published by Ramsay prior to those published by him with imprints were published without imprints, and that none were published without imprints after he began to add imprints. But Ramsay published some of his detached pieces without imprints, simultaneously with other pieces of his *with* imprints, down to 1720 inclusive.

Furthermore, we believe that not one piece was published by Ramsay with an imprint which stated that it was sold "at the sign of the Mercury, opposite the head of Niddry's Wynd"; and we believe that Dr. Chambers, with the best intention to be rightly informative, either allowed himself to fall into error by adding the words which we have now

italicised, or used them as they had been given by some previous author.

BY THE FIFTH WRITER.

In the article on 'Allan Ramsay,' in *Hogg's Weekly Instructor* of 5th December, 1846, the anonymous author thereof, after furnishing the grossly incorrect account of Ramsay's courtship, *et cetera*, which we quoted in Chapter III, and after recklessly stating that the Easy Club was "scattered, peeled, and torn by the tumults attendant upon the rebellion of Mar in 1715," proceeds thus: "Ramsay had, however, for nearly two years previous to this period, been publicly vending his metrical tracts and pamphlets. His shop was crowded every publication day with applicants for rhyme. Hundreds stood at the door without, waiting till it was time to be admitted, and Edinburgh mothers were to be seen in all parts of the town putting pennies into the hands of their children, and dispatching them for Allan Ramsay's last piece. While this was going on within the enclosure of the city walls, matters abroad wore an equally cheering aspect. Demands for new lots of metrical tales, ballads and songs, were transmitted to the surprised hair-dresser from all parts of the country, the only drawback to his happiness being the extensive piracies of the north and south country hawkers, who were actually reported to be making rich at his expense."

Now, these statements are absolutely untrue from beginning to end. In no shape or form did Ramsay vend any of his metrical works for nearly two years, or for any time, before 1715. In fact, such sweeping statements would have been most largely untrue if they had been made in reference to any period down to 1720 inclusive.

But it is also untruly stated in the article that Ramsay "could not fail to discover, from the very commencement of his brilliant career,⁽¹⁾ that he was a 'made man'; that "he perceived from the extensive circulation which on their very first appearance his verses underwent, that the literary torpor which had distinguished the common orders of his country for upwards of a century, had been broken in upon and disturbed," that "Edinburgh mothers, after extracting from their huge side-pockets the necessary amount of coppers, trooped off their urchins in scores on the day of their almost

(1) Meaning from 1713.

weekly publication for 'Allan Ramsay's last piece'; and that "piracy, in addition to the tens of thousands of copies which he issued forth himself, was every day scattering thousands more of them all over the land."

Even beyond this, however, the following is stated in the article:—"The year in which he [Ramsay] renounced hair-dressing was 1716, when, exhibiting on his signpost the head of the god Mercury, he opened in Niddry Street a shop for the sale of books. . . . A year before his removal to the new shop, Allan had published his 'Christ's Kirk on the Green,' and no sooner was he fairly located in Niddry Street, than a clamorous demand from without induced him to issue a second edition."

The author of the article is therefore guilty of making a number of totally untrue assertions in these two sentences alone.

BY THE SIXTH WRITER.

In *The Works of Allan Ramsay*⁽¹⁾ the editor thereof, in the latter part of the footnote connected with his effort to show that the first edition of *The Morning Interview* was published by Ramsay in 1712, says (Vol. III, p. 303): "Ramsay spent much time in the revision of his compositions. By one of his biographers, he is represented as in the habit of rising very early in the morning in order to correct them (Hogg's Weekly Instructor, Dec. 5th, 1845). The history of the progress of the composition of the Gentle Shepherd, could it possibly be ascertained, would furnish another to many proofs already before the world, of the truth of the remark, that genius is labour. From the appearance, as a broad sheet, of that which is now its *first scene*, (see vol. I, pp. 88, 89 and note), to its completion as a regular drama in 1725, nearly ten years must have elapsed, during which the various *readings* or rather private *editions* of it were both improvements and continued augmentations upon that first attempt."

But the biographer, in 'Hogg's Weekly Instructor' does *not* represent that Ramsay was in the habit of rising very early in the morning in order to correct his compositions.

As to the alleged "broad sheet" of that which became the first scene of *The Gentle Shepherd*—namely the *Patie and Roger* pastoral—we quite believe that the editor of *The Works of Allan Ramsay* knew no more in the matter than had first been stated by Lord Woodhouselee.

(1) Fullarton ed. 1848.

Then in reference to the last of his sentences above quoted, we equally believe that he allowed himself to be carried away by the statement made by the editor of *The Gentle Shepherd*, in 1808, that "*The Pastoral Dialogue between Patie and Roger* was written about the year 1716, or 1717, and published in a single sheet in 1718."

Furthermore, we seriously question whether even a rough draft of *Patie and Roger* was written until after the publication in 1719 of *Richy and Sandy, a Pastoral on the death of Mr. Joseph Addison*.

BY THE SEVENTH WRITER.

In 1851 appeared a moderately-priced and altogether tempting little edition bearing this title-page: "The Gentle Shepherd. A Pastoral Comedy. By Allan Ramsay. With a Life and Portrait of the Author, Numerous Illustrations, and a Comprehensive Glossary. [Motto]. Edinburgh. Adam and Charles Black, North Bridge, MDCCCLI."

In 1899 the seventh reprint thereof appeared with the following on the *verso* of its title-page:—"Published 1851. Reprinted 1856, 1857, 1859, 1865, 1867, 1871. Out of print 1883 to 1899. This edition published October 1899."

The total number of the copies of the eight editions published by Adam and Charles Black must therefore have been exceptionally large.

Prefixed to the text of the first edition is a *Life of the Author* (pp. iii-xvi) by the unnamed editor of that edition; and the *Life* is repeated without alteration in all the reprints.

Well, the editor therein states erroneously (p. iv) that Ramsay was born in "1686"; that the maiden name of his mother was "Alice Brown"; that he was "in his childhood" when his father died; that he was sent to Edinburgh in "1701"; and that he "commenced business on his own account" as soon as he had "finished his apprenticeship."

Secondly, the editor also states (p. vi): "His [Ramsay's] social temper led him to court admission into company; and his gaiety and good humour soon made him an acceptable guest at convivial meetings. Clubs were then almost universally frequented, and the taverns and oyster-houses in Edinburgh were every evening filled with men of all ranks. As Ramsay was always ambitious of associating with his superiors, his complaisance and inoffensive humour seconded

his wishes, and enrolled him as a member of some of the most respectable clubs in the Scottish metropolis. In one of these called the Easy Club, he first displayed his poetic powers."

These statements are, however, merely repetitions, with slight alterations, of some of those which had been prooflessly made by the editor of *The Gentle Shepherd* in 1808 (Vol. I, p. 9).

Thirdly, the editor further states (p. vii): "From the year 1715, our poet seems to have written many petty poems, which were published in single sheets at a small price. In this form, his poetry was so attractive that the women of Edinburgh used to send out their children with a penny, to buy 'Ramsay's last piece.'"

But these statements are very nearly the same as the proofless statements which had been made by Mr. George Chalmers.

Fourthly, the editor still further states (p. ix): "Some time before the collection of his poems into a volume, Ramsay had published, as usual, in a single sheet, 'A Pastoral Dialogue between Patie and Roger.'"

But this statement is word for word a copy of the proofless statement which had been made by the editor of *The Gentle Shepherd* in 1808, as quoted by us in our present chapter.

BY THE EIGHTH WRITER.

In *The Poetical Works of Allan Ramsay, with Selections from the Scottish Poets before Burns*, edited by Charles Mackay LL.D., and published by J. S. Virtue & Co., Limited, London, in 1868-70, Dr. Mackay says (Vol. I, p. iii): "Ramsay's first publications were a series of penny and halfpenny sheets, which were sold separately, and which seem to have partaken of the nature of street ballads. 'In this form,' says Mr. Chalmers, 'his poetry was at that time attractive, and the women of Edinburgh were wont to send out their children with a penny to buy 'Ramsay's last piece.' Herein consisted in a great measure the success of Allan Ramsay; he suited his genius to his audience."

Dr. Mackay therefore stands alone, perhaps, among *all* writers, in asserting that "Ramsay's first publications were a series of penny and half-penny sheets which were sold separately."

Manifestly he had never seen any copies in such a form ; and the form stated by him is clearly not the form stated by Mr. Chalmers.

BY THE NINTH WRITER.

In his *Allan Ramsay*, 1896, Mr. Oliphant Smeaton, in dealing with the period from 1717 to 1721, says : " Ramsay's fame as a poet, writing in the Scots vernacular, was now thoroughly established. . . . He was distinctly the favourite of the 'auld wives' of the town. In quarto sheets, familiarly known as *broadsides*, and similar to what had been hawked about the country in his youth, his poems had hitherto been issued. It became the fashion, when four o'clock arrived, to send out their children, or their 'serving-lass,' with a penny to procure Allan Ramsay's latest piece, in order to increase the relish of their 'four-oors' Bohea' with the broad humour of *John Cowper*, or *The Elegy upon Lucky Wood*, or *The Great Eclipse*.

" During the year or two immediately preceding the publication of the quarto of 1721 this custom greatly increased. Of course, a supply had to be forthcoming to meet such a demand, but of these, numberless pieces, on topics of political or merely ephemeral interest, were never republished after their appearance in *broadside* form. By an eminent collector of this species of literature the fact is stated, that there are considerably over two score of poems by Ramsay which have thus been allowed to slip into oblivion. Not that such a fate was undeserved. In many cases their indelicacy would debar their admission into any edition nowadays ; in others, their lack of permanent general interest. Such subjects as *The Flytin' of Luckie Duff and Luckie Brown*, *A Dookin' in the Nor' Loch*, and *A Whiggish Lament*, were not the kind of themes his calmer and maturer judgment would care to contemplate being handed down to posterity as specimens of his work.

" In 1719 Ramsay appears to have concluded, from the extensive sale his poems enjoyed even in *broadsides* form, that the trade of a bookseller would not only be more remunerative than a wigmaker's, but would also be more in accord with his literary tastes and aspirations. For some months he had virtually carried on the two trades concurrently, his reputation undoubtedly attracting a large number

of customers to his shop to have their wigs dressed by the popular poet of the day.

"From the outset the bookselling business proved a lucrative venture. The issue of his own *broadsides*, week by week, was of itself a considerable source of profit. These, in addition to being sold at his shop and hawked about the country, were disposed of on the streets of Edinburgh by itinerant stallkeepers, who were wont to regard the fact as one of great moment to themselves when they could cry 'Ane o' Maister Ramsay's new poems—price a penny.' In this manner his famous piece, *The City of Edinburgh's Address to the Country*, was sown broadcast over the county. . . .

"In 1719 [1718] our poet published his first edition of 'Scots Songs.' . . . Almost contemporaneously was published, in a single sheet or *broadside*, what proved to be the germ of *The Gentle Shepherd*—to wit, a *Pastoral Dialogue between Patie and Roger*."

Well, that which we quote in our second paragraph contains a graver charge against Ramsay than had been made by any previous biographer from 1800; and Mr. Smeaton is, in our opinion, very greatly to blame in saying that the fact is stated by an eminent collector, that there are considerably over two score of poems by Ramsay, in the form of broadsides, that have been allowed to slip into oblivion, and that in many cases the indelicacy of those poems would debar their appearance in any edition nowadays.

Ramsay wrote, it is true, two or three coarse pieces prior to 1721.

To admit, however, that he published in broadside form considerably over two score of his early poems, largely of the indelicate sort alleged by Mr. Smeaton, that have been allowed to slip into oblivion, would be to admit that he published an aggregate of such poems exceeding the aggregate number of the editions of his acknowledged poems that are known to us to have been published by him down to the close of 1720—editions which, including the *Elegy on John Cowper* and *Lucky Spence's Last Advice*, were published by Ramsay otherwise than in the form of broadsides, as is shown by our records in Part II.

Possessing, then, the proofs recorded in Part II, and having proved, in our first, second, third, fourth, and fifth chapters, that numerous miscellaneous assertions made by Mr.

Smeaton are entirely baseless, we are forced to believe that fiction is the only term that is applicable to the matter in the statement made by the person who is called by Mr. Smeaton "an eminent collector."

BY THE TENTH WRITER.

In his *Scottish Vernacular Literature*, "Third Revised Edition," 1910, Mr. T. F. Henderson says (under "Ramsay to Burns" p. 400): "The main agent in the vernacular revival was Allan Ramsay. Descended from the Ramsays of Cockpen, a younger branch of the Ramsays of Dalhousie, he was the son of Robert Ramsay, superintendent of Lord Hopetoun's lead-mines at Leadhills, Lanarkshire, by Alice Bower, a native of Derbyshire. He was born in the village of Leadhills, 15th October, 1686, and received all his education at the parish school. Having had the misfortune, while still in infancy, to lose his father, he was, after the death in 1700 of his mother, who had married a small neighbouring proprietor, sent to Edinburgh to be apprenticed to a wig-maker. In 1707 he opened a wig-maker's shop of his own in the Grassmarket, which he conducted successfully until 1719, when his special tastes and his literary success induced him to adopt the business of bookseller opposite Niddry's Wind.

"Though keenly intent on his business, Ramsay found time for both conviviality and study. . . . A Jacobite in politics, and of genial and epicurean habit, he represents the commencement of the literary reaction among the middle and lower classes against the repressive tendencies of the Kirk. He was especially the poet of the jovial burgher, and of the taverns and clubs which were the centre of this reaction; and much of his verse reeks of their peculiar atmosphere. Among his earlier pieces was his *Elegy on Maggy Johnstone*, the alewife of Bruntfield Links, who died in 1711, modelled on 'Standard Habbie.' Its success when issued as a penny broadside induced him to venture similar essays in verse, including elegies on *Lucky Wood*, *John Cowper*; and *Pat [Patie] Birnie*, *Lucky Simson's [Spence's] Last Advice*, and various others, some of them now lost, in a still grosser comic vein. For some years he was the recognised laureate of the streets, his satires on street incidents, as *The Flytin' of Lucky Duff and Lucky Brown*, or mock elegies, or sketches of well-known city characters, or rhymes on passing events,

being, it is said, the favourite reading of the common gossips over their tea-cups. His admission to the Easy Club also stimulated him to the production of English verse, which, mediocre and wholly artificial though it was, secured him much approbation from the members, some of whom—such as Hepburn of Keith, Dr. Pitcairne, Dr. Patrick Abererombie and Dr. [sic] Thomas Ruddiman—were amongst the most intellectually emancipated of the Edinburgh citizens. His reputation was still further enhanced by the publication in 1716 of *Christis Kirk*, with an additional canto of his own composition; and in 1718 appeared a second edition of the poem with an additional canto.”

But, respecting some of these assertions, we have proved in earlier chapters that the Christian name of Ramsay's father was *John*; that Ramsay was born in 1685; that he was a *posthumous* child; that he did *not* open a shop of his own in the Grassmarket in 1707; and that, Dr. Pitcairn, Dr. Patrick Abererombie and Thomas Ruddiman were *not* members of the Easy Club.

