The Construction of Scottishness in James Hogg's *The Queen's Wake*

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ABSTRACT: THE CONSTRUCTION OF SCOTTISHNESS IN JAMES HOGG'S *THE QUEEN'S WAKE*

James Hogg was a Scottish Romantic, born in 1770 at Ettrick Farm in the Scottish Lowlands. Hogg became known as "the Ettrick Shepherd" as he had worked on local farms from the age of six, having had only six months of formal education. He is probably best known for his novel *The Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner*; however, it is his most famous narrative poem, *The Queen's Wake*, that this thesis focuses on.

This poem, published in 1813, is a successful continuation of the traditions of the eighteenth-century revival of Scottish poetry, following such notables as Ramsay, Fergusson and Burns. Near the beginning of *The Queen's Wake*, Hogg explains his desire to preserve traditional Scottish songs, through the persona of the Ettrick Shepherd:

> Alas! Those lays of fire once more
> Are wreck'd 'mid heaps of mouldering lore!
> And feeble he who dares presume
> That heavenly wake-light to relume.
> But grieved the legendary lay
> Should perish from this land for aye,
> While sings the lark above the wold,
> And all his flocks rest in the fold,
> Fondly he strikes, beside the pen,
> The harp of Yarrow's bracken glen. (347-56)

The Queen's Wake is a nationalistic poem celebrating the return of Mary Stuart to Scotland from France in 1561. In the poem Hogg creates a narrative framework in which he sets twelve lays, each sung by a different bard, and hence representative of a different region. The poet contrasts these rugged, hardy Scots with an Italian competitor, Rizzio, "that gay and simpering man" (440). This thesis looks at the way in which Hogg uses images and motifs within his descriptions of these bards, and their regions, and within their lays themselves, to construct a national Scottish identity:

> Not only does Hogg provide appropriate materials for each of the minstrels depending on their regions and backgrounds, but he distinguishes among each singer in character and dress. Each becomes both a type *and* an individual. (Smith 93)

Hogg's twelve minstrels present twelve different points-of-view on the Scottish condition, yet each part is related to the whole through careful repetitions, contrasts, and parallels. Hogg uses various themes such as patriotism, tradition, superstition, nature, fighting and humour throughout *The Queen's Wake* to indicate that the diverse parts presented by the bards contribute to a composite image of Scottishness.

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TEXTUAL NOTE

All references to *The Queen's Wake*, unless otherwise stated, are to the first edition, as reprinted in James Hogg, *The Queen's Wake: A Legendary Poem*, London and Edinburgh: William and Robert Chambers, 1867. References to Hogg's annotations from this edition are denoted in the text by the abbreviation '*QW*.' All other references to *The Queen's Wake* are to a later edition of the poem, as reprinted in William Wallace's collection of Hogg's poetry. The lineation given for quotations from either edition is my own.

INTRODUCTION

James Hogg reached the height of his fame (or notoriety) in the literary circles of 1820s-30s Edinburgh as the "Ettrick Shepherd," drunken and coarse buffoon of Professor John Wilson's "Noctes Ambrosianae," published regularly in *Blackwood's Magazine*. He was supposed to epitomise the bluff vulgarity of the Scottish peasantry.[1] Hogg was at once proud of the fame this brought, and embarrassed by the liberties taken in his name. Of Wilson he writes:

> My friends in general have been of the opinion that he has amused himself and the public too often at my expense; but, except in one instance, which terminated very ill for me, and in which I had no more concern than the man in the moon, I never discerned any evil design on his part, and thought it all excellent sport. At the same time, I must acknowledge, that it was using too much freedom with any author, to print his name in full, to poems, letters, and essays, which he himself never saw. I do not say that he has done this; but either he or someone else has done it many a time. (*Memoir* 49)

Hogg's "Ettrick Shepherd" persona, which enjoyed a circulation as wide as that of *Blackwood's Magazine*, was well known but not particularly accurate. Memoirist William Howitt noted:

> Such was my own opinion, derived from this source, of Hogg, and from prints of him, with wide open mouth and huge straggling teeth, in full

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[1] A physical description written by the prominent editor Samuel Hall, who met him during his triumphant visit to London in 1832, reinforces Hogg's essential Scottishness:

> Up rose a man, hale and hearty as a mountain breeze, fresh as a branch of hill-side heather, with a visage unequivocally Scotch, high cheek bones, a sharp and clear grey eye, an expansive forehead, sandy hair, and with ruddy cheeks, which the late nights and late mornings of a month in London had not yet sallowed. His form was manly and muscular, and his voice strong and gladsome, with a rich Scottish accent, which he probably, on that occasion, rather heightened than depressed. His appearance that evening may be described by one word, and that word purely English. It was HEARTY! (384)

> roars of drunken laughter, that, on meeting him in London, I was quite amazed to find him so smooth, well-looking, and gentlemanly a sort of person. (37)

While he was not strictly the "Ettrick Shepherd" of the "Noctes Ambrosianae," Hogg was indeed a shepherd, born and bred in Ettrick. Hogg's father, Robert Hogg, was also a shepherd who, having saved some money, leased the farms of Ettrick House and Ettrick Hall. At six, Hogg attended classes in the nearby schoolhouse, and was learning to read the Shorter Catechism and the Proverbs of Solomon when his father went bankrupt. Destitute, the Hoggs were forced to send young James into service, shepherding on a neighbouring farm; his half-yearly wages were a ewe lamb and a pair of new shoes. He attended school again in the winter quarter of the following year, after which his formal education was terminated:

> The whole of his career of schooling he computes at about half a year, but says that his old schoolmaster even denied this, declaring that he was never at his school at all! What a stock of education on which to set up as shepherd, farmer, and poet! (Howitt 30)

Apparently unaware of an entry in the Ettrick parish register recording his baptism on the 9th of December 1770, Hogg gives his birth date in his *Memoir of the Author's Life* as the 25th of January, 1772 (4). Hogg convinced himself that he shared Burns's birthday and that belief strengthened his resolve to become a poet.[2] Given his background, such an ambition was rather extraordinary:

> Every day I pondered on the genius and fate of Burns. I wept, and always thought with myself—what is to hinder me from succeeding Burns? I too was born on the 25th of January, and I have much more time to read and compose than any ploughman could have, and can sing more old songs than ever ploughman could in the world. But then I wept again

[2] Hogg was "at last undeceived by the parish register and mourned over having two less years to live" (Batho 11).

> because I could not write. However, I resolved to be a poet and follow in the steps of Burns. (*Memoir* 11)

Although he lacked formal education, Hogg's upbringing was enriched by traditional songs of Scotland, imparted to him by his mother, Margaret Laidlaw. At fourteen, Hogg bought an old violin for five shillings, on which he played these tunes:

> ...and my bed being always in stables and cow-houses, I disturbed nobody but my associate quadrupeds, whom I believed to be greatly delighted with my strains. At all events they never complained, which the biped part of my neighbours did frequently, to my utter pity and indignation. (*Memoir* 7)

The traditional ballads of his youth provided a basis for Hogg's early attempts at poetry. In 1794 he contributed "The Mistakes of a Night," a song of his own composition, anonymously to *The Scots Magazine*. "Donald M'Donald," dealing with the threatened invasion by Napoleon, was published in 1800, also anonymously: "the popularity of my song was unbounded, and yet no one ever knew or inquired who was the author" (*Memoir* 14). The next year, Hogg published a pamphlet of poems, to kill time while attending the Edinburgh market:

> Not knowing how to pass the interim, it came into my head that I would write a poem or two from my memory, and get them printed. The thought had no sooner struck me than it was put in practice; and I was to select, not the best poems, but those that I remembered best. I wrote several of these during my short stay, and gave them all to a person to print at my expense, and, having sold off my sheep on Wednesday morning, I returned to the Forest. (*Memoir* 15)

These early literary attempts were unremarkable, and Hogg continued to work as a shepherd. While in the service of Mr. Harkness of Mitchell-Slack in Nithsdale, Hogg published *The Mountain Bard*, which finally brought financial success. In addition, he

was paid eighty-six pounds for an essay, *The Shepherd's Guide: being a practical treatise on the diseases of sheep*. This new-found wealth brought its own problems:

> Being now master of nearly three hundred pounds, I went perfectly mad. I took first one pasture farm, at exactly one half more than it was worth, having been cheated into it by a great rascal, who meant to rob me of all I had, and which, in the course of one year, he effected by dint of law. But in the mean time, having taken another extensive farm, I found myself fairly involved in business far above my capital. It would have required at least one thousand pounds for every one hundred pounds that I possessed, to have managed all that I had taken in hand; so I got every day out of one strait and confusion into a worse. I blundered and struggled on for three years between these two places, giving up all thoughts of poetry or literature of any kind. (*Memoir* 18)

In 1810, finally bankrupt, Hogg wrapped his plaid round his shoulders and set off for Edinburgh, "determined, since no better could be, to push my fortune as a literary man" (*Memoir* 18). Upon his arrival in the capital, Hogg published a collection of traditional songs, two-thirds of which he wrote himself, called *The Forest Minstrel*. Although one thousand copies were published, at five shillings each, Hogg received nothing from the sale of this work. Finding it difficult to gain employment, he began his own magazine, *The Spy*, the publication of which continued for a year.

Hogg was also an active and keen participant in a debating society, the Forum, to which he attributes the success of his next publication, *The Queen's Wake*: "I might and would have written the 'Queen's Wake' had the Forum never existed, but without the weekly lessons that I got there I could not have succeeded as I did" (*Memoir* 23). First published in 1813, *The Queen's Wake* is a collection of traditional ballads and tales which proved a turning point in Hogg's literary career. On the day of its publication Hogg met William Dunlop, a man with "a great deal of rough common sense" (*Memoir* 26), in the street. Mr. Dunlop greeted him thus:

> "Ye useless poetical deevil that ye're!" said he, "what hae ye been doing a' this time?"—"What doing, Willie! what do you mean?"—

> "D—n your stupid head, ye hae been pestering us wi' fourpenny papers an' daft shilly-shally sangs, an' blethering an' speakin' i' the Forum, an' yet had stuff in ye to produce a thing like this!"—"Ay, Willie," said I; "have you seen my new beuk?"—"Ay, faith, that I have, man; and it has lickit me out o' a night's sleep. Ye hae hit the right nail on the head now. Yon's the very thing, sir."—"I'm very glad to hear you sae, Willie; but what do ye ken about poems?"—"Never ye mind how I ken; I gi'e ye my word for it, yon's the thing that will do. If ye hadna made a fool o' yoursel' afore, man, yon would hae sold better than ever a book sold. Od, wha wad hae thought there was as muckle in that sheep's-head o' your's? —d——d stupid poetical deevil that ye're!" And with that he went away, laughing and miscalling me over his shoulder. (*Memoir* 26)

At forty-three, Hogg had found recognition as man of poetic genius.[3]

The ingenuity of the *Wake* lies in its structure: twelve tales are sung within the narrative framework of a celebration in honour of the return of Mary Stuart to Edinburgh from France in 1561. A total of thirty bards perform for the Queen in Holyrood Palace over three nights; however Hogg's poem only records twelve of their songs, explaining:

> Certes that many a bard of name,
> Who there appear'd and strove for fame,
> No record names nor minstrel's tongue;
> Not even are known the lays they sung. (1041-4)

In a burst of poetic modesty, Hogg laments his failure to record all thirty lays:

> 'Tis said that thirty bards appear'd,
> That thirty names were register'd,

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[3] Hogg's entrance into the literary world was not without its awkward moments. While holidaying with the Wordsworths, Professor Wilson, De Quincey and others, Hogg witnessed a meteor streaking across the sky and commented: "'Hout, me'm! it is neither mair nor less than joost a treeumphal airch, raised in honour of the meeting of the poets.' 'That's not amiss.—Eh? Eh?—that's very good,' said the Professor, laughing. But Wordsworth, who had De Quincey's arm, gave a grunt, and turned on his heel, and leading the little opium-chewer aside, he addressed him in these disdainful and venomous words:—'Poets? Poets?—What does the fellow mean?—Where are they?'" (*Memoir* 70)

With whom were titled chiefs combined;
But some are lost, and some declined.
Woe's me, that all my mountain lore
Has been unfit to rescue more!
And that my guideless rustic skill
Has told these ancient tales so ill! (5161-8)

Of course, the recital of the full thirty lays would have made Hogg's poem of an unmanageable, perhaps unreadable, length.

The song of the eighth bard, "The Witch of Fife," and the thirteenth bard's lay, "Kilmeny," have justifiably attracted the most favourable attention from literary critics. Both songs draw on traditional sources, but Hogg has fashioned each into his own creation. "The Witch of Fife" is a grotesquely comic ballad, moving with the velocity of the witches' flight. The descriptive language of the lay, written in old Scots dialect, is as fantastic as its subject matter:

And aye we mountit the sea-greene hillis,
  Quhill we brushit thro' the cludis of the hevin;
Than sousit dounright, like the stern-shot light,
  Fra the liftis blue casement driven. (1201-4)

This boisterousness contrasts with the ethereal serenity of "Kilmeny." This serenity is expressed in the lay's lingering iambic cadence. The pure beauty of the central character, Kilmeny, is echoed by Hogg's use of language:

  In that greine wene Kilmeny lay,
Her bosom happit with flouris gay;
But the ayre was soft, and the silence deipe,
And bonny Kilmeny fell sound asleipe.
Scho kend ne mair, nor openit her e'e,
Till wekit by the hymnis of ane farr countrye. (2877-82)

Interestingly, these two lays, the most commonly remarked upon and anthologised extracts from *The Queen's Wake*, are the only two written in Hogg's pseudo-archaic Scots. Yet neither of them wins a prize at the end of the wake. That honour goes to Gardyn, the singer of a gothic horror story, "Young Kennedy." The Ettrick bard's lay, "Old David," is awarded a consolation prize, a magic harp "framed by wizard of the wild" (5362).

The celebration itself is framed within the circumstances of its retelling. The narrator implores:

> Then list, ye maidens, to my lay,
> Though old the tale and past the day;
> Those wakes, now play'd by minstrels poor,
> At midnight's darkest, chillest hour—
> Those humble wakes now scorn'd by all,
> Were first begun in courtly hall,
> When royal Mary, blithe of mood,
> Kept holiday at Holyrood. (83-90)

In this way, Hogg cleverly writes himself into the lay. He is the narrator, the bard who first played his harp "by lone Saint Mary's side" (14).[4] Hogg's presence in the *Wake* is neatly explained. The magic harp given as a consolation prize to the Ettrick bard by Queen Mary is the "Mountain Lyre" (8) of the introduction, which Hogg plays in accompaniment to his tale. At the end of *The Queen's Wake* the magic lyre becomes a symbol for poetic talent as Hogg acknowledges the influence of his friendship with Walter Scott and of his upbringing, full of traditional ballads sung to him by his mother:

> Blest be his generous heart for aye!
> He told me where the relic lay;
> Pointed my way with ready will,
> Afar on Ettrick's wildest hill;
> Watch'd my first notes with curious eye,

[4] This refers to St. Mary's Loch in Ettrick Forest. A memorial to Hogg stands at the head of the lake.

> And wonder'd at my minstrelsy:
> He little ween'd a parent's tongue
> Such strains had o'er my cradle sung. (5468-75)

While it is true that Hogg revered Scott as his mentor and adviser, Scott did not always encourage Hogg's literary endeavours:

> O could the bard I loved so long
> Reprove my fond aspiring song?
> Or could his tongue of candour say
> That I should throw my harp away?
> Just when her notes began with skill
> To sound beneath the southern hill,
> And twine around my bosom's core,
> How could we part forevermore?
> 'Twas kindness all, I cannot blame,
> For bootless is the minstrel flame;
> But sure a bard might well have known
> Another's feelings by his own! (ed. Wallace 5476-87)

These lines refer to Scott's attempt to secure lodgings for Hogg on the condition that he should "put [his] poetical talent under lock and key for ever!" In his *Memoir of the Author's Life*, Hogg asks indignantly: "Does any body think Sir Walter was right there?" (116). Surely Scott's reputation as perhaps the most famous Scottish writer ever has never been threatened by that of the Ettrick Shepherd, despite the occasional dissenter such as Fitz-Greene Halleck:

> Halleck ever held James Hogg in high estimation as a poet, and he told me once that few poems had afforded him so much delight as "The Queen's Wake." He deemed the Shepherd's lines, written for the famous Buccleugh Border celebration, much superior to Sir Walter Scott's. (James Wilson qtd. in Moulton 267-8)

Certainly Hogg followed Scott's example and took his advice to heart. For example, the narrative framework of *The Queen's Wake* consists of quick-moving octosyllabic couplets, imitating Scott's style in *The Lay of the Last Minstrel* and *The Lady of the Lake*.[5] Furthermore, between the second and third editions of the poem, Hogg changed the ending of "The Witch of Fife" at Scott's insistence. Valentina Bold comments that the amended ending, although attractive to sensitive literary audiences, lacks integrity. She goes on to say that Scott's interference shows contempt for peasant poets, who are only acceptable if shorn of offensive characteristics (77).

Hogg's own localised knowledge of traditional Scottish songs and stories is amplified through the voices of the twelve bards who perform in *The Queen's Wake*, making this poem a representation of aspects of the wider Scottish nation. His twelve bards present twelve different points-of-view on the Scottish condition, "yet each part is related to the whole through careful repetitions, contrasts and parallels... There is a definite attempt by Hogg, then, to indicate that the diverse parts contribute to a unity, in the same way that different groups of people make up the Scottish nation" (Groves 50). The nationalistic import of the poem is reinforced by its geographical coverage. Hogg has used a range of settings for the lays, running the length and breadth of Scotland.[6]

The nationalistic aspects of the poem are highlighted against a background of Scottish history. Following the reign of Mary Queen of Scots, the Union of the Crowns in 1603 was the first step in a process which culminated in the Act of Union of 1707. The formation of Britain through the integration of Scotland, England and Wales meant the extinction of Scottish parliamentary independence. The conditions of the treaty safeguarded the kirk and the Scottish legal and education systems, institutions often considered more important for Scottish national identity than parliament. However, the loss of a national parliament signalled the end of Scotland's status as a sovereign state, the "gage and emblem" of a nation's freedom (Anderson 16). Legally, Scotland's sovereignty was not surrendered to England in 1707: it was surrendered *with* England's,

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[5] The opening couplet of *The Lay of the Last Minstrel* finds an echo in these lines from *The Queen's Wake*: "Loud blew the blast—the evening came,/ The way was long, the minstrel lame" (2235-6).
[6] See Appendix I.

the two kingdoms amalgamating to form a new state. However, due to Scotland's small population and comparative lack of wealth, the partnership was grossly unfair. [7]

Following these Acts of Union, the language and culture of the Scottish Lowlands, formerly protected by centuries of hostility, were slowly dominated by the encroaching English. Furthermore, in the aftermath of the Battle of Culloden in 1745, the British Parliament "devised legislation to undermine the cultural, political and economic distinctiveness of the Scottish Highlands. The wearing of tartan was banned on pain of imprisonment" (Colley *Britons* 119). The formation of Britain was a union of policy, not of affection (Colley 12). The size and status of Scotland made integration a politically and economically attractive option. However, as minor members of this new British nation, the Scots seemed doomed to lose their distinctive language and culture.

Hogg, writing more than a century after political amalgamation with England, creates a nationalistic tone in *The Queen's Wake* that is distinctly Scottish. He does this in several ways. First, from his early-nineteenth-century vantage point, Hogg looks back to the reign of Mary Stuart[8], a time when Scotland was a sovereign state. Emphasising this autonomy, he sets the wake in Edinburgh, the focus of a distinctly Scottish cultural life. Using bards from various regions of Scotland, Hogg provides a wealth of Scottish song and story, the cultural by-products of national fervour, expressing the love inspired by a nation (Anderson 129). Hogg recounts the songs of these bards to the accompaniment of his own lyre, placing their poetry within the narrative framework of his own poem. The narrative framework, in its turn, works within the confines of actual events, as detailed in Hogg's annotations to the text. This movement from the interior to the exterior of the poem, constantly reinforced in *The Queen's Wake* by the narrative interruptions between the lays and emphasised finally by Hogg's notes, gives confirmation of the solidity of the single community Hogg is creating, embracing characters, author and reader (Anderson 33).