Moreover, certain of Mr. Henderson's assertions regarding Ramsay and his publications prior to 1721 are exactly the same as, or very similar to, certain of the assertions which had been made by Mr. Smeaton in 1896.

Furthermore, Mr. Henderson, in referring to Ramsay's "earlier pieces," gives no evidence whatever in support of his assertions that Ramsay issued the *Elegy on Maggy Johnston* "as a penny broadside," and that "its success," when so issued, "induced him to venture similar essays in verse, including elegies on *Lucky Wood*, *John Cowper* and *Pat Birnie Lucky Simson's Last Advice* and various others, some of them now lost, in a still grosser comic vein."

Mr. Henderson's position in the last-named regard is therefore considered by us to be quite as bad as that of Mr. Smeaton.

With this we conclude our examination of the statements made by the ten different writers from 1800 to 1910; and, apart from all else that we have brought to view, we have clearly shown that not one of those writers has furnished any proof of any kind that Ramsay published even only one of his detached pieces prior to 1721 in the form of a broadside.

CHAPTER VII.

SPURIOUS REPRINTS OF EDITIONS PUBLISHED BY RAMSAY PRIOR TO 1721.

It is now our duty to elucidate matters regarding the *Address* sent by Ramsay to the Town-Council of Edinburgh, in consequence of the illegitimate reprinting of one of his poems in that city; to state various things which have led us to believe not only that spurious reprints of Ramsay pieces produced in Edinburgh prior to 1721 must have been comparatively few in number, but also that they must have been produced within a very limited period of time; and to give the reasons why we consider that certain extant broadsides of early pieces are spurious reprints of editions which had been published otherwise than in broadside form by Ramsay.

I. TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE, THE TOWN-COUNCIL OF EDINBURGH, THE ADDRESS OF ALLAN RAMSAY.

This is the title of the composition in the quarto edition of 1721, wherein it appears undated, (p. 323), after such pieces as *Wealth or The Woody*, written "June, 1720"; *The Rise and Fall of Stocks*, dated "Edinb., March 25, 1721"; and *The Life and Acts of, or, An Elegy on, Patie Birnie*, dated "January 25, 1721."

The position of the *Address* in the quarto edition has therefore probably caused numerous readers to believe that it was not sent to the Town-Council until 1721, which is the date prefixed to its title by Mr. George Chalmers in the Cadell and Davies edition of 1800, whereas it was sent a little earlier than the 25th of August, 1719, as will immediately be proved.

Many notes are appended to the *Address* in the quarto edition. In one of them we learn that Lucky Reid was a printer's relict, who had reprinted Ramsay's pastoral on "Mr. Addison," without Ramsay's knowledge, and "on ugly paper, full of errors." In another, we learn that a copy of the Lucky Reid reprint had been reprinted at London, by Bernard Lintot, in folio, but that he had afterwards printed the pastoral from a correct copy of the Ramsay

edition, "with the honourable Mr. Burchet's English version of it."

The poem referred to by Ramsay, as having been so printed, was his *Richy and Sandy, a Pastoral on the Death of Mr. Joseph Addison*, which he had published, in the form of a four-page tract, undated, shortly after the death of Addison, on the 17th of June, 1719.

Unfortunately, we have been unable to trace a copy of Lucky Reid's spurious reprint. Still, we do not doubt that that edition was produced in the form of a broadside.

We have also failed to trace a copy of Bernard Lintot's folio reprint in which the errors in the Lucky Reid reprint were repeated. But particulars of a reprint of the pastoral from a Ramsay copy, and Burchett's imitation of it in English, etc., in a Lintot octavo collection, published in 1720, are furnished in Part II, in our notes to No. 25.

With respect, however, to the *Address* as a whole, we must further explain that Ramsay states his case for the protection he wanted in the first two stanzas; that he begs the Council's "word of weight" in the third stanza; and that, in reference to the latter, he appends the following note in the quarto edition of 1721:—"To interpose their just authority in my favour, and grant me an act to ward off these little pirates, which I gratefully acknowledge the receipt of."

Ramsay thus supplied his readers with all the information that he deemed to be necessary.

But, largely because of the constant assertions made from the beginning of last century, that Ramsay issued his early detached pieces in the form of single sheets or broadsides, we resolved to learn whether there was any record in the Town-Council minutes of an answer having been given to the *Address*; and, upon writing to our Edinburgh correspondent in the matter, we obtained an excerpt from the Town-Council records, dated 26th August, 1719, and reading as follows:—"The Same Day The Council Upon ane Address From Allan Ramsay representing That he was prejudged in his Interest and Reputation and that the Leidges are Abused by some Printers Ballad Cryers and Others by Printing and Causing to be printed Poems of his Composure without his Notice or allowance upon False and Uncorrect Coppies,

As also that the Ballad Cryers refuse to Vend and Publish his papers Unless he Give them at Rates below what really they can be printed for They Doe Therefore Discharge all Printers or Paper Cryers within this Citie or Suburbs to Print or Vend any Poems or Papers of his Composure without his Licence, And Ordains the said Paper Cryers To publish and Vend the said Allan Ramsay's Papers he allowing them one third of the Selling Price as their Profite Under the Penaltie of Twenty pounds Scots money and Confiscation of the Papers So Vended and Printed, Besides forfeiture of the Paper Cryers their Priviledge of Publishing or Vending papers Anent all which shall be a warrand Ext."

Now, in the first place, the date of the minute proves that the *Address* was sent to the Town-Council before the 26th of August, 1719; and we consequently find that the Lucky Reid and Bernard Lintot reprints of the *Richy and Sandy* pastoral were produced a very short time before that date, seeing that the pastoral was published by Ramsay after the death of Addison in June, 1719.

In the second place, the minute indicates that the Town-Council was well acquainted with the facts relating to Ramsay as publisher and seller of his "Poems" on the one hand, and to printers and sellers of unauthorised reprints thereof on the other hand.

In the third place, the minute also shows that there had been trouble between Ramsay and ballad-criers. But it could not have existed longer than from 1718, considering that the only work of Ramsay's known to have been printed in 1716 is *The Battel: or, Morning-Interview*, and that no work of his is known to have been printed in 1717.

In the fourth place, illegitimate acts on the part of Lucky Reid and others in Edinburgh, in reprinting Ramsay's publications prior to the appearance of *Richy and Sandy* in 1719, could not have been indulged in to any serious extent, else Ramsay would doubtless have sooner petitioned the Town-Council.

In the fifth place, it is highly probable that the fear of 'pains and penalties' prevented any further wrong-doing in the same direction by printers and ballad-criers in Edinburgh down to at least the close of 1720.

II. CHRIST'S KIRK ON THE GREEN.

Many statements made by Mr. George Chalmers regarding this work we quoted in Chapter V, wherein we expressed our firm belief that the first edition of the work in two cantos was a pamphlet of thirty-two pages, with a title-page reading as follows:—"Christ's Kirk on the Green in Two Canto's. Edinburgh: Printed by William Adams Junior, for the Author of the Second Canto, at the Mercury opposite to Nidderie's Wynd, MDCCXVIII."

Particulars of this edition, which is very rare, we now furnish.

Pages 3-4 contain a letter which reads thus :

" To
[Blank]

" SIR,

" If these following merry Images contribute to your Diversion, and if you own them to be just, I shall not trouble my self with defending every little Thing, the Chagreen may alledge, to the Detriment of what pleases both you and,

" SIR,

Your Humble Servant,
ALLAN RAMSAY."

Pages 5-6 read thus :

" ADVERTISEMENT.

" I Own it to be Thirst after Glory that push'd my Muse on such a vast Performance of adding a Second Canto to this admirable Poem, which never own'd any other Author than a SCOTS Monarch: How I have acted my Part? if you'll take my Word for it, excellently, and, I hope, the World will agree with me after Two or Three Readings.

Consider it werly, rede oftner than anys,
Wiel at ane Blenk sle Poetry not tane is.

G. DOUGLAS.

" Wherefore I would intreat my gentle, &c. Readers to beware of rash Judgement, least mistaken Notions may make them speak disrespectfully, of some beautiful Stanza, and be guilty of a Blunder, which once advanced, must be supported from a Principle of Pride, tho' a Man be secretly convinced of his Error."

Pages 7-19 contain "Canto First by King James the Fifth," consisting of twenty-four stanzas.

Pages 20-32 contain "Canto Second by Allan Ramsay," also consisting of twenty-four stanzas.

Next we furnish particulars of a copy of a single-sheet edition of the work in two cantos in the National Library of Scotland.

The copy is folded in two, and each leaf measures $12\frac{3}{4}$ ins. x $7\frac{1}{2}$ ins.

The printed page of the first leaf is headed thus :

"CHRIST'S KIRK on the *Green*.
In two *Canto's*. *Canto* first by
King James the Fifth."

Thereunder appear twenty-four stanzas in three parallel columns.

From beginning to end the version is the same as that in the two-canto edition of 1718, already described (making allowance for trifling differences), even the word "Canto's" in the second line of the heading being misspelt in the same way as in the 1718 edition.

The printed page of the second leaf is headed thus :

"CHRIST'S KIRK on the *Green*. *Canto* Second by
ALLAN RAMSAY."

First, thereafter, is Ramsay's letter, with "To Sir" forming the first two words of the first line of the text of the letter.

Following it is the "Advertisement," which is the same as in the 1718 edition, with a few differences. For instance, in the first line, between "be" and "Thirst" is the word "my"; in the first line of the motto is "read" instead of "rede"; and in the second line thereof is "an" instead of "ane."

Then are twenty-four stanzas, in three parallel columns; and the version is the same as in the 1718 edition.

We therefore believe that the broadside in the National Library of Scotland is a spurious reprint of the two-canto edition published by Ramsay in 1718, and recorded by us as No. 5 in Part II.

III. ELEGY ON LUCKY WOOD IN THE CANONGATE.

MAY, 1717.

The first known collection of *Elegies on Maggy Johnston, John Cowper and Lucky Wood* is a pamphlet with a title-page bearing the following imprint :—"Edinburgh : Printed for the Author, at the Mercury, opposite to Niddery's-Wynd. 1718."

Therein the third elegy, consisting of twelve stanzas and an "Epitaph," as in all the later collections, is that with the above heading, which was never altered by Ramsay.

"May 1717" is the date of Lucky Wood's death, and if the elegy was first printed separately, it could not have been printed before then.

There is, however, a copy of a single-sheet edition in the National Library of Scotland, measuring 13¾ ins. x 8½ ins.

It also consists of twelve stanzas and the "Epitaph."

But it is without the author's name ; its heading is only "Elegy on Maggy Wood" ; and there are many differences in the readings in some of the stanzas as compared with the readings in the corresponding stanzas in the 1718 edition.

In the 1718 edition the third stanza reads thus :

"She's dead o're true, she's dead and gane,
Left us and *Willy* Burd alane,
To bleer and greet, to sob and mane,
And rugg our Hair,
Because we'll ne're see her again
For evermair."

In the sheet, the same stanza reads thus :

"She's Dead ou're true, she's Dead and gane,
Left us and *WILLY* burd alane,
To Bleer and Greet to Sob and Mane
and Rive our Hair ;
Because we'le ne're see her again
our Hearts are Sair."

Among other differences in the text are the following :—

1718 EDITION.	SHEET.
Housie.	Houssie.
<i>Lucky's.</i>	Luky's.
Hause.	haass.

Well, no one has ever attempted to prove that the sheet was published by Ramsay ; and we believe that it is a spurious reprint somewhat similar to what must have been Lucky Reid's reprint of *Richy and Sandy* in 1719.

IV. LUCKY SPENCE'S LAST ADVICE.

Copies of two editions of this piece are in the British Museum; and they were originally entered thus in the British Museum catalogue:

- “SPENCE (LUCKIE). Lucky Spence's last Advice.
 [A poem by Allan Ramsay.]
 [Edinburgh ? 1700 ?] s. sh. fol.
 1871 e.g. (131)
 —[Another edition].
 [Edinburgh, 1720 ?] 8°. 1078, h. 23.”

Corrections have since been made, however; and the entries so corrected stand thus in the catalogue:

- “SPENCE (LUCKIE). Lucky Spence's last Advice.
 [A poem by Allan Ramsay.]
 [Edinburgh ? 1721 ?] 8°. 1078, h. 23.
 —[Another edition]
 [Edinburgh, 1725 ?] s. sh. fol.
 1871, e.g. (131).”

Now as regards the alteration of the queried date 1720 to the queried date 1721 in the case of the octavo edition copy, the latter date may have been ultimately adopted because 1721 is the date given to the piece in the Cadell and Davies edition of Ramsay's collected poems published in 1800. But the copy is of the same impression as a copy in our possession; and we hold that the two copies are copies of the first edition. Moreover, we hold that the first edition was published by Ramsay in 1718, for the reasons which are furnished in Part II, in our notes to No. 9 (p. 119).

Then with reference to the original queried date 1700, in the case of the single-sheet edition copy, that date was perhaps given because Ramsay had stated in a note to the piece in the quarto edition of 1721, that Lucky Spence “flourished about the beginning of the eighteenth century”; and there was, of course, great need for a correction of that queried date to be made.

But we cannot offer any solid objection to the altered queried date 1725.

Nevertheless we believe that the copy is one that was not issued by Ramsay, considering that no evidence has ever been produced by any writer to prove that Ramsay published any of his early detached pieces in any similar manner, and that thirty-seven genuine editions of his detached pieces and small collections, including *Lucky Spence's Last Advice*, were printed otherwise than in the form of single-sheets or broadsides between 1716 and the close of 1720.

END OF PART I.

MEMOIR

AND

PART II, BIBLIOGRAPHICAL.

OF

EDWARD B. FISH

P O E M

To the Memory of the Famous

Archbald Pitcairn, M. D.

B Y

A Member of the

E A S Y C L U B

I N

EDINBURGH.

*Sum zonder bene for reddy Gold in Hand,
Sald and betrafit thare native Realme and Land.*

G. Douglafs's *Virgil* lib: 6. p. 186.

PART II: BIBLIOGRAPHICAL.

GENUINE EDITIONS OF RAMSAY'S POETICAL COMPOSITIONS
PRINTED PRIOR TO 1721.

NUMBER I.

A Poem to the Memory of the Famous Archbald Pitcairn,
M.D. By [Allan Ramsay], a Member of the Easy Club
in Edinburgh.

Sum zonder bene for reddy Gold in Hand,
Sald and betrasit thare native Realme and Land.

G. Douglass's *Virgil lib*: 6. p. 186.

[Edinburgh: Printed by Andro Hart for the
Members of the Easy Club. 1713.]

Sm. 4to.

Collation: p. [i], title-*verso* blank; pp. [iii—iv], epistle
in verse, "To my Ingenious Friends, the Members of the
Easy Club," (signed "Gawin Douglass," the Club name of
Ramsay); pp. 1—4, text.

This poem was written to the memory of the eminent
Edinburgh physician who died on October 20th, 1713; and
the facts immediately preceding the printing of it are furnished
in the following, which we quote from the minutes of a
meeting of the Easy Club on November 18th, 1713:—"The
Club being met Gawin Douglas was chosen praeses who after
he had taken the Chair Presented a Poem Composed by himself
to ye Memory of Dr. Arch^d. Pitcairn which he dedicated to ye
club in a handsome dedicatory poem—the Poem and dedica-
tion being Read it was Unanimously approven and ye
Authors Complement Received for which he had ye thanks
of the club after which it was Resolved the sd poem should
be printed at ye charge of ye members ye author included (at
his own desire). Upon which each member Consign'd 18/s
Scots in the thes^s hands amounting to £7. 4/s. The Secretary
was appointed to order the printing of it and attend ye Press
with ye Author,"

In the MS. *Journal of the Easy Club*, the minutes of that meeting are on page 62; the copy of the poem, from which our record, as above, is made, forms pages 63 to 70; and the minutes of the next meeting, on December 1st, 1713, are on page 71.

The poem was therefore obviously printed towards the end of November, 1713; and, in the absence of any evidence to the contrary, it must undoubtedly stand first in the chronological order of publication of Ramsay's poetical compositions.

Seeing, however, that the name of the person by whom the poem was to be printed is not given in the minutes of November 18th, 1713, we quote, in the next three paragraphs, some other information that is contained in the minutes of meetings held on the dates which we specify.

December 22nd, 1714: "After 2 hours easie Conversation the Secretary delivered a Copy of ye Laws to each of ye two members present as printed by Andro Hart printer to ye Club."

January 5th, 1715: "By Unanimous Consent the thes^r. was ordered to satisfie and pay Andrew Hart for printing ye Laws."

January 19th, 1715: "And^w. Hart being introduced, Mr. Easie ordered John Barclay to give him ye thanks of ye club for his good services and assurance of our Resolution to Continue him our printer."

Now, "Laws" for the observance of the members were made from time to time at meetings of the Club; and they were revised "Laws," drawn up by the Club secretary, that were adopted at the meeting on November 18th, 1713. Written copies were subsequently handed to new members as they were elected. But at a meeting on December 15th, 1714, the treasurer intimated "his design to print ye Laws, he not having time to write them." The revised "Laws" were therefore not printed until after the latter date.

There is no evidence, however, in the minutes that anything of any kind was printed for the Club before the poem to the memory of Dr. Pitcairn appeared, or that anything of any kind was printed for it thereafter, with the exception of the revised "Laws."

But there is, we think, sufficient evidence furnished in the matter which we have above quoted, to warrant the

belief that the Andro Hart who printed the revised "Laws" had printed the poem to the memory of Dr. Pitcairn.

Then, as regards Ramsay's prefatory epistle in which he presents the poem to his fellow members, it contains thirteen lines of verse, and the first three lines read thus :

"Accept the Moanings of an infant Muse
Who wants his Nurse ; he's gone who did infuse
In us the Principles of Wit and Sense."

But Mr. George Chalmers substitutes a dash for "Accept" in the first line ; gives the three lines without quotation marks ; and does not state the origin of the lines.

NUMBER 2.

[A Forecast of the Sun's Eclipse on 22nd April, 1715. By a Gentleman in Kelso]. On this Great Eclipse. A Poem by A[llan] R[amsay].

Edinburgh : Printed by James Watson, One of His Majesty's Printers, and sold at his Shop opposite to the Lucken-booths. 1715. Price One Penny.

This is in the form of a sheet printed on one side, the forecast, with a woodcut, being on the left hand, and the poem, with the imprint, being on the right hand.

The poem was allowed to be printed along with the forecast under circumstances which are stated in the minutes of the Easy Club on April 15th, 1715, as shown by us in Chapter IV, (p. 49).

Upon being folded in two, our copy was inserted between pages 118 and 119 of the MS. *Journal of the Easy Club* ; and, having been cropped at some uncertain period, it now measures $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches in depth by $11\frac{3}{4}$ inches in breadth.

After the poem is stated the following, in the handwriting of "George Buchannan," the Club secretary :—"By Gavin Douglas Poet Laureat to the Easy Club."

The sheet is not known to have been reprinted ; and Ramsay did not print the poem separately, either in the form of a broadside, as is asserted by Mr. Smeaton, or in any other form. But he included it in the quarto edition of 1721.

In the sheet, the first four lines of the poem read thus :—

“ Now do I press amongst the learned Throng,
To tell a Great Eclipse in Little Song :
At me, nor Scheme, nor Demonstration ask,
That is our Wilson’s, or this Artist’s Task.”

But in the quarto edition the fourth line reads thus :—

“ That is our *Gregory’s*, or fam’d *Hally’s* Task.”

There to Ramsay appends a note in which he states that Gregory was “ Professor of Mathematicks in Edinburgh,” and that Hally was a “ Fellow of the Royal Society, London ” —meaning, in the latter case, Edward Halley, the astronomer.

The only other copy of the sheet that we have ever heard of is described as follows in a list of various broadsides, *et cetera*, which “ came from the Library of Sir George Clerk of Pennicuick,” and were offered for sale in “ An Illustrated Catalogue of Old and Rare Books ” issued in 1901 by Messrs. Pickering & Chatto, London :—“ A Scheme and Type of the Great and Terrible Eclipse of the Sun on the 22nd of April, 1715, in a letter from a gentleman near Kelso to his friend at Edinburgh. *Edinburgh. James Watson, Price One Penny*, 1715, (a large sheet, with border, and a woodcut figure of the Eclipse); also ‘ ON THIS GREAT ECLIPSE, A POEM BY A. R.’ (PROBABLY ALLAN RAMSAY).”

NUMBER 3.

The Battel : Or, Morning-Interview. An Heroi-Comical Poem. [By Allan Ramsay.]

Edinburgh : Printed [by William Adams, junior],
for George Stewart, at the Book and Angel
in the Parliament-Close. MDCCXVI.

8vo.

Collation : p. [1], title-*verso* blank ; pp. 3—4, “ Advertisement,” (unsigned, but written by Ramsay) ; pp. 5—23, text of “ The Merning-Interview,” (unsigned) ; p. 24, “ Epilogue,” (twelve lines of verse, unsigned).

Sig. : p. [1], [A] — p. 19, B2.

Many facts regarding the poem have been recorded in Chapter II, (pp. 20 and 21) and Chapter V, (p. 64).

But nothing about the “ Advertisement,” (which is one of

THE
BATTLE

OR,
Morning-Interview.

AN
HEROI-COMICAL
POEM.



EDINBURGH:
Printed for GEORGE STEWART, at the *Book*
and *Angel* in the *Parliament-Close*. MDCCLXVI

considerable importance), has been said by us, or, apparently, by any biographer of Ramsay at any time; and we now furnish a copy of it in full: "This City, as Narrow it is, is the Scene of many Adventures, which may be proper Subject for both Poet and Philosopher: But the Humour of undervaluing Home-Manufactory, discourages Publications.

"I shall make no more apology for my Poem, than a short Account of the Birth of it shall afford.—I have naturally an Itch of Rhiming, which I gratify, sometimes for my own Satisfaction, and the Diversion of a few Intimates. When I shew'd the first Sketch of the Following, to one of my Friends, who well deserves the Honour of *Patron* of most of Performances, he was pleas'd to say, That there were some Strokes in it, which discovered more of a Poetic Genius, and of the Humour of Gallantry, than any Thing I had Written; and encouraged me to carry the Design a little further. As I have a great Respect for his Judgment, and as great a Share of Vanity and Conceit as any of my Contemporaries, I was easily persuaded, and, with his Help, rectified some Errors had escaped me in the first Draught. He tells me of some Faults yet, which I am unwilling to confess, not knowing well how to mend them. However, If my Readers shall agree with him, and be so kind as to inform me in a civil Way, I shall do what I can, by the Help of their Criticism, to verify the Title of *Corrected and Amended*, in a Second Edition."

Upon reading this advertisement in our own copy of *The Battel: Or, Morning-Interview*, many years ago, we were unable to understand which friend could have been referred to by Ramsay as being, at so early a period, the person to whom he had evidently been in the habit of submitting his poetical compositions for critical observation and useful assistance in the way of improvement.

We came to learn, however, that the advertisement in a copy of the edition in the British Museum contained some manuscript notes which had doubtless been added by a former owner; and on the second page thereof we found that an asterisk (*) had been inserted after the word "Patron"; that the word "my" had been inserted between the words "of" and "Performances"; and that "J^o: F——s" had been written at the bottom of the page, pointing to the word "Patron."

Thereupon we concluded that the author of those manu-

script notes meant it to be understood that the "patron" of the most of Ramsay's "performances," in and before 1716, was Mr. John Forbes, the son of Sir David Forbes, New Hall, near Edinburgh.

We also realized that if *that* gentleman was the one referred to, he must have been the friend and patron of Ramsay from an earlier time than has been generally understood.

But whoever the friend was, and whatever may have been the extent to which he rendered assistance to Ramsay, no future biographer can honestly go beyond the evidence which we show to be extant, unless he produces the most complete proof that editions of Ramsay's poetical compositions other than those recorded by us, were authoritatively printed prior to 1716.

NUMBER 4.

Edinburgh's Address to the Country. [By Allan Ramsay]
[Edinburgh: Printed by William Adams, junior,
for the Author, at the Mercury, opposite Niddry's
Wynd. 1718.]

8vo.

Collation: p. [1], title-*verso* blank; pp. 3—8, text, (unsigned)
Sig.: p. [1], [A] — p. 3, A2.

In the quarto edition of 1721 this poem is headed thus:

"Edinburgh's Address to the Country.

November, 1718."

But in the Cadell and Davies edition it is headed thus:

"1718.

The City of Edinburgh's Address to the Country"; and such is the heading in all the reprints of that edition.

With the omission of the date, the latter is also the title that is given by Dr. Robert Chambers in *Lives of Illustrious and Distinguished Scotsmen*, (Vol. IV, p. 129), and by Mr. Oliphant Smeaton in his *Allan Ramsay*, wherein Mr. Smeaton even asserts, as we showed in Chapter VI, that the poem "was sown broadcast over the county" in the form of a broadside by Ramsay.

Of course, however, we do not believe that the poem was published by Ramsay at any time with any title other than *Edinburgh's Address to the Country*, or published by him in the form of a broadside.

CHRIST'S KIRK
ON THE
GREEN
IN TWO
CANTO'S.



EDINBURGH:
Printed by WILLIAM ADAMS *Junior*, for
the AUTHOR of the Second CANTO, at the
MERCURY opposite to *Nidderie's Wynd*,
MDCCXVIII.

Facsimile of the title-page of No. 5.

A copy of the poem so titled is entered in the British Museum catalogue with "[Edinburgh ? 1720 ?]" for place and date of printing. But it is of the same impression as our copy above recorded; and an advertisement annexed to *Elegies on Maggy Johnston, John Cowper and Lucky Wood*—see No. 6, (p. 111)—proves that *Edinburgh's Address to the Country* was printed before, or simultaneously with, the said *Elegies* in 1718.

NUMBER 5.

Christ's Kirk on the Green in Two Canto's. [Canto First by King James the Fifth. Canto Second by Allan Ramsay.]

Edinburgh: Printed by William Adams Junior, for the Author of the Second Canto, at the Mercury opposite to Nidderie's Wynd, MDCCXVIII.

8vo.

Collation: p. [1], title-*verso* blank; pp. 3—4, letter, (signed "Allan Ramsay"); pp. 5—6, "Advertisement," (unsigned, but written by Ramsay); pp. 7—32, text.

Sig: p. [1], [A]—p. 27, D2.

In Chapter V we expressed our firm belief that the first edition of *Christ's Kirk on the Green*, in two cantos, was a pamphlet edition of thirty-two pages, published in 1718—meaning the present edition.

In Chapter VII we quoted both the letter and the "Advertisement"—see page 92.

As to the second canto, which is stated by Ramsay, in the quarto edition of 1721, to have been written by him in 1715, perhaps it was not until after 1716 that it reached the finished form in which it appeared in 1718.

Indeed, Ramsay may have sent to the friend referred to in the "Advertisement" prefixed to *The Battel; Or, Morning-Interview*, published in 1716, the manuscript of the second canto, accompanied by the letter which we quoted in Chapter VII, but with the name of the friend in the space below the word "To" and above the word "Sir"; and, in arranging for the inclusion of the letter in the two-canto edition, he may have suppressed the name at the friend's request.

Then, regarding the assertions made in the writings of

many biographers as to the date of publication of the first edition in two cantos, and as to the name of the author of the first canto given therein by Ramsay, we now present what we believe are the facts that apply to the positive statements made by Mr. George Chalmers, which we quoted in Chapter V (pp. 64-66).

When Mr. Chalmers wrote those statements he had before him a copy of the three-canto edition of *Christ's Kirk on the Green*, published in 1718; and the words of Ramsay that he quotes were taken by him from Ramsay's "Advertisement" prefixed to that edition, although he does not acknowledge that that was the source of his information. Mr. Chalmers therefore most unwarrantably asserts that Ramsay actually states that the first canto of the two-canto edition was given by him "from an old manuscript collection of Scots songs wrote an hundred and fifty years ago," for Mr. Chalmers possessed no personal knowledge of the first edition, in two cantos, in which no such words occur.

But let us state the position in another way. Mr. Chalmers knew only from the quarto edition of 1721 that Ramsay had written the second canto in 1715; and he knew only from the advertisement prefixed to the three-canto edition of 1718 that Ramsay had published an earlier edition in two cantos. Mr. Chalmers therefore asserts on mere assumption on his part that the two-canto edition was published "about the year 1716"; and he also makes it appear that the first canto therein was ascribed by Ramsay to "James I of Scotland."

We have more, however, to say about the first canto in the edition above recorded.

In Watson's *Choice Collection of Comic and Serious Scots Poems*, Part I, published in 1706, the first poem is headed

"Christ's Kirk on the Green,

*Composed (as was supposed) by King
James the Fifth*";

and it consists of twenty-four stanzas.

In the present edition the first canto is headed

"Canto First by King James the Fifth."

It, too, consists of twenty-four stanzas; and they are word for word the same as in Watson's *Collection* of 1706, excepting that in some of the stanzas there are a few minor differences, two instances being "they" instead of "them" in the second stanza, and "escaped" instead of "scaped" in the eleventh stanza.

Probably, therefore, Ramsay copied the first canto of the present edition from Part I of Watson's *Collection*, although Watson apparently followed the edition published by Bishop Gibson in 1691, as is stated in a facsimile reprint of the *Collection*, printed at Glasgow, for private circulation, in 1869.

But there is still more to be said on the subject, especially bearing in mind the wild assertions made by some of the writers later than Mr. Chalmers, that Ramsay published his early detached pieces in the form of broadsides—more which is, however, the result, so far, of reasoning on our part.