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[7] "Scotland had only about one-fifth the population of England: her wealth (as contemporaries measured it in terms of the yield from the land tax and from customs and excise revenue) was hardly one-fortieth: on these grounds, therefore, she was given representation in the Westminster Parliament of only six seats among 206 in the House of Lords, and forty-five among 568 in the House of Commons" (Smout 216).

[8] The importance of Queen Mary's position in the *Wake* is reinforced by the dedication of the poem to her descendant, Princess Charlotte, daughter of George IV. Hogg explains: "As it related to the amusements of a young queen, I thought I could dedicate it to no one so appropriately as to her royal and beautiful descendant, the Princess Charlotte; which I did" (*Memoir* 31).

This idea of community is the basis of nationalism. The people of each nation are joined by common symbols, traditions, heroes, and places. The Scots, of course, are Celts and Watson notes that traditionally the Celts "valued hospitality, music, poetry, and feasts with plenty of fermented liquor to drink. Above all else they took pride in personal courage on the battlefield... Celtic society was patriarchal, based on tradition and status within the tribe as well as loyalty to the family and its elaborate ties of kinship... Songs and epics were composed and recited by privileged tribal bards" (9). In *The Queen's Wake* Hogg uses these traditional, shared images to construct a picture of Scottish nationalism.

PATRIOTISM

In Hogg's poem, the wake is a celebration welcoming Mary Stuart home to Scotland from France after a twelve-year absence. On her return, the Queen issues a proclamation inviting Scottish bards to participate in the festivities:

> Each Caledonian bard must seek
> Her courtly halls on Easter week,
> That then the royal Wake may be
> Cheer'd by their thrilling minstrelsy.
> No ribaldry the queen must hear,
> Nor song unmeet for maiden's ear,
> No jest, nor adulation bland,
> But legends of our native land;
> And he whom most the court regards,
> High be his honours and rewards.
> Let every Scottish bard give ear,
> Let every Scottish bard appear;
> He then before the court must stand,
> In native garb, with harp in hand.
> At home no minstrel dare to tarry:
> High the behest.—God save Queen Mary! (305-20)[1]

This introduction sets the patriotic tone of the poem: "the Wake will not only educate the young queen, with minstrels in their native dress arriving from all regions of the country, but it will enlighten the reader with a collection of regional ballads which will demonstrate the strength, variety, and power of Scottish song and story" (Smith 92).

The strength and beauty of the lays in the poem are echoed by the strength of the

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[1] In his annotations to the poem Hogg includes Knox's description of the festivities which accompanied Mary's arrival in Edinburgh: "Fyres of joy were set furth at night, and a companie of maist honest, with instruments of musick, gave ther salutation at her chalmer windo: the melodie, as sche alleged, lyked her weill, and sche willed the sam to be continued sum nychts eftir with great diligence" (*QW* p.173).

Scottish heroes Hogg evokes and the beauty of his descriptions of Scotland. The fifteenth bard's song, "King Edward's Dream," is "Hogg's best extended and formal nationalistic poem" (Gifford 42). In it, he returns to the reign of the English king Edward I and contrasts that man's terror and confusion with the pride and patriotic certainty of the Scottish leaders, Robert the Bruce and William Wallace:

> He slept—but his visions were loathly and grim;
> How quiver'd his lip! And how quaked every limb!
> His dull moving eye show'd how troubled his rest,
> And deep were the throbs of his labouring breast.
>
> He saw the Scot's [*sic*] banner red streaming on high;
> The fierce Scottish warriors determined and nigh;
> Their columns of steel, and, bright gleaming before,
> The lance, the broad target, and Highland claymore.
> And, lo! At their head, in stern glory appear'd
> That hero of heroes so hated and fear'd;
> 'Twas the exile of Rachrin that led the array,
> And Wallace's spirit was pointing the way:
> His eye was a torch, beaming ruin and wrath,
> And graved on his helmet was—*Vengeance or Death!* (4067-80)

This image, of patriotic "Scottish warriors" united behind their heroes, extends metaphorically to emphasise the spirit of national unity that pervades the poem. Hogg is using the legends of these men as a focus for nationalistic feeling in his own time. The shared pride that Scots feel for Robert the Bruce and William Wallace gives them something in common which can be translated into a sense of community or nationhood. At eighteen, Hogg himself read a paraphrased version of Blind Harry's "The Life and Adventures of Sir William Wallace" by William Hamilton of Gilbertfield, which was widely read in eighteenth-century Scotland (*Memoir* 8). The same book filled the young Robert Burns with a "flood of Scottish prejudice" (Kinsley 231). Centuries after

his death, the legend of Wallace was still stirring patriotic fervour in Scottish hearts.[2]

Following his vision of a battle with Wallace and Robert the Bruce, King Edward is approached by the "guardian of Scotland's proud mountains" (4124), a beautiful spirit. Through this character, Hogg, with the benefit of hindsight, prophesies a union between England and Scotland, the reign of James VI and I, and the spread of the British Empire:

> I thought (and I join'd my endeavours to thine)
> The time was arrived when the two should combine;
> For 'tis known that they will 'mong the hosts of the sky,
> And we thought that blest era of concord was nigh.
> But ages unborn yet shall flit on the wing,
> And Scotland to England ere then give a king—
> A father to monarchs, whose flourishing sway
> The oceans and ends of the earth shall obey. (4139-46)

Scotland's importance in this partnership is emphasised by Hogg's description of Edinburgh as a prosperous city where "learning shall flourish and liberty smile,/ The awe of the world and the pride of the isle" (4151-2). A departure from historical fact comes when Hogg prophesies the defeat of England by the Scots, perhaps signalling his desire for a more independent Scottish nation: "The thistle shall rear her rough front to the sky,/ And the rose and the shamrock at Carron[3] shall die" (4173-4). The Spirit of Scotland ends with a patriotic flourish:

> How couldst thou imagine those spirits of flame
> Would stoop to oppression, to slavery, and shame?

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[2] The patriotism inspired by this legend has recently been rekindled by Hollywood's film adaptation of the William Wallace story, *Braveheart*. The film has promoted greater international interest in Scottish history and culture.

[3] Interestingly, Carron is best known for its iron works, founded in 1760. Perhaps it is the superior quality of Scottish intellect and the industrial advances made by Scots at this time to which Hogg is referring: "The fact that large numbers of people today have heard of the Scottish Enlightenment, whereas comparatively few know or care that an English Enlightenment even took place, shows… the stellar quality of the best Scottish intellects at this time—David Hume in philosophy, William Robertson in history, Joseph Black in science, John Millar in social theory and Adam Smith in economics…" (Colley *Britons* 123). Scottish engineers such as James Watt and Thomas Telford, and architects Robert Adam and Sir William Chambers, are also worth mentioning here.

Ah! never; the lion may couch to thy sway,
The mighty leviathan bend and obey;
But the Scots, round their king and broad banner unfurl'd,
Their mountains will keep against thee and the world. (4175-80)

The same fervour is evident in the fifteenth bard himself: "The bard had sung so bold and high,/ While patriot fire flash'd from his eye" (4191-2).

Given Edward I's tyrannical campaign to conquer the Scots, it is appropriate that the lay ends with a single word from him: "subdue!" (4190). Paradoxically, it was this campaign that inspired the heroic resistance of Scots such as Wallace and Robert the Bruce and the legends which surround them: "Edward I lives in popular memory as 'the hammer of the Scots'; but a hammer, properly used, is a constructive tool, and English attempts at conquest did much to weld the Scots into a nation" (Donaldson,*Shaping* 32).

Another nationalistic aspect of *The Queen's Wake* is Hogg's emphasis on the beauty of Scotland. Arriving at Leith, Queen Mary is stunned into patriotic superlatives at the magnificence of her native land:

When Mary turn'd her wond'ring eyes
On rocks that seem'd to prop the skies;
On palace, park and battled pile;
On lake, on river, sea and isle;
O'er woods and meadows bathed in dew,
To distant mountains wild and blue;
She thought the isle that gave her birth,
The sweetest, wildest land on earth. (161-8)

"Kilmeny," the thirteenth bard's song, contains beautiful physical descriptions of Scotland which convey a nationalistic enthusiasm (Mair 19):

Scho saw ane sonne on a simmer skye,
And cludis of amber sailing by;
Ane luvlye land anethe her laye,

> And that land had lekis and mountaynis grey;
> And that land had valleys and horye pylis,
> And merlit seas, and a thusande ylis.
> Scho saw the corne waive on the vaile,
> Scho saw the deire rin down the dale... (2982-9)

A later edition of *The Queen's Wake*, edited (appropriately) by William Wallace and published in 1903, adds fourteen extra lines to this paragraph, continuing in the same way, with a description of Scotland's fields, forests and lakes, the sea and the sky. Kilmeny's emotional reaction to this scene establishes her affinity with, and her symbolism of, Scotland: "Kilmeny sighed, and seemed to grieve./ For she found her heart to that land did cleave" (ed. Wallace 3050-1). Pure and beautiful, Kilmeny is allowed access to "the land of thochte" (2973), where she is immortal: "Quhan the synnir has gene to his wesome doome,/ Kilmeny shall smyle in eternal bloome!" (2966-7). Kilmeny, nurtured in Hogg's imagination, is the literary equivalent of William Wallace, who gained his immortality when his martial feats and patriotic determination passed into legend. While Wallace is part of the traditional discourse of national heroism, Kilmeny is Hogg's own vision of the true spirit of Scotland.

The language of "Kilmeny," known as "thin Scots," adds to the nationalistic tone of the lay. Louis Simpson describes Hogg's mixture of Scots and English words and phrases as a bastardisation of pure Scots, "charmingly Scottish" but "rather facile" (58-9). It should be remembered, however, that Scots and English are not entirely different languages: they are divergent forms of the same language which have evolved over the centuries in different communities (Mack "Hogg's Use of Scots"). In fact, after the Union with England, English began to dominate Lowland areas, while Highlanders maintained the Scots dialect, or, in more remote regions, Gaelic. Therefore, rather than attempting to remove all traces of English from the text (as writers in Lallans do), or removing all Scotticisms to leave an English text, Hogg is using a language representative of that spoken in Scotland in his time, containing elements of both English and Scots. Through its contact with the spoken language, thin Scots retains the authenticity of Scottish colloquialisms and phraseology without bowing to the dialectal

fluctuations of one region to the exclusion of others, and so creates a language which includes all areas of Scotland.[4]

[4] Given the importance of language to a feeling of national unity, it is a pity Hogg did not use thin Scots more extensively in the poem as a whole. Douglas Gifford comments rather harshly: "One of the main reasons for the overall failure of *The Queen's Wake* must surely be that only one of the twelve poetic tales is told in Scots, which is surprising, since Hogg had ostensibly created the Wake as a *national* celebration" (*James Hogg* 42).

TRADITION

Between the sixteenth century, in which *The Queen's Wake* is set, and the nineteenth century, in which Hogg wrote it, the attainment of widespread literacy altered substantially the old oral culture. In *The Ballad and the Folk*, David Buchan writes: "First, it changed the modes of thought, and consequently slackened people's adherence to traditional belief and custom. Second, it reduced the importance of the oral community's arts and entertainments—proverbs, riddling sessions, tale-telling; the once significant functions fulfilled by these in a non-literate society were largely usurped by the sophisticated alternatives of literate society" (199). In addition, the last civil war in Scotland, culminating in the battle of Culloden in 1745, was followed by eighty years of startling transformations. During this time there took place an agrarian revolution, an industrial revolution and, consequently, a social revolution. Reacting against this, Hogg's interest in traditional Scottish folk-poetry, which he shares with Ramsay, Fergusson and Burns, his three great predecessors in the eighteenth century, is a successful continuation of the traditions of the eighteenth-century revival of Scottish poetry. In fact Burns's poem "Tam O' Shanter" directly inspired Hogg (see below, pp. 26-7 and 87). Like Burns, Hogg was keen to preserve the locales, language and customs of his native Scotland. Accordingly, he collected, translated and arranged two volumes of *Jacobite Relics* for the Highland Society of London.[1] Similarly, *The Queen's Wake* is an attempt to capture Scottish traditions, using the print medium of Hogg's own time to set down the oral balladry of yesteryear.[2] This aim is evident in the poem itself:

> Alas! Those lays of fire once more
> Are wreck'd 'mid heaps of mouldering lore!
> And feeble he who dares presume
> That heavenly wake-light to relume.
> But grieved the legendary lay

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[1] The Highland Society of London, founded in 1778, encouraged the preservation of ancient Highland traditions. 1820 saw the foundation of the Celtic Society in Edinburgh. This group, headed by Walter Scott (a Lowlander), promoted the general use of Highland dress by wearing it (Trevor-Roper 26-29).
[2] The print capitalism which accompanied the Industrial Revolution gave a new fixity to language, building, in the long run, the "image of antiquity so central to the subjective idea of the nation" (Anderson 46).

Should perish from this land for aye,
While sings the lark above the wold,
And all his flocks rest in the fold,
Fondly he strikes, beside the pen,
The harp of Yarrow's bracken glen. (347-56)

Setting his poem in the sixteenth century, Hogg envisages a time when numerous bards wandered around Scotland with harps in hand:

But then was seen, from every vale,
Through drifting snows and rattling hail,
Each Caledonian minstrel true,
Dress'd in his plaid and bonnet blue,
With harp across his shoulders slung,
And music murmuring round his tongue... (381-6)

He creates a contrast between the "degenerate days" (376) of the early nineteenth century and the good old days in which the *Wake* is set. This contrast is emphasised by the move back in time, in the introduction to the poem, from the "piercing shower" (2) and "cold winds of adversity" (4) of Hogg's era to the celebratory atmosphere of Queen Mary's wake:

Of minstrel honours, now no more;
Of bards, who sung in days of yore;
Of gallant chiefs in courtly guise;
Of ladies' smiles, of ladies' eyes;
Of royal feasts and obsequies;
When Caledon, with look severe,
Saw beauty's hand her sceptre bear—
By cliff and haunted wild I'll sing,
Responsive to thy dulcet string. (51-9)

The narrative thread of the poem emphasises this revivalist theme as Hogg plays the "Mountain Lyre" (8) which was supposedly out of action from the time of the wake until it was retuned by Walter Scott. At the beginning of the poem, Hogg rescues this lyre from the elements:

> The russet weed of mountain grey
> No more shall round thy border play;
> No more the brake-flowers, o'er thee piled,
> Shall mar thy tones and measures wild. (41-4)

These lines are reversed at the end of the lay:

> Now, my loved harp, a while farewell,
> I leave thee on the old grey thorn;
> The evening dews will mar thy swell,
> That waked to joy the cheerful morn. (5496-9)

However, Hogg promises to retrieve his lyre when

> the glowing suns of spring,
> The genial shower and stealing dew,
> Wake every forest bird to sing,
> And every mountain flower renew. (5512-5)

This circular progression echoes the cyclical nature of the seasons. The association between the harp and spring growth makes Hogg's setting of his wake at Easter appropriate. Easter signals the beginning of spring in the Northern Hemisphere, a time of renewal and, for Christians, of resurrection. Furthermore, Hogg was delighted to discover, after the first edition of *The Queen's Wake* had been printed, that "Queen Mary actually gave a grand treat at Holyrood-house at the very time specified in the Poem" (Mack "Bibliographical Notes"). Accordingly, he expanded his annotations to include this information in the second edition of the poem.

Set in Edinburgh, the centre of Scottish cultural life, *The Queen's Wake* has a structure similar to that of Boccaccio's courtly *Decameron*, with twelve bards performing over three nights. Chaucer used a similar structure in his *Canterbury Tales*. A likely source for this is a London merchant fraternity that gave a prize of a free supper to the member who composed the best song, as judged by the "prince" of the group at the annual feast (Cooper 17). There are also Celtic precedents in the Welsh eisteddfod tradition. Another Romantic example of this genre is Letitia Landon's poem, *The Golden Violet*, published in 1827. Like *The Queen's Wake*, Landon's poem consists of a number of tales told by various poets in an effort to win a prize. Interestingly, Landon herself enters the poem just as the prize, a golden violet, is about to be bestowed on the victor, modestly refusing to select a winner from her own poems:

> Let each one at their pleasure set
> The prize—the Golden Violet.
> Could I choose where it might belong,
> Mid phantoms but of mine own song? (Landon 187)

In fact, Hogg himself was involved in a national poetry competition in 1819. He was beaten by Felicia Hemans, but was gracious in defeat, admitting that her poem, *Wallace's Invocation to Bruce*, was "greatly superior both in elegance of thought and composition. Had I been constituted the judge myself, I would have given hers the preference by many degrees" (qtd. in Trinder 19).

Hogg establishes a setting for each bard and his lay, using numerous Scottish placenames and landmarks to create verisimilitude. For example, the fifteenth bard

> was bred on southern shore,
> Beneath the mists of Lammermore;
> And long, by Nith and crystal Tweed,
> Had taught the Border youth to read. (4026-9)

His lay, "King Edward's Dream," centres on this Border area: "the green Pentland" (4101), "From Ochil's fair mountains to Lammermore brown" (4104), the "sand of the Solway" (4187).

The tenth bard, from Ettrick, is commonly acknowledged as a caricature of Hogg himself:

> A clown he was, bred in the wild,
> And late from native moors exiled,
> In hopes his mellow mountain strain
> High favour from the great would gain.
> Poor wight! He never ween'd how hard
> For poverty to earn regard! (1731-6)

However, it seems that Hogg also had an earlier Ettrick bard in mind: "That some notable bard flourished in Ettrick Forest in that age, is evident from the numerous ballads and songs which relate to places in that country, and incidents that happened there. Many of these are of a very superior cast. 'Outlaw Murray,' 'Young Tam Lean of Carterhaugh,' 'Jamie Telfer i' the Fair Dodhead,' 'The dowy Downs of Yarrow,' and many others, are of the number. Dunbar, in his lament for the bards, merely mentions him by the title of *Etrick*; more of him we know not" (*QW* p.185). In this way Hogg is establishing a continuation of the tradition of minstrelsy in his own region, drawing the characterisation of the tenth bard from his own nineteenth-century background and from tales of a sixteenth-century bard.

Many of the lays in *The Queen's Wake* are based on folk traditions. For example, "Kilmeny," written in antiquated Scots, draws from "Thomas the Rhymer," the best known of several old ballads dealing with disappearances (Lindsay 289). The pseudo-archaic Scots of "Kilmeny" is echoed in Hogg's self-mocking parody "The Gude Greye Katt," written three years later, which makes light of Hogg's medieval-style ballads. In his introduction to *James Hogg: Poetic Mirrors* David Groves notes:

> Most of *The Queen's Wake* is in English, but at the exact centre of that work is the ballad of "Kilmeny," written in medieval Scots. All of *The Poetic Mirror* is in English, except for the seventh of its fourteen poems, "The Gude Greye Katt," which is likewise in medieval Scots. In each of these two books, then, the central poem is a kind of touchstone expressing Hogg's attempts to "step back to an earlier age"... (xvi)

"The Witch of Fife," from *The Queen's Wake*, is similar. Bearing some resemblance to the old ballads of "Tam Lean" and "Thomas of Ercildoune," it is written in ballad quatrains, using pseudo-archaic Scots, and some colloquial phrases are borrowed from traditional balladry: "Away, away, ye ill womyne,/ An ill deide met ye dee" (1253-4). Douglas Mack comments: "This language is clearly an imitation of the Middle Scots of the old Makars... Hogg gives his language an air of antiquity mainly by means of spelling—*quh-* for wh-, *-it* for -ed, and so on..." (*Selected Poems* xxi). The use of these archaic literary techniques emphasises Hogg's interest in traditional Scots poetry.[3] This traditional approach is emphasised in the training of the sixteenth bard in the *Wake* who, in his youth, wandered "each shore and upland dull/ With Allan Bawn, the bard of Mull,/ To sing the deeds of old Fingal" (4791-3).