Ramsay believed, after the publication of the first edition in two cantos in 1718, that he had erred in giving a somewhat incorrect version of the first canto therein, and in ascribing it to "King James the Fifth." Thereupon he substituted for that version another version which he ascribed to "King James I," added a second canto of his own, and published the work in three cantos in the same year, 1718.

Prefixed to the latter edition, in three cantos, is a long "Advertisement," in which Ramsay refers to "the late Edition" of *Christ's Kirk on the Green*.

By "the late Edition" Ramsay means, we fully believe, his edition in two cantos, dated 1718; and he would, we think, be a very foolish man who would baldly assert that Ramsay, in or about 1716, published a broadside edition of *Christ's Kirk on the Green* in two cantos, containing the version of the first canto ascribed to King James the Fifth, his own canto; his letter, and his advertisement, and merely repeated the contents of that broadside edition in pamphlet form in 1718.

Yea, he would, we think be a most daring man who, with all the facts herein before him, and with no facts to the contrary, would make the assertion that Ramsay published the work in two cantos "about the year 1716," and ascribed the first canto in it to "James I of Scotland."

In any case, we believe, as we stated in Chapter VII, that a broadside of *Christ's Kirk on the Green*, in two cantos, in the National Library of Scotland, is a spurious reprint.

But we must also enter into matters regarding a copy of another broadside edition of *Christ's Kirk on the Green*, in two cantos, to which we have not before made reference.

Firstly. That copy is recorded in the British Museum catalogue under "James V, King of Scotland"; and the record reads thus:—"Christ's Kirk on the Green. In two

Cantos. Canto I by King James the Fifth [or by King James I]. Canto II by A. Ramsey. [London? 1750?] fol. Rox. III."

Secondly. We judge that the British Museum copy was, upon being printed, folded in two; and that it was, in the course of time, made into two separate sheets.

Thirdly. The copy in the British Museum differs somewhat from the copy in the National Library of Scotland, but contains twenty-four stanzas, the same as in the latter.

Fourthly. The printed page of the first sheet in the British Museum is headed thus:

"CHRIST'S KIRK on the GREEN;
In Two CANTO'S.

CANTO the First, by King JAMES the Fifth."

The last word of the second line is therefore misspelt in the same way as in the pamphlet edition of 1718 and in the broadside copy in the National Library of Scotland.

Fifthly. The printed page of the second sheet in the British Museum copy is headed thus:

"CANTO II. by Allan Ramsey.

Consider it werly, Read oftner than anys,

Wiel at an Blenksle Poetry not Tane is. G. DOUGLAS."

But Ramsay's letter is omitted; and his advertisement also is omitted, with the exception of the motto that we now quote.

Sixthly. "Rox. III," in the entry in the British Museum catalogue, means the third volume of the collection entered thus in Lowndes' *Bibliographer's Manual of English Literature*, (Bohn edition, 1863): "ROXBURGHE BALLADS.—Ancient Songs and Ballads, written on various subjects, and printed on separate leaves, chiefly in London, between the years 1567 and 1700, 3 vols. folio."

And thereto are added the following editorial notes:—
"The celebrated collection, known by the name of the 'Roxburghe Ballads,' now in the British Museum, consisting of about 1340 broadsides, mostly in black letter. It was originally formed by Robert Harley, first Earl of Oxford. On the sale of the Harleian library, it became the property of Mr. James West, the President of the Royal Society. In 1773 Major Pearson acquired it for the sum of £20. The collection, then bound in two volumes, was, in 1788, bought for 36l 4s. 6d. by the Duke of Roxburghe, who added a third

volume, more bulky than either of the two former. At the sale of the duke's library, in 1813, they passed into the hands of Mr. Harding for 477l 15s., who subsequently transferred them to Mr. Bright for about 700l. At the sale of that gentleman's library, in 1845, they were secured for the British Museum for 535l."

Seventhly. The contents of the third volume of the Roxburghe Ballads collection are laid down on both sides of the leaves; and we have before us photographs of the pages on which are laid down the two sheets of *Christ's Kirk on the Green*, taken by our London correspondent, who states that each of the two sheets measures—text, 231 x 161 millimeters—paper, 236 x 170 mm.

Eighthly. There is nothing that we know of in the volume to denote where, or when, or by whom the broadside of *Christ's Kirk on the Green* was printed.

But we show that the surname of the author of the second canto therein is given as "Ramsey"; and it is a most striking fact that our poet's surname is misspelt exactly in the same way as it appears in the second edition of *Eloisa and Abelard*, published at London, in 1720, by Bernard Lintot, who had published in 1719 a London reprint of Lucky Reid's illegitimate edition of Ramsay's *Richy and Sandy*.

Whether, however, the broadside in the British Museum was printed in 1750, which is the queried date given in the British Museum catalogue, or whether it was printed about 1720, which appears to us to be the more probable date, we naturally believe that Ramsay had nothing whatever to do with its production.

NUMBER 6.

Elegies on Maggy Johnston, John Cowper, and Lucky Wood.

By Allan Ramsay. Second Edition corrected and amended.

Edinburgh: Printed [by William Adams, junior]
for the Author, at the Mercury, opposite to
Niddery's-Wynd. 1718.

Svo.

Collation: p. [1], title-*verso* blank, pp. 3-19, text; p. 20, advertisement.

Sig.: p. [1], [A]—p. 17, C.

There are many things that we require to furnish here, in

order that a somewhat comprehensive whole may be afforded ; and it best suits our purpose to give the most of them under the respective headings that are given in the present edition to the three elegies.

Elegy on Maggy Johnston,
Who Died Anno 1711.

Ramsay, in the quarto edition of his collected poems, appended to this elegy the following footnote :—" Maggy Johnston liv'd about a Mile Southward of Edinburgh, kept a little Farm, and had a particular Art of brewing a small Sort of Ale agreeable to the Taste, very white, clear and intoxicating, which made People who lov'd to have a good Pemyworth for their money be her frequent Customers. And many others of every Station, sometimes for Diversion, thought it no Affront to be seen in her Barn or Yard."

In Chapter II we stated that an ode and the elegy were the only known compositions which belonged to the period of Ramsay's earliest efforts in the art of poetry ; that the elegy must have been composed in 1711, or in the early part of 1712, (before the Easy Club was founded) ; and that in all probability Ramsay merely handed manuscript copies of it to a few of his intimate friends.

In Chapter IV we also stated, relative to assertions made by Mr. Chalmers, that there was no evidence in the minutes of the Easy Club, that " in this familiar society he [Ramsay], produced his satirical elegy on Maggy Johnston," and that it, " with similar poems," he " soon after revised and published."

Therein we further stated that in the MS. *Journal of the Easy Club* was an appendix entitled " Poems by Gawin Douglas, Poet Laureat to the Easy Club," that the piece which occupied the premier position in the appendix was the elegy on Maggy Johnston, and that particulars of the latter would be furnished in Part II, in our notes to No. 6.

Well, the following is the heading that is given to the piece in the appendix, quoting literally, in accordance with our rule :—

" his 1st Performance
Maggie Johnstouns elegy

as enlarged and Corrected by him July 30, 1713."

But " George Buchannan," who was not an original member of the Easy Club, evidently wrote the appendix after he had compiled the *Journal*, which was revised and approved of in 1715.

Besides, "Buchanan" apparently did not know, or failed to remember, that Ramsay composed the ode before he composed the elegy.

Moreover, the elegy was "enlarged and corrected" on July 30th, 1713, when the Easy Club was in a dormant condition, for, as we proved in Chapter IV, no meetings of the Club were held between the end of April, 1713, and the 5th of November, 1713.

Furthermore, neither Mr. Chalmers nor any one of his successors knew what the reading of the first version of the elegy was, so that no biographer or editor from 1800 inclusive could tell how the revised version of 1713 differed from the first version; and no biographer or editor has shown how the revised version in *Elegies on Maggy Johnston, John Cowper and Lucky Wood*, published in 1718, differed from the revised version of 1713.

But, while we ourselves do not know what the reading of the first version was, we know what the readings of later versions are.

The revised version of 1713 in the appendix to the MS. *Journal of the Easy Club* consists of sixteen stanzas and an "Epitaph"; and the first three stanzas read thus:

"Auld Reekie mourn in sable hew
 Let fouth of tears dreep like may dew
 To braw tippony bid adieu
 which we with greed
 Bended as fast as she cou'd brew
 But ah she's dead.

2d.

Some say it was the effects of broom
 which she stow'd in her Masking loom
 that in our heads rais'd such a foom
 or some wild seed
 which aft the Chappin stoup did toom
 But fill'd our head.

3d.

Frae what Blae spite I cannot tell
 Others assert she had a Spell
 to garr her nappie liquor sell
 wi currant speed
 But ah now's drain'd that bowzing well
 Since she is dead."

The further revised version in the edition of 1718, now recorded, consists of *fifteen* stanzas and the "Epitaph"; the second stanza of the 1713 version is, revised, the twelfth stanza; the third stanza of the 1713 version is omitted; and there are other changes, chiefly orthographical, which we need not specify.

The heading and the order of the text in the quarto edition of 1721 are the same as in the edition of 1718; but in the quarto edition ten footnotes are appended to the title and some of the fifteen stanzas.

The elegy is headed thus in the Cadell and Davies edition of Ramsay's collected poems:

"1713.

"An Elegy on Maggy Johnstoun".

But thereunder Mr. Chalmers simply reproduces the fifteen stanzas given in the quarto edition of 1721, and the footnotes which appeared for the first time in that edition—eight years after 1713.

In the Laing Collection is a manuscript copy of the poem, which is headed thus:

"Maggie Johnstown's elegy
2d Edition. Enlarged and Corrected
By ye Author.
July 30 1713."

That copy consists of sixteen stanzas and the "Epitaph", like the written copy in the MS. *Journal of the Easy Club*"; and it is seen to bear precisely the same date. Slight differences between the two copies are, however, found in the readings of several of the stanzas.

But there is one thing more to be mentioned.

Mr. T. F. Henderson, in his *Scottish Vernacular Literature*, third revised edition, 1910, states, (page 401), that the *Elegy on Maggy Johnston* was issued by Ramsay as a penny broadside; and if a broadside of the elegy in *fifteen* stanzas is ever produced in support of such a statement, the conclusion will, we think, be arrived at, by all whose opinion can carry any weight, that it must be a spurious reprint of an edition published by Ramsay otherwise than in the form of a broadside.

Elegy on John Cowper
Kirk-Treasurer's Man.
Anno 1714.

This composition, which is not referred to in the MS. *Journal of the Easy Club*, was evidently written in 1714.

Still, in the present edition the elegy has an addition that was obviously not written until three years after 1714, for the addition is headed thus : " Postscript. Occasioned by John's being frequently seen by several People, who can declare the samem upon Oath. June 1717."

The addition is, however, headed only " Postscript " in the quarto edition of 1721, the Cadell and Davies edition of 1800, and various later editions.

Besides, whereas the elegy is headed in the quarto edition precisely the same as in the edition of 1718, it is headed only " An Elegy on John Cowper " in the Cadell and Davies edition.

But the heading in the latter is of little account in comparison with the assertion made by some of the writers whom we quoted in Chapter VI, that the *Elegy on John Cowper* is one of the early pieces which Ramsay published in broadside form ; and if a broadside of the piece is ever brought to light, the opportunity will be afforded of seeing how it is titled, and whether it is without the addition, or with the addition, headed in full, as in the present edition, or headed only " Postscript ", as in the quarto edition, *et cetera*.

Yet it would be impossible, in our opinion, for any one to prove that the broadside had been published by Ramsay.

This is not all, however, on the subject. Lord Woodhouselee, in his *Remarks on the Genius and Writings of Allan Ramsay*, (Cadell and Davies edition, 1800, vol. i, p. lxxiii), says : " In the same strain of burlesque composition, [as the *Elegy on Maggy Johnston* and the *Elegy on Lucky Wood*], is the elegy on *John Cowper, the Kirk-treasurer's man*, which is dated 1714. The hint of this *jeu d'esprit* was probably taken from *Pope* and *Swift's* account of the death of *Partridge* the almanack-maker ; for *John Cowper* survived this intimation of his decease, and must have had his ears frequently stunned with this ludicrous encomium on his merits, which was hawked about the streets in a halfpenny sheet."

But the fact that the elegy was " hawked about the streets in a halfpenny sheet " does not prove that the sheet was published by Ramsay ; and Lord Woodhouselee does not assert that it was published by him.

Elegy on Lucky Wood

in the Canongate. May, 1717.

Particulars of this piece, and of a broadside in the National Library of Scotland, (which is believed by us to be a spurious

reprint), were furnished in Chapter VII, (page 94) ; and we have only to add thereto that in Ramsay pamphlet reprints of the present edition, and in the quarto edition of 1721, the heading of the elegy is that above quoted, whereas in the Cadell and Davies edition of 1800 the following is the heading :—

“ 1717.

An Elegy on Lucky Wood.”

Then as to the advertisement on page 20 of the present edition, it reads thus : “ *The Morning Interview, Edinburgh's Address to the Country, Christ's Kirk on the Green*, and the Three Elegies, to be had at the MERCURY opposite to *Niddry's Wynd*.”

The information in this advertisement is therefore very important, for it almost conclusively proves that *The Morning-Interview, Edinburgh's Address to the Country*, and *Christ's Kirk on the Green* were the only other works that Ramsay had for sale when he published *Elegies on Maggy Johnston John Cowper and Lucky Wood* in 1718.

Lastly, it is shown by our record that the words “ Second Edition, corrected and amended,” are on the title-page of the present edition.

Well, when the words “ second edition ” are given on the title-page of a work, they indicate, as a rule, that a first edition of the same work had been published ; and if Ramsay meant it to be understood that a first edition of *Elegies on Maggy Johnston, John Cowper and Lucky Wood* had already been published by him, that edition could not have been printed prior to May, 1717, for that date is, as we stated in Chapter VII, the date of Lucky Wood's death.

NUMBER 7.

Tartana : Or, The Plaid. By Allan Ramsay.

Edinburgh : Printed [by William Adams, junior] for the Author, at the Mercury opposite to Niddry's-Wynd. 1718.

Collation : p. [1], title-*verso* blank ; pp. 3-4, dedication, “ To the Scots Ladies,” (signed “ Allan Ramsay ”) ; pp. 5-6, poem, “ To the Ingenious Author of Tartana or the Plaid,” (unsigned) ; pp. 7-30, “ Tartana : Or, The Plaid ” ; p. 31, “ Epilogue,” (ten lines of verse)-*verso* blank.

Sig. : p. [1], [A]-p. 27, D2.