Walter Scott, who approached Hogg's mother when compiling his *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, had a lot in common with Hogg "for they both drew their chief strength from folk-tradition. Scott had a wider culture to reinforce it, but Hogg was, by birth and upbringing, more closely knit with it. All his best work derives from folk-memories, folk-rhymes and folk-tunes" (Kinsley 230). Hogg's mother, Margaret Laidlaw, possessed an inexhaustible knowledge of Scottish song and legend, which she imparted to her son. His grandfather, Will O' Phaup, "was the last man of this wild region, who heard, saw, and conversed with the fairies; and that not once or twice, but at sundry times and seasons" (Hogg,"The Shepherd's Calendar," *Works of the Ettrick Shepherd*,vol.1 p.409). This background colours all his work, and qualifies him to record the traditions of Scottish balladry. Nelson Smith notes that "his literary training, his styles, his techniques, and usually his successes come from the ballads, folk-tales, and religion of the Border peasantry, almost uncontaminated by contact with the traditions of English literature" (16).

The reanimation of Scottish tradition is an integral part of the nationalistic tone of *The Queen's Wake*. A deep awareness of history developed universally during the Romantic era. This awareness bordered on obsession in Scotland; hence the success of Scott's great, panoramic sagas of the Scottish past. The implication that this past is

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[3] There has been some criticism of Hogg's use of pseudo-archaic spelling: "Although it provides an appropriate vehicle for the outlandish absurdities of 'The Witch of Fife', Hogg's archaic language added nothing to his other poems except unnecessary obscurity" (Mack *Selected Poems* xxi).

irreparably lost is part of its magic, triggering an emotional sense of yearning (Nairn 151). Hogg gives in to this yearning, returning to the sixteenth century and stressing the rugged ardour of the ancient bards:

> Not stern December's fierce control
> Could quench the flame of minstrel's soul:
> Little reck'd they, our bards of old,
> Of autumn's showers or winter's cold.
> Sound slept they on the nighted hill,
> Lull'd by the winds or babbling rill:
> Curtain'd within the winter cloud,
> The heath their couch, the sky their shroud.
> Yet theirs the strains that touch the heart,
> Bold, rapid, wild, and void of art. (365-74)

Similar sentiments are expressed in the retrospective opening of Hogg's *The Mountain Bard*: "Fain would I hear our mountains ring/ With blasts which former minstrels blew" (Bold 73).

Continuing the antiquarian revival of the eighteenth century, Hogg records Scottish traditions in *The Queen's Wake*, through setting, subject matter and language, to produce a nationalistic document. These shared traditions create a feeling of Scottish unity and community.

SUPERSTITION AND THE SUPERNATURAL

Fairies, witches, mystics and spirits abound in *The Queen's Wake*, confirming Hogg's self-proclaimed status as "king o' the mountain an' fairy school" (*Memoir* 118). This status reflects Hogg's upbringing. His mother, Margaret Laidlaw, was an authority on Scottish superstition and folklore, and his grandfather, Will O' Phaup, was, as noted above (p. 23), the last man in Ettrick to see and converse with fairies.

In *The Queen's Wake*, MacFarlane, the eleventh bard, is particularly susceptible to scary stories:

> In tender age, when mind was free,
> As standing by his nurse's knee,
> He heard a tale, so passing strange,
> Of injured spirit's cool revenge;
> It chill'd his heart with blasting dread,
> Which never more that bosom fled.
> When passion's flush had fled his eye,
> And grey hairs told that youth was by;
> Still quaked his heart at bush or stone,
> As wandering in the gloom alone. (2219-28)

Hogg would have heard similar tales while standing at his mother's knee: "Having grown up fearful of the haunted churchyard, the suicide's grave, and the spot where harper or pedlar was slain, Hogg understood the conditioning of a boy by imaginative terror" (Parsons 286). These oral superstitions were passed from generation to generation, from Will O' Phaup, to Margaret Laidlaw, to Hogg himself, who has ensured their survival through the fixity of print. Shared superstitions are the cultural raw material of nationalism, drawing people together with common symbols and beliefs.

In his introduction to *The Queen's Wake* Hogg previews the songs to come, giving the reader a taste of the supernatural material which dominates the Scottish lays:

> Each glen was sought for tales of old,

Of luckless love, of warrior bold,
Of ravish'd maid, or stolen child
By freakish fairy of the wild;
Of sheeted ghost that had reveal'd
Dark deeds of guilt from man conceal'd;
Of boding dreams, of wandering sprite,
Of dead-lights glimmering through the night. (335-42)

The bard of Fife is a "wizard of the wild" (1097), full of spells and supernatural lore. He believes "that fays and spectres wan/ Held converse with the thoughts of man" (1103-4) and sings a "mad unearthly song" (1120). His song, "The Witch of Fife," is clearly inspired by Burns's "Tam O' Shanter," a poem which Hogg admired greatly. As Douglas Mack observes, "Hogg's old man is highly reminiscent of Burns's hero" (*Selected Poems* xxii). However, Hogg gives "The Witch of Fife" an air of originality, marrying his old man to one of the witches. While Burns uses a narrator to tell Tam's tale, the first half of Hogg's poem is related through the dialogue of the witch and her husband:

"We raide the tod doune on the hill,
The martin on the law;
And we huntyd the hoolet out of brethe,
And forcit him doune to fa'."

"Quhat gude was that, ye ill womyn?
Quhat gude was that to thee?
Ye wald better haif been in yer bed at hame,
Wi yer deire littil bairnis and me." (1149-56)

Like the witches in "Tam O' Shanter," Hogg's witches gather nocturnally at a church:

"The first leet-nicht, quhan the new moon set,
Quhan all was douffe and mirk,

We saddled ouir naigis wi' the moon-fern leif,
And rode fra Kilmerrin kirk." (1141-4)

They indulge in late-night dancing and revelry:

"And aye we dancit on the greene Lommond,
Till the dawn on the ocean grew:
Ne wonder I was a weary wight
Quhan I cam hame to you." (1185-8)

A strange, unearthly creature provides musical accompaniment:

Than up there rase ane wee wee man,
Fra nethe the moss-grey stane;
His fece was wan like the collifloure,
For he nouthir had bluid nor bane.

He set ane reid-pipe till his muthe,
And he playit se bonnilye,
Till the grey curlew and the black-cock flew
To listen his melodye. (1165-72)

This musician, rising up from out of the ground, could be the devil, hence resembling the "touzie tyke" of Burns's poem: "To gie them music was his charge:/ He screwed the pipes and gart them skirl,/ Till roof and rafters a' did dirl" ("Tam O' Shanter" 122-4). This image is common in Scottish legend. For example, a report from 1655 has the devil providing music for the witches' festivities: "One night going to a dancing upon Pentland-hills, he [the devil] went before us in the likeness of a rough tanny-Dog, playing on a pair of Pipes, and his tail played ey wig wag wig wag" (Brown 64). In "The Witch of Fife," this supernatural music has an unsettling effect on the earthly animals:

It rang se sweet through the greene Lomond,

Se sweitly butt and se shill,
That the wezilis laup out of their mouldy holis,
And dancit on the midnycht hill.

The corby craw cam gledgin near,
The ern gede veeryng by;
And the trout laup out of the Leven Louch
Charmit with the melodye. (1177-84)

Hogg is drawing on the deep knowledge of peasant superstitions he gained as a child in Ettrick. For example, as Parsons relates in *Witchcraft and Demonology in Scott's Fiction*, "[i]n order to destroy the craft in which witches sailed to Flanders, gudewives crushed eggshells" (6). This superstition is similar to the one Hogg draws on in "The Witch of Fife":

"The second nycht, quhan the new moon set,
O'er the roaryng sea we flew;
The cockle-shell our trusty bark,
Our sailis of the grein sea-rue." (1193-6)

Similarly, seeing a band of fairies stimulates thoughts "Of sailing lightly o'er the sea,/ In mussel shell, to Germany" (1817-8) in Old David's mind. Furthermore, the witches fly to "the Norraway shore" (1213), and beyond:

"And quhan we came to the Lapland lone,
The fairies war all in array,
For all the genii of the north
War keepyng their holiday.

The warlock men and the weird wemyn,
And the fays of the wood and the steep,
And the phantom hunteris all war there,

And the mermaidis of the deep. (1229-36)

The inclusion of this material widens the scope of Hogg's superstitious allusions. He is combining Scandinavian legend with Scottish beliefs.[1] This international flavour heightens the fantasy and excitement of the witches' flight.

In his annotations to the poem, Hogg maintains that there is still widespread belief in witchcraft:

> Never, in the most superstitious ages, was the existence of witches, or the influence of the diabolical power, more firmly believed in, than by the inhabitants of Ettrick Forest at the present day. Many precautions and charms are used to avert this influence; and scarcely does a summer elapse in which there are not some of the most gross incantations practised, in order to free flocks and herds from the blasting power of these old hags. (*QW* p.177)

In contrast to the humanity of the old man in "The Witch of Fife," Hogg gives the adventures of the witches an air of awesome majesty:

> The dales war deep, and the Doffrinis steep,
> And we raise to the skyis ee-bree;
> Quhite, quhite was ouir rode, that was never trode,
> Ower the snawis of eternity! (1225-8)

Like the bard of Fife, the next minstrel to perform, Farquhar from Spey, is in touch with the supernatural aspects of his environment:

> The cliffs and woods of dark Glen-More
> He taught to chant in mystic lore;

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[1] Hogg may have felt some affinity with Scandinavian legend, due to a distant ancestor: "The unpoetic name, Hogg, which he was always better pleased to exchange for that of the 'Ettrick Shepherd,' is said to have been derived from a far-away ancestor—a pirate, or a sea-king—'one Haug of Norway'" (Hall 386).

For well he ween'd, by tarn and hill,
Kind viewless spirits wander'd still... (1551-4)

However, this bard is disdainful of the "homely song" (1558) of the bard of Fife. While "The Witch of Fife" draws credibility from the comic humanity of the old man, "Glen-Avin" operates on a more spiritual level. "Glen-Avin" is set "Where hunter's horn was never heard" (1563). The lack of human presence in this lay emphasises its supernatural content. Instead of humans, the glen is populated with unearthly creatures: "Fahm"[2] (1586), "fairies" (1588), "spirits"(1589). Even the human sage who lingers in the glen sports shades of immortality. He has supernatural powers and sees "what mortal could not bear" (1594).

Hogg recognises the Scottish public's love of the supernatural and he uses the audience he has created for the Wake to convey this:

'Twas now the witching time of night,
When reason strays, and forms that fright
Are shadow'd on the palsied sight;
When fancy moulds upon the mind
Light visions on the passing wind,
And woos, with faltering tongue and sigh,
The shades o'er memory's wilds that fly;
And much the circle longed to hear
Of gliding ghost and gifted seer,
That in the still and solemn hour
Might stretch imagination's power,

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[2] In his annotations Hogg provides a description of this legendary creature: "Fahm is a little ugly monster, who frequents the summits of the mountains around Glen-Avin, and no other place in the world that I know of. My guide, D. M'Queen, declared that he had himself seen him and by his description, Fahm appears to be no native of this world, but an occasional visitant, whose intentions are evil and dangerous. He is only seen about the break of day, and on the highest verge of the mountain. His head is as large as his whole body beside; and if any living creature cross the track over which he has passed before the sun shine upon it, certain death is the consequence. The head of that person or animal instantly begins to swell, grows to an immense size, and finally bursts. Such a disease is really incident to the sheep on those heights, and in several parts of the kingdom, where the grounds are elevated to a great height above the sea; but in no place save Glen-Avin is the Fahm blamed for it" (*QW* pp.174 -5).

And restless fancy revel free
In painful, pleasing luxury. (4750-62)

Hogg caters to this need in "The Abbot M'Kinnon," a "bold portentous lay" (4818) sung by the bard of Mull. The abbot's ship shoots away "like an image of mind" (4837), giving it a visionary, almost magical quality. The description of the wolf swimming the bay "On the ravenous burrowing race to feed,/ That loved to haunt the home of the dead" (4857-8) contains elements of gothicism. On the isle to which the abbot has sailed stand "tall grey forms, in close-set file,/ Upholding the roof of that holy pile" (4958-9). This formation invokes an image of Stonehenge and hence an association with ritual and magic. The final notes of "The Monks' Hymn" are ominous and magical, "not sung by man" (5038). In addition, the old man, St. Columba, "scarcely look'd like an earthly man" (5100) and the day, like the lay, is "dark and portentous" (5094). The lay ends with a question mark, emphasising the element of mystery it contains:

This moment she sail'd all stately and fair,
The next nor ship nor shadow was there,
But a boil that arose from the deep below,
A mounting, gurgling column of snow;
It sunk away with a gurgling moan,
The sea is calm, and the sinners are gone? (5137-42)

"Young Kennedy," another gothic lay, is similar in style to the work of the eccentric M.G. "Monk" Lewis, whose most famous poem, "Alonso the Brave and the Fair Imogene," also deals with the return of a wronged ghost on the night of a wedding. However, in Hogg's work, the supernatural enters as "an authentic part of the legend, not as an excuse to arouse a shudder" (Friedman 288).

Hogg builds "Young Kennedy" around the formulaic framework often found in Romantic gothicism. His heroine, Matilda, is typically beautiful and pure: "All fair was her form, and untainted her mind" (832). Kennedy is a typically fierce and morose villain:

His master he loved not, obeyed with a scowl,

Scarce smother'd his hate and his rancour of soul;
When challenged, his eye and his colour would change,
His proud bosom nursing and planning revenge. (819-22)

In true gothic style, Hogg builds suspense throughout the lay. For example, as the lay reaches its climax, the return of Macdougal, uncertainty and tension are created through a series of interrogatives:

The scene was so still, it was all like a vision;
The lamp of the moon seem'd as fading forever:
'Twas awfully soft, without shade or elision;
And nothing was heard but the rush of the river.
But why wont [*sic*] the bride-maidens walk on the lea,
Nor lovers steal out to the sycamore tree?
Why turn to the hall with those looks of confusion?
There's nothing abroad!—tis a dream!—a delusion!

But why do the horses snort over their food,
And cling to the manger in seeming dismay?
What scares the old owlet afar to the wood?
Why screams the blue heron, as hastening away?
Say, why is the dog hid so deep in his cover?
Each window barr'd up and the curtain drawn over;
Each white maiden bosom still heaving so high,
And fixed on another each fear-speaking eye?

'Tis all an illusion—the lamp let us trim!
Come, rouse thee old minstrel, to strains of renown;
The old cup is empty, fill round to the brim,
And drink the young pair to the chamber just gone.
Ha! why is the cup from the lip ta'en away?
Why fixed every form like a statue of clay?

Say, whence is that noise and that horrible clamour?
Oh, heavens! it comes from the marriage bedchamber. (895-918)

However, Hogg moves away from the type of gothicism that depends more on imagined than actual events. While English writers such as Ann Radcliffe failed to fulfil the expectations awakened through the use of dramatic suspense, Hogg's lay delivers on its promises: Matilda falls, seduced by Kennedy who has murdered her father, Macdougal, prompting his ghost to return in search of vengeance on their wedding night. Hogg leaves us in no doubt of Kennedy's fate as the lay ends below the hoary cliff of Ben-Ardochy where "a grim phantom still naked is roaming" (1006).

Naturally, Hogg seems most at home with the superstitions of his own region, represented in the Ettrick bard's lay. Old David encounters a "fairy band" and succumbs to all the superstitious notions which abound about fairies:

He thought of riding on the wind;
Of leaving hawk and hern behind;
Of sailing lightly o'er the sea,
In mussel shell, to Germany;
Of revel raids by dale and down;
Of lighting torches at the moon;
Or through the sounding spheres to sing,
Borne on the fiery meteor's wing;
Of dancing 'neath the moonlight sky;
Of sleeping in the dew-cup's eye.
And then he thought—oh! dread to tell!--
Of tithes the fairies paid to hell! (1815-26)

Descriptions of the beauty of this region fit alongside tales of its supernatural inhabitants:

That evening fell so sweetly still,
So mild on lonely moor and hill,
The little genii of the fell

Forsook the purple heather bell,
And all their dripping beds of dew,
In wild-flower, thyme, and violet blue;
Aloft their viewless looms they heave,
And dew-webs round the helmets weave. (1889-96)

In this way, Hogg makes supernatural creatures a part of the natural surroundings. These superstitions are part of everyday life for the people in Hogg's world: "That fairies *were* was not disputed;/ But *what* they were was greatly doubted" (1907-8). The narrative of "Old David" adds to this doubt. Is David battling fairies or humans?

"Father, if all the fairies there
Are of the same materials made,
Let them beware the Rippon blade!"
A ghastly smile was seen to play
O'er David's visage, stern and grey;
He hoped and fear'd; but ne'er till then
Knew whether he fought with sprites or men. (1968-74)

Hogg mixes the probable and improbable "to perplex the reader, as the Scottish peasant was perplexed by these matters" (Simpson 70-1). In fact, this mix of belief and incredulity reflects Hogg's own attitude, "but whenever he makes a statement it is in favour of superstition. However, he does not often make such statements; he prefers to leave the reader wondering" (62). An example of this ambiguity can be found in the account of the third night in *The Queen's Wake*. As the guests of the wake make their way to the palace for this final night of festivities, they are stopped by mysterious voices:

For all along, from cliff and tree,
On Arthur's hill and Salsbury,
Came voices floating down the air
From viewless shades that linger'd there:
The words were fraught with mystery—

> Voices of men they could not be.
> Youths turn'd their faces to the sky,
> With beating heart and bended eye;
> Old chieftains walk'd with hasten'd tread,
> Loath that their hearts should bow to dread:
> They fear'd the spirits of the hill
> To sinful Scotland boded ill. (3249-60)

However, in an annotation to this incident Hogg provides a rational explanation:

> The echoes of evening, which are occasioned by the voice or mirth of different parties not aware of each other, have a curious and striking effect. I have known some country people almost frightened out of their senses at hearing voices and laughter among cliffs, where they knew it impossible for human beings to reach. (*QW* p.183)

Nevertheless, Hogg admits the perpetuity of oral superstitions: "For still 'tis told, and still believed,/ That there the spirits were deceived" (2132-3). His relaxed attitude to superstition and the supernatural contrasts with, for example, Scott's " purely rationalist assumption that no such thing as witchcraft existed. In Hogg's words, Scott was 'trying to throw cold water on the most certain, though most impalpable, phenomena of human nature.' In this, as in other matters, Hogg's instincts, being more rooted in popular tradition than Scott's, brought him closer to the essential truth" (Simpson 64).

The supernatural content of the lays is echoed in the narrative framework of *The Queen's Wake*. These lays of a sixteenth-century wake are sung to us by a nineteenth-century bard, to the accompaniment of a magic harp. This harp, "framed by wizard of the wild" (5362), is the same one that is presented to the bard of Ettrick at the end of the wake, to console him following his loss to Gardyn. He is described in supernatural terms:

> the poor bard of Ettrick stood
> Like statue pale in moveless mood;

Like ghost which oft his eyes had seen
At gloaming in his glens so green.
Queen Mary saw the minstrel's pain,
And bade from bootless grief refrain. (5339-44)

The power of this harp is unmistakable ("Oh, there is magic in the sound!" [5366]) and it embodies the link between magic and music: "Even fairies sought our land again,/ So powerful was the magic strain" (5466-7). Thus, the supernatural content of the poem is enhanced by its structure. Tales of fairies, witches and ghosts are accompanied by a magic harp. Similarly, Hogg's intimate knowledge of local superstitions and popular traditions gives the poem an element of realism, or at least of verisimilitude, which enhances the reader's enjoyment of these tales.

RELIGION

Hogg is well-qualified to write on religious themes, having "acquired from his pious father a wide knowledge of the Bible and an intimate understanding of the religious life of Scotland" (Mack *Selected Poems* xiii-xiv). In *The Queen's Wake* he moves away from the sectarian struggles of Scottish church history, with their political undertones. Instead, the religious messages of this poem reflect an ambiguity between Christianity and paganism. For example, the singer of "Kilmeny," Drummond of Ern, is a former monk turned bard:

> Well versed was he in holy lore;
> In cloister'd dome the cowl he wore;
> But wearied with the eternal strain
> Of formal breviats, cold and vain,
> He woo'd, in depth of Highland dale,
> The silver spring and mountain gale. (2767-72)

Drummond has given up orthodox religion for a more pantheistic approach.[1] Hogg applauds this, emphasising the movement from "cold breviats" to "warm orisons" (2784). Whatever his form of worship, Drummond is still a Christian: "Religion, man's first friend and best,/ Was in that home a constant guest" (2781-2). This ambivalent attitude to religion flows over into Drummond's lay, "Kilmeny," which contains a mix of "hymns of heaven" (2788) and songs "of mystic lore" (2789). Is it a Christian tale or a fairytale? Douglas Mack states: "'Kilmeny' is a religious poem, dealing with heaven, not fairyland" (*Selected Poems* xxiii). He backs this theory up with evidence from the poem, noting that the land of spirits is never called fairyland in the poem, and that inhabitants of this land are never called fairies. Later editions of the poem describe this place as:

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[1] David, the central character of the tenth lay, has the same unorthodox approach to religion:

> David turn'd up a reverend eye,
> And fix'd it on the morning sky;
> He knew a Mighty One lived there,
> That sometimes heard a warrior's prayer.
> No word, save one, could David say;
> Old David had not learn'd to pray. (1827-32)

> That land to human spirits given,
> The lowermost vales of the storied heaven;
> From thence they can view the world below,
> And heaven's blue gates with sapphires glow,
> More glory yet unmeet to know. (ed. Wallace 2980-4)

Furthermore, the spirits of "Kilmeny" are "meike and reverent," contrasting with the malevolent fairies who pay tithes to the Devil in "Old David." Contrarily, Oliver Elton maintains, "'Kilmeny' is built up on a ballad-theme of the regular kind—the sojourn of a mortal for a space of years in a kind of paradise among the fairies" (323). In fact the poem states that Kilmeny is taken to "ane farr countrye" (2882) by a "fere" (2890), which is some kind of dwarf or gnome. Further evidence for this view is provided in Hogg's footnote to the poem:

> ...the principal events related in the tales of "Old David" and "Macgregor," are all founded on popular traditions. So is also the romantic story of Kilmeny's disappearance and revisiting her friends, after being seven years in Fairyland. The tradition bears some resemblance to the old ballads of "Tam Lean" and "Thomas of Ercildoune;" and it is not improbable that all the three may have drawn their origin from the same ancient romance. (*QW* p.174)

However, Mack dismisses this, along with Hogg's annotation: "surely this footnote cannot cancel out the unequivocal evidence of the poem itself" (xxiii). Actually, Hogg's ambiguous use of both Christian and pagan imagery in "Kilmeny" denies the incontestability of either point of view. Indeed, the originality and ethereal beauty of "Kilmeny" suggest that Hogg has merely used these sources as a starting point for his own myth:

> But scho saw quhill the sorrouis of man war by,
> And all was luife and hermonye;

Quhill the sternis of hevin fell lownly away,
Lyke the flekis of snaw on ane winter day. (3052-5)

This myth provides a "view of the human situation; we live in a world of sin and sorrow, but behind and beyond our misery, at the transcendent level of experience, there is a joy which is eternal... The poem is an expression of the beauty and peace of that ultimate joy, seen against a background of the sadness of the contrast between the glory of heaven and our present situation" (Mack *Selected Poems* xxiv). This disparity is made apparent by the spirits who welcome Kilmeny to their world. They praise her perfect purity, "As spotless as the mornyng snaw" (2900), contrasting it with "the guilt of humanitye" (2929). Because of this disparity, Kilmeny cannot remain in the human world after her return: "It walsna her heme, and scho culdna remayne;/ Scho left this worild of sorrow and payne,/ And returnit to the land of thochte agene" (3116-8).

Not surprisingly, the scenes in heaven are the least successful of the lay. The human mind can only conceive of heaven in comparison to earthly experience. Hence, Hogg describes the spirit world of "Kilmeny" in celestial terms, using light imagery and excluding such earthly elements as roosters, rain and wind:

Kilmeny had beine quhair the cock nevir crew,
Quhair the rayne nevir fell, and the wynd nevir blew.
But it seemit as the herpe of the skye had rung,
And the ayries of heauin playit runde her tung,
Quhan scho spak of the luvelye formis scho had seine,
And ane land quhair synn had nevir beine—
Ane land of love, and ane land of lychte,
Withoutten sonne, or mone, or nycht:
Quhair the ryver swait ane lyving streime,
And the lychte ane pure and cludless beime:
The land of vision it wald seime,
And still ane everlestyng dreime. (2860-71)

Removing the sun, the moon and night, things elemental to life on earth, Hogg creates an other-worldly setting. These negative comparisons and the use of "seemit as" and "wald

seime" make this spirit world a distant echo of the human world. The vague topography of Hogg's "land of thochte" (2973) has often been criticised, but its indefiniteness does seem appropriate to the timeless, ephemeral setting of the lay.

"The Abbot M'Kinnon" is another lay with an ambiguous religious message. The monks of "The Abbot M'Kinnon," already compromised by their lascivious behaviour ["they turned their eyes to the female dome,/ And thought of the nuns till the abbot came home" (4844-5)], now pray "to the God of the sea" (5002). While the capital 'G' seems a concession to an orthodox God, the specifically separate function of this god implies polytheism. He is a sort of Neptune or Tangaroa. "Traditional, Christian images of a temple, a patriarchal God, and an underworld, are in this daring ballad strengthened and deepened by being joined to pagan, archetypal, oceanic forces" (Groves 48). Other pagan elements are apparent in this lay. The setting of the lay, the island of Iona, was "a druidic stronghold and in Gaelic was known as Inis Druineach or 'Druid's Isle'" (Howard 117).[2] Of the ancient Celtic druids Snyder writes: "It is thought that they practised human sacrifice, and that they made use in their ceremonies of huge stone monuments which are still to be seen throughout Britain" (9). Accordingly, "tall grey forms, in close-set file" (4958), reminiscent of Stonehenge, can be found in "The Abbot M'Kinnon." Further, the sacrifice of the abbot and his monks is called for—"Greater yet must the offering be" (5036)—and delivered: their ship "sunk away with a murmuring groan/ The sea is calm, and the sinners are gone" (5141-2).

Interestingly, the "old man" (5096) of "The Abbot M'Kinnon" is St. Columba, the founder of Christianity in Scotland, who built a monastery on the island of Iona in 563. Columba, born of royal parentage, "was the founder of the Scottish monarchy which was destined in the course of history to bring under its rule and so to unify the territories now forming the kingdom of Scotland. To this result St. Columba in some measure contributed, though neither he nor anyone for centuries to come could have foreseen it" (Burleigh 17). Hence, St. Columba, the mysterious figure of the final lay, is an emblem of Scottish unity, not only as the founder of the Scottish monarchy, but as a

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[2] At the time of St. Columba's arrival, "Iona was also the resting place of the druids' so-called 'Black Stone of Destiny'" (Howard 118). King Aedan was crowned on this stone by Columba. It was later taken to Scone where subsequent Scottish monarchs were crowned on it, hence this pagan artefact played an important part in Scottish sovereignty. Known as the Coronation Stone or the Stone of Scone, it was returned to Scotland from Westminster Abbey on 1st December 1996, and is now on display at Edinburgh Castle.

truly Christian symbol, unifying the various factions of Scottish religious history, against the background of Hogg's polytheistic imagery.

One further example of Hogg's blending of orthodoxy and heterodoxy is his portrait of the eleventh bard, Macfarlane, whose Christian devotions are tinged with a kind of pantheism:

> Hymning in heart the Virgin's praise,
> A cross he framed of birchen bough,
> And 'neath that cross he laid him low;
> Hid by the heath and Highland plaid,
> His old harp in his bosom laid.
> Oh! when the winds that wander'd by,
> Sung on her breast their lullaby,
> How thrill'd the tones his bosom through,
> And deeper, holier, pour'd his vow! (2245-53)

This passage echoes Coleridge's Eolian harp model. However, here the harp is not stirred by an "intellectual breeze" (Coleridge 47), but an emotional, or devotional one.

In this way, Hogg, a staunch Presbyterian, mixes the Christian images of *The Queen's Wake* with pagan ones. "Kilmeny," "The Abbot M'Kinnon," and Macfarlane are all examples of Christian/ pagan ambiguity, the pagan elements being fairyland, polytheism and pantheism respectively. These elements signal a return to old Celtic roots and traditions. It seems that followers of the Romantic movement turned to these traditions hoping "to find a satisfactory substitute for the overworked mythology of Greece and Rome" (Snyder 5). Hence, these pagan images of the Celtic past are a move away from the classical mythologies so apparent in Augustan literature. For Hogg, they are a return to the early religious history of Scotland, a symbol of unity in a time before the sectarian struggles of orthodox religion.

POLITICS

The Queen's Wake is set in 1561, and records the return of Mary Queen of Scots to Scotland from France. At this time, the Scots were recent adherents to the Reformed Church and John Knox, Presbyterian preacher, was at his evangelical zenith. Stemming from this, Presbyterianism has become the national religion of Scotland, a powerful reinforcement of national identity. The Kirk is a symbol of unity for Scots, distinguishing them from other members of Britain: "After the Reformation, the Church of Scotland was sharply differentiated from the Church of England within Protestantism because the former was presbyterian and Calvinist, while the latter was episcopalian and 'Anglo-Catholic' in theology" (Kellas 26). In fact, during Charles II's reign, Presbyterianism was seen as so distinctly Scottish that attempts were made to quash it in order to unify England, Ireland and Scotland:

> ... Clarendon, Charles's English adviser, observed that if Presbyterianism was established in Scotland it might be difficult to maintain Episcopacy in England and Ireland. So once more the delusive idea of uniformity in the king's dominions in disregard to their historic diversity carried the day. (Burleigh 238)

In fact, the persecution of the Covenanters after the Restoration of Charles II continued until the re-establishment of Presbyterianism in Scotland after the Glorious Revolution of 1688.

Hogg himself was a stout Presbyterian. However, his *Wake* centres on Mary Stuart, a Catholic queen.[1] Hence, in offering Mary as a symbol of nationalist devotion, Hogg is in effect embracing Catholicism. Given the complex, interlocking nature of clerical and secular issues in Scottish history, it is not surprising that the ambiguity of this religious stance is reflected in Hogg's problematic political views.

Traditionally, Whigs represented Presbyterianism and rebellion, claiming the power of excluding a Catholic heir to the throne. Tories, on the other hand, supported

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[1] Although devout, Mary was a very tolerant Catholic. Biographer Antonia Fraser notes that she "showed throughout her career a quite remarkable clemency and lack of bigotry towards her subjects of a different religion, marking her off from almost all her contemporaries" (77).

James II's hereditary right to the throne despite his Roman Catholic faith. In fact, die-hard Tories were discredited as Jacobites. Despite his religious affiliation with the Presbyterian Church, Hogg was a "Tory by instinct" (Batho 143), who displayed Jacobite sympathies. His Tory sentiments are recorded in *Memoir of the Author's Life* along with his memories of Sym, "that noble and genuine old Tory" (79), the uncle of Professor John Wilson, author of the *Noctes Ambrosianae*:

> His reading, both ancient and modern, is boundless, his taste and perception acute beyond those of other men; his satire keen and biting; but at the same time his good-humour is altogether inexhaustible, save when ignited by coming in collision with Whig or radical principles. Still there being no danger of that with me, he and I never differed in one single sentiment in our lives, excepting on the comparative merits of some Strathspey reels. (80)

Hogg's position as a stout Presbyterian with Jacobite sympathies, although ambiguous, is not particularly surprising. It seems the 1707 Act of Union "inclined even Scottish Presbyterians to the Pretender's side" (McLynn 26). Furthermore, the Romantic era saw a mounting interest in the Jacobite cause, led, McLynn notes, by Robert Burns:

> Burns's Jacobite attachment was of the sentimental variety, as he himself admitted. Like many people of imagination, he was drawn to the dramatic and romantic aspects of the House of Stuart and its misfortunes. Politically he was a democrat and egalitarian and, in contemporary terms, a revolutionary. His desire that Charlie should enjoy his own again was an expression of poetic licence. Yet Burns's Jacobitism was important, for it was through his verses that Jacobite songs entered the mainstream repertory. (McLynn 211)

Hogg, a great admirer of Burns, continued this Romantic interest in Jacobitism in his *Jacobite Relics of Scotland*, collected for the Highland Society of London:

> Curs'd be the Papists, who withdrew
> The King to their persuasion
> Curs'd be that covenanting crew,
> Who gave the first occasion.
> Curs'd be the wretch who seiz'd the throne,
> And marr'd our constitution.
>
> And curs'd be they who helped on
> That wicked revolution
> Curs'd be those traitorous traitors who
> By their perfidious knavery
> Have brought our nation now into
> An everlasting slavery.
> Curs'd be the parliament, that day
> Who gave their confirmation
> And curs'd be every whining Whig
> And damn'd be the whole nation. (qtd. in McLynn 5)

A clear link between Jacobitism and Scottish nationalism emerges from these passages:

> Ye northern chiefs, whose rage, unbroke
> Has still repell'd the tyrants shock
> Who ne'er have bowed beneath his yoke
> With servile base prostration;
> Let each now train his rusty band,
> 'Gainst foreign foes alone to stand
> With undivided heart and hand,
> For freedom, king and nation. (qtd. in McLynn 208)

This attitude was broadly adhered to in Scotland after the Union of 1707:

> It was widely considered that union meant an abandonment of a uniquely
> Scottish destiny and personality in return for being tied to an unacceptable

> English foreign policy. The Jacobites made the most of their role as standard bearers for Scottish nationalism. (McLynn 76)

Hogg's sympathy for the Jacobites is also evident in his choice of Mary Stuart as a symbol of national devotion in *The Queen's Wake*. After all, the Stuarts and their Catholicism are central to the Jacobite cause: "After 1707 enthusiasm for the House of Stuart became closely identified with nationalism and a nostalgia for the Scottish past. The cultural revival of the early eighteenth century owed much to Jacobitism" (McLynn 76). The fact that the ousted Stuarts (or Stewarts) were a *Scottish* royal family added to the popularity of Jacobitism in Scotland. However, Mary's symbolism in the *Wake* is slightly ambiguous: she is compromised by her favouritism towards Rizzio. At the end of the competition Gardyn is judged best, despite Mary's vote for the Italian:

> Queen Mary redden'd, wroth was she
> Her favourite thus outdone to see,
> Reproved her squire in high disdain,
> And caused him call the votes again.
> Strange though it seem, the truth I say,
> Feature of that unyielding day,
> Her favourite's voters counted o'er,
> Were found much fewer than before.
> Glisten'd her eyes with pungent dew;
> She found with whom she had to do. (5202-11)

The Scots' rejection of Rizzio is a rejection of the Queen's authority, showing their independent, "unyielding" nature.

That independent Scottish nature is also evident in the politically symbolic scenes of "Kilmeny." While in the "land of thochte" (2973), Kilmeny has a vision of future Scottish history, including the troubled reign of Mary, Queen of Scots:

> Scho saw ane ladye sit on ane throne,
> The fayrest that evir the sun shone on!

Ane lyon lickit her hand of mylke,
And scho held him in ane leish of sylke;
And ane leifu mayden stude at her knee,
With ane sylver wand and meltyng e'e. (2992-7)

The ambiguity of Hogg's symbolism reflects the turmoil of the times. The lion represents the Scottish people: "the red lion of Scotland" (Fraser 593). However, it could also represent Mary's son James VI, who later united Scotland and England under the symbol of the British lion. In the lines above the lion is on a leash, licking its mistress's hand, perhaps representing Mary's hope that she and her son will rule together. However, this is not to be:

Than ane gruff untowyrd gysart came,
And he hundit the lyon on his dame;
And the leifu mayde with the meltyng eye,
She droppit ane tear, and passit by;
And scho saw quhill the queen fra the lyon fled,
Quhill the bonniest flouir in the world lay deide.
Ane koffin was set on a distant playne,
And scho saw the reid bluid fall like rayne... (3004-11)

The gruff old man represents the Reformed Church and its supporters (Mack *Selected Poems* 163), turning the Scottish people away from their Catholic queen. Mary is beheaded and her body eventually buried, "on a distant playne," in Peterborough (Fraser 593). Again, the lion could also be symbolic of James VI, who turned away from his mother's Catholicism to become a Protestant king and raised no strenuous objection to her death:

> ...the one sanction which James had it in his power to invoke to save his mother's life—and which in the opinion of at least one historian would have effectively preserved her from execution at English hands—was never made. James hovered over the subject of the death sentence with a series of dire but meaningless threats. At no point did he say he would

> break the Anglo-Scottish league if his mother's death was brought about by England, although Elizabeth anxiously inquired of his ambassadors whether that was in fact his intention. His fulminations and his embassy were both intended to save face in Scotland: they were not intended to save his mother's life in England. Nor did all his emissaries agree with Gray in expressing their disgust at the idea of the execution: Sir Alexander Stewart expressed the damaging view that James would somehow manage to digest his mother's death. (Fraser 569)

Following on from Mary's tumultuous reign, Hogg describes the anarchic scenes which accompanied James's rule:

> Then the gruff grim keryl girnit amain,
> And they trampit him downe, but he rase againe;
> And he baitit the lyon to deidis of weir,
> Quhill he lepit the blude to the kyngdome deire.
> But the lyon grew straung, and dainger-prief,
> Quhan crownit with the rose and the claiver leife... (3014-9)

The turmoil of these images is made more vital by the disappearance of the "leifu mayde" who stood at Mary's side, then "droppit ane tear, and passit by." John Mair notes: "at the beginning of the troubles, the maiden is surely to be compared to Kilmeny: a symbol of peace and purity whose absence from Scotland prefaces the nightmare of social disruption" (20).[2]

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[2] If all this is meant to be a prophetic warning to Mary of her imminent demise, it does not have much effect—at the end of the lay she simply gives a "courteous smile" (3125) and announces an adjournment until the following night! This section of "Kilmeny" echoes a similar prophecy sung to the Queen by a grey-haired minstrel in the introduction to the poem:

> "Oh, lady dear! fair is thy noon,
> But man is like the inconstant moon:
> Last night she smiled o'er lawn and lea;
> That moon will change, and so will he.
>
> Thy time, dear lady, 's a passing shower;
> Thy beauty is but a fading flower:
> Watch thy young bosom and maiden eye,
> For the shower must fall and the flow'ret die." (213-20)

Hogg moves abruptly from Scottish history to a representation of the French Revolution:

> Scho saw ane pepil, ferse and fell,
> Burst fra their bundis like feindis of hell;
> The lilye grew and the egil flew,
> And scho herkit on her revening crew.
> The wedois wailit, and the reid bluid ran,
> And scho thretinit ane end to the race of man:
> Scho nevir lenit nor stoode in awe,
> Quhill claught by the lyonis deadly paw.
> Oh! then the egil swinkit for lyfe,
> And brainzelit up ane mortyl stryfe;
> But flew scho north, or flew scho suthe,
> Scho met with the goul of the lyonis muthe. (3030-41)

John Mair notes that, compared with the images of Scottish history, this part "has less clarity, possibly because of the poet's desire to emphasise the nationalistic import of the complete section by the moral of the climax" (20):

> With ane mootit wing and weful mene,
> The egil sochte her airy agene;
> But lang may scho cour in her bloodye neste,
> And lang, lang sleik her oundit breste,
> Afore scho sey ane ither flychte,
> To play with the norlan lyonis mychte. (3042-7)

This climax, it seems, is designed to emphasise the large part Scotland, "the norlan lyon," has played in the defeat of tyranny, showing the independent nature of the Scots. However, when Hogg was writing *The Queen's Wake*, in 1813, this message was slightly

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Hence, one of the "wondrous powers of Scottish song" (270) is the power of prophecy. It is easily achievable for Hogg, with the benefit of hindsight.