Relative to this work, Lord Woodhouselee, in his *Remarks on the Genius and Writings of Allan Ramsay*, (Cadell and Davies ed. Vol. I, p. xxvi), says: "*The silken plaid*, which, at the period of the Union, was the universal attire of the Scottish ladies, and which is capable of more graceful variety of adjustment, than any other piece of female dress, was beginning to be laid aside by many of the fair sex, after the rebellion of 1715, probably from being considered as a mark of a party. Ramsay had no dislike to it, on that account, and he admired it as an elegant and decorous piece of dress. He resolved to vindicate its merits, and turn, if possible, the tide of fashion, which threatened to strip his countrywomen of their appropriate ornament. *Tartana, or the Plaid*, is written in English verse, and affords of itself sufficient proof, that had its author been a native of the southern part of the island, he would have held no mean rank in the catalogue of English poets. Ramsay would have been a poet in any language, if, as he truly observes, 'good imagery, just similes, and all manner of ingenious thoughts, in a well-laid design, disposed into numbers, is poetry.' The *Tartana* accords, in every particular, with this standard. In celebrating the distinguishing dress of the Caledonian nymphs, they themselves are with propriety his muses:

'Ye Caledonian beauties, who have long
 Been both the muse and subject of my song,
 Assist your bard, who in harmonious lays,
 Designs the glories of your plaid to raise;
 How my fond breast with blazing ardour glows,
 Whene'er my song on you just praise bestows!'"

But, while Ramsay adhered to the original rendering in English, in the second edition, published in 1719, he altered the text throughout into 'braid Scots' in the edition published in 1720—see No. 32, (p. 138)—by changing *who* into *wha*, *long* into *lang*, and so on; the first six lines, for instance, being rendered thus:

"Ye Caledonian Beauties, wha have lang
 Been baith my Muse, and Subject of my Sang,
 Assist your Bard, wha now in smoothest Lays
 Designs the Glory of your Plaid to raise.
 How my fond Breast with bleezing Ardour glows,
 When e'er my Sang on you just Praise bestows!"

In all later editions, however, the rendering is in English,

We may also remark that Ramsay did not make any similar change in any early edition of any other work; and that, in the preface to the quarto edition of his collected poems, he says: "*There are some of the following, which we commonly reckon English Poetry, such as the 'Morning Interview,' 'Content,' &c.; but all their Difference from the others is only in the Orthography of some Words, such as from for frae, bold for bauld, and some few Names of things; and in those, tho' the Words be pure English, the Idiom or Phraseology is still Scots.*"

But there is also something to be said in connection with the poem 'To the Ingenious Author of Tartana or the Plaid.'

Apparently Ramsay had shown to the undisclosed writer of the poem the manuscript of *Tartana* before the publication of the present edition, which is clearly the first edition, the edition published in 1719 being described on its title-page as "The Second Edition"—see No. 14, (p. 124).

The writer of the poem was not, however, Mr. John Forbes, (to whom reference was made in our notes to No. 3), for the initials "C.T." were added to it when it ultimately appeared as the second of the four commendatory poems prefixed to the quarto edition of 1721.

NUMBER 8.

Scots Songs. By A. Ramsay.

Edinburgh: Printed by [William Adams, junior],
for the Author at the Mercury, opposite to
Nidderie's-Wynd. 1718.

8vo.

Collation: p. [1], title-*verso* blank; pp. 3-16, text.

Sig.: p. [1], [A]—p. 11, B 2.

This is the first edition of the first collection of *Scots Songs* published by Ramsay; and its items are headed thus:

'The Happy Lover's Reflections.'

'The Lass of Peatties Mill.'

'Delia. To the Tune of Green Sleeves.'

'The Kind Reception. To the Tune of Auld lang syne.'

'The Penitent. To the Tune of the Lass of Livingstoun.'

'Love's Cure. To the Tune of Peggy I must love thee.'

'Ode.'

NUMBER 9.

Lucky Spence's Last Advice. [By Allan Ramsay].
 [Edinburgh: Printed by William Adams, junior,
 for the Author, at the Mercury, opposite
 Niddy's Wynd. 1718.]

8vo.

Collation: pp. 1-4, text, (unsigned).

Sig.: p.1, A.

With reference to all that we stated in Chapter VII, (pp. 95-96), regarding extant copies of 'Lucky Spence's Last Advice', we now give our reasons for holding that the first edition of the piece appeared in 1718, as above recorded.

1. The measurement of the leaves in the editions Nos. 3 to 9 in the present Part is 7" x 4 $\frac{5}{8}$ "; and the printer of No. 5 was William Adams, junior, who, to the best of our judgment, printed all the other editions from No. 3 to No. 9.

2. The measurement of the leaves of the editions Nos. 10 to 41 is a little less than that of the leaves of Nos. 3 to 9; and No. 10 is, we believe, the first of the Ramsay editions published by Ruddiman, who evidently printed all the editions thereafter, with the exception of Nos. 11, 12, and 30.

3. 'Lucky Spence's Last Advice' was, in our opinion, printed separately before it was included in 1719 in a reprint of No. 6, dated 1718; and if it had been printed earlier than No. 6, it would surely have been listed in the advertisement appended thereto.

NUMBER 10.

Christ's-Kirk on the Green, in Three Cantos. [Motto in Greek characters.]

Edinburgh, Printed [by Thomas Ruddiman] for
 the Author [of the Second and Third Cantos], at
 the Mercury, opposite to Niddy's-Wynd,
 M.DCC.XVIII.

8vo.

Collation: p. [1], title-*verso* blank; pp. [3]-[4], "Advertisement"; pp. 5-31, text; p. [32], "Index".

Sig.: p. [1], [A]-p. 19, B2.

CHRIST'S-KIRK
ON THE
GREEN,
IN THREE
CANTOS.

Κονσίδερ ιτ χαριμ ριδ αφτην θαν ευις,
ΜΑ ατ εν βλινη σλι ποετρι νοτ τεν ις.

Γ. Δυγλας.



EDINBURGH,
Printed for the AUTHOR, at the *Mercury*, op-
posite to *Niddry's-Wynd*, M.DCC.XVIII.

This edition is a reprint of the two-canto edition, (No. 5), without the letter signed "Allan Ramsay"; without the "Advertisement"; with an entirely new "Advertisement"; with the first canto amended, and "King James I" substituted for "King James the Fifth" as the author of it; with the addition of a second canto by Ramsay; and with the addition of an "Index".

Various things about the edition we stated in Chapters V and VII and in our notes to No. 5; and two or three thereof we now connect with other things that we have not hitherto laid before the reader.

In the first paragraph of the "Advertisement" Ramsay says: "This Edition of the first Canto is taken from an old Manuscript Collection of Scots Poems wrot an hundred and fifty Years ago; where it is found to be done by King James I. Besides its being more correct, the VIIIth Stanzas was not in print before; the last but one, of the late Edition, being none of the King's, gives place to this."

In a footnote to *Christ's Kirk on the Green* in the quarto edition of 1721, Ramsay also says, (p. 93): "This Edition of the first Canto is taken from an old Manuscript Collection of Scots Poems written 150 years ago, where it is found that James, the first of that name, King of Scots, was the Author."

Ramsay therefore does not give in either the "Advertisement" or the footnote, the name of the "Collection" from which he copied the first canto.

Mr. George Chalmers states, however, that Ramsay's allusion is "obviously to the well-known collection of Scottish poetry by Bannatyne."

But the version of the first canto in the present edition differs somewhat from the Bannatyne MS. version.

In the Bannatyne MS. there are twenty-two stanzas, whereas in the present edition there are twenty-four stanzas.

Stanza 12 in the Bannatyne MS. is stanza 10 in the present edition.

Stanza 13 in the present edition is not in the Bannatyne MS.; but it is stanza 12 in *Poetical Remains of James I*, printed at Edinburgh in 1783; and thereto is appended the following note by the editor, William Tytler:—"The 12th stanza, as above, I have supplied from B. Gibson's edition; I doubt, however, if it is genuine, as it is not in *Bannatyne's MS.*"

However, as it naturally connects with the former stanza, and the same vein of humour runs through it, I give it to the reader. A few of the words, which Gibson had modernized from the old Scots orthography, I have restored."

Stanza 22 in the present edition is in neither the Bannatyne MS. nor the above-named edition edited by Tytler. It had, however, been given by Ramsay as stanza 22 in the two-canto edition of 1718.

The old Scots words are modernized Scots words in the present edition, which was reprinted in full in pamphlet form before the three cantos appeared in the quarto edition of 1721, with the addition of numerous notes to the first canto and the other two cantos.

But in the Cadell and Davies edition Mr. Chalmers suppressed the first canto, and the notes thereto, which had been furnished by Ramsay in the quarto edition, and substituted therefor, as we explained in Chapter V, the edition of the first canto, and the notes thereto, which had appeared in *Poetical Remains of James I.*

NUMBER 11.

The Scriblers Lash'd.

You write Pindaricks ! and be d——n'd
 Write Epigrams for Cutlers ;
 None with thy Nonsense will be sham'd,
 But Chamber Maids, and Butlers.
 In t'other World expect dry Blows,
 No Tears shall wipe thy Stains out :
 Horace shall pluck thee by the Nose,
 And Pindar beat thy Brains out.

T. Brown to D'Urfy.

By Allan Ramsay.

Edinburgh, Printed [for the Author, at the Mercury,
 opposite Niddry's Wynd] Anno Dom.
 M.DCC.XVIII.

8vo.

Collation : p. [1], title-*verso* blank ; pp. 3-16, text.
 Sig. : p. [1], [A]-p. 11, B2.

We cannot find anything to enable us to say by whom this edition was printed.

But it is the first edition, for the second edition was published in 1720—see No. 24, (p. 129).

In the Cadell and Davies edition the piece is erroneously dated 1721.

NUMBER 12.

The Morning-Interview. An Heroi-Comical Poem.

[Edinburgh's Address to the Country.] By Allan Ramsay. The Second Edition.

Edinburgh: Printed by William Adams Junior, for the Author, at the Mereury, opposite to Niddry's-Wynd. MDCCXIX.

8vo.

Collation: p. [1], title-*verso* blank; pp. 3-24, text.

Sig.: p. [1], [A]-p. 19, C2.

The first piece is a reprint of No. 3, excluding the "Advertisement," but including the "Epilogue"; and the second piece is a reprint of No. 4.

NUMBER 13.

[Elegies on Maggy Johnston, John Cowper and Lucky Wood.

Lucky Spence's Last Advice.] [By Allan Ramsay.]

[Edinburgh; Printed by Thomas Ruddiman, for the Author, at the Mercury, opposite Niddry's Wynd. 1719.]

8vo.

Collation: pp. 1-16, text.

Sig.: p. 1, A-p. 11, B2.

This edition, published without a title-page, and without Ramsay's name to it, is a reprint of No. 6, (page 111), and No. 9, (page 119).

As to *Lucky Spence's Last Advice*, see our closing note to No. 19 (page 126).

NUMBER 14.

Tartana : Or The Plaid. By Allan Ramsay. The Second Edition.

Edinburgh : Printed [by Thomas Ruddiman] for the Author at the Mercury, opposite to Niddrey's-Wynd, 1719.

8vo.

Collation : p. [i], title-*verso* blank ; pp. 3-4, poem, "To the Author of Tartana, or, The Plaid," (unsigned) ; pp. 5-23, "Tartana : or The Plaid" ; p. 24, "Epilogue."

Sig. : p. [i], [A]-p. 21, C3.

This is a reprint of No. 7, (p. 116), without the dedication "To the Scots Ladies."

NUMBER 15.

Scots Songs. By Allan Ramsay. The Second Edition.

Edinburgh : Printed [by Thomas Ruddiman] for the Author at the Mercury, opposite to Niddrey's-Wynd, 1719.

8vo.

Collation : p. [1]-*verso* blank ; pp. 1-20, text—the figure 1 being a mistake for 3.

Sig. : p. [i], [A] - p. 15, C2.

This is a reprint of the seven items in No. 8, (p. 118) with the addition of the following three new songs by Ramsay, which appear after the third item, ('Delia'), and before the fourth item, ('The Kind Reception') :—

'The Yellow-hair'd Ladie'

'Nannyo.'

'Bonny Jean.'

Although we have no direct proof, we quite believe that Ramsay shortly afterwards published an edition of two later songs, entitled *The Young Laird and Edinburgh Katy and Katy's Answer*, in a leaflet of four pages, initialled "A.R." and paged 21 to 24, with the intention that it should be added to the above second edition, which ends at page 20.

Our reason for this belief is the fact that No. 33, (p. 139), is a reprint of the present edition of *Scots Songs*, with the addition, at the end, of the said two songs, including the initials, "A.R."

NUMBER 16.

Content. A Poem. By Allan Ramsay.

Virtue was taught in Verse, and Athens' Glory rose.
Prior.

Edinburgh: Printed [by Thomas Ruddiman] for
the Author at the Mercury, opposite to Niddrey's-
Wynd, 1719.

8vo.

Collation: p. [1], title-*verso* blank; pp. 3-28, text.

Sig.: p. [1], [A] - p. 25, D.

This piece is erroneously dated 1721 in the Cadell and
Davies edition.

NUMBER 17.

Content. A Poem. By Allan Ramsay.

Virtue was taught in Verse, and Athens' Glory rose.
Prior.

The Second Edition.

Edinburgh: Printed [by Thomas Ruddiman] for
the Author at the Mercury, opposite to Nid-
dry's-Wynd, 1719.

8vo.

Collation: p. [1], title-*verso* blank; pp. 3-28, text.

Sig.: p. [1], [A] - p. 25, D.

We possess a copy of a London edition, bearing the fol-
lowing imprint:—"London: Printed for E. Curll in Pater-
Noster-Row. M.DCC.XX."

Doubtless Curll had the edition printed without the leave
of Ramsay.

NUMBER 18.

Richy and Sandy, a Pastoral on the Death of Mr. Joseph
Addison. By Allan Ramsay.

[Edinburgh: Printed by Thomas Ruddiman, for
the Author, at the Mercury, opposite Niddry's
Wynd. 1719.]

8vo.

Collation: pp. 1-4, title and text.

Sig.: p. 1, A,

This is written in 'braid Scots'; and it is evidently the first pastoral composed by Ramsay.

Joseph Addison, the subject of it, was the well-known English essayist and poet, who died on June 17th, 1719.

With respect to the present edition, and spurious reprints thereof by Lucky Reid, Edinburgh, and Bernard Lintot, London, a certain amount of information has already been furnished in Chapter VII, (pp. 89-90).

As therein stated, we have failed to trace a copy of the Lucky Reid edition, or a copy of the Bernard Lintot folio edition in which the errors in the Lucky Reid edition were repeated—editions published before Ramsay wrote his petition to the Town-Council of Edinburgh in 1719.

But we are enabled to give, in our notes to No. 25, a few facts regarding the pastoral and other pieces included in an octavo edition published by Lintot in 1720.

NUMBER 19.

Familiar Epistles between W———H——— and A———
R———.

[Edinburgh: Printed by Thomas Ruddiman, for
Allan Ramsay, at the Mercury, opposite Nid-
dry's Wynd. 1719.]

Svo.

Collation: pp. 1-24, text.

Sig.: p. 1, A - p. 19, C2.

This edition consists of three epistles from Lieutenant William Hamilton, of Gilbertfield, near Glasgow, to Allan Ramsay, and three answers thereto.

They were written between June 28th and September 2nd, 1719; and the two poets had, it seems to us, been previously personally unacquainted with each other, for in a "Postscript" to *Epistle I.* Hamilton says to Ramsay:

"By this my Postscript I incline
To let you ken my hail Design,
Of sic a lang imperfect Line,
Lyes in this Sentence,
To cultivate my dull Ingine
By your Acquaintance."

Yet Mr. Oliphant Smeaton, in his *Allan Ramsay*, says: "Tradition has stated that Hamilton of Gilbertfield was also one of the 'Easy fellows,' as they dubbed themselves, [that is, the members of the Easy Club], but no confirmation of this fact could be discovered." And later on therein he says that the government of the Elector of Hanover directed the suppression of the Easy Club—meaning years before Hamilton wrote his first epistle to Ramsay.

But, quite apart from this, the present edition was not published until after September 2nd, 1719; and in the third epistle from Hamilton to Ramsay, dated "Gilbertfield, August 24th, 1719," he refers to *Lucky Spence's Last Advice*, which shows that the piece had been known to him before that date, whether he had read it as it stood alone in the edition which we date 1718, or in the collection (No. 13), which we date 1719, for Ramsay obviously had not sent the piece to him in manuscript.

NUMBER 20.

Familiar Epistles between W———H——— and A———
R———.

[Edinburgh: Printed by Thomas Ruddiman, for
Allan Ramsay, at the Mercury, opposite Nid-
dry's Wynd. 1719.]

8vo.

Collation: pp. 1-24, text.

Sig.: p. 1, A - p. 19, C2.

This is a reprint of No. 19, with the addition of the following stanza in *Answer I*:—

"Before a Lord and eek a Knight,
In Gossy Don's be Candle Light,
There first I saw't, and ca't it right,
And the maist feck
Wha's seen't sinsyne, they ca't as tight
As that on Heck."

NUMBER 21.

An Epistle to W———H———, on the receiving the Compliment of a Barrel of Loch-Fyne Herrings from him 19th December, 1719. [By Allan Ramsay].

[Edinburgh: Printed by Thomas Ruddiman, for the Author, at the Mercury, opposite Niddry's Wynd. 1719.]

8vo.

Collation: pp. 25-28, text, (subscribed "Sir, Yours, &c., A.R.")

Evidently this piece was paged 25-28 in order that it should be added to No. 20, which ends at page 24.

NUMBER 22.

Prologue. Spoke by one of the young Gentlemen, who, for their Improvement and Diversion, acted *The Orphan*, and *Cheats of Scapin*, the last Night of the Year 1719. [By Allan Ramsay.]

[Edinburgh: Printed by Thomas Ruddiman, for the Author, at the Mercury, opposite Niddry's Wynd. 1720.]

8vo.

Collation: pp. 1-2, text, (unsigned).

This edition was, as we show, printed on both sides of a small sheet; and it is the first two-page edition that is known to us to have been issued by Ramsay.

NUMBER 23.

Bessy Bell and Mary Gray. [By Allan Ramsay].

[Edinburgh: Printed by Thomas Ruddiman, for the Author, at the Mercury, opposite Niddry's Wynd. 1720].

8vo.

Collation: pp. 26-25, text, (unsigned).

If we are correct in the belief expressed in our notes to No. 15, (p. 124), regarding *The Young Laird and Edinburgh*

Katy and *Katy's Answer*, we must surely be correct in thinking that this edition, the pagination of which should have been 25-26, was also intended by Ramsay, at the time of printing, to be added to the second edition of *Scots Songs*, (No. 15), issued in 1719.

Copies of the present edition were used in helping to make up the first octavo edition of Ramsay's collected poems published in 1720,—see No. 35, (p. 140)—and, to our mind, this is clear enough proof that the song had already been published separately, as above recorded.

But we possess a copy of a single-sheet edition of *Bessy Bell and Mary Gray* that is quarto in size.

That copy, which is likewise without Ramsay's name, is free from typographical errors, whereby it differs materially from Lucky Reid's illegitimate reprint in 1719 of Ramsay's pastoral of *Richy and Sandy*.

Even so, we firmly believe that the single-sheet edition of which it is a copy was not published by Ramsay.

NUMBER 24.

The Scriblers Lash'd. By Allan Ramsay.

You write Pindaricks ! and be d——n'd,
 Write Epigrams for Cutlers ;
 None with thy Nonsense will be sham'd,
 But Chamber Maids, and Butlers.
 In t'other World expect dry Blows,
 No Tears shall wipe thy Stains out :
 Horace shall pluck thee by the Nose,
 And Pindar beat thy Brains out.

T. Brown to D'Urfy.

The Second Edition.

Edinburgh : Printed [by Thomas Ruddiman], for
 the Author at the Mercury, opposite to Niddry's-
 Wynd, 1720.

8vo.

Collation : p. [i] title-*verso* blank ; pp. 3-12, text.

Sig. : p. 3, A-p. 9, B.

Although we cannot say by whom the first edition, (No. 11), was printed, we are quite sure that the present edition was printed by Ruddiman.

NUMBER 25.

An Explanation of Richy and Sandy. By Mr. Burchet.
[To Mr. Allan Ramsay, on his Richy and Sandy. By
Mr. Burchet.] [To Josiah Burchet Esq. By Allan
Ramsay.]

[Edinburgh : Printed by Thomas Ruddiman, for the
Author of Richy and Sandy, at the Mercury,
opposite Niddry's Wynd. 1720].

8vo.

Collation : pp. 5-8, "An Explanation of Richy and Sandy.
By Mr. Burchet"; pp. 9-10, poetical epistle, "To Mr. Allan
Ramsay, on his Richy and Sandy. By Mr. Burchet";
pp. 11-12, poetical epistle, "To Josiah Burchet Esqr."
(signed "A. Ramsay.")

Sig. : p. 5, A 3.

The pagination and signature indicate that Ramsay meant
this edition to be added to his *Richy and Sandy*—No. 18,
(p. 125).

In our notes to No. 18 we referred to an octavo edition
published by Lintot in 1720.

That edition is a collection of writings by various authors ;
and its title-page reads thus : "Eloisa to Abelard. Written
by Mr. Pope. The Second Edition. London. Printed for
Bernard Lintot, at the Cross-Keys between the Temple-Gates
in Fleet Street. MDCCXX."

Included in the collection are the items named in the
following :—

On the even-numbered pages 54 to 62 : "Richy and
Sandy, a Pastoral on the Death of Mr. Joseph
Addison. By Allan Ramsey." This is a reprint
of No. 18.

On the odd-numbered pages 55 to 63 : "An Explana-
tion of Richy and Sandy. By Mr. Burchet."
This is a reprint of the first item in the present
edition.

On page 64, unnumbered : "To Mr. Allan Ramsey
on his Richy and Sandy. By Mr. Burchet."
This is a reprint of the second item in the present
edition.

The Mr. Burchet, in question was, of course, Josiah Burchett,

who, shortly after the publication of *Richy and Sandy* in 1719, sent to Ramsay his poetical epistle of one hundred and two lines which we quoted from in Chapter V.

We may also say that the *Explanation of Richy and Sandy* was subjoined to Ramsay's pastoral in the quarto edition of 1721.

NUMBER 26.

Patie and Roger: A Pastoral inscribed to Josiah Burchet, Esq., Secretary of the Admiralty. [By Allan Ramsay]. [Edinburgh: Printed by Thomas Ruddiman, for the Author, at the Mercury, opposite Niddry's Wynd. 1720.]

8vo.

Collation: p. 1, title (as above); pp. 1-3, inscription in verse (the last stanza ending with "Devouted Allan"); pp. 4-12, title and text of pastoral (unsigned).

Sig.: p. 1, A - p. 9, B.

In Chapter V, (p. 69) we stated that which evidently led to Ramsay's inscribing *Patie and Roger* to Burchett; and further stated: "This delightful pastoral—which came in time to form the first scene in *The Gentle Shepherd*—was, after being sent, as we believe, to Burchett in manuscript, published by Ramsay in 1720, without a title-page, without a date, and even without his name to it."

The edition referred to is the one above recorded; and a copy of it, the same as our copy, is entered thus in the catalogue of the National Library of Scotland: "Patie and Roger: a pastoral. (No title-page). 8vo. n.p.n.d."

In Chapter VI., however, we quoted (p. 76), the unsupported statement made by Lord Woodhouselee, in 1800, that Ramsay published the poem in single-sheet form, and with the title of *A Pastoral Dialogue between Patie and Roger*; and we therein also quoted the statements made by various later writers, without proof of any kind, that he published the work with that identical title in the form of a broadside; indeed, one of those writers goes so far as to state that it was "published in a single sheet in 1718."

Certainly we ourselves have never seen a copy of the pas-

toral with such a title in "single-sheet" form; and if we were to see one, we would not believe without absolute proof that it had been published by Ramsay.

But we are fortunately able to furnish, from a copy in our possession, many particulars of a London pamphlet edition, published in 1720.

The title-page of that edition reads thus:—"Patie and Roger: a Pastoral, by Mr. Allan Ramsay, in the Scots Dialect. To which is added, An Imitation of the Scotch Pastoral: By Josiah Burchett, Esq. [Motto in Latin]. London; Printed for J. Pemberton at the Buck against St. Dunstan's Church in Fleetstreet, and T. Jauncy at the Angel without Temple-Bar. M.DCC.XX. (Price Six Pence.)"

Our collation of the edition is as follows:—title, p. [1]—*verso*-blank; "Preface" (signed "G. Sewell"), pp. iii-vii—*verso* of last page blank; text, pp. 2-23, the *recto* of p. 2 being blank, and the *verso* of p. 23 containing a trade advertisement.

Ramsay's *Patie and Roger* (signed "Allan Ramsay" and dated "Edinburgh, March 26, 1720"), appears on the even-numbered pages 2 to 22; and Burchett's imitation of it appears on the odd-numbered pages 3 to 23.

The "Preface" is too long for us to reproduce in full; but we quote from it the following:—"Mr. Ramsay, having advertised, that he designs speedily to publish all his Works by Subscription, it will be necessary that the Reader should know that there is no Injury done, or Offence given to the Author, by the following Poem, which appears under his Name. The Gentleman, to whom it was sent, and who honour'd it with an Imitation, is too much his Friend to suffer anything to come abroad, that should either lessen the Poet's Interest, or hurt his Reputation."

"The View of this Publication, is really to bespeak the favour of the Reader to the *Scot's Poet's* larger Volume; as no doubt it will, when he finds in how many different ways he excels."

"The following poem, if I am not mistaken, (for I set up for no Critic), is a true and just Pastoral, abounding with those Beauties, which are either requir'd, or are to be found, in the best-esteem'd Pastorals.

"The *Scotticisms*, which perhaps may offend some overnice

Ear, give new Life and Grace to the Poetry, and become their Places as well as the *Doric* Dialect of *Theocritus*, so much admired by the best Judges. When I mention that Tongue, I bewail my own little Knowledge of it, since I meet with so many Words and Phrases so expressive of the Ideas they are intended to represent. A small Acquaintance with that Language, and our old *English* poets, will convince any Man, that we spend too much time in looking abroad for trifling Delicacies, when we may be treated at home with a more substantial, as well as a more elegant Entertainment."

Now, the last two paragraphs of the matter here transcribed by us are just those quoted by Ramsay, with the following introductory words of his own, in the preface to the quarto edition of his collected poems published in 1721:—"I cannot here omit a Paragraph or two of a Preface wrote by the learned Dr. Sewel to a London edition of one of my Pastorals, after he had said some Things very handsomely in my Favour. In behalf of our Language he expresses himself thus."

And neither Ramsay's edition of 1720, nor any other edition of his, gives even the date of composition of *Patie and Roger*.

But, as we stated in Chapter V, we judge that it was before the close of 1719 that Burchett wrote to Ramsay his poetical epistle beginning with the words "Hail Northern Bard! thou Fav'rite of the Nine."

Moreover, we conclude that it was shortly after the receipt of that epistle that Ramsay engaged himself in composing *Patie and Roger*; that he then resolved to inscribe the pastoral to Burchett, in return for all that gentleman's kindness to him; and that, when *Patie and Roger* was finished, he sent to Burchett the manuscript of it, signed "Allan Ramsay," and dated "Edinburgh, March 26, 1720," seeing that the pastoral is so signed and dated in the London edition which we have above described.

In the said London edition the trade advertisement on the *verso* of page 25 reads thus: "Just Published, wrote by Mr. Allan Ramsay, Wealth or the Woody: A Poem on the South-Sea. To which is prefix'd a Familiar Epistle to Anthony Hammond, Esq. By a Friend. The Second Edition Corrected. Price Six Pence."

Well, in the first place, Ramsay wrote *Wealth or The Woody* in June 1720, and at once published it—see No. 28, page 135.

In the second place, the *Familiar Epistle to Anthony Hammond Esq.* prefixed to the London edition of *Wealth or the Woody*, was immediately reprinted by Ramsay, with the text dated “London July 1720”—see No. 29, page 136.

In the third place the advertisement annexed to the London edition of *Patie and Roger*, and Burchett's *Imitation of the Scotch Pastoral*, proves that that edition was not published until after the publication of the London edition of *Wealth or The Woody*.

In the fourth place, the version of *Patie and Roger* in the London edition was, we believe, printed from the manuscript which Ramsay had sent to Burchett on “March 20, 1720.” But it was not printed until after July 1720.

In the fifth place, the version of *Patie and Roger* first published by Ramsay, as above recorded, is a revised version of the version which he had sent to Burchett in manuscript; and it was, we think, published about April 1720.

Moreover, the revised version published by Ramsay differs somewhat in phrasing, &c., from the version afterwards published at London, with Burchett's imitation of it, the former even containing six lines that are not in the latter—two in one place and four in another.

NUMBER 27.

Edinburgh's Salutation to the Most Honourable, My Lord
Marquess of Carnarvon. [By Allan Ramsay].

[Edinburgh: Printed by Thomas Ruddiman, for
the Author, at the Mercury, opposite Niddry's
Wynd. 1720.]

8vo.

Collation: pp. 1-4, text, (signed “A. Ramsay,” and dated
“Edin. 17 May, 1720.”)

Sig.: p. 1. A.

This poem is erroneously titled *The City of Edinburgh's Salutation to the Marquis of Carnarvon* in the Cadell and Davies edition, (Vol. I p. 47); in all the reprints thereof; and

in *Lives of Illustrious and Distinguished Scotsmen*, (Vol. IV, p. 129).

NUMBER 28.

Wealth, or The Woody. [By Allan Ramsay.]

[Edinburgh: Printed by Thomas Ruddiman, for the Author, at the Mercury, opposite Niddry's Wynd. 1720.]

Svo.

Collation: pp. 1-8, text, (signed "A. Ramsay.")

This work is partly in 'braid Scots'; and it is given under the following heading in the quarto edition of 1721:—"Wealth, or the Woody. A Poem on the South-Sea. Wrote June 1720."

But "Wrote June 1720" is omitted by Mr. Chalmers in the Cadell and Davies edition, wherein the piece is undated.