Prussia, Russia, Austria, and others. In 1812 he had been forced to retreat from Moscow, and his generals were losing the wars in other parts of Europe. The British Army, under the Duke of Wellington, was busy flushing the French out of Spain. The British Army included a number of specifically Scottish regiments, such as the Royal Highlanders, the Black Watch, and the Scots Greys. Hogg, however, is writing several years before Waterloo, so he cannot say with absolute certainty that the French have been beaten, but he writes as if it is a foregone conclusion. Perhaps he is expressing his firm belief in the courage and martial skills of the Scots in deflecting tyranny.

NATURE AND HARDINESS

Scotland is a rugged, elemental land, from its heathered Lowlands to the shadows of Ben Nevis. Such images as these characterise what Walter Scott called "Caledonia stern and wild," and Hogg uses this kind of nature to set the scene for *The Queen's Wake*. Furthermore, he uses the harsh Scottish terrain as a metaphor for the hardiness of the Scots themselves, creating an affinity, a spiritual bond, between the people and the land.

Firstly, Hogg emphasises the immense power of Nature in order to create an image of the grandeur of Scotland. In "Glen-Avin" he describes the Spirit of the Storm, a natural element, as the "sovereign" (1656) of the mountains, sitting on his "elemental throne" (1619).[1] He follows this description with a list of placenames, showing the far-reaching effects of the storm's power:

> Even far on Yarrow's fairy dale,
> The shepherd paused in dumb dismay;
> And passing shrieks adown the wale,
> Lured many a pitying hind away.
>
> The Lowthers felt the tyrant's wrath;
> Proud Hartfell quaked beneath his brand;
> And Cheviot heard the cries of death,
> Guarding his loved Northumberland. (1657-64)

Here Nature's power, an almost God-like omnipotence, is symbolised by the Spirit of the Storm. Hence, the human element which lends such credibility to "The Witch of Fife" is replaced in "Glen-Avin" by a spiritual quality which adds depth to Hogg's image of Scotland. This spirituality is expressed in naturalistic terms, moving away from institutionalised religion:

> There matin hymn was never sung;

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[1] Similarly, Hogg places Nature on "her mountain throne" (1746) as he introduces the Ettrick bard.

Nor vesper, save the plover's wail;
But mountain eagles breed their young,
And aerial spirits ride the gale. (1573-6)

This spiritual image is enhanced by Hogg's use of the biblical image of the Flood to convey the timelessness of Nature. The Spirit of the Storm has ruled the "everlasting hills" (1629) of Glen-Avin "Since roll'd the world a shoreless sea" (1618).

Like the Spirit of the Storm, the "Guardian of Scotland's proud mountains" (4124), who appears in "King Edward's Dream," is a spirit of Nature. This is apparent in Hogg's description of her as he uses metaphors drawn from the natural world:

Her robe was the blue silken veil of the sky,
The drop of the amethyst deepen'd its dye;
Her crown was a helmet emblazoned with pearl;
Her mantle the sunbeam, her bracelets the beryl;
Her hands and her feet like the bright burning levin;
Her face was the face of an angel from heaven:
Around her the winds and the echoes grew still,
And rainbows were form'd in the cloud of the hill. (4111-8)

His reference to her angelic face adds a spiritual dimension to this image.

"Kilmeny" is another lay in which the natural world is seen in a spiritual light. However, if comparisons can be drawn between the powerful Spirit of the Storm in "Glen-Avin" and the wrathful God of the Old Testament, then it is the gentler spirituality of the New Testament that Drummond of Ern evokes in his lay. Hogg refers to Drummond as "the enthusiast" (2807), a term reminiscent of Joseph Warton's early Romantic poem *The Enthusiast: or, the Lover of Nature*. Like Drummond, Warton was a holy man who delighted in solitary communion with nature, and wished to withdraw from the artificialities of orthodox society.

Kilmeny's association with Nature is continually emphasised by Hogg. While other girls may have less pure reasons for going "up the glen" (2821), Kilmeny goes

to hear the yorline syng,
And pu' the blew kress-flouir runde the sprynge;
To pu' the hyp and the hyndberrye,
And the nytt that hung fra the hesil tree... (2825-8)

She returns decked out in natural splendour: "Quhair gat ye that joup o' the lilye scheine?/ That bonny snoode of the byrk se greine?/ And these rosis, the fayrist that ever war seine?" (2849-51). Hogg draws similes from Nature to describe Kilmeny:

Als still was her luke, and als still was her e'e,
Als the stillnesse that lay on the emerant lee,
Or the myst that sleips on ane waveless sea.

. . . . . .

Her seymar was the lilye flouir,
And her cheik the moss-rose in the shouir,
And her voice lyke the distant melodye
That floatis alang the silver sea. (2855-7, 3074-7)

These images culminate in "the final symbolic celebration of harmony and unity near the end of the poem" (Mair 18):

But quhairevir her peacefu' form appeirit,
The wylde besties of the hill war cheirit;
The ouf playit lythely runde the feilde,
The lordlye byson lowit and kneilit,
The dun-deire wooit with manyr bland,
And courit aneath her lilye hand. (3082-7)[2]

[2] This scene echoes Isaiah's vision of harmony in nature: "The wolf also shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid; and the calf and the lion and the fatling together; and a little child shall lead them" (Isaiah 11: 6).

Incidentally, this scene mirrors the reaction of Nature to the witches' midnight flight in "The Witch of Fife":

> ...the wezelis laup out of their mouldy holis,
> And dancit on the midnycht hill.
>
> The corby craw cam gledgin near,
> The ern gede veeryng by;
> And the troutis laup out of the Leven Louch,
> Charmit with the melodye. (1179-84)

However, while the lawlessness of the witches excites docile animals, Kilmeny's spiritual purity serves to tame wild animals.

Kilmeny, according to Mair, is set up as a figure of symbolic importance through repetition of natural imagery. Therefore, the above lines are the climax of the lay, Hogg's vision of Nature in harmony, "lyke ane eve in a sinless worild" (3107). Again, Hogg stresses the timelessness of Nature. As Nature's symbol, Kilmeny is immortal: "Quhan the synnir has gene to his wesome doome,/ Kilmeny shall smyle in eternal bloome!" (2966-7).

While Kilmeny communes with the spirits in "the land of thochte" (2973), she is still human and through her character we make the move from immense and powerful spirits down to a human level as Hogg draws contrasts and parallels between Nature and humanity.

For example, in order to highlight the immense power of the "giant spirit of the storm" (1600) in "Glen-Avin," Hogg contrasts this natural strength with the "Half-naked, hoary, feeble form" (1610) of the seer. This mystic, although able to withstand "what mortal could not bear" (1594), is still too human to live in the natural habitat of the storm; he can only "linger" (1577).

The same contrast is set up between powerful Nature and frail humanity in "The Abbot M'Kinnon." Hogg evokes an image of the sea's immense power by comparing it with other powerful aspects of Nature:

The song of the cliff, when the winter winds blow,
The thunder of heaven, the earthquake below,
Conjoin'd, like the voice of a maiden would be,
Compared with the anthem there sung by the sea. (4983-6)

These images are then contrasted with the helplessness of the human abbot and his monks. The ship carrying them sinks "with a murmuring moan,/ The sea is calm, and the sinners are gone" (5141-2).

Having emphasised Nature's strength through contrast, Hogg then draws a parallel between Nature and humanity. He uses the tempestuous energy of Nature as a metaphor for human battles. For example, in the battle scene in "Dumlanrig," human destruction is compared with the destructiveness of Nature:

So furious was that onset's shock,
Destruction's gates at once unlock;
'Twas like the earthquake's hollow groan,
When towers and towns are overthrown;
'Twas like the river's midnight crush,
When snows dissolve and torrents rush;
When fields of ice, in rude array,
Obstruct its own resistless way;
'Twas like the whirlwind's rending sweep;
'Twas like the tempest of the deep,
Where Corryvraken's surges driven,
Meet, mount, and lash the breast of heaven. (4391-402)

In the face of this battle "Nature stood mute" (4415), overwhelmed by the horror of this human destructiveness in the same way as the seer of "Glen-Avin" was overwhelmed by the natural Spirit of the Storm. In this way, the gap between Nature and humanity lessens as Hogg begins to draw parallels, rather than contrasts, between the two.

The list of names Hogg provides in his description of the battle between the Scotts and the Pringles in "Mary Scott" lends an authentic aspect to the lay and also shows the link between the Scots and the land as each man's name is followed by his

birthplace: "The doughty laird of Wild Buccleuch" (3885), "Ralph of Gilmanscleuch" (3888), "Philip and Hugh of Baillilee" (3889), "William, Laird of Deloraine" (3890), "Francis, Lord of Thirlestane" (3891). This link is further illustrated in the introduction to the poem, as Hogg describes the bards' feelings of displacement, having left their homes to compete at the wake in Edinburgh:

> Ah! when at home the songs they raised,
> When gaping rustics stood and gazed,
> Each bard believed, with ready will,
> Unmatch'd his song, unmatch'd his skill;
> But when the royal halls appear'd,
> Each aspect changed, each bosom fear'd;
> And when in court of Holyrood
> Filed harps and bards around him stood,
> His eye emitted cheerless ray,
> His hope, his spirit sunk away:
> There stood the minstrel, but his mind
> Seem'd left in native glen behind. (389-400)

"Mary Scott" provides another parallel between man and Nature, as Tushilaw's anger is compared with natural tempests:

> Oh, never was the thunder's jar,
> The red tornado's wasting wing,
> Nor all the elemental war,
> Like fury of the border king. (3675-8)

In contrast, Mary's beauty and gentleness are also described in naturalistic terms:

> Sometimes her colour's like the rose,
> Sometimes 'tis like the lily pale;
> The flower that in the forest grows

Is fallen before the summer gale. (3663-6)

Thus, the comparisons between the natural world and the human world are extended from destructive battle imagery to include much softer natural images which capture the beauty of Hogg's heroines. We have seen how Kilmeny's spiritual purity is represented with similes drawn from the natural world. Similarly, Hogg uses natural images to describe the beauty of May Morison at the end of "Dumlanrig":

Dumlanrig found his lovely flower
Fair as the sunbeam o'er the shower,
Gentle as zephyr of the plain,
Sweet as the rose-bud after rain... (4716-9)

By using natural metaphors to describe contrasting human images, Hogg is highlighting the variety found in both worlds and is establishing an affinity between the two. This association is created through imagination and the imagination is symbolised by Hogg's lyre, itself a product of Nature: "my Mountain Lyre" (8), "Harp of the mountain and the wood" (12), "Harp of the Forest" (45). This instrument allows Hogg to triumph over winter storms, to bend Nature to his will through metaphor:

Now burst, ye winter clouds that lower,
Fling from your folds the piercing shower;
Sing to the tower and leafless tree,
Ye cold winds of adversity;
Your blights, your chilling influence, shed
On wareless heart and houseless head;
Your ruth or fury I disdain,
I've found my Mountain Lyre again! (1-8)

Hogg emphasises the severity of the Scottish winter, personifying December:

December came: his aspect stern

Glared deadly o'er the mountain cairn;
A polar sheet was round him flung,
And ice-spears at his girdle hung;
O'er frigid field and drifted cone,
He strode undaunted and alone;
Or throned amid the Grampians grey,
Kept thaws and suns of heaven at bay. (357-64)[3]

The competing bards themselves represent the hardiness of spirit that allows the Scots to triumph over their harsh natural climate:

Not stern December's fierce control
Could quench the flame of minstrels' soul:
Little reck'd they, our bards of old,
Of autumn's showers or winter's cold.
Sound slept they on the nighted hill,
Lull'd by the winds or babbling rill... (365-70)

In his address to his harp at the end of *The Queen's Wake* Hogg writes: "oft thy erring numbers borne,/ Have taught the wandering winds to sing" (5534-5). It seems from his description of the Scottish winter that these winds are not merely wandering: they are blowing a gale which can only be tamed, or "taught," by the creative musical strains of the lyre. If the chosen instrument of the poem, the lyre, is a symbol of creativity which bends Nature to its will through metaphor, then the style chosen for the lays, that of the ballad, also has its part to play: "As far as the relationship of the ballad to reality is concerned, its contents, in a similar manner to those of the epic, embody the refreshing closeness to nature and things that characterises naïve human beings" (Fischer 34).

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[3] At the same time, Hogg is sure to emphasise the awesome beauty of Scotland's snow-covered mountains:

But mitred cliff, and crested fell,
In lucid curls her brows adorn,
Aloft the radiant crescents swell,
All pure as robes by angels worn. (1677-80)

Within the various lays themselves, that hardiness and affinity with Nature is best represented in the character of Young Kennedy.[4] He is presented as a child of the fierce Scottish climate:

> When the gusts of October had rifled the thorn,
> Had dappled the woodland and umber'd the plain,
> In the den of the mountain was Kennedy born;
> There hush'd by the tempest, baptised with the rain.
> His cradle a mat that swung light on the oak;
> His couch a sere mountain-fern spread on the rock;
> The white knobs of ice from the chill'd nipple hung,
> And loud winter torrents his lullaby sung. (791-8)

This image of Scottish hardiness echoes Rousseau's image of the "noble savage," a concept popularised by the Romantic movement. Hogg also draws a comparison between the Scots and the American Indians, implying that Scots live off the land as the Indians do, thus emphasising their hardiness and affinity with Nature. The third day of the wake dawns sunny and is compared with

> the loved, the toilsome day,
> That dawns on mountains west away,
> When the first Indian hunter hastes
> Far up his Appalachian wastes,
> To range the savage haunts, and dare
> In his dark home the sullen bear. (3202-7)

Rousseau's "noble savage" embodied Romantic yearning for a return to Nature and a move away from the growing industrialisation of the eighteenth century. The opposition of town and country became a recurrent theme in English Romantic poetry. The town,

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[4] In his annotations to the text, Hogg uses traditional family and clan ties to reinforce this image of Young Kennedy: "The Clan Kennedy was only in the present age finally expelled from Glengarry, and forced to disperse over this and other countries. Its character among the Highlanders, is that of the most savage and irreclaimable tribe that ever infested the mountains of the north" (*QW* p.173).

defaced by the works of man, is contrasted with the unspoilt beauty of rural areas or uncivilised lands. However, Hogg, born and raised in the wilds of Ettrick, does not self-consciously follow this Romantic trend. The proliferation of natural imagery in *The Queen's Wake* does not constitute a *return* to Nature, but Hogg's continuing acknowledgment of Nature as an integral part of his existence, and hence of life in Scotland.

Rustic as he was, Hogg had no cause to idealise rusticity. Young Kennedy is ultimately a rejection of the "noble savage" image, for while he is savage, his actions are far from noble. He "internalises the storm's destructive capacity, killing an old man so he can marry the man's daughter" (Groves 40). This internalisation is shown by the natural terms in which Kennedy is described: "His eye was the eagle's, the twilight his hue;/ His stature like pine of the hill where he grew;/ His soul was the neal-fire inhaled from his den" (811-3). Nature, having nurtured Kennedy from his birth, reacts strongly to his death:

> The piles of Glen-Ardochy murmur and jar;
> The rook and the raven converse from the rock,
> The beasts of the forest are howling afar.
> Shrill-pipes the goss-hawk his dire tidings to tell,
> The grey mountain-falcon accords with his yell;
> Aloft on bold pinion the eagle is borne,
> To ring the alarm at the gates of the morn. (992-8)

Mirroring the characterisation of Young Kennedy, Farquhar of Spey, the singer of "Glen-Avin," is also presented as a child of Nature:

> Amid those scenes the youth was bred,
> Where Nature's eye is stern and dread;
> 'Mid forests dark, and caverns wild,
> And mountains above mountains piled,
> Whose hoary summits, tempest-riven,
> Uprear eternal snows to heaven. (1543-8)

In describing a bard in this way, Hogg brings his presentation of Scottish affinity with Nature one step closer to the real world, from a character in a lay to a bard in the wider poem. Like Farquhar, the Ettrick bard is described in naturalistic terms: "bred in the wild,/…/ The bard on Ettrick's mountains green/ In nature's bosom nursed had been"(1731, 1743-4). He laments leaving Ettrick and vows to return, even in death, emphasising his unbreakable link with the land of his birth:

> Oh, Ettrick! shelter of my youth!
> Thou sweetest glen of all the south!
> Thy fairy tales and songs of yore,
> Shall never fire my bosom more.
> Thy winding glades and mountains wild,
> The scenes that pleased me when a child,
> Each verdant vale and flowery lea,
> Still in my midnight dreams I see;
> And waking oft, I sigh for thee.
> Thy hapless bard, thou forced to roam
> Afar from thee, without a home,
> Still there his glowing breast shall turn,
> Till thy green bosom fold his urn:
> Then, underneath thy mountain stone,
> Shall sleep unnoticed and unknown. (2168-82)

These lines reflect Hogg's own feelings on leaving Ettrick to pursue a literary career in Edinburgh.[5] Of course, Hogg's success ensured that he was not buried "unnoticed and unknown." Hence the Ettrick bard, a version of Hogg himself, provides a stepping-stone between the poem and biographical reality. Hogg's own childhood is described in similar terms by S.C. Hall:

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[5] In fact, Hogg wrote a poem on this, entitled "Farewell to Ettrick."

> He was employed, almost from infancy, in tending sheep, herding cows—doing anything that a very child could do—and ran about ill clad, bare-footed, learning from Nature, and Nature only, eating scanty meals by wayside brooks, and drinking from some crystal stream near at hand... (387)

Hogg completes this cycle by recording his own attitude to Nature in his notes to the poem:

> There are many scenes among the Grampian deserts which amaze the traveller who ventures to explore them; and in the most pathless wastes the most striking landscapes are often concealed. Glen-Avin exceeds them all in what may be termed stern and solemn grandeur. It is indeed a sublime solitude, in which the principal feature is deformity; yet that deformity is mixed with lines of wild beauty, such as an extensive lake, with its islets and bays, the straggling trees, and the spots of shaded green; and altogether it is such a scene as man has rarely looked upon. I spent a summer day in visiting it. The hills were clear of mist, yet the heavens were extremely dark—the effect upon the scene exceeded all description. My mind, during the whole day, experienced the same sort of sensation as if I had been in a dream... (*QW* p.174)

In this way, Hogg is conveying the natural beauty of Scotland, and a Scotsman's natural reaction to it, even outside the confines of the poem.

Hogg uses imagery drawn from the natural world to present a picture of the grandeur and force of Scotland's terrain and climate. The energy of this image translates to a spiritual awareness of the divinity of Nature. Hogg adds a human dimension to the natural and the spiritual, binding these concepts together with natural similes, as, for example, in the following lines:

> The youth, on cramps of polish'd steel,
> Join'd in the race, the curve, the wheel;

With arms outstretch'd, and foot aside,
Like lightning o'er the lake they glide;
And eastward far their impulse keep,
Like angels journeying o'er the deep. (3221-6)

Hence an image of the Scottish people and their affinity with the land and with Nature emerges. The harsh Scottish climate brings out the hardiness of the Scots themselves, strengthening this bond. Hogg emphasises the link between the natural and the human worlds at every opportunity: in the lays themselves, in the narrative framework of the poem, and in his own annotations.

SUSPICION OF FOREIGNERS

Scotland has a long tradition of nationalism and independence. In 1320, a group of Scottish barons, claiming to speak for "the whole community of the realm of Scotland," signed the Declaration of Arbroath, seeking independence for Scotland: "For we fight not for glory, nor riches, nor honours, but for freedom alone, which no good man gives up except with his life" (Kellas 24). This document, also known as the Scottish Declaration of Independence, expresses the unity of the Scottish nation in the face of continual attacks by the English, led by the tyrannical Edward I. Referred to with pride by Scottish nationalists throughout history, it is "an eloquent statement of Scottish nationalism and anti-English feeling" (Kellas 27).