Besides, Mr. Oliphant Smeaton states as we showed in Chapter VI, that *Wealth, or The Woody* was written in English, and first printed in the quarto edition of 1721.

The present edition was, however, published in 1720, as is proved by a copy of a London reprint in the Mitchell Library, Glasgow, which we describe in the following:—

Title, "A Poem on the South-Sea. By Mr. Alexander Ramsay. To which is Prefix'd, a Familiar Epistle to Anthony Hammond, Esq. By a Friend. London; Printed for T. Jauncy at the Angel without Temple-Bar. M.DCC.XX. (Price Sixpence)," p. [1]-*verso* blank.

"An Epistle to Anthony Hammond, Esq. With the following Poem. By a Friend," pp. 3-8

Title, "Wealth: or The Woody. [Mottoes]. By Mr. Alexander Ramsay. Printed at Edinburgh, and Reprinted at London, 1720", p. [9]-*verso* blank.

Text, (signed "A. Ramsay"), pp. 11-23.

Trade List of books sold by Jauncy, p. [24].

Moreover, owing to the error twice made in giving Ramsay's Christian name as Alexander in the London edition, and for

other reasons, a reprint of it, with corrections and additions, was published immediately, as is proved by a copy thereof in our possession, with the title-page reading thus: "Wealth, or the Woody: A Poem on the South-Sea. By Mr. Allan Ramsay. To which is Prefixed, A Familiar Epistle to Anthony Hammond Esq. By Mr. Sewell. The Second Edition Corrected. London; Printed for T. Jauncey at the Angel without Temple-Bar. M.DCC.XX. (Price Six-pence.)"

The "Familiar Epistle to Anthony Hammond Esq.," by Mr. Sewell, was at once reprinted by Ramsay, when it was given as being by *Dr. Sewell*, and dated, at the end, "London, July, 1720"—see No. 29.

One of the additions is an epistle "To Mr. Allan Ramsay", initialled "C. B.," and, with the signature "C. Bellingham", it ultimately became the third in order of the four commendatory poems prefixed to the quarto edition of 1721.

NUMBER 29.

An Epistle to Anthony Hammond, Esq., with the foregoing Poem. By Dr. Sewell.

[Edinburgh: Printed by Thomas Ruddiman, for Allan Ramsay, at the Mercury, opposite Niddry's Wynd. 1720.]

8vo.

Collation: pp. 9-12, text (dated "London, July 1720.")

This is a reprint of the epistle prefixed to the London edition of *Wealth, or The Woody*, as shown in our notes to No. 28.

We give the reprint a place here because it was paged by Ramsay so as to make it an addition to No. 28.

NUMBER 30.

The Morning Interview. An Heroi—Comical Poem. [Edinburgh's Address to the Country. Written beneath the Historical Print of the wonderful Preservation of Mr. David Bruce and others, his School-fellows, St. Andrews 19th August, 1710]. By Allan Ramsay.

Edinburgh, Printed [by William Adams, Junior,] for the Author, at the Mercury, opposite to Niddry's Wynd. MDCCXX.

8vo.

Collation : p. [1], title, - verso blank ; pp. 3-24, text.
 Sig. : p. [1], [A] - p. 19, C2.

The first and second pieces in this edition were reprinted from No. 12.

Regarding the third piece, we stated in Chapter II that "the historical print could not have been produced until a little time had elapsed after the date of the event which it commemorated," and that "the ode may therefore be said to have been written about the end of 1710 or the beginning of 1711."

But in his *Allan Ramsay*, Mr. Smeaton asserts (p. 46), that "that poetical 'Essay' of his, [Ramsay's], which stands first in the chronological order of composition, though not of publication," is "*the Elegy on Maggy Johnston*, who died anno. 1711."

And therein he further asserts the following (p. 49):—"The next pieces, [after the piece addressed to 'The Most Happy Members of the Easy Club'], which our poet read to his patrons, [of the Easy Club], were two he had written some time previous—to wit, a little Ode on the preservation from death by drowning of the son of his friend John Bruce on August 19, 1710 ; and the *Elegy on Maggy Johnston*, the ale-wife, to which reference has already been made. The first of these bears evident traces of youth and inexperience in both the esoteric and exoteric or technical mysteries of his art . . . Little promise was visible in that piece of future excellence, yet within eighteen months he had written the *Elegy on Maggy Johnston*, to which the critics of the Easy Club gave unstinted praise."

Mr. Smeaton therefore asserts that the *Elegy on Maggy Johnston* stands first in the chronological order of composition, and immediately contradicts himself by asserting that the elegy was written eighteen months after the ode was written.

We must, however, take notice of Mr. Smeaton's other assertions.

In the first place, the piece referred to by Mr. Smeaton as having been presented by Ramsay to the members of the Easy Club was the song beginning with the words "Were I but a Prince or King," and it was not presented until June

27th, 1712, as we proved in Chapter IV. Therein, too, we proved the inaccuracy of the assertion made by Mr. Smeaton, that the members of the Easy Club printed and published the piece at their own expense.

In the second place, Ramsay obviously did not produce the elegy on Maggy Johnston in the "familiar society" of the Easy Club, as asserted by Mr. Chalmers; and if the critics of the Easy Club had given the elegy "unstinted praise," as asserted by Mr. Smeaton, the fact would have been recorded in the minutes of the Club.

In the third place, it is impossible to believe that Ramsay also read the ode to his patrons of the Easy Club, as asserted by Mr. Smeaton—an ode which must have been written more than a year before the Club was created, and which is not referred to in any one of the Club minutes.

NUMBER 31.

[Elegies on Maggy Johnston, John Cowper, and Lucky Wood.

Lucky Spence's Last Advice.] [By Allan Ramsay.]

[Edinburgh: Printed by Thomas Ruddiman, for the Author, at the Mercury, opposite Niddry's Wynd. 1720.]

8vo.

Collation: pp. 25-40, text, (unsigned).

Sig.: p. 25, [D]—p. 33, E.

This is a reprint of No. 13 (p. 123), with a different pagination.

NUMBER 32.

[Tartana: Or the Plaid] [By Allan Ramsay.]

[Edinburgh; Printed by Thomas Ruddiman, for the Author, at the Mercury, opposite Niddry's Wynd. 1720.]

8vo.

Collation: p. [41], dedication, "To the Most Beautiful Scots Ladies, this Poem on the Plaid, is humbly dedicated by,

may it please your Ladyships, your devoted Servant, Allan Ramsay"—*verso* blank; pp. 43-62, text; pp. 63-64, poem, "To the Author of *Tartana*: Or the *Plaid*".

Sig.: p. [41], [F]—p. 51, G2; p. 57, G; p. 59, G2.

This is a reprint of No. 14, (p. 124), with a dedication, as above, instead of a title-page; with the poem *To the Author of Tartana or the Plaid* placed after instead of before the text; with a motto in Latin from Horace introduced between the title and the text on p. 43; with the lines of the *Epilogue* made to form the last ten lines of *Tartana*; and with the text changed throughout from English into 'braid Scots' by the alteration of *who* into *wha*, *long* into *lang*, *etcetera*, as illustrated in our notes to No. 7, (p. 117), wherein we stated that in all later editions than the present edition the rendering of the poem was in English.

NUMBER 33.

Scots Songs. By Allan Ramsay.

Edinburgh: Printed [by Thomas Ruddiman] for the Author at the Mercury, opposite to Niddry's-Wynd, 1720.

Svo.

Collation: p. [65], title-*verso* blank; pp. 67-88, text, (signed "A.R.")

Sig.: p. 67, H—p. 81, K.

This is a reprint of the ten items in No. 15, (p. 124), with the addition of the two following songs by Ramsay:—

'The Young Laird and Edinburgh Katy', pp. 85-86.

'Katy's Answer,' pp. 87-88.

In our opinion, these two songs were reprinted in the present edition from the edition believed by us to have been printed with the pagination 21 to 24, and with the signature "A.R.," as stated in the latter part of our notes to No. 15; and we also think that Ramsay omitted, by a pure overlook, to leave out his initials "A.R." at the foot of the last page in the present edition, in which they are quite superfluous, seeing that his name is on the title-page.

NUMBER 34.

Christ's Kirk on the Green, in Three Cantos. [Motto in Greek characters.] [Canto I by King James I. Cantos II and III by Allan Ramsay.]

Edinburgh: Printed [by Thomas Ruddiman] for the Author [of the Second and Third Cantos], at the Mercury, opposite to Niddry's Wynd, 1720.

8vo.

Collation: p. [89] title, *-verso* blank; pp. [91-92], "Advertisement"; pp. 93-119, text; p. 111, "Index".

Sig.: p. [89], [A]—p. 113, D.

This is a reprint of No. 10, (p. 119), with a different pagination.

The "Index" should, of course, have been paged 120.

NUMBER 35.

Poems. By Allan Ramsay.

Edinburgh: Printed [by Thomas Ruddiman], for the Author at the Mercury, opposite to Niddry's Wynd, 1720.

8vo.

We have now reached the first octavo edition of Ramsay's collected poems—an edition which, ranking before the quarto edition of 1721 in point of time, appears to have been quite unknown to those biographers of Ramsay, and editors of his writings, whose various statements we quoted in Part I.

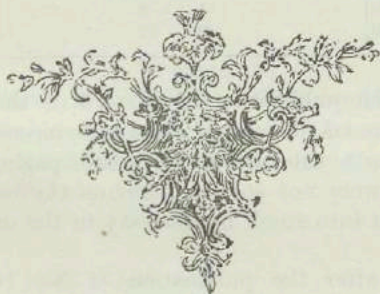
It is therefore all the more necessary for us to give a somewhat full account of a copy in our possession; and to state a number of things in connection therewith, whereby the facts regarding an edition which marks a striking new departure on the part of Ramsay may be clearly apprehended.

The *verso* of the title-page is blank.

Pages [iii]-viii contain an epistle *To Mr. Allan Ramsay, on his Poetical Works*, signed "J. Burchet"; and it is worthy of note that this epistle, beginning with the words "Hail Northern Bard! thou Fav'rite of the Nine", was prefixed to the first octavo edition before it appeared as the first in order of the four commendatory poems prefixed to the quarto edition of 1721.

POEMS.

By ALLAN RAMSAY.



EDINBURGH:
Printed for the AUTHOR at the Mercury,
opposite to Niddry's-Wynd, 1720.

The text is made up of copies of seventeen of the editions already recorded in our present Part, as denoted in the following table.

No.	Date.	Copies of editions in the Gibson copy of the first octavo edition, dated 1720.	Reference to these editions in Part II.	
			No.	Page.
1	1720	[1]— 24	30	136
2	[1720]	25 — 40	31	138
3	[1720]	[41]— 64	32	138
4	1720	[65]— 88	33	139
5	1720	[89]—111	34	140
6	1720	[1]— 12	24	129
7	1719	[1]— 28	17	125
8	[1719]	1 — 4	18	125
9	[1720]	5 — 12	25	130
10	[1719]	1 — 24	20	127
11	[1719]	25 — 28	21	128
12	[1720]	1 — 2	22	128
13	[1720]	26 — 25	23	128
14	[1720]	1 — 12	26	131
15	[1720]	1 — 4	27	134
16	[1720]	1 — 8	28	135
17	[1720]	9 — 12	29	136

Until after the publication of No. 16 of the table, the separate editions of Ramsay's detached pieces were each printed with, as a rule, an independent pagination; and such copies as were not sold as soon as the editions were printed were put into stock by Ramsay in the ordinary way of business.

Immediately after the publication of No. 16, however, Ramsay decided to publish a collected edition of his poems, and this decision soon resulted in the publication of the octavo edition above recorded.

But by the time Ramsay so decided, stock copies of some of the editions of the detached pieces had been sold out, whereby reprints of those editions were rendered necessary, in order to enable him to use copies thereof in forming a portion of the projected octavo edition. The editions then reprinted were paged so as to make the pagination of the octavo edition consecutive-down to the end of No. 5 of our table.

Furthermore, the octavo edition must have been published about August, 1720, seeing that "*Wealth, or The Woody*"

(No. 28, p. 135), was written in "June 1720," and that the dedication prefixed to *The Prospect of Plenty* (No. 38, p. 144), is dated "Edinburgh 18 October 1720"—indeed, in the quarto edition of 1721 *The Prospect of Plenty* is dated "September 1720."

In other words, we reason that the first octavo edition was published about August, 1720, because our copy of it includes *Wealth, or The Woody*, which is dated June, 1720, and does not include *The Prospect of Plenty*, which was not produced before September or October, 1720.

Our copy of the octavo edition, which we call the Gibson copy, in order to prevent the possibility of any confusion, was rebound by a former owner, but had been sold by Ramsay stitched in a bluish paper cover, for each leaf, from the title-leaf to the last leaf, has two almost invisible perforations where the needle with the stitching had passed through, and there are tiny fragments of the paper cover still adhering to the left edge of the first page and the right edge of the last page, thereby affording sufficient proof, we think, that the copy is complete as it stands.

NUMBER 36.

Familiar Epistles between W—H—and A—R—.

[Edinburgh: Printed by Thomas Ruddiman, for the Author, at the Mercury, opposite Niddry's Wynd. 1720.]

8vo.

Collation: pp. 173-196, text.

Sig.: p. 173, A—p. 191, C2.

This is a reprint of No. 20, (p. 127), with a different pagination.

NUMBER 37.

Patie and Roger: A Pastoral Inscríb'd to Josiah Burchet, Esq., Secretary of the Admiralty. [By Allan Ramsay].

[Edinburgh: Printed by Thomas Ruddiman, for the Author, at the Mercury, opposite Niddry's Wynd. 1720.]

8vo.

Collation : p. 200, title (as above) ; pp. 200-202, text of inscription ; pp. 203-211, title and text of pastoral.
 Sig. : A, p. 200 - B, p. 208.

This is a reprint of No. 26 (p. 131), with a different pagination, which should, however, have been 201 to 212.

NUMBER 38.

[The Prospect of Plenty : A Poem on the North Sea.] [By Allan Ramsay.]

[Edinburgh : Printed by Thomas Ruddiman, for the Author, at the Mercury, opposite Niddry's Wynd. 1720.]

Svo.

Collation : p. 1, inscription, "To the Royal Burrows of Scotland, the following Poem is humbly dedicated, by Allan Ramsay. Edinburgh, 18 October, 1720"—*verso* blank pp. 3-16, text.

Sig. : p. 1, [A]—p. 11, B2.

This is the first edition of the work—which is dated "September 1720" in the quarto edition of 1721, (p. 259).

Ramsay evidently forgot to make the pagination such as would be in accordance with his general purpose, he having already resolved to publish a second octavo edition of his collected poems apparently at a near date. See, however, the pagination of No. 39.

The piece is dated 1721 in the Cadell and Davies edition.

But we possess a copy of a 1720 London reprint of the present edition ; and some particulars of it are furnished in the following.

The titlepage reads thus : "The Prospect of Plenty : A Poem on the North-Sea Fishery. To which is added, An Explanation of the Scotch Words used in this Poem. Inscribed to the Royal Burrows of Scotland. By Mr. Allan Ramsay. London, Printed for T. Jauncy, at the Angel without Temple-Bar. 1720. (Price Sixpence)"

Our collation is as follows :—"The Prospect of Plenty : a Poem on the North-Sea Fishery," on *recto* of flyleaf ; ad-

vertisement on *verso* of flyleaf; title, as above, p. [i]—*verso* blank; text, pp. 1—21; "An Explanation of the Scots Words used in this Poem," pp. 22-24.

The advertisement is in these words: "Just Published, Proposals for Printing by Subscription, the Poetical Works of Mr. Allan Ramsay of Edinburgh; many of which were never before published..

"I. To be beautifully printed in one Volume in large Quarto, on fine Paper and with a new Letter, with Notes at the bottom of each page, explaining the Scotch Phrases; and at the End, a compleat Glossary of all the Scotch Words made use of in this Work.

"II. The Price to Subscribers will be a Guinea, Half of which to be paid down, and the other Half upon the Delivery of a perfect Book in Sheets.

"III. The Names of the Subscribers will be printed before the Work, which the Author proposes to deliver in February next. The Gentlemen who shall be pleased to encourage this Work, are desired to be speedy in sending in their Names, with their first Payments to T. Jauncy, at the Angel without Temple-Bar, of whom Proposals at large may be had *gratis*."

NUMBER 39.

[The Prospect of Plenty: A Poem on the North Sea.] [By Allan Ramsay.]

[Edinburgh: Printed by Thomas Ruddiman, for the Author, at the Mercury, opposite Niddry's Wynd. 1720].

8vo.

Collation: p. 229, inscription, "To the Royal Burrows of Scotland, the following Poem is humbly dedicated, by Allan Ramsay, Edinburgh, 18 October, 1720"—*verso* blank; pp. 231-244, text.

Sig.: p. 229, [A]—p. 239, B2.

This is a reprint of No. 38, with a different pagination.

In making up another copy, (No. 41), of the first octavo edition of his collected poems, (No. 35), with additions, Ramsay used pages 229-236 of the present edition and pp. 9-16 of the first edition, (No. 38), whereas, instead of the latter, he should have used pages 237 to 244 of the present edition.

NUMBER 40.

Scots Songs, viz. Mary Scot. Wine and Musick. Oe'r Bogie.
Oe'r the Moor to Maggy. I'll never leave thee. Polwart
on the Green. John Hay's bonny Lassie. Genty Tibby,
and sonsy Nelly. Up in the Air. [By Allan Ramsay.]

Edinburgh: Printed [by Thomas Ruddiman.], for
the Author at the Mercury, opposite to Niddry's
Wynd; and sold by T. Jauncy at the Angel,
without Temple-Bar, London. [1720.]

Svo.

Collation: p. [243], title-*verso* blank; p. 245, "Spoken to
Mrs. N.", (eight lines of verse); pp. 246-260, text of songs,
(with "A D—" at the bottom of p. 260); "Advertisement",
p. 245.

Sig.: p. 245, A—p. 255, B2.

This is the first edition of an entirely new collection of songs
by Ramsay; and some remarks regarding it were made in
Chapter V, (pp. 71-72).

The edition was paged as here shown in order that a certain
number of the copies printed should be reserved by Ramsay
to form a portion of the intended second edition of his collected
poems with a consecutive pagination.

The words on page 245, before the first page of the text of
the songs, are these:—

"Spoken to Mrs. N.

A Poem wrote without a Thought,
By Notes may to a Song be brought,
Tho Wit be scarce, low the Design,
And Numbers lame in every Line:
But when fair Christy this shall sing
In Consort with the trembling String,
O then the Poet's often prais'd,
For Charms so sweet a Voice hath rais'd.

The "Advertisement," on another page, which also is
numbered 245, reads as follows:—"New Letter, fine Demi and
Royal Paper, and all other Materials, being got ready, for
printing a beautiful large Volume of the Author's POEMS;
'tis desir'd that all Gentlemen and Ladies (who from
Abundance of Good Humour incline to honour his List of
SUBSCRIBERS, who are to stand in the Front of the WORK)

would please to demand their Receipts from him in *Edinburgh*, or *Thomas Jauncy*, at the ANGEL, without Temple-Bar, *London*.

“ And if I raise my Hundreds, ten,
 I'll shew that BARDS like other Men
 May in this World make a Fen,
 Not fated a' to starve in't :
 Then Nymphs and Swains haste to my Leet.
 I'll brisker look, and sing mair sweet,
 When you have set upon his Feet
 Your most devoted Servant,
 ALLAN RAMSAY ”

The “ Advertisement ” is wanting in our copy ; and it is here quoted from a copy of the same edition of *Scots Songs* contained in a copy of the first octavo edition of Ramsay's collected poems, (made up later than the Gibson copy) which was lent to us for inspection, many years ago, by our friend the late Mr. John Glen, Edinburgh.

NUMBER 41.

Poems. By Allan Ramsay.
 Edinburgh : Printed [by Thomas Ruddiman], for
 the Author at the Mercury, opposite to Nid-
 dry's-Wynd, 1720.
 8vo.

When Ramsay arranged for the printing of the first octavo edition of his collected poems (No. 35) he had it in view to produce, later on, a second octavo edition, with a pagination that would be consecutive down to the end of the last piece that it might include ; and the manner in which he acted towards the accomplishment of his purpose will now be evidenced by the facts that are furnished in the copy of the first octavo edition referred to in the last note to No. 40—a copy which we call the Glen copy, in order to distinguish it from other copies.

The first portion of the Glen copy is a stock copy of the first portion of the first octavo edition, containing the title p. [i]-*verso* blank, and Burchett's epistle “ To Mr. Allan Ramsay, on his Poetical Works,” pp. [iii]—viii.

The text consists of full copies of nineteen of the editions recorded in the present Part, as denoted in the following table, which shows how far the Glen copy is the same as the Gibson copy, and how far the former differs from the latter.

Copies of editions in the Glen copy of the first octavo edition dated 1720.			Reference to these editions in Part II.		Explanatory Notes.
No.	Date	Pagination	No.	Page	
1	1720	[1]—24	30	136	The same as in the Gibson copy of the first octavo edition.
2	[1720]	25—40	31	138	
3	[1720]	[41]—64	32	138	
4	1720	[65]—88	33	139	
5	1720	[89]—111	34	140	
6	1720	[1]—12	24	129	
7	1719	[1]—28	17	125	
8	[1719]	1—4	18	125	
9	[1720]	5—12	25	130	
10	[1720]	173—196	36	143	A reprint of No. 20 (pp. 1—24).
11	[1719]	25—28	21	128	The same as in the Gibson copy of the first octavo edition.
12	[1720]	1—2	22	128	
13	[1720]	26—25	23	128	
14	[1720]	200—211	37	143	A reprint of No. 26 (pp. 1—12).
15	[1720]	1—4	27	134	The same as in the Gibson copy of the first octavo edition.
16	[1720]	1—8	28	135	
17	[1720]	9—12	29	136	
18	[1720]	{ 229—236 9—16 }	39	145	Copies of editions of new compositions.
19	[1720]	[243]—260	40	146	

But this does not exhaust matters, for it is shown by a copy in our possession, that Ramsay in 1721 published another octavo edition; and we call that copy the Gibson copy of the second octavo edition of Ramsay's collected poems.

The collation of the copy is, roughly, as follows:—title, p. [i.]—*verso* blank; poem, "To Mr. Allan Ramsay on his Poetical Works," signed "J. Burchet"), pp. [iii]—viii; text, pp. [1]—364; "A Glossary, or Explanation of the Scots Words us'd by the Author, which are rarely or never found in the modern English writings," pp. 365—382; table of "Contents," pp. 383—384.

The portion [i]-viii is a stock copy of that which had been printed for the first octavo edition, so that the title-page reads thus: "Poems. By Allan Ramsay. Edinburgh: Printed for the Author at the Mercury, opposite to Niddry's-Wynd, 1720."

The first portion of the text, [i]-260, consists of copies of sixteen of the editions recorded in our present Part, as denoted in the following table:—

No.	Pagination.	Explanatory Notes.
1	[1]—24	A reprint of No. 30. Has title-page with date 1721.
2	25—40	A reprint of No. 31.
3	[41]—64	A reprint of No. 32. Has title-page with date 1721.
4	65—88	A reprint of Nos. 33 and 23.
5	[89]—111	A copy of No. 34.
6	[121]—132	A reprint of No. 24. Has title-page with "The Third Edition" and date 1721.
7	[133]—160	A reprint of No. 17. Has title-page with "The Third Edition" and date 1721.
8	161—164	A reprint of No. 18.
9	165—172	A reprint of No. 25.
10	173—196	A copy of No. 36.
11	197—200	A reprint of No. 21.
12	200—211	A reprint of No. 37.
13	213—216	A reprint of No. 27.
14	217—228	A reprint of No. 28. Pagination runs 217—220, 222, 224, 226, 228.
15	229—244	A copy of No. 39.
16	245—260	A copy of No. 40, minus title-leaf and "Advertisement."

With respect to the rest of the pieces in the text in our copy, on pages 261-364, they were, with two or three exceptions, printed from the quarto edition of 1721.

We have, however, another copy of the second octavo edition, (bearing a stock copy of the first portion, pp. [i]-viii, printed for the first octavo edition); and that copy was made up by Ramsay a little later than the first copy of the second octavo edition, for it contains the following new editions:—

1. A reprint of *Scots Songs*, (first collection), paged 65-88, the same as that in the other copy, but with "A.R.", (the initials of Ramsay), left out at the foot of the last page.

2. A reprint of *Christ's Kirk on the Green*, described on its title-page as being "The Fifth Edition"; dated 1722; and paged [89]-120.

We may further say that we also possess copies of the third octavo edition, the title-page of which reads thus:—"Poems. By Allan Ramsay. [Motto]. The Third Edition. Edinburgh, Printed by Mr. Thomas Ruddiman, for, and sold by the Author, at the Mercury, opposite to the Cross-Well, and by Mr. Taylor at the Ship in Pater-noster-row, London, by Mr. James McEuen in Glasgow, by Martin Bryson in Newcastle, and by Mr. Farquhar in Aberdeen, M.DCC.XXIII."

But one of our copies shows that the first issue of the third octavo edition was, as regards the text, most largely made up of stock copies of pieces the same as those in a copy of the second octavo edition, and partly of reprints of pieces in the latter, *The Scriblers Lash'd* and *Content*, for instance, being dated 1723.

Such, then, is our account of the different copies examined by us; and we trust that the following will be readily accepted as facts which we have now fully established.

1. The first octavo edition of Ramsay's collected poems was published about August, 1720.
2. One copy a little different from the first octavo edition appeared late in 1720.
3. A second octavo edition was published in 1721, after the quarto edition.
4. One copy a little different from the second octavo edition appeared in 1722.
5. Nos. 2, 3 and 4 were each issued with a title-page of the same impression as the title-page of No. 1, dated 1720.

FINIS.

APPENDIX.

THE MS. 'JOURNAL OF THE EASY CLUB.'

With reference to all that is furnished in Chapter IV, we quote as follows, a little more information which we have obtained from our London correspondent :—

“*Extract from Sotheby's Sale Catalogues. Vol. 1077.*
Sale 26th and 27th July, 1907. pp. 51, 52.

- “436. Ramsay (Allan) Journal of the Easy Club, containing the History and Proceedings of that Modern Society, for their first three years. Recorded and written by Mr. George Buchanan, Secretary and Clerk Register to the Club. Revised and approved 1715. The original Manuscript plainly written by Dr. Patrick Abercrombie, on 132 pages.—[Ramsay (Allan)] A Poem to the Memory of the Famous Archibald Pitcairn, M.D. By a Member of the Easy Club, in Edinburghe (*i.e.* Allan Ramsay), First edition, 8 pp. Poem (the preface is signed Gawin Douglas—On this Great Eclipse, a Poem by A(llan R(amsay), Edinburgh, printed by James Watson, one of his Majesty's Printers, and sold at his Shop opposite to the Lucken-booths, 1715, Price one Penny, First edition, 2 ll. Poem (rare). At the bottom is written by the Secretary of the Easy Club, “By Gawin Douglas, Poet Laureat to the Easy Club.”—Poems [Manuscript by Gawin Douglas. written by the Secretary], Poet Laureat to the Easy Club. His 1st Performance Maggie Johnstoun's Elegy, as enlarged and corrected by him, July 30, 1713, (sixteen 5 line verses on four-and-a-half pages).—A Pastorall Epithalamium (3 pp.)—To the Memory of Alexr. Monteith, Chyrurgeon in Edn. who died.—Upon New Mills Manufactory. A Hall being taken to lodge Monstrous Wild beasts, March, 1715—Continuation of ye Verses by Mr. Pope (3 pp.)—A Poem upon Ease. By Gawin Douglas, Poet Lauret to the Easy Club (3 pp.)—Address to the King for ye Dissolution of the Union drawn by G. Buchanan, approved by the Club and ordered to be sent, signed in ye Club, Feb. 9, 1715 (3 pp. Letter)—

Doctor Pitcairn's Welcome to Ellizium (Poem). The original Manuscript, entirely in the handwriting of Allan Ramsay (6 pp.); bound in one Volume, half-calf.

"* * * The "Easy Club" was a reconstruction in 1711, under this name of a former Jacobite organization; the basis now seems to have been literary. The members, it will be remembered, took the names of various celebrities, such as Geo. Buchanan, Gavin Douglas, Blind Harry, L. Beilhaven, Sir William Wallace, Zachary Boyd, Roger L'Estrange, Samuel Colville, Sir David Lindsay, Lord Rapier, Jo. Barclay, Hector Boece, as their patrons; the membership was limited to twelve. Allan Ramsay's pseudonym when he first joined was Isaac Bickerstaff, but he changed it to Gavin Douglas; on the 2nd Feb. 1715, he was made "Poet Laureat to the Easie Club." From these minutes or "Journal," it is not apparent who the members were, but the following five have been identified:—Hepburn of Keith, Professor Pitcairne, Dr. Patrick Abereromie (*i.e.* George Buchanan), Dr. Thomas Ruddiman, James Ross, Allan Ramsay (*i.e.* Gavin Douglas). The above MS. is the complete account of the establishment, meeting, laws and minutes of the club, and contains numerous poems incorporated in it, by Allan Ramsay, and other members of the club."

There is nothing in this, however, to modify, in the slightest degree, any of the statements which we have made in Chapter IV, as to "the creation, composition and character of the Easy Club."

But it is important to note that the volume, when sold at Sotheby's, contained "Doctor Pitcairn's Welcome to Ellizium," seeing that we have stated in Chapter IV (page 60) that the manuscript of the piece is an insertion at the end of the volume.

Indeed, we also find by "American Book-Prices Current" (vol. xii), that "Doctor Pitcairn's Welcome to Ellizium" was in the MS. "Journal of the Easy Club" when the latter was knocked down to a bidder in the course of an auction sale in New York on the 28th and 29th of May, 1906.