This anti-English sentiment is echoed by Hogg in *The Queen's Wake*. In "The Witch of Fife," the old man is "wakinit by five rough Englishmen" (1366):

> They nickit the auld man, and they prickit the auld man,
> And they yerkit his limbs with twine,
> Quhill the reid bluid ran in his hose and shoon,
> But some cryit it was wyne.
>
> They lickit the auld man, and they prickit the auld man,
> And they tyit him to ane stone;
> And they set ane bele-fire him about,
> And they burnit him skin and bone. (1377-84)

This ending, from the first edition, jars with the comic tone of the poem, showing the English in a cruel and powerful light. The amended ending, suggested by Walter Scott and published in later editions of the poem, has a happier conclusion:

> He drew his breath, and he said the word,
> And he said it with muckil glee,
> Then he set his fit on the burnyng pile,
> And away to the ayr flew he. (ed. Wallace 1417-20)

Anti-English sentiment still exists in the amended ending; however, now the English are made to look foolish as well as cruel:

> He lukit back to the Carlisle men,
> As he borit the norlan sky;
> He noddit his heide, and gae ane girn,
> But he nevir said guid-bye.
>
> They vanisht far i' the liftis blue wale,
> Nae more the English saw,
> But the auld manis lauch cam on the gale
> With a lang and a loud gaffa. (ed. Wallace 1433-40)

Similarly, in "Earl Walter" Frenchman Sir Anthony Darcie is an object of ridicule, depicted in serpentine terms:

> When Darcie enter'd in the ring,
> A shudder round the circle flew;
> Like men who from a serpent spring,
> They startled at the view. (2570-3)

Darcie's lack of honour is contrasted with the chivalrous conduct of the Scot, Walter Hamilton:

> When good Earl Walter saw he grew
> So pale, and lay so low,
> Away his brace of swords he threw,
> And raised his fainting foe. (2714-7)

The fifth bard is from Ireland and his lay, not recorded in the poem, is ridiculed by the audience for its predictability:

When first the bard his song began,
Of dreams and bodings hard to scan,
Listen'd the court with sidelong bend,
In wonder how the strain would end.
But long ere that it grew so plain,
They scarce from hooting could refrain;
And when the minstrel ceased to sing,
A smother'd hiss ran round the ring. (1061-8)

In condemning this Irishman, Hogg is reacting against the view that Scottish culture is a pale copy of Irish tradition, a view which still has its proponents:

> ...the whole concept of a Highland culture and tradition is a retrospective invention. Before the later years of the seventeenth century, the Highlanders of Scotland did not form a distinct people. They were simply the overflow of Ireland....the Hebridean culture was purely Irish. Their hereditary bards, physicians, harpers (for their musical instrument was the harp, not the pipes) came from Ireland. (Trevor-Roper 15-6)

The only foreigner to escape this xenophobic ridicule is David, an "outlaw from the south" (1795) in the tenth bard's song, "Old David". Despite W. Heldt's assertion that he is "an exile from England" (270), his name suggests he is Welsh, as St. David is the patron saint of Wales. Furthermore, at the beginning of this lay we're told that "Ludlow was his father's name," suggesting he came from Ludlow, near the Anglo-Welsh border, and he has a son named Owen, which is a Welsh name. Nevertheless, Hogg sets David up as a hero who demonstrates bravery and valour as he battles the evil fairies. The gory details of his exploits add to his heroics:

He squared, and made his falchion wheel,
Around his back from head to heel;
Then rising tiptoe, struck amain—

Down fell the sleeper's head in twain... (1961-4)

Perhaps David is afforded this honour because he is the ancestor of a long line of proud Scottish Laidlaws[1]:

> I remember hearing a very old man, named David Laidlaw, who lived somewhere in the neighbourhood of Hawick, relate many of the adventures of this old mosstrooper, his great progenitor, and the first who ever bore the name. (*QW* p.176)

It seems that David's possession of two qualities important to the image of Scottish unity in the poem, martial bravery and strong kinship ties, make him an acceptable hero, despite his foreign origins.

The inclusion of other nationalities in *The Queen's Wake* provides Hogg with an opportunity to contrast these with certain aspects of Scottishness. This is most obvious in the case of Rizzio, that "gay and simpering man" (440) from Italy.[2] Rizzio sings first and Hogg immediately emphasises his strange clothing and speech and his effeminate manner: "Courteous his mien, his accents weak,/ Lady in manner as in make" (437-8). This delicacy sets off the virility of the Scottish songs that follow. Similarly, Hogg's description of Rizzio as the "gaudy minstrel of the south,/ Whose glossy eye and lady form/ Had never braved the northern storm" (510-2) is contrasted with the hardiness of Scottish bards: "Not stern December's fierce control/ Could quench the flame of minstrels' soul" (365-6). This opposition is summed up by an onlooker's reaction to Rizzio's song:

> ...that affected gaudy rhyme,
> The querulous keys and changing chime,
> Scarce could the Highland chieftain brook:

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[1] This lay, sung by the Ettrick bard, centres on that region. It is no coincidence then that its hero bears the same surname as Hogg's mother, Margaret Laidlaw, a native of Ettrick and perhaps descended from Old David.

[2] David Riccio, Mary Stuart's personal secretary, accompanied her from France to Scotland in 1561. She referred him to as "our most special servant" (Fraser 286). While Mary is the focus of national devotion in *The Queen's Wake*, she is compromised by her preference for Rizzio's lay, and it shows the strength of Scottish independence that he is not chosen as the winner.

Disdain seem'd kindling in his look,
That song so vapid, artful, terse,[3]
Should e'er compete with Scottish verse. (733-8)

Hogg creates the greatest contrast between Rizzio and Gardyn, the Scottish bard who performs next. Gardyn drapes his "manly form" in the "garb of ancient Caledon" (772-3), and while Rizzio enters the performing area bowing and smiling, Gardyn's entrance is far more masculine:

Stately he strode, nor bow made he,
Nor even a look of courtesy.
The simpering cringe and fawning look
Of him who late the lists forsook,
Roused his proud heart and fired his eye,
That glow'd with native dignity. (765-70)

In this way, Hogg places the most striking contrast between Scots and foreign at the beginning of the poem, setting the scene for a text full of nationalistic fervour. Furthermore, it seems that Rizzio's presence not only creates a contrast for the reader; he inspires Gardyn to be even more fiercely proud of his Scottishness.

Rizzio's "fervid, flowery lay" (530) is dull. Divided into ten numbered paragraphs, it has an orderliness that contrasts with Gardyn's "wild and dreadful song" (790). The death of the hero in paragraph X of Rizzio's "Malcolm of Lorn" is foreshadowed in paragraph I, in the phrase "yon green grave," tying the whole thing up too neatly. In addition, Rizzio's ridiculous overuse of breast imagery seems orchestrated: "the ocean's bosom" (548), "green Glen-Ora's bosom" (568), "to her bosom prest" (623), "cradled on that breast" (625), "that breast forlorn" (626), "The glowing ocean heaved her breast" (662), "her downy breast" (676), "their heaving breasts" (682), "young Malcolm's breast" (690), "spare that breast" (691), "thy bosom's

[3] Hogg's description of the elements of Scottish song, found in the introduction to the poem, contrasts directly with this: "Bold, rapid, wild, and void of art" (373).

pain" (696), "How throbs that breast!" (712). So, rather craftily, Hogg is making a real competition of the wake by varying the quality of the songs contained therein.[4]

David Groves suggests that "Malcolm of Lorn" "expresses Rizzio's hope that Scotland will remain loyal to Rome and tie itself to the continent rather than asserting its independent nationhood" (40). Thus, Rizzio is once again excluded, as a reassertion of Scotland's national identity is the very thing Hogg is constructing here. In fact, Hogg moves to discredit Rizzio, calling him "the wily stranger" (745) and dismissing his lay as "foreign minstrelsy/ And artful airs of Italy" (741-2). In the ultimate rejection of Rizzio's message, Hogg names Gardyn, his opposite, the winner. However, Louis Simpson questions the effectiveness of this award as a protest on behalf of Scottish poetry: "If Hogg prefers a Scottish song to Rizzio's, it is Scottish only in the sense that the bard is a Highlander, and the song describes Scottish scenes (as does Rizzio's, for that matter). But in manner and language the prize-winning poetry is conventionally English" (87). Nevertheless, Gardyn's song and the song of the Ettrick bard, which receives a consolation prize, are conspicuously Scottish in that Hogg has impregnated these lays with the aspects of Scottishness he uses throughout the poem to construct a national identity. Rizzio's foreign verse lacks these Scottish touches, thus increasing the effectiveness of the contrast between his lay and the remainder of the poem.

[4] The same self-awareness is evident in the audience's reaction to "Dumlanrig," a lay of over 500 lines: "They loved it well, yet, sooth to say,/ Too long, too varied was the lay" (4748-9).

FIGHTING

We have seen how Hogg reinforces a feeling of Scottish nationhood in *The Queen's Wake* through a series of symbols, places and traditions shared by Scots. Alternatively, different customs from the separate regions and localities which make up Scotland can be combined into an all-national heritage. Hence, even ancient conflicts come to symbolise national reconciliation on a higher, more comprehensive plane (Hobsbawm *Nations and Nationalism* 90). Like Walter Scott before him, Hogg is building a unified image of the Scottish nation on territory soaked in the blood of warring Highlanders and Lowlanders, emphasising ancient divisions to confirm modern unity.

In *The Queen's Wake*, Hogg emphasises this division between Highlanders and Lowlanders. He is keen to establish the difference in musical styles:

> Fair emblem of the border dale,
> Is cadence soft and simple tale;
> While stern romantic Highland clime,
> Still nourishes the rude sublime.
> If Border ear may taste the worth
> Of the wild pathos of the north;
> Or that sublimed by Ossian's lay,
> By forest dark and mountain grey,
> By clouds which frowning cliffs deform,
> By roaring flood and raving storm,
> Enjoy the smooth, the fairy tale,
> Or evening tale of Teviotdale;
> Then trow you may the tides adjourn,
> And nature from her pathway turn;
> The wild-duck drive to mountain tree,
> The capercayle to swim the sea,
> The heathcock to the shelvy shore,
> The partridge to the mountain hoar,
> And bring the red-eyed ptarmigan

To dwell by the abodes of man. (5250-69)

Hogg is suggesting that the traditional divisions between north and south are so ingrained that an attempt to combine or interchange them would upset the natural order of things. He stresses his own inability, as a Lowlander, to properly convey the wildness of Highland music. Of "The Spectre's Cradle Song," the wildly gothic preface to "Macgregor," he writes: "But oh! that song can ill be sung/ By Lowland bard or Lowland tongue" (2292-3). Similarly, the seventeenth bard sings "The Abbot M'Kinnon" in "the barbarous Highland tongue" which "tartan'd chiefs in raptures hear/ The strains, the words, to them so dear" (4815-7). Hogg promises to recount the lay "As near as Southern tongue can say" (4819).[1]

The competition for Queen Mary's harp comes down to three contestants: Gardyn, from the Highlands, and the Ettrick bard and the fourteenth bard, both Lowlanders. This causes some consternation:

Then did the worst dispute begin,
Which of the *three* the prize should win.
'Twas party all—not minstrel worth,
But honour of the south and north;
And nought was heard throughout the court,
But taunt, and sneer, and keen retort.
High ran the words, and fierce the fume,
And from beneath each nodding plume
Red look was cast that vengeance said,
And palm on broadsword hilt was laid;
While Lowland jeer and Highland mood
Threatened to end the Wake in blood. (5222-33)

[1] Hogg was a Lowlander, and could not speak Gaelic. However, he did have some familiarity with the Highlands. He must have toured there in order to collect his *Jacobite Relics of Scotland* for the Highland Society. In addition, he records in his *Memoir of the Author's Life* that, around the time he wrote *The Queen's Wake*, he "generally went on a tour into the Highlands every summer" (31).

This rivalry is reflected in the attitude of the fourteenth bard, a Lowlander who has entered the competition only to "keep those Highland boasters down" (5291), and now refuses to play again. His actions provoke the hot-headed fighting spirit of the Highlanders:

> The Border youth (that stranger wight)
> Had quarrell'd with the clans outright;
> Had placed their merits out of ken,
> Deriding both the songs and men.
> 'Tis said—but few the charge believes—
> He branded them as fools and thieves.
> Certes that woe and war had been,
> For gleaming dirks unsheathed were seen,
> For Highland minstrels ill could brook
> His taunting word and haughty look. (5278-87)

The Border youth's insistence on the superiority of Lowland minstrelsy is countered in the introduction to the poem by the Duke of Argyle, who recommends Highland lays to the Queen:

> "My royal dame, if once you heard
> The Scottish lay from Highland bard,
> Then might you say, in raptures meet,
> No song was ever half so sweet." (239-42)

Hogg uses this division between north and south, and the friction it causes, to emphasise the Scottish martial spirit. He does not hesitate to draw attention to this facet of life in the Highlands, where there was a strong martial tradition. In fact, after the Union, the obedience and bravery of Highland clansmen when summoned by their chief were qualities which the British Government was keen to harness. They regarded Highlanders as "generally more hardy and less mutinous" (Colley,*Britons* 120). For Scots the formation of the Highland Regiment, kitted out in native garb, was a source of great

pride and of nationalist sentimentality. The Gaels, having been viewed as barbarous nuisances for centuries, became the very embodiment of Scottishness.

Fighting is a common theme in *The Queen's Wake*. For example, "Dumlanrig," based on historical fact, details the characteristic violence of Border life, as the "Southrons" (4290) raid Scottish land, and the Scots reply with a raid of their own. This violence "is generated by the traditional lawlessness of the Borders... In the face of this lawlessness, Border clans make their own laws by strength and violent encounter" (Murphy 99). Hogg provides vivid descriptions of these encounters:

> 'Twas foot to foot, and brand to brand;
> Oft hilt to hilt, and hand to hand;
> Oft gallant foemen, woe to tell,
> Dead in each other's bosoms fell!
> The horsemen met with might and main,
> Then reel'd, and wheel'd, and met again.
> A thousand sparks on hauberks bang—
> A thousand swords on helmets clang.
> Where might was with the feebler blent,
> Still there the line of battle bent;
> As oft recoil'd from flank assail,
> While blows fell thick as rattling hail. (4403-14)

At one point in this skirmish Morison of Locherben holds a pass against the advancing English with a mere ten men, until James Douglas of Dumlanrig comes to his aid:

> Oh, haste thee, Douglas, to the fray,
> Ere won be that important way!
> The Southron's countless prey, within
> The dreadful coils of Crighup Linn,
> No passage from the moor can find—
> The wood below the gulf behind;
> One ford there is, and one alone,

> And in that ford stands Morison. (4339-46)

Hence Hogg's epithets: "dauntless Locherben" (4354), "brave Morison" (4369). It seems the wildness of the Scottish landscape lends itself ideally to guerilla warfare, whereby the few can repel the many. This tale also illustrates the point that clan allegiances can be relied on in times of danger, and when several of them unite they can constitute a powerful army; Douglas alone contributes a thousand men.

The Scottish martial spirit is also evident in "Old David." The worthiness of David and his sons is determined in fighting terms: "Their hearts were true, their arms were strong,/ Their falchions keen, their arrows long" (1879-80). The lay is full of battle imagery: "armour" (1883), "Brands of steel and bows of yew;/ Long arrows" (1884-5), "helmets" (1896), "sword" (1936), "dread claymore" (1938), "barbed point of arrow keen" (1946), "twang of bow" (1947), "splinter'd spear and twanging string" (2109), "piercing arrow's purpled wing" (2110), "Falchions flash and helmets ring" (2111).

Even a game of curling which fills in time between the second and third nights of the wake is described in warlike terms, emphasising traditional Scottish rivalries, even in play:

> There age and youth their pastime take
> On the smooth ice that chain'd the lake:
> The Highland chief, the Border knight,
> In waving plumes and baldricks bright,
> Join in the bloodless friendly war,
> The sounding stone to hurl afar.
> The hair-breadth aim, the plaudits due,
> The rap, the shout, the ardour grew,
> Till drowsy day her curtain drew. (3212-20)

Groves calls this "a redeemed image of the battle" (46); it is a martial image nevertheless.

The fifteenth bard sings "King Edward's Dream," the most nationalistic of all the lays, which deals with a battle between the Scots and Edward I. "Well-toned his voice of wars to sing" (4032), this bard glories in the fierce martial spirit of the Scots:

He saw the Scot's [*sic*] red banner streaming on high;
The fierce Scottish warriors determined and nigh;
Their columns of steel, and, bright gleaming before,
The lance, the broad target, and Highland claymore. (4071-4)[2]

The powerful feeling of Scottish nationalism evoked in passages like the one above is divided by strong regional attachments, and subdivided again by loyalties to family (Colley, *Britons* 17). Accordingly, Hogg includes traditional feuds between Scottish clans or families in *The Queen's Wake*. For example, "Macgregor" deals with an upcoming battle between the Macgregors and the Campbells, the result of which is prophesied in the lay:

She told me, and turn'd my chill'd heart to a stone,
The glory and name of Macgregor were gone:
That the pine, which for ages had spread a bright halo
Afar on the mountains of Highland Glen Falo,
Should wither and fall ere the turn of yon moon,

---

[2] The anapestic meter of "King Edward's Dream" signals a break from the ballad meter which dominates the lays. Interestingly, in "The Destruction of Sennacherib," published in 1815, Byron also uses anapests to complement the martial imagery of his poem:

The Assyrian came down like the wolf on the fold,
And his cohorts were gleaming in purple and gold;
And the sheen of their spears was like stars on the sea,
When the blue wave rolls nightly on deep Galilee. (1-4)

Further comparison can be made between the desert setting of Byron's poem and the desert imagery Hogg employs in *The Queen's Wake*:

In far Ethiopia's desert domain,
Where whirlwinds new mountains up-pile on the plain,
Their crested brown billows, fierce curling on high,
O'ershadow the sun, and are toss'd to the sky;
But, meeting each other, they burst and recoil,
Mix, thunder, and sink, with a reeling turmoil:
As dreadful the onset that Edward beheld,
As fast his brace legions were heap'd on the field. (4081-8)

In a letter to Moore the year after the publication of *The Queen's Wake*, Byron wrote: "The said Hogg is a strange being, but of great, though uncouth, powers. I think very highly of him, as a poet" (qtd. in Moulton 262).

> Smit through by the canker of hated Colquhoun:
> That a feast on Macgregors each day should be common,
> For years, to the eagles of Lennox and Lomond. (2372-9)

Hogg details the origins of this feud in his annotations to the text:

> The pine [2374] was the standard, and still is the crest of the Macgregors; and it is well known that the proscription of that clan was occasioned by the slaughter of the Colquhouns, who were its constant and inveterate enemies. That bloody business let loose the vengeance of the country upon them, and had nearly extirpated the name. The Campbells and the Grahams arose and hunted them down like wild beasts, until a Macgregor could no more be found. (*QW* p.180)

Similarly, "Mary Scott" is based on the rivalry between two chiefs, one of whom is in love with the daughter of the other:

> Sick lies his heart, without relief;
> 'Tis love that breeds the warrior's woe,
> For daughter of a froward chief,
> A freebooter, his mortal foe. (3323-6)

This relationship, jeopardising the family's honour, is unthinkable: "Far sharper than a foeman's sword/ Is family shame and injury" (3697-8). Hence, the lay climaxes in a fight between the Scotts and the Pringles (aided by the Kers and the Murrays), and it is clear that the honour of each man and of his family depends on his martial prowess and his valour:

> Rough was the onset—boast, nor threat,
> Nor word was heard from friend or foe;
> At once began the work of fate,
> With perilous thrust and deadly blow.

Oh, but the Harden lads were true,
And bore them bravely in the broil!
The doughty laird of Wild Buccleuch
Raged like a lion in the toil.

Young Raeburn tilted gallantly;
But Ralph of Gilmanscleuch was slain,
Philip and Hugh of Baillilee,
And William, Laird of Deloraine.

But Francis, lord of Thirlestane,
To all the gallant name a soil,
While blood of kinsmen fell like rain,
Crept underneath a bracken coil.

Old Tushilaw, with sword in hand,
And heart to fiercest woes a prey,
Seem'd courting every foeman's brand,
And fought in hottest of the fray.

In vain the gallant kinsmen stood
Wedged in a firm and bristled ring;
Their funeral weeds are bathed in blood,
No corslets round their bosoms cling.

Against the lance and helmed file
Their courage, might and skill were vain;
Short was the conflict, short the while
Ere all the Scotts were bound or slain. (3879-906)

Despite defeat, the Scotts retain their honour through "courage, might and skill," with the exception of Francis, lord of Thirlestane, whose cowardly behaviour has ruined his

good name. The ending is a happy one, with Lord Pringle marrying Mary Scott. In one of Hogg's exquisite twists, Tushilaw ensures that his losses are covered:

> Lord Pringle's hills were stock'd anew,
> Drove after drove came nightly free;
> But many a border baron knew
> Whence came the dower to Torwoodlee. (4011-4)

"Earl Walter" is a "fighting poem of the Border-chivalric sort" (Elton 323). Again based on historical fact, this lay is a variation on the theme of fighting, dealing with tournament-style single combat, in which manhood is tested and rewarded (in this case by betrothal to the king's daughter). Honour plays an important part: Walter must fight "Or bear perpetual shame" (2485). His father emphasises the importance of the family's honour:

> "For never shall my son Walter
> Disgrace his father's name.
>
> Shall ladies tell, and minstrels sing,
> How lord of Scottish blood
> By proxy fought before his king?
> No, never! by the rood!" (2492-7)

Walter proves himself by sparing his opponent's life:

> When good Earl Walter saw he grew
> So pale, and lay so low,
> Away his brace of swords he threw,
> And raised his fainting foe. (2714-7)

His clemency earns him the hand of the king's daughter and his father's approval:

The tear stood in the father's eye,
He wiped his aged brow,
"Give me thy hand, my gallant boy,
I knew thee not till now.

My liege, my king, this is my son
Whom I present to thee;
Nor would I change Wat Hamilton
For any lad I see!" (2722-9)

Conversely, lack of skill in battle, and the consequent loss of honour, is a theme dealt with in "Dumlanrig":

Brave Douglas, where thy pride of weir?
How stinted in thy bold career!
Woe, that the Lowther eagle's look
Should shrink before the Lowland rook!
Woe, that the lordly lion's paw
Of ravening wolves should sink in awe!
But doubly woe, the purple heart
Should tarnish'd from the field depart! (4492-9)

This idea is reiterated by May Morison as she incites Douglas to redeem his good name: "Revenge thy friends in battle slain;/ Thy wounded honour heal" (4587-8).

In this way, Hogg uses divisive family and clan loyalties to emphasise the importance of martial prowess and the code of honour shared by all Scots. He includes a burst of patriotic fervour and pride in "Dumlanrig":

If troops on earth may e'er withstand
An onset made by Scottish brand,
Then lawless rapine sways the throng,
And conscience whispers—"this is wrong:"

But should a foe, whate'er his might,
To Scotia's dust dispute our right,
Or dare on native mountain claim
The poorest atom boasts our name,
Though high that warrior's banners soar,
Let him beware the broad claymore.
Scotland! thy honours long have stood... (4634-44)

Queen Mary's wake, then, is a chance to unify Scotland in celebration of its honourable martial history. In the introduction to *The Queen's Wake*, Hogg recalls calamitous events of the past, and looks forward to Queen Mary's return:

Scotland, involved in factious broils,
Groan'd deep beneath her woes and toils,
And look'd o'er meadow, dale, and lea,
For many days her queen to see;
Hoping that then her woes would cease,
And all her valleys smile in peace. (91-6)

Hogg offers Mary as a unifying force:

For such a queen, the Stuarts' heir—
A queen so courteous, young, and fair—
Who would not every foe defy!
Who would not stand—who would not die! (143-6)

Mary, in turn, offers minstrelsy as a peaceful alternative to the fighting of old, an opportunity for Highlanders and Lowlanders to compete, without bloodshed, for musical honours, rather than martial ones:

"Peace, peace to Scotland's wasted vales,
To her dark heaths and Highland dales;

To her brave sons of warlike mood,
To all her daughters fair and good;
Peace o'er her ruin'd vales shall pour,
Like beam of heaven behind the shower.
Let every harp and echo ring;
Let maidens smile and poets sing..." (275-82)

MUSIC AND MINSTRELSY

The very structure of *The Queen's Wake* creates a celebration of music and minstrelsy. Hogg places twelve lays, each set to the music of the harp[1], within the framework of his own minstrelsy as he recreates Mary Stuart's welcome on her return from France to Scotland in 1561. In his notes Hogg stresses the musical element of the wake: "In Scotland,... which was always the land of music and of song, music and song were the principal, often the only, amusements of the wake" (*QW* p.171). Within the poem itself, the love of music is sometimes exalted to a spiritual level:

> Hast thou not ween'd thyself on high,
> List'ning to angels' melody,
> 'Scaped from a world of cares away,
> To dream of love and bliss for aye? (75-8)[2]

Hogg also expresses the healing power of music, again in spiritual terms:

> Steal with thy harp to lonely brake,
> Her wild, her soothing numbers wake,

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[1] The importance of the harp in *The Queen's Wake* shows Hogg's willingness to retain an historical integrity in the poem. As noted above (p. 65), the traditional Celtic instrument was the harp, not the pipes. The bagpipes, of course, constitute the modern image of Scottish music but are a far more recent invention than the harp or lyre.

[2] In the introduction to the poem, Hogg equates the love of music, represented by his relationship with his own "Mountain Lyre" (8) which he addresses as "thee," with human love:

> A maiden's youthful smiles had wove
> Around my heart the toils of love,
> When first thy magic wires I rung,
> And on the breeze thy numbers flung.
> The fervid tear play'd in mine eye,
> I trembled, wept, and wonder'd why.
> Sweet was the thrilling ecstacy:
> I knew not if 'twas love or thee. (19-26)

However, Hogg later reminds us that music is the more reliable lover:

> Ween'd not my heart, when youth had flown,
> Friendship would fade, or fortune frown;
> When pleasure, love, and mirth were past,
> That thou should'st prove my all at last! (27-30)

> And soon corroding cares shall cease,
> And passion's host be lulled to peace;
> Angels a gilded screen shall cast,
> That cheers the future, veils the past. (5371-6)

This spirituality is complemented by the magical quality of Scottish music which Hogg describes as "runic fire" (208). This link between music and magic is embodied in the harp given by the Queen to the Ettrick bard as a consolation prize. This harp was "framed by wizard of the wild" (5362) and "Oh, there is magic in the sound!" (5366).

In the *Wake*, Mary, Queen of Scots is deeply affected by the power of Scottish song:

> So mellow'd came the distant swell,
> That on her ravish'd ear it fell
> Like dew of heaven at evening close,
> On forest flower or woodland rose. (193-6)

In her biography of the Queen, Antonia Fraser writes: "for music Mary Stuart would seem to have had a profound feeling which, like her love for poetry, appealed to the romantic, rather than the inquisitive, side of her nature" (206). Hogg, having emphasised Mary's love of music, which appears to be historically accurate, takes this one step further. He establishes music as a part of her essential Scottish self, integral to her human nature: "For Mary's heart, to nature true,/ The powers of song and music knew." Because she is Scottish, because her heart is that of a Scotswoman, she has strong feelings about music. It is part of her definition, so to speak.

In this way, Hogg stresses the importance of music in Scottish life. It is therefore appropriate that the poem itself is a series of musical compositions within a festive context. Alluding to the world outside the poem, Hogg evidently had in mind some of his own contemporaries as he wrote the various lays. In an article in the *Newsletter of the James Hogg Society* entitled "A Presentation Copy of *The Queen's Wake*," Alan Grant describes a fifth edition copy of the poem given by Hogg to his nephew James Gray. In the margins of this copy Hogg has written the names of those contemporary poets whom he has represented by bards performing in *The Queen's Wake*. Among the more notable,

the ninth bard is named as Professor John Wilson, the fifteenth as "The Revd James Gray/ Afterwards my brother in law," and the sixteenth bard as Allan Cunningham. The Ettrick bard, singer of "Old David," is a thinly disguised sixteenth-century version of Hogg himself:

> The next was named—the very sound
> Excited merriment around:
> But when the bard himself appear'd
> The ladies smiled, the courtiers sneer'd;
> For such a simple air and mien
> Before a court had never been. (1725-30)

Presumably it is the rural connotation of Hogg's name that causes such merriment. The reaction of the audience perhaps reflects his reception by the literary circle of Edinburgh. Hogg himself assumes the role of a modern-day minstrel, recounting the performances of the sixteenth-century minstrels charged with entertaining Mary, Queen of Scots, to the accompaniment of his mountain lyre. He is the triumphant "I" of the poem's introduction, defiantly addressing the winter storms: "Your ruth or fury I disdain,/ I've found my Mountain Lyre again" (7-8). Other notable minstrels are mentioned in the concluding stanzas of the poem: Hamilton of Bangour, Ramsay, Langhorne, Logan, Leyden and Scott among them (5422-51). Hogg sums up their various talents according to their ability to tune the mountain lyre. Not surprisingly, he deems Walter Scott, "the Abbot," most successful:

> The sacred relic met his view—
> Ah! well the pledge of heaven he knew!
> He screw'd the chords, he tried a strain;
> 'Twas wild—he tuned and tried again,
> Then pour'd the numbers bold and free,
> The simple magic melody. (5452-7)

Hence, when Hogg tells us that the wake is "for all who love the raptures high/ Of Scottish song and minstrelsy" (1479-80), he is referring not only to the festivities but

also to the poem itself, a celebration of musical imagery. The fifteenth bard values minstrelsy so highly, he is obsessed with the wake:

> When first of royal wake he heard,
> Forthwith it chain'd his sole regard:
> It was his thought, his hourly theme,
> His morning prayer, his midnight dream.
> Knights, dames, and squires of each degree,
> He deem'd as fond of songs as he,
> And talk'd of them continually.
> But when he heard the Highland strain,
> Scarce could his breast his soul contain;
> 'Twas all unequall'd, and would make
> Immortal bards, immortal wake! (4038-48)

The poem harks back to a time when minstrelsy was held in high regard. Hogg shows this by setting his wake in a royal court, and comments in his annotations:

> The minstrels who, in the reign of the Stuarts, enjoyed privileges which were even denied to the principal nobility, were by degrees driven from the tables of the great to the second, and afterwards to the common hall, that their music and songs might be heard, while they themselves were unseen. From the common hall they were obliged to retire to the porch or court; and so low has the characters of the minstrels descended, that the performers of the Christmas wakes are wholly unknown to the most part of those whom they serenade. They seem to be despised, but enjoy some small privileges, in order to keep up a name of high and ancient origin. (*QW* p.172)

Hogg refers to the minstrels competing in the wake as "That group of genuine sons of song" (432). While comments on the love of music and its power are usually found in the narrative framework of the poem, the lays of these minstrels stand in their own right as monuments to Scottish music. The proliferation of traditional ballad material from

which Hogg draws his inspiration for these lays shows the extent to which music is a part of the essential Scottish identity. The effect of these lays on their audience (and on the reader) is detailed at the end of the second night of the wake:

> And scarce had sleep, with throb and sigh,
> O'er breast of snow and moisten'd eye
> Outspread his shadowy canopy,
> When every fervid female mind,
> Or sail'd with witches on the wind,
> Drank, unobserved, the potent wine,
> Or floated on the foamy brine.
> Some strove the land of thought to win,
> Impell'd by hope, withstood by sin;
> And some with angry spirit stood
> By lonely stream or pathless wood.
> And oft was heard the broken sigh,
> The half-form'd prayer, and smother'd cry
> So much the minds of old and young
> Were moved by what the minstrels sung. (3168-82)

In addition, this passage provides a neat summary, rounding off the entertainment of the first two nights of the celebration. This summary echoes a passage in the introduction to the poem:

> Each glen was sought for tales of old,
> Of luckless love, of warrior bold,
> Of ravish'd maid, or stolen child
> By freakish fairy of the wild;
> Of sheeted ghost that had reveal'd
> Dark deeds of guilt from man conceal'd;
> Of boding dreams, of wandering sprite,
> Of deadlights glimmering through the night.

Yea, every tale of ruth or weir,
Could waken pity, love or fear,
Were deck'd anew, with anxious pain,
And sung to native airs again. (335-46)

Thus, Hogg has created a poetic table of contents in which the lays to come are foreshadowed.

It is a fitting touch that Hogg's own love of music and minstrelsy is commemorated in his epitaph, inscribed on a monument which stands at the head of St. Mary's Loch (Wittig 246). The inscription echoes the last line of *The Queen's Wake*, memorialising Hogg as a man who "taught the wandering winds to sing" (5535).

CONVIVIALITY, DRINKING AND HUMOUR

Burns's influence on Hogg is plain to see. In his *Memoir of the Author's Life*, Hogg relates the following tale:

> The first time I ever heard of Burns was in 1797, the year after he died. One day during that summer a half daft man, named John Scott, came to me on the hill, and to amuse me repeated Tam O'Shanter. I was delighted! I was more than delighted—I was ravished! I cannot describe my feelings; but, in short, before Jock Scott left me, I could recite the poem from beginning to end, and it has been my favourite poem ever since (11).

As a result, the Ettrick Shepherd "resolved to be a poet, and to follow in the steps of Burns" (Hogg,*Memoir* 11).

Like *The Queen's Wake*, the legend of Tam O' Shanter is contained within a narrative framework. Burns sets the narrative scene in a local pub:

> When chapman billies leave the street,
> And drouthy neibors neibors meet,
> As market days are wearing late,
> An' folk begin to tak the gate;
> While we sit bousing at the nappy,
> An' getting fou and unco happy... (ll. 1-6)

Within the narrative framework of *The Queen's Wake*, Hogg also sets a scene which includes drinking and conviviality:

> The wine was served, and, sooth to say,
> Insensibly it stole away.
> Thrice did they drink th'allotted store,
> And wondering skinkers dun for more;

Which vanish'd swifter than the first—
Little ween'd they the poets' thirst.

Still as that ruddy juice they drain'd,
The eyes were clear'd, the speech regain'd;
The latent sparks of fancy glow'd,
Till one abundant torrent flow'd,
Of wit, of humour, social glee,
Wild music, mirth, and revelry. (445-56)

Both Burns and Hogg are celebrating drink as an integral part of Scottish society, a vital ingredient of conviviality. Hogg's bards, taken from their natural environments and transplanted in Edinburgh, become nervous and frightened, echoing Hogg's own feeling of displacement:

Ah! When at home the songs they raised,
When gaping rustics stood and gazed,
Each bard believed, with ready will,
Unmatch'd his song, unmatch'd his skill;
But when the royal halls appear'd,
Each aspect changed, each bosom fear'd;
And when in court of Holyrood
Filed harps and bards around him stood,
His eye emitted cheerless ray,
His hope, his spirit sunk away:
There stood the minstrel, but his mind
Seem'd left in native glen behind. (389-400)

The wine, "that ruddy juice" (451), allows the bards to shake off their fear and inhibitions before the competition, until their jests cause laughter "long and loud" (458).

Drinking, a convivial social activity, is also conducive to humour. Hogg expands on this theme in "The Witch of Fife," moving from the narrative framework into the

fantasy world of the lay. The lay begins with a heated dialogue between an old man and his wife, a witch. The old man harangues his wife, taking the moral high ground:

> "Away, away, ye ill womyn,
> An ill deide met ye dee!
> Quhan ye hae pruvit se false to yer God,
> Ye can never pruve trew to me." (1253-6)

However, when the witch tells of a magic word used to gain entry to the wine cellar of the Bishop of Carlisle, the old man quickly changes tack. He is pious until tempted by the wine:

> "Gin that be trew, my gude auld wyfe,
> Quhilk thou hast tauld me,
> Betide my death, betide my lyfe,
> I'll beire thee companye.
>
> Neist time ye gang to merry Carlisle
> To drynk of the bluid-reid wine,
> Beshrew my heart, I'll fly with thee,
> If the deil shulde fly behynde." (1273-80)

The old man, having learnt the magic word, drinks himself to a standstill and is caught by "five rough Englishmen" (1365). In this way, Hogg uses drink to motivate the plot. The Bishop's wine has drawn the old man to Carlisle, and his overindulgence in it has led to his capture. Incidentally, Carlisle, just south of the Anglo-Scottish border, was an English military stronghold, so for a Scot to pilfer an English bishop's booze would be part of the Scottish humour. Further, the wine provides a gruesome metaphor with ironically religious overtones:

> They nickit the auld man, and they prickit the auld man,
> And they jerkit his limbs with twine,

Quhill the reid bluid ran in his hose and shoon,
But some cryit it was wyne. (1377-80)

One facet of the humour of "The Witch of Fife" comes from the low, comic humanity of the old man, typified by his drinking habits, producing "an overflow of Scotch-Bacchic devil-may-care humour" (Elton 323). Hogg shows considerable skill in maintaining the wild contrast between this character and the awesome witches, with their supernatural powers:

"The dales war deep, and the Doffrinis steep,
And we raise to the skyis ee-bree;
Quhite, quhite was ouir rode, that was never trode,
Ower the snawis of eternity!" (1225-8)

In *The Scottish Tradition in Literature*, Wittig comments on the sharp humour of Scottish ballads: "a laconic, tightlipped grimness that is characteristically Scottish" (144). Hogg himself called "The Witch of Fife" "the most happy and splendid piece of humorous ballad poetry which I ever wrote" (*Memoir* 123), but the first and second editions of the poem contain a cruel fate for the old man:

They lickit the auld man, and they prickit the auld man,
And they tyit him till ane stone;
And they set ane bele-fire him about,
And they burnit him skin and bone (1381-4)

These lines jar with the comic tone of the poem and an alternative ending was suggested by Sir Walter Scott:

> It was but very lately Mr Hogg that I was drawn by our friend Kirkpatrick Sharpe to note the merits of your ballad The Witch of Fife. There was never such a thing written for genuine and ludicrous humour but why in the name of wonder did you suffer the gude auld man to be burnt skin and bone by the English at Carlisle (for in the first and second editions that

> was the issue) I never saw a piece of such bad taste in all my life. What had the poor old carl done to deserve such a fate? Only taken a drappy o' drink too much at another man's expense which you and I have done often. It is a *finale* which I cannot bear and you must bring of[f] the old man by some means or other no matter how extravagant or ridiculous... (Hogg,*Memoir* 123-4)

Hogg took Scott's advice, and Douglas Gifford describes one passage from the amended ending as "the funniest stanza in all lowland poetry" (*History of Scottish Literature* 92):

> His armis war spred, and his heid was hiche,
> And his feite stack out behynde;
> And the laibies of the auld man's cote
> War wauffing in the wynde. (ed. Wallace 1425-8)

He observes that the original ending of "The Witch of Fife" is reminiscent of "the gruesome, savage humour of Dunbar"; in the amended ending "the spirit is rather that of the more humane comedy of Henryson or Burns" (92).[1]

The poem draws from ballad and folklore sources, which are traditionally abstract and lacking in personal comment. Hogg enlivens these traditional sources through the amusing human failings of the old man. Douglas Mack comments:

> Hogg inherited from his childhood a genuine feeling for the terror of the supernatural, yet in his writings he often shows a desire to poke fun at peasant superstitions. In "The Witch of Fife" he combined these two impulses successfully, and thus produced a magnificent piece of high comedy (*Selected Poems* xxii).

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[1] In *Two Scots Chaucerians*, H. Harvey Wood refers to Henryson's "The Testament of Cresseid," commenting on his "unexpected and enlivening use of humour, even in the darkest moments of the poem" (12). Dunbar's poetry, on the other hand, contains "the earthy, bawdy comedy of the streets he daily frequented" (35). Furthermore, his poem "In Secreit Place this Hyndir Nycht" has a sniggering indecency about it (38).

"The Witch of Fife" elicits a "smile of free delight" (1395) from the ladies in the audience, mirroring the probable reaction of the reader. Through the humour of this lay, Hogg indeed succeeds in emulating the great Burns. Maurice Lindsay maintains that in wit, pace and tautness "The Witch of Fife" is in the same category as "Tam O' Shanter" and not far below it (287). Indeed, in his own time *The Queen's Wake* established Hogg as "after Burns the greatest poet that had ever sprung from the bosom of the people" (James F. Ferrier qtd. in Moulton 266).

The sense of humour Hogg displays in his poetry can also be found in his *Memoir of the Author's Life*, where, writing of Southey, he remarks:

> I was a grieved as well as an astonished man, when I found that he refused all participation in my beverage of rum punch. For a poet to refuse his glass was to me a phenomenon; and I confess I doubted in my own mind, and doubt to this day, if perfect sobriety and transcendent poetical genius can exist together. In Scotland I'm sure they cannot. With regard to the English, I shall leave them to settle that among themselves, as they have little that is worth drinking. (67)

It seems that drinking and conviviality are not only themes in Hogg's poetry, but, as he so humorously points out, prerequisites to the composition of it.

COURTSHIP

At fourteen, Robert Burns developed a boyish love for Nelly Kilpatrick, his partner in the harvest field, who inspired his first song (Noyes 137). Hogg was a little more precocious:

> It will scarcely be believed that at such a young age I should have been an admirer of the other sex. It is nevertheless strictly true. Indeed I have liked women a great deal better than men ever since I remember. But that summer, when only eight years of age, I was sent out to a height called Broad-heads with a rosy-cheeked maiden to herd a flock of new-weaned lambs, and I had my mischievous cows to herd besides. But, as she had no dog and I had an excellent one, I was ordered to keep close by her. Never was a master's order better obeyed. Day after day I herded the cows and the lambs both, and Betty had nothing to do but to sit and sew. Then we dined together every day at a well near to the Shiel-sike head, and after dinner I laid my head down on her lap, covered her bare feet with my plaid, and pretended to fall sound asleep. One day I heard her say to herself, "Poor little laddie! he's joost tired to death," and then I wept till I was afraid she would feel the warm tears trickling on her knee. I wished my master, who was a handsome young man, would fall in love with her and marry her, wondering how he could be so blind and stupid as not to do it. But I thought if I were he, I would know well what to do. (*Memoir* 6)

As with Burns, Hogg's first literary attempts were love songs, accompanied by traditional tunes, which were sung at social gatherings:

> For several years my compositions consisted wholly of songs and ballads made up for the lasses to sing in chorus; and a proud man I was when I first heard the rosy nymphs chanting my uncouth strains, and jeering me by the still dear appellation of "Jamie the Poeter." (*Memoir* 10)

By all accounts, including his own, "Hogg had a fairly active love life as a young shepherd" (Steel 9). Noyes notes that Burns also had many affairs with women and adds: "Not that his kind of behaviour was unusual among the Scottish peasantry of his day" (139). Accordingly, Hogg feels qualified to include advice on courtship in "Dumlanrig," the sixteenth bard's song:

> No, warrior, keep thy distance due;
> Beauty is proud and jealous too.
> If fair and young thy maiden be,
> Know she knew that ere told by thee.
> Be kind, be gentle, heave the sigh,
> And blush before her piercing eye;
> For, though thou'rt noble, brave and young,
> If rough thy mien and rude thy tongue,
> Though proudly towers thy trophied pile,
> Hope not for beauty's yielding smile. (4704-13)

"Dumlanrig" is a love story written into a martial lay. The fighting adds a sense of excitement and urgency to the lay, while the romance softens the harshness of Hogg's vivid battle imagery, showing the human side of Douglas, a fierce Scottish warrior:

> What heart of man unmoved can lie,
> When plays the smile in beauty's eye?
> Or when a form of grace and love
> To music's notes can lightly move?
> Yes; there are hearts unmoved can see
> The smile, the ring, the revelry;
> The heart of warrior ne'er could bear
> The beam of beauty's crystal tear.
> Well was that morn the maxim proved—
> The Douglas saw, the Douglas loved. (4542-51)

The young lady in question, May Morison, spurns Douglas's love until he proves his valour and devotion by avenging her brother's death:

> "Oh, that this feeble maiden hand
> Could bend the bow or wield the brand!
> If yeoman muster'd in my hall,
> Or troop'd obsequious at my call,
> My country's honour I'd restore,
> And shame thy face for evermore.
> Go, first thy flocks and herds regain;
> Revenge thy friends in battle slain;
> Thy wounded honour heal; that done,
> Douglas may ask May Morison." (4580-9)

Similarly, in "Mary Scott" the romance between Pringle of Torwoodlee and Mary develops in the midst of a bitter family feud. The interdiction of their love adds to the poignancy of the lay:

> Sick lies his heart, without relief;
> 'Tis love that breeds the warrior's woe,
> For daughter of a froward chief,
> A freebooter, his mortal foe. (3323-6)

True love alone can transcend the entrenched hostilities between these rival clans: Pringle must resort to disguising himself as an abbot, complete with false beard, to gain access to his sweetheart and Mary risks her life to set him free once he is captured. However, Hogg's cynicism is also apparent:

> The abbot's soul was all on flame,
> Wild transport through his bosom ran;
> For never angel's airy frame

Was half so sweet to mortal man. (3515-8)

Sexual innuendo underlies this spiritual veneer of abbots and angels. The abbot's saviour cannot be an angel because he is aroused by her, and, for that reason, he is clearly not a true man of God. Even more tongue-in-cheek is Hogg's description of the reaction to Pringle's seemingly impossible escape:

But to the Virgin's sacred name
The vow was paid in many a cell;
And many a rich oblation came
For that amazing miracle. (3643-6)

The introduction to *The Queen's Wake*, in which Hogg finds his "Mountain Lyre" (8), contains an outpouring of emotion typical of Romantic poetry, signalling a move away from the Augustan age of reason:

A maiden's youthful smiles had wove
Around my heart the toils of love,
When first thy magic wires I rung,
And on the breeze thy numbers flung.
The fervid tear played in mine eye,
I trembled, wept, and wonder'd why.
Sweet was the thrilling ecstacy:
I know not if 'twas love or thee. (19-26)

Rizzio, on the other hand, the dandified Italian, sings of courtly love in measured comparatives in "Malcolm of Lorn":

Sweeter than opening rose in dew,
Than vernal flowers of richest hue,
Than fragrant birch or weeping willow
Than red sun resting on the billow—

Sweeter than aught to mortals given
The heart and soul to prove—
Sweeter than aught beneath the heaven,
The joys of early love! (551-8)

The title of this lay is a clever, mocking reference to its hero, the lovelorn Malcolm, pining for his lost sweetheart. Hogg's narrative criticises Rizzio's "artful" (737) song which has "mimick'd passion, woe and pain" (724). Rizzio himself is dismissed as "that foreign minstrel" (723).

Conversely, in "Old David," Ann of Raeburn sings an "artless lay" (2057), and her relationship with David's son Owen is described in simple terms:

How glow'd brave Owen's manly face
While in that lady's kind embrace!
Warm tears of joy his utterance stay'd;
"Oh, my loved Ann!" was all he said.
Though well they loved, her high estate
Caused Owen aye aloof to wait,
And watch her bower, beside the rill,
When twilight rock'd the breezes still,
And waked the music of the grove
To hymn the vesper song of love.
There, underneath the greenwood bough,
Oft had they breathed the tender vow. (2077-88)

Despite her apparent favouritism of Rizzio, Mary appreciates the sincerity of the Ettrick bard's lay: "the smile of sovereign fair/ Attested genuine nature there" (2201-2).

"Young Kennedy," the winning lay, describes a very different kind of courtship. Kennedy's wooing of Matilda stems from vengeful passion rather than love, hence their relationship is described in far darker terms than that of Owen and Ann. The narrator implores:

Sweet woman! with virtue thou'rt lofty, thou'rt free;
Yield that, thou'rt a slave and the mark of disdain:
No blossom of spring is beleaguered like thee,
Though brush'd by the lightning, the wind, and the rain.
Matilda is fallen! With tears in her eye,
She seeks her destroyer; but can only sigh.
Matilda is fallen, and sorrow her doom—
The flower of the valley is nipped in the bloom! (847-54)

Hogg's insistence here on the importance of virtue in a woman is a sign of his times. Presumably Matilda's reputation is salvaged by her subsequent marriage to Kennedy, even though it lasts less than a night.

"The Abbot M'Kinnon" also deals with extra-marital sex and the consequences here are just as dire as in "Young Kennedy." The Abbot M'Kinnon sails away from Iona and brings back a companion. Hogg describes this companion using images usually reserved for descriptions of women, but intersperses these phrases with "his":

His breast was graceful, and round withal,
His leg was taper, his foot was small,
And his tread so light that it flung no sound
On listening ear or vault around.
His eye was the morning's brightest ray,
And his neck like the swan's in Iona bay;
His teeth the ivory polish'd new,
And his lip like the morel when gloss'd with dew,
While under his cowl's embroider'd fold
Were seen the curls of waving gold.
This comely youth, of beauty so bright,
Abode with the abbot by day and by night. (4876-87)

The repetition of "his," nine times in nine lines, reinforces the irony of this passage. As the gender of the stranger, "Too fair, too gentle a man to be" (4897), becomes apparent, the tone is reminiscent of sniggering schoolboys: "When arm in arm they walk'd the isle,/

Young friars would beckon and monks would smile" (4888-9). "The Mermaid's Song," contained within the seventeenth bard's lay, intimates that the fair stranger is in fact Matilda of Skye, whose lover, M'Kinnon, will surely drown:

> Matilda of Skye
> Alone may lie,
> And list to the wind that whistles by:
> Sad may she be,
> For deep in the sea,
> Deep, deep, deep in the sea!
> This night her lover shall sleep with me. (5066-72)

Accordingly, the misbehaving abbot's ship sinks, "The sea is calm, and the sinners are gone" (5142), signalling a return to serious morality at the end of the lay. Hogg includes a maxim from St. Columba, clearly establishing its moral boundaries: "Oh, wise was the founder, and well said he,/ 'Where there are women mischief must be'" (4868-9). He backs this up with an annotation:

> St Columba placed the nuns on an island at a little distance from I, as the natives call Iona. He would not suffer either cow or woman to set foot on it; "For where there are cows," said he, "there must be women; and where there are women, there must be mischief." (*QW* p.185)

The same misogynistic moral code is apparent in "The Witch of Fife:" "And wae be to all the ill wemyne,/ That lead puir men astray!" (1387-8). It seems that while illicit love is the stuff of romantic ballads, it is nearly always accompanied by some sort of lip-service to the conventional code by which it is deemed to be reprehensible, and Hogg is no exception to this.

CONCLUSION

In *The Queen's Wake* Hogg constructs a national Scottish identity, continuing the eighteenth-century revival of Celtic tradition and Scottish nationalism. History is glossed over by nostalgic yearning, as Hogg looks back to the sixteenth-century reign of Mary, Queen of Scots. Accordingly, the real turmoil and disunity of this era is displaced in the poem by an idealistic historical view of Scotland as a unified, independent sovereign state. This reanimation of history, viewed through Hogg's rose-coloured spectacles, sets up shared traditions and values which recur throughout *The Queen's Wake*, resulting in a sense of community.

For example, Hogg includes William Wallace in the poem, a Scottish hero who generates a shared feeling of patriotic pride amongst Scots. Similarly, many of the lays in *The Queen's Wake* contain battle imagery, recalling the nation's proud martial history. Hence, even ancient conflicts stemming from local rivalries can be combined into an all-national heritage as the military prowess of the various factions is praised, signalling an underlying unification. This theory also applies to Hogg's political views. Although a stout Presbyterian, Hogg was a Tory and, like many of his Romantic contemporaries, supported the Jacobite cause. This ambiguous political stance bridges the gap between Presbyterianism and the Catholic cause of the Stuarts, represented in the poem by Mary. In Hogg's time Jacobite support spanned various religious and political factions to become a unifying focal point for nationalists nostalgic for the Scottish past.

Community feeling is also engendered in the poem through Hogg's extensive use of shared superstitions. Inspired by folktales and lays sung to him by his mother, Hogg's tales are often based on traditional Scottish songs. Fairies, witches, mystics and spirits are elements of a shared discourse of superstition and the supernatural common to Scots. The feeling of unity these traditional images create is in no way contrived by Hogg, for whom they were always a part of everyday life.

Hogg makes much of Scotland's natural beauty, using a wide range of placenames and settings for the different lays to include each region in this national poem. In addition, he emphasises the affinity between the Scots and their land, emphasising both regional links to birthplace and the hardiness of spirit that allows the Scottish people to live in such a harsh natural climate. These two elements of nature,

beauty and severity, serve to unite the people of this rugged, elemental land, in admiration and for survival.

Contrasting the hardy Scottish minstrels with the effeminate Italian, Rizzio, Hogg further unites the Scots as a nation, to the exclusion of foreigners. Placed at the beginning of the competition, Rizzio's dull and lacklustre lay sets off the virility of the songs that follow. The next bard, Gardyn, provides the most notable contrast. A Highlander, he is dressed in traditional Scottish garb and exudes rugged masculinity. His lay is wildly gothic, a tale of passion, murder and revenge, complete with corpses and phantoms. The cruel disposition of the central character, Kennedy, is mirrored in Hogg's harsh natural imagery. Gardyn, embodying the proud and hardy Scot of Hogg's literary imagination, takes first prize with his supernatural lay.

"The Witch of Fife," highly acclaimed by modern critics, draws its appeal from the low, comic humanity of its central character, who nearly drinks himself to death. The humour of this lay, characteristically Scottish in its laconicism, ensures that it cannot gain first prize. The rules of the wake are set out in the introduction:

> No ribaldry the queen must hear,
> No song unmeet for maiden's ear,
> No jest, nor adulation bland,
> But legends of our native land... (309-12)

Hogg is following tradition here. He comments in his annotations to the poem that the songs of a wake "were generally of a sacred or serious nature" (171). The wake, while providing the narrative framework in which Hogg has set his lays, also pays homage to the Scots' love of music, the cultural by-product of nationalism, in which they express the love inspired by a nation (Anderson 129).

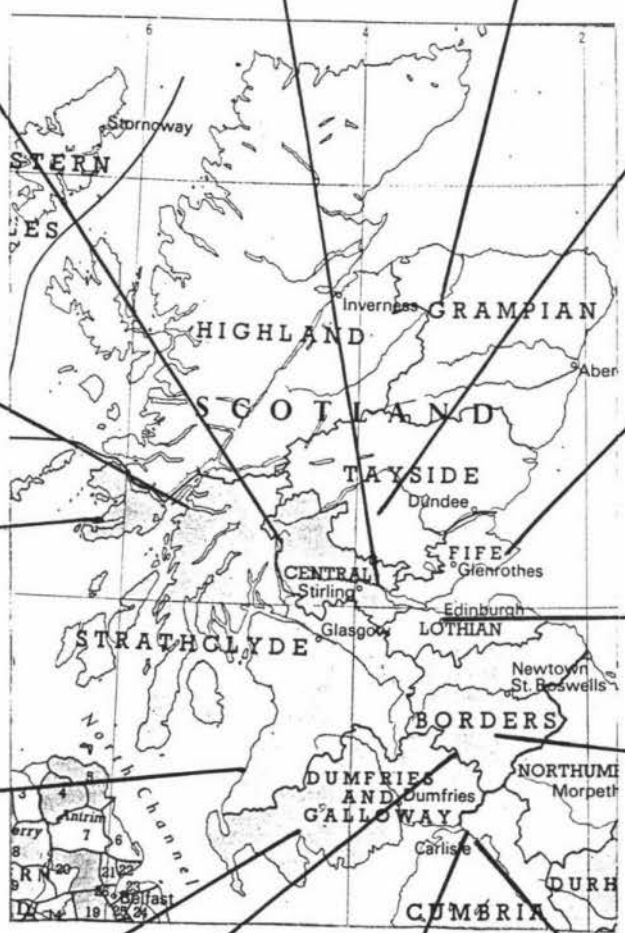
The popularity of *The Queen's Wake* among Hogg's fellow Scots is testament to the image of Scottishness he constructed, the feelings of unity he evoked. Professor John Wilson, Hogg's contemporary, rhapsodised:

> *The Queen's Wake* is a garland of fair forest-flowers, bound with a band of rushes from the moor. It is not a poem,—not it; nor was it intended to be so; you might as well call a bright boquet [*sic*] of flowers a flower,

which, by-the-by, we do in Scotland. Some of the ballads are very beautiful; one or two even splendid; most of them spirited; and the worst far better than the best that ever was written by any bard in danger of being called a blockhead. "Kilmeny" alone places our (*ay, our*) Shepherd amongst the Undying Ones. (qtd. in Moulton 266)

APPENDIX I

GEOGRAPHICAL COVERAGE OF *THE QUEEN'S WAKE*



2. Gardyn, the eventual winner, "Young Kennedy."

9. Farquhar from Spey, "Glen-Avin."

11. Macfarlane, "Macgregor."

13. Drummond of Ern, "Kilmeny."

1. Rizzio, the Italian, "Malcolm of Lorn."

8. The bard from Fife, "The Witch of Fife."

17. Bard of Mull, "The Abbot M'Kinnon."

Edinburgh, setting of *The Queen's Wake*.

12. Bard of Clyde, "Earl Walter."

14. Lowland bard, "Mary Scott."

16. Cunninghame, "Dumlanrig."

10. The Ettrick Bard, "Old David."

15. "King Edward's Dream."

Carlisle, site of the bishop's wine cellar in "The Witch of Fife."

APPENDIX II: PUBLISHED EDITIONS OF *THE QUEEN'S WAKE*

In *The Ettrick Shepherd*, published in 1927, Edith Batho included publication details of *The Queen's Wake*. Title pages, publication dates and other details are reproduced below:

THE / QUEEN'S WAKE: / a / Legendary Poem. / By / James Hogg. /

Be mine to read the visions old,
Which thy awakening Bards have told,
And whilst they meet thy tranced view,
Hold each strange tale devoutly true.
Collins.

Edinburgh: / Printed by Andrew Balfour, / For George Goldie, 34, Prince's Street, Edinburgh; / and / Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, / London. / 1813. 8vo, pp. (8) 354.

(Dedication) To / Her Royal Highness / Princess Charlotte of Wales, / a Shepherd / among / the Mountains of Scotland, / dedicates / This Poem.

The remaining copies were reissued with a fresh title-page as the Second Edition, with the poem by Bernard Barton, also in later editions, added.

Third edition in 1814.

Fourth (really remains of third) Edition in 1815.

...Fifth Edition / Edinburgh; / William Blackwood, Prince's Street: / and John Murray, Albemarle-street, London. / 1819. 8vo, pp. (8) 384.

With portrait of Queen Mary. Subscription edition.

Sixth edition, in form a duplicate of the fifth, 1819.

The / Queen's Wake: / a / Legendary Poem. / By / James Hogg, / the Ettrick Shepherd. / (Motto as above) Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson. / MDCCC.XLII.

16mo, pp. 236.

The / Queen's Wake: / a / Legendary Poem. / By James Hogg. / (Motto) / William and Robert Chambers / London and Edinburgh. (1867) 16mo, pp. 188.

Portrait of Hogg and 13-page memoir.

Blackie's School Classics. / Selections / from / The Queen's Wake. / By / James Hogg, the Ettrick Shepherd. / The Summons, The Contest, The Award. / Kilmeny. / With Prefatory and Explanatory Notes....1880. 16mo, pp. 32.

Kilmeny has also been printed as No. 9 of the London Booklets (Foulis, 1912) with illustrations by Jessie M. King; and as No. 33 of Flowers of Parnassus (John Lane, 1905) with illustrations by Mary Corbett. (Batho 193)

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